

THE HONORABLE BRIDGE: AN
HISTORICAL STUDY OF JAPAN'S
CULTURAL REPUTATION IN
AMERICA.

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THE HONORABLE BRIDGE: AN HISTORICAL STUDY
OF JAPAN'S CULTURAL REPUTATION IN AMERICA

A dissertation
submitted to the Faculty of the
Graduate School of Georgetown University
in partial fulfillment for the
degree of
Doctor of Philosophy

by

Richard Edward Jorgensen

Washington D.C.
June 1973

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GEORGETOWN UNIVERSITY
GRADUATE SCHOOL



The dissertation of Richard E. Jorgensen entitled

The Honorable Bridge: An Historical Study of

Japan's Cultural Reputation in America

submitted to the department of History in partial

fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy
in the Graduate School of Georgetown University has been read and approved by the
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ABSTRACT

THE HONORABLE BRIDGE: AN HISTORICAL
STUDY OF JAPAN'S CULTURAL REPUTATION IN AMERICA

1. Introduction

Bridges of understanding between nations and peoples are generally built and sustained by individuals working--over a long period of time and occasionally against adverse political, diplomatic and/or economic circumstances--to effect closer personal contact and to widen or refine channels of communication between the peoples of planet earth. This study concerns itself with the efforts at construction of the important bridge of understanding between the United States and Japan during the course of their relations since Perry.

More specifically, the concern of this historical study is with what may be called Japan's cultural reputation--knowledge and appreciation of the civilization, the values, beliefs, aesthetic and creative achievements of the people--in the eyes of Americans during the quarter century preceding, and that following, American involvement in World War II. It seeks to identify and assess the impact of those factors and forces which helped, and those "movers and shakers" in this country and abroad who sought to facilitate America's encounter with Japan and the culture of the Japanese in the years prior to Pearl Harbor, and those which or who served to hasten America's passage to

the East in the years following the war. The growth and development of Japanese studies in the West, intercultural exchange between the United States and Japan, the promotion of tourism and commercial relations, and the evidence of Japan in America, in the arts, in literature, in religious and philosophical thought in the United States, represented integral parts of the story of how and why the cultural reputation of the Japanese was restored to unprecedented heights in America during the 1950s and 1960s.

2. Part I: Prior to Pearl Harbor

American fascination with Japan, and admiration of the Japanese, appeared to peak in the United States at the turn of the century. These were the years when the writings of Lafcadio Hearn, Pierre Loti, John Luther Long, among many others, were being enjoyed by Americans; by 1900 the people of the West held somewhat romantic notions of their neighbors across the Pacific. This idyllic view of the Japanese changed as, following the Russo-Japanese War, political tensions between the United States and Japan increased and as the international scene deteriorated. The period 1905-1917 appeared to be one of transition in terms of American-East Asian relations, and in terms of Japan's cultural reputation in America, while following American involvement in World War I, on the side of Japan against the Central Powers of Europe, relations between the two peoples deteriorated rapidly as the decade of the 1930s approached and proceeded on its way. Japan's cultural

reputation declined as well, due to a constriction of the channels of communication between the two peoples and to forces which militated against genuine American understanding and appreciation of the culture of the Japanese. Yet these were important formative years of Japanese studies in America, and individuals like Glenn Shaw, Gregg Sinclair, Langdon Warner, and Serge Elisseeff and Louis Ledoux were making noble efforts to interpret the creative accomplishments of the Japanese to the Western world. Whatever there remained of Japan's cultural reputation in America, the bombs which fell upon Pearl Harbor obliterated it, and it would take a decade or more before Americans would again find in Japan and the culture of the Japanese something worthy of admiration or indeed of emulation.

3. Part II: The Restoration of Japan's Cultural Reputation in America

Japan became very much a part of America's thrust outward as a result of the Pacific War. After the war American eyes were focussed as much on the Pacific area as they had traditionally been fixed on Europe. The American occupation of Japan provided the opportunity for countless numbers of Americans to gain first hand contact with the Japanese and their culture--it provided the "grass roots" support for the restoration of Japan's cultural reputation after the war. A proliferation of agencies and programs helped also to bring Americans out of their ethnocentric shell, while the Japanese themselves made remarkable progress in reestablishing their nation among the powers of the

new postwar world. Intercultural exchange between the United States and Japan expanded dramatically, while the world's center of Japanese studies in the West shifted to the United States. With dramatically increased opportunities for travel in Japan, and for trade with the Japanese among Americans on all levels of society, person-to-person contacts led to an enhanced appreciation of the people and the creative achievements of the Japanese.

4. Part III: The Evidence of Japan in America

American fiction with Japanese themes, and the dissemination of Japanese literature in America in the years 1950-70, introduced the customs and culture of the Japanese to countless Americans after the war. The evidence of Japan in film, the arts, and in the growing American romance with things Japanese (not to mention the fascination with Zen) served to enhance Japan's cultural reputation in the eyes of Americans from all walks of life in these years after the war. It suggested a growing synthesis of cultures, as more and more Americans adopted or adapted as part of their own, aspects of the culture of the Japanese. The quality of American life was measurably enhanced as Americans acquired a tolerance for new art forms and a new perspective on the world of culture (as well as on the cultures of the world) through their encounter with the culture of the Japanese. An historic shift in outlook, toward a sympathetic view of the East and a deeper understanding of the peoples of Eastern Asia, came as part of this American encounter with Japan after World War II.

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PREFACE

Bridges of understanding between nations and peoples are usually built and sustained by individuals working--over a long period of time and occasionally against adverse political, diplomatic and/or economic circumstances--to effect closer personal contact and to widen or refine channels of communication between the peoples of planet earth. This study concerns itself with the efforts at construction of the bridge of understanding between the United States and Japan during the course of the twentieth century.

The primary focus of the study is Japan's cultural reputation--knowledge and appreciation of the civilization, the values, beliefs, aesthetic and creative achievements of the people--in the eyes of Americans during the quarter century preceding and following American involvement in World War II. It seeks to identify and assess the impact of those factors and forces which helped, and those "movers and shakers" in this country and abroad who sought to facilitate America's encounter with Japan and the culture of the Japanese in the years just prior to Pearl Harbor (Part I), and which served to hasten America's passage to the East in the period after the war (Parts II and III). The growth and development of Japanese studies in the West, intercultural exchange between the United States and Japan, the promotion of tourism and commercial relations, and the evidence of Japan in the arts, in literature, in religious and philosophical thought in the United States, represented integral parts of the story of how and why —

the cultural reputation of the Japanese was restored to unprecedented heights in America during these years after the war.

A study as wide in scope and complex as this comprises the distillation of experiences of one in association with the culture of the Japanese over the years as well as the synthesis of a variety of sources consulted in this country and abroad the past decade or so. It has included the perusal of materials made available at Amherst College and the offices of UNESCO situated in New York; at the Library of Congress and the Brooklyn Botanic Garden; the Japan Society of New York and, among others, the offices of Charles E. Tuttle, publishers of "Books to Span the East and West." It has further included exposure to catalogs and miscellaneous materials at the Museum of Modern Art, and the Metropolitan of New York, the Boston Museum of Fine Arts, the Freer Gallery and, among others, the American Society for Eastern Art in San Francisco. Consultation with personnel, and the opportunity to observe files and reports, at The Asia Foundation of San Francisco and the Ford Foundation in New York provided insights into the field under study unavailable elsewhere. The same could be said for profitable visits to the Board of Foreign Scholarships, the offices of the Town Affiliation Program in America, and the Office of Education in Washington D.C. Finally, there were productive interviews with such personages as Harold Gould Henderson, Douglas Overton and Harold Strauss of New York, and, among others, Robert S. Schwantes of San Francisco, concerned deeply with promotion of close relations with Japan.

CHAPTER I

JAPAN'S CULTURAL REPUTATION IN AMERICA, 1917-42

1. Introduction

America's entry into World War I on the side of the Allied Powers left Americans with feelings of some anxiety and uncertainty with regard to their new relationship with Japan and the Japanese. Americans abruptly realized that they were now partners with the Japanese in a common enterprise directed against the Central Powers of Europe. Just a few years before, at the turn of the century, the United States and Japan had emerged as world powers: the one nation as a consequence of the Spanish American War, the other as a result of victory over Russia in 1905. Japan's success in overcoming the Russians, identified with the West, and attaining an Asian triumph over a people of the white race, had significant repercussions in the West and in East Asia. It marked a dramatic turning point in the relations between Americans and Japanese. The United States would now be viewed by many Japanese as their potential adversary, while "the charmingly quaint and admirably quick Japanese" had suddenly become for Americans "the sinister Yellow Peril."¹

The picture which Americans held of Japan in 1917 had been

¹Edwin O. Reischauer, The United States and Japan (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1950), p. 20.

formed as a result of a number of events over the previous seven decades, by a variety of factors and forces which had contributed generally toward friendly relations, up to 1905, between the two nations. Beginning with Commodore Mathew C. Perry's historic mission in 1853-54, which opened Japan to the West, numerous books and accounts were to be published in the United States and abroad about the Japanese and their culture.² The Perry expedition, together with the diplomatic skill of Townsend Harris, prepared the way in the 1850s for merchants, long eager to tap the Japanese market, and missionaries to gain a foothold in Japan. In 1860 the Japanese embassy was enthusiastically received by the American people and government officials. This unique mission broke new ground in the development of friendly relations between Japanese and Americans, and helped to fix the American view of the Japanese and their culture for almost half a century.³

Domestic upheavals within both Japan and the United States delayed for about a decade the improvement of relations so hopefully begun in these earlier encounters between the two peoples. In 1869 however,

²See bibliographical essay, page 568.

³The mission, made up of some seventy-seven Japanese--the major envoys, their samurai attendants, secretaries, physicians, clerks and servants--toured the country amid great popular excitement. They were feted in San Francisco, Washington, Philadelphia and New York, with their visit to the latter city immortalized by Walt Whitman in his poem A Broadway Pageant. The total effect of the visit was to create in the public mind a new and highly favorable impression of Japan. Foster Rhea Dulles, Yankees and Samurai (New York: Harper and Row, 1965), p. 123.

[a new era in United States-Japan affairs commenced. This year witnessed the arrival in Japan of American educators, scientists, and government advisers who were to play significant roles in the development of Japanese institutions. These individuals served, in turn, as this nation's first interpreters of Japan to the West. As a result of their contacts, America's knowledge of Japan increased enormously.⁴

⁴The decade of the 1870s developed into one of the most important in the history of American-Japanese cultural relations. These were the years that Japan sought and the Americans appeared eager to provide the advice and assistance, the technical skills and professional guidance required in Japan's development of Western-oriented institutions, and modern industrial and business enterprise. There occurred a "yankee invasion," with dozens of American experts serving the new government. Missionaries, diplomatic personnel, and tourists at the same time became spokesmen for America's "new" neighbors across the Pacific.

One of the first Americans to teach in Japan was William Elliot Griffis who left for Japan shortly after graduation from Rutgers University in 1869. As a young man with a missionary spirit and a keen sense of adventure, Griffis spent over four years in Japan. He returned to the United States in 1875 to enter the ministry, and to become Japan's staunchest friend in the West. He became, moreover, one of the ablest interpreters of Japan to the people of the United States for the next fifty years. With the publication in 1876 of The Mikado's Empire (New York: Harper and Bros.)--the first full American account of the land and people of Japan--Griffis' reputation as an authority on Japan was established. There followed in the next fifty years untold numbers of contributions to journals, books, and lectures in which Griffis conveyed to the American people an authoritative and sympathetic understanding of Japanese culture. (New York Times, February 6, 1928) The Mikado's Empire had gone into its fifth edition by 1886; its 12th edition by 1912, attesting to its popularity.

No less ardent an advocate for Japan during this early period of American-East Asian relations was Edward Howard House, a native of Boston who became Japan's first official foreign publicist. After the Civil War, House joined the New York Tribune, became interested in Japan, and left his journalistic career "to seek his love in the Far East." He taught English literature in Tokyo for awhile, then put his talents to work as an editor of the Tokyo Times, and as writer of articles on Japanese culture that appeared in the popular American journals of the day. A number of his contributions to Harper's Weekly and to the

Interest in Japan expanded as many Americans returned home to report about their residence in the East, and as more and more globe-trotters put their travel experiences in writing for American consump-

Atlantic Monthly which were concerned with the false impressions Americans held of the Japanese, subsequently appeared in book form as Japan Episodes (Boston: J.R. Osgood & Co., 1881). In this work House explained that his mission in life was to lead his countrymen to a "just appreciation" of Japan and the Japanese.

Griffis and House contributed much to the development of Japan's cultural reputation in America. They greatly stimulated an awareness of Japan and an appreciation of things Japanese among the reading public, and also inspired other Americans, who had gone to Japan to teach or advise, to return to the United States and pass on their experiences and knowledge concerning Japan's civilization to the American people. Dr. David Murray, a professor of mathematics at Rutgers University, went to Japan in 1873 as an educational adviser and superintendent in charge of school administration. After six years of service to the Japanese Ministry of Education, he returned to the United States and remained for the rest of his life a student of Japan and interpreter of Japan's culture. The Tokyo Times declared that "no foreigner of any nationality had had a greater impact on the growth of modern Japan." Murray's work, Japan (New York: Putnam's, 1894) was of particular value to Westerners because it contained narratives of the Kojiki ("record of ancient matters") and other ancient compilations in the historical record of the Japanese. Murray also used in the writing of this volume many of the Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan which had been established in Tokyo to serve the scholarly interests of Westerners and Japanese interested in the history and culture of Japan.

Another American who served the Japanese government during the 1870s and whose influence may be regarded as equal to that of Murray's, was General Charles LeGendre whose book Progressive Japan: A Study of the Political and Social Needs of the Empire (New York and Yokohama: C. Levy, 1878) was widely read in the West. Although this volume dealt mainly with the political and social aspects of Japan's development, it also discussed Japan's economy and cultural development, and as such represented a pioneering work by an American.

If the writings of Griffis, House, Murray and LeGendre were representative of the more significant American authorities on Japan during these early years of American-Japanese relations, a host of other Americans--missionaries, globe-trotters, journalists, travel writers, diplomats--also made their views on Japan known to Americans. Bayard Taylor compiled and arranged Japan In Our Day (New York: Charles Scribner's, 1872) which was the first in Scribner's new series designed to furnish]

tion.⁵ It was also enhanced as commercial relations developed between the two countries. Curiosity about Japanese culture, in addition, was

a "clear, picturesque and tolerably complete survey of our present knowledge of lands and races." Raphael Pumpelly, a professor from Harvard University who found himself in the service of the Japanese government in the 1860s, wrote one of the first travel books that concerned itself with the interior of Japan: Across America and Asia: Notes of a Five Year Journey Around the World and of Residence in Arizona, Japan and China (New York: Leypoldt and Holt, 1869). Some other Americans were to become renowned for their work on Japan in these years. They included William P. Blake, the explorer of Hokkaido; Guido Verbeck, the educator who headed the school which developed into the Tokyo Imperial University; and James Hepburn, the physician who penetrated the Japanese language barrier.

⁵ Among the books and articles written by men of established reputation in America and which excited the American imagination about Japan were an account of William Henry Seward's visit to Japan in 1870, and that of former President Grant's tour in 1879. (Olive Risley Seward, ed. William H. Seward's Travels Around the World [New York: D. Appleton & Co., 1873]; John R. Young, Around the World With General Grant [New York: The American News Co., 1879]). Henry M. Field, of a distinguished New England family, toured Japan and in 1877 wrote very favorably of it in From Egypt to Japan (New York: Scribner, Armstrong, 1877). Another prominent New Englander, Henry Adams, together with the artist John LaFarge, visited Japan in the 1880s and became deeply affected by the beauty of the country, its art, and literature. Beginning in 1890, LaFarge's sensitive assessment of Japanese life and art were serialized in the Century Magazine. Later this appeared in book form as An Artist's Letters from Japan (New York: The Century Co., 1897). In Japan, LaFarge discovered the richness and beauty of its art. Once home, his interest in Japan and its art continued for the rest of his life. There would be those who would see in LaFarge at a later time an early case of Japanese influence on an American intellectual. (Henden Chubb II, "John LaFarge's Japan Visit and the Ascension," KBS Bulletin, 46 [January-February, 1961], pp. 1-8).

Less prominent but more skilled as a travel writer was Eliza Ruhamah Scidmore, who as a member of the staff of National Geographic became acquainted with Japan and wrote of her experiences in Jinrikisha Days in Japan (New York: Harper and Bros., 1891). Other American writers were as concerned with facets of Japanese life and culture as with eulogistic accounts of the countryside. Representative of the writings of dozens of missionaries who went to Japan to save, stayed

stimulated by Japan's participation in the Centennial Exhibition at Philadelphia in 1876, and by her exhibits and participation in the fairs

to learn, and returned to teach their fellow Americans about Japan was Julia D. Carrothers whose The Sunrise Kingdom (Philadelphia: Presbyterian Board of Publication, 1879) was widely read in the 1880s. The American missionary impulse in Japan yielded, in the 1890s among other works, Arthur May Knapp's Feudal and Modern Japan (Boston: Joseph Knight & Co., 1896), which served as the best accessible introduction to the study of feudal Japan for American readers.

Another American, Alice Mabel Bacon, wrote even more perceptively of the Japanese. Her Japanese Girls and Women (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1891) and A Japanese Interior (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1893) were widely read in America. Henry T. Finck, another American visitor to Japan in the 1890s wrote one of the most popular of all the books on Japan at the turn of the century: Lotus Time in Japan (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1895). The volume of descriptive literature on Japan increased enormously with each decade approaching the twentieth century. Guidebooks came off the presses in abundance. Ernest Mason Satow's A Handbook for Travellers in Central and Northern Japan (London: John Murray, 1884) was one of the most notable of such guidebooks. First published in Tokyo in 1881, it went into five editions before the end of the century.

Japan was good copy for the periodical press as well as the subject of innumerable books brought out by American and British publishing houses. The most significant of the Britishers' efforts found their way into American libraries through American editions. A classic in this field was Isabella Bird's Unbeaten Tracks in Japan (New York: G.P. Putnam's, 1880). In 1889 Sir Edwin Arnold gave up the editorship of the London Daily Telegraph and set out to travel. He was known and respected for his writings the world over, and was held in especially high esteem in the United States. Upon his arrival in Japan he fell under the spell of the country and its people and for many years afterward wrote glowing reports on the beauties of Japan and the virtues of the Japanese. His Japonica (New York: Chas. Scribner's Sons, 1891) was serialized in Scribners in 1890 and his East and West (New York: Chas. Scribner's Sons, 1896) was widely read and helped to spread in America optimistic views of Japan's progress and culture. Another popular British writer who wrote about Japan and was widely read in the United States was Rudyard Kipling. He toured Japan in the 1890s, was captivated by what he found there, and wrote colorfully of his travels in From Sea to Sea (New York: Doubleday, Doran and Co., 1899). Also popular at the turn of the century was a work written by Mrs. Hugh Fraser, the wife of the British envoy to Japan earlier in the 1890s: Letters From Japan (New York: Macmillan, 1899).

at Chicago in 1893, St. Louis in 1904, and San Francisco in 1915.⁶ The fascination with Japan coincided with America's growing admiration for the Japanese in their spectacular emergence from feudalism, in the establishment of a modern constitutional monarchy, and in their rapid adoption of Western ways. Finally, Japan's stunning defeat of the Chinese in 1895 deepened America's awareness as nothing had previously of this new force in the East. By 1904 Americans could look back upon fifty years of relatively close and predominantly harmonious relations with

⁶In 1867 Paris held an Exposition in which the Japanese participated--for the first time in any significant way in an international fair. The sudden European craze for Japanese prints stemmed largely from this event. By the 1870s the concept of the international exposition was a well established one, and the American people responded enthusiastically to the idea of celebrating their birthday in this fashion. While the foremost nations of Europe paid slight attention to the Centennial, three nations which took an early and sustained interest in it were Russia, China and Japan. The two countries which enjoyed the most advantages at Philadelphia from the direct agency of their respective governments in providing for and organizing the exhibition of products, were Japan and Russia. The expenditure of Japan was particularly lavish, and the result was a representation of its art and industry which formed one of the most striking features of the exhibition.

Japan's participation in the Philadelphia Centennial marked the beginning of genuine interest in Japanese art in this country. The success of the Japanese exhibit in 1876 had a profound, positive effect upon Japan's cultural reputation abroad, for it sparked an appreciation of things Japanese, and an interest in Japan in America which grew in intensity for the following three decades. By the end of 1876 at least three firms were established in New York City to handle Japanese goods, and by the end of 1877 over fifty stores were engaged in the sale of Japanese curios in New York City alone. A new Japanese firm, Kiritsu Kosho Kaisha, sold choice works of Japanese art in New York. (See: James Rogers Bowditch, "The Impact of Japanese Culture on the United States" [unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Harvard University, 1963], pp. 246-47). The craze affected even Tiffany's of New York, and it led to the establishment in this country of collections of Japanese art that would be, by the turn of the century, universally admired and world renowned. (See also: C. Walter Young, Some Oriental Influences

Japan. They could reflect, as well, upon the fact that as the new century got underway, Japan's cultural reputation in America had reached an unusually high degree of development. This was all the more remarkable among a people whose own cultural heritage was of the West and as a consequence almost wholly alien to that of the Japanese.

on Western Culture [New York: American Council, Institute of Pacific Relations, 1929], p. 16 and passim).

Millions of Americans visited the Columbian Exposition at Chicago in 1893. They came away from the Exposition enthralled by what they found there. Japan was well represented with extensive exhibits at the Exposition. By the end of the fair, Japan had received a large number of awards and honors for its displays and participation. The most striking of the numerous Japanese contributions to the Columbian Exposition was the construction of a group of buildings in what came to be called the Hooden or Phoenix Palace of Kyoto. The popularity of the Japanese exhibit at Chicago bespoke the significance of it in terms of Japan's cultural reputation in America: the Hooden together with the treasures it contained constituted the first wholesale introduction to the Middle West of Japanese art and architecture. A magnificent collection of prints housed in the Hooden served as the inspiration for the delivery of numerous lectures on Japanese art during the course of the fair, and served to stimulate interest in the arts of Japan among artists, connoisseurs and laymen alike. Shortly after the fair, Clarence Buckingham of Chicago started what came to be regarded as one of the finest collections of Japanese woodblock prints in the Western world and which became in time the nucleus of the Chicago Art Institute's magnificent collection of Japanese art. The Japanese architecture on display at Chicago particularly impressed the progressives of the young Chicago school of architecture--among whom Frank Lloyd Wright would emerge as one of the great architects of the world. Wright saw and admired the display of Hokusai and Hiroshige prints at Chicago and began collecting ukiyo-e shortly thereafter. In time Wright's connoisseurship as a collector of Japanese prints attained considerable recognition--a development which contributed to the enhancement of Japan's cultural reputation in America early in the twentieth century. (See Grant Carpenter Manson, "Frank Lloyd Wright and the Fair of 1893," The Art Quarterly, XVI, 2 [Summer 1953], p. 116; and Frank Lloyd Wright, An Autobiography [New York: Duell Sloan and Pearce, 1942], p. 194).

For its official exhibit at St. Louis in 1904 the government of Japan decided upon what came to be called the Imperial Japanese Garden.

During the years preceding World War I Americans were exposed to the art and culture of the Japanese not only in the galleries and museums

Within its grounds were to be found several buildings which exemplified the architectural style of the Japan of ages past. These structures were set in a beautifully landscaped garden with meandering paths and lovely plantings, providing untold numbers of Americans with their first impressive glimpse of a Japanese garden. People came away from the St. Louis fair impressed by the delicate beauty of Japan's art, the cleverness and craftsmanship of Japan's artisans, the diligence and industry of Japan's workers and manufactures, the color and stylizations of Japan's theatrical productions, the subtleties of the tea ceremony, the aesthetics of the Japanese garden and floral arrangements, the uniqueness and strength of Japanese architecture.

Japan had been among the first of the nations to realize that the completion of the Panama Canal would call for an international celebration, and she had been the first great power to accept the invitation to participate in the Pan Pacific Exposition. She was the first to select a site for her pavilion. As early as 1912 Japan voiced its hopes that the Exposition would produce a better understanding and closer friendships between the United States and Japan. After it had opened, the director declared that "countless Americans who now have but vague ideas of the land of the rising sun will gain a clearer knowledge of its people, their country, and their work." (Charles C. Moore, "The Pan-Pacific International Exposition," in America to Japan ed. by Lindsay Russell [New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1915], pp. 233-39). The Japanese garden was one of the most popular attractions at the Exposition. In laying it out, and in the construction of the pavilion at the Exposition, no effort was spared to make them representative. And while it was not a reproduction of any particular garden in Japan, in general effect an attempt had been made to suggest the garden of Kinkaku-ji in Rokuan-ji, a temple of the Zen sect in Kyoto. The purpose of the Japanese pavilion itself was to show the architectural style of some five centuries in the past, and there was also a "tea-house" constructed. Within the pavilion there were exhibited representative works of art, regarded by art critic and collector Howard Mansfield as "convincing proof of what art means to her people and can do for a nation without loss of national dignity, power or efficiency-- a demonstration that cannot but permanently impress all who are capable of true discernment and right appreciation." (Howard Mansfield, "American Appreciation of Japanese Art," in America to Japan ed. by Lindsay Russell [New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1915], p. 250). But the garden itself seems to have stolen the show at San Francisco, possibly because interest in Japanese gardens and in flora japonica had been building in America ever since the St. Louis Exposition of 1904.]

of America,⁷ and the periodical press,⁸ but also through new works published on Japan⁹ and in stage and motion picture productions, the latter by a fledgling film industry which discovered Japanese themes.¹⁰ Then

⁷The museums and galleries with the most representative collections of Japanese and East Asian art were then to be found in Boston, New York, Baltimore, Chicago, Minneapolis and San Francisco.

⁸No period before or since (with the possible exception of the years 1956-64) revealed such an outpouring of American magazine and periodical articles devoted to the fine arts of Japan than did the years 1905-17.

⁹See bibliographical essay, page 571. Scratches on the American mind pertaining to Japan, came perhaps most notably via the local library or bookstore in these years, although the output of books on the arts of Japan did not match that of the periodical press, either in range or quality. Two works which became classics of a kind among art lovers were Henry P. Bowie's On the Laws of Japanese Painting (San Francisco: P. Elder, 1911), and Ernest Fenollosa's Epochs of Chinese and Japanese Art: An Outline of East Asiatic Design (London: W. Heineman, 1912). There appeared to be no dearth of printed material on Japan available to the general public. A survey in 1904 of the Springfield, Massachusetts city library's holdings on Japan indicated, for example, that the city's inhabitants had at their disposal books in quantity on various aspects of Japanese life. The New York Public Library, in addition to its extensive holdings relative to Japan, obtained and displayed on occasion the outstanding Frank Brinkley collection of Japanese prints, along with the numerous volumes on Japan of which he proudly claimed authorship.

¹⁰Madame Butterfly, first on the stage as a popular drama and later in the form of Puccini's great opera, was popular in America after the turn of the century. David Belasco, playwright and producer, first realized the dramatic possibilities of the story shortly after John Luther Long had written it in 1898. This date marks the crest of popularity of the genre of American writing that used for a theme either the admirable accomplishments of the Japanese in a romantic (Japanese) setting, or as in the case of Madame Butterfly, the clash of cultures (and the peculiar attractiveness of Oriental maidens) in an equally romantic setting. To Belasco, Madame Butterfly had all the ingredients to make it a successful Broadway production, and Long himself helped in recasting the story into a play which was first presented on March 5, 1900 at the Herald Square Theater in New York. Its success

too, new channels of communication were opened up by both Japanese and American commercial and cultural interests.¹¹ A few educational institutions developed course offerings on Japan or recognized the desirability

was instantaneous, not only in the United States, but in London and on the continent as well. It was this dramatic version that inspired Puccini to compose his opera, first produced at La Scala in February 1904. On October 15, 1906 at Washington D.C. it made its first appearance in the United States in English. Its most brilliant performance was its rendition in Italian at the Metropolitan Opera in 1907 when Geraldine Farrar sang the part of Cho-cho-san; Lenise Homer, Suzuki; and Enrico Caruso, Pinkerton.

Americans who might have been critical of performances of Madame Butterfly had an opportunity in 1916 to see on the New York stage Michio Ito, who came to the United States to give recitals of Japanese dances and helped the Washington Square Players to present Bushido, an act from the classic Kabuki sequence Sugawara Denju. If Madame Butterfly on the stage had represented a foreigner's interpretation of Japanese culture, it must be noted that efforts had been made, in the production of both the play and the opera, to incorporate into it authentic aspects of Japanese life and culture. And it did become popular, to the extent that Belasco was inspired to write and produce in 1905, once more with John Luther Long, and once again for the New York stage, a drama of "heroism, patriotism, and love" entitled Darling of the Gods.

What had proved popular on the stage in these years would become even more popular on the screen a decade or so later: Madame Butterfly became an Adolph Zucker film starring Mary Pickford, released to a fascinated public in 1915. The motion picture medium was just coming into its own during these years, but already by 1917 films with a Japanese theme were becoming popular. Sessue Hayakawa emerged as one of the more popular actors of the day, appearing in such films as "Hashimura Togo," "His Honorable Friend," "The Soul of Kura San," and others. (Sessue Hayakawa, Zen Showed Me The Way [Indianapolis: Bobbs Merrill, 1960], p. 184).

¹¹Initial efforts were made during these years to send cultural and commercial delegations abroad. In 1907 a group representing the Pacific Coast Chamber of Commerce went to Japan for a tour and the opportunity to cement commercial relations between the two countries. In 1909 Eiichi Shibusawa, the "elder statesman of the Japanese business world" and subsequently one of America's best friends in Japan, headed the Japanese Chamber of Commerce group that visited over 53 American cities. Another American commercial group went to Japan in 1910, while five years later the San Francisco Chamber of Commerce set up a special committee to look into the developing problems in Japanese-American relations. Soon

of having Japanese scholars themselves participate in the activities of the American academic community.¹² American literary circles appeared to show the first signs of interest in Japanese literary forms.¹³ Jujitsu,

thereafter a "Trans-Pacific Society" was organized in Los Angeles to foster closer relations between Americans and Japanese. Exchanges of athletic groups, particularly baseball teams, occurred on numerous occasions during the first two decades of the new century.

¹²Yale and Stanford Universities appear to have been the first American educational institutions to establish chairs of Japanese history. At Yale, Professor K. Asakawa, a graduate of the university and author of The Early Institutional Life of Japan (Tokyo: Tokyo Shueisha, 1903) began several decades of the teaching of Japanese history and research in the field in 1906. Stanford established in the same year not only a chair in Japanese history, subsequently to be held by Professor Y. Ichihashi, but also created a professorship in Far Eastern history, held by Payson Treat until his retirement in 1934. Kenneth Scott Latourette became a member of the Yale faculty during the World War I years and with a background of missionary activity in China offered courses on East Asian history, one of the first fruits of which was the publication The Development of Japan (New York: Macmillan, 1918). This work served as perhaps the best single volume textbook on Japan available for use in the classrooms of the nation prior to Pearl Harbor. Harvard University had established guest lectureships in Japanese studies at the turn of the century, and among those who delivered special lectures in the period 1900-10 were Kakuzo Okakura of the Boston Museum of Fine Arts, and William Sturgis Bigelow, the Bostonian who developed a keen interest in Japanese art and Buddhism in the late nineteenth century. Masaharu Anesaki delivered a series of lectures on the history of Japanese civilization during 1913-15, and U. Hattori lectured in history during 1914-16. The first course in oriental art offered by an American university was given by Langdon Warner, then emerging as one of America's leading authorities on East Asian art, at Harvard in 1913. (Theodore Bowie, ed., Langdon Warner Through His Letters [Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1966], p. 136). Inazo Nitobe, the Japanese scholar who earned a Ph.D. from Johns Hopkins University, toured the United States delivering lectures on Japan during 1911-12, the contents of which were incorporated in the volume The Japanese Nation (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1912).

¹³Not so much a part of the literature of history as a part of the literary world itself were developments which reflected the growing Japanese influence upon American writers and poets of the first decades

The system of Japanese physical culture, also developed to some extent in America,¹⁴ and there was increasing evidence of the Japanese influence on

of the twentieth century. Whether consciously or unconsciously, Western poets, especially Americans, but also and perhaps most notably William Butler Yeats, came under the "spell" of Japan and ancient Japanese literary forms during these years. This relationship between the Westerners and the Japanese began to appear in print in the immediate prewar years, at a time when "all of a sudden young writers were trying to say new things in a new way." (Henry F. May, The End of American Innocence [London: Jonathon Cape, 1960], p. 249). This American literary rebellion, manifesting itself sometime around 1912, took its most strident forms in Chicago and later in London and New York by a number of individuals, among them Eunice Tietjens, Arthur Davison Ficke, John Gould Fletcher, Hilda Doolittle, Mary McNeil Fenollosa and, perhaps most prominent of them all, Amy Lowell and Ezra Pound. All acknowledged Japan and the culture of the Japanese as influential in their literary attainments. Arthur Davison Ficke and John Gould Fletcher combined their literary talents and admiration for Japanese art to produce their generally popular works on Japanese prints, respectively entitled Chats on Japanese Prints (New York: Fred Stokes, 1915) and Japanese Prints (Boston: The Four Seas Co., 1918). Eunice Tietjens, who had distinguished herself as a member of the "Chicago Bohemia" group of 1912, and by her fascination with the Noh dances of Japan, went on to become one of the better known imagist poets of the 1920s and, in the 1930s, to "reflect upon the Orient's gift to American poetry in lecture, verse, and narrative form." (Eunice Tietjens, "The Orient's Gift to American Poetry," Asia Volume 36 [November 1936], pp. 746-49).

Ernest and Mary Fenollosa were as much the links between the art, literature and culture of Japan and the poets of the second decade of the new century as any Americans, partly as a result of their own writings but primarily because of their association with Ezra Loomis Pound who was then emerging as the most important figure in American poetry. It had been in 1912 that Mary Fenollosa turned over to Pound the writings of her late husband which, along with the teachings of his fellow poet F. S. Flint, inspired Pound to experiment with new verse forms and launch, in March 1913 with the Chicago-based Poetry, the Anglo-American poetic movement called Imagism. Pound's Cantos and his Certain Noble Plays of Japan (Churchtown, Ireland: Cuala Press, 1916) contain references to Japanese Noh plays, and to Japanese art, history and culture in general, with good evidence that he drew inspiration from Japan throughout his mature period. (See: Torao Taketomo, "American Imitations of Japanese Poetry," Nation, Volume 110, 2846 [January 17, 1920], pp. 70-72).

¹⁴ Jujitsu first came to America's notice at the turn of the

women's fashions.¹⁵ Finally, the growing interest in gardening in America led to the creation, in these years before and after World War I, of numerous Japanese-style gardens throughout the country.¹⁶

The evidence of Japan in America notwithstanding, the period from the end of the Russo-Japanese war to the entry of the United States into World War I was marked by the development of an uncertain American attitude toward Japan, and by a growing complexity of American relations

century with the publication of H. Irving Hancock's Japanese Physical Training (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1903) and M. Ohashi's Scientific Jujitsu: The Japanese System of Physical Culture (New York: Richard K. Fox Publishing Co., 1912). It was Theodore Roosevelt who acquired an instructor in jujitsu during his residence in the White House and thus served to popularize, to some degree, the concept of Japanese physical training in America.

¹⁵The Japanese influence on American ladies' dress appeared in the teens, and became popular during the ensuing decade. In 1913, when Paris was considered the fashion center of the world, the New York Times sponsored a costume contest to demonstrate the capabilities of American designers. First prize was awarded to Ethel Traphagen of New York whose design was described as "having been inspired by Whistler's Nocturne in the Tate Gallery, London." The Whistler in turn had been inspired by a Hiroshige print, Fireworks at Ryogoku, in the popular "Hundred Famous Views of Yedo" series. (Clay Lancaster, The Japanese Influence in America [New York: Walton H. Rawls, 1963], p. 232).

¹⁶At the conclusion of the Pan-Pacific Exposition in 1915, the Japanese garden that had been built on the site of the Presidio grounds was in part dismantled and moved to the San Francisco peninsula, where it was reconstructed by the owner of one of the largest and oldest estates of the area. Residents of the Bay Area had actually been exposed to and enamored of the Japanese-style garden for over two decades. One of the most popular international concessions at the Midwinter Fair of 1894 had been a Japanese garden, created in the new Golden Gate Park. The long admired garden created at the Hotel del Coronado near San Diego, and the equally famous garden at Golden Gate Park were designed and executed by Mr. G. T. Marsh of San Francisco who seems to have put his landscape gardening talents to work just at the time when, roughly 1910-1920, the Japanese garden reached the height of its

With the Japanese. Placed in suspension after 1905 were the broadening of ties which had bound the two peoples for close to fifty years, and which had markedly contributed to the favorable impressions of Japan and Japanese culture that Americans generally held at the turn of the

popularity in the United States. Magazines and journals were filled with articles on Japanese gardens which conveyed to Americans an awareness of an exciting new dimension of beauty, a new concept of enjoyment through the medium of landscaping and gardening. The popularity of the Japanese garden was not confined to the West Coast: before World War I some of the finest such gardens created in America were those developed along the Eastern seaboard and in Midwestern America. Among public gardens in the East which attracted Americans from all walks of life were a section of New York's Central Park, which was arranged in Japanese style in 1910, and the Brooklyn Botanic Garden which opened perhaps the finest Japanese garden in 1915.

It was in the East that the movement toward the establishment of the Garden Club of America got its start. In January 1889 the first meeting of the Cambridge Plant Club was held in Massachusetts. Almost as old was the Ladies' Garden Club of Athens, Georgia, founded in 1392. The Garden Club of Philadelphia was organized in 1904 and about a decade later Mrs. Stuart Patterson of Philadelphia started the movement which resulted in the Garden Club of America. As the movement grew, so did the membership--representing a new force in American life and leading to an enhanced appreciation of the Japanese art of landscape gardening and an awareness of Japan's remarkable contributions to the world of American horticulture. It was at this time also that Ernest H. Wilson of Boston's Arnold Arboretum emerged as an influential missionary of horticulture in America, and alerted Americans to the introduction of Japanese horticultural specimens to the United States. And while the vast majority of Americans may never have known the origins of the plants and shrubs they enjoyed in their surroundings--such as the bamboo, wisteria, camellia, azalea, peony, spiraea, flowering crabapple--they came to recognize the japonica plant at nurseries and tended to associate, in a positive way, the name of the plant or shrub with Japan and the Japanese.

Such indeed was the case during the prewar years with what came to be one of the nation's great attractions: the flowering cherry trees of Washington, D.C. The planting of the Japanese cherry trees in March 1912 inaugurated in the nation's capital the age old custom of Japan of pilgrimages to view the wakened spring. The event awakened, as well, the American's love of beauty which, somehow, Americans recognized they shared with the Japanese as the stunning array of pink and white blossoms were viewed around the Tidal Basin.

century.

The first sign of a shift in public opinion concerning Japan appeared in 1905 as the war between the Japanese and Russians entered its final phase. There had been some expressions of concern both in the United States and Japan in the 1890s over the matter of the Hawaiian islands and their projected annexation by the United States. And the annexation of the Philippines in 1899 had created a new source of anxiety between Americans and Japanese. But these feelings of uneasiness with the course of events in the Pacific did not manifest themselves in any appreciable way until the Russo-Japanese war approached its climax. During the war itself, public opinion in the United States was strongly favorable toward Japan. An enthusiasm for the exploits of the Japanese army and navy swept the country and "their every victory was applauded in the press with a fervor which could hardly have been less neutral in feeling."¹⁷ As the war moved on from one Japanese victory to another, American cheers for the former pupil were loud and frequent. American cartoonists pictured the Japanese soldier as a heroic figure; Japan was viewed as "a noble, samurai warrior, defeating the Russian bear; an underdog winning against odds by virtue of bravery...."¹⁸ Then came the

¹⁷Foster Rhea Dulles, Forty Years of American-Japanese Relations (New York: Appleton Century, 1937), p. 70.

¹⁸William L. Neumann, America Encounters Japan (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1963), p. 123.

sudden realization that a Japanese victory could threaten America's own]
 interests in the Western Pacific, while in Japan there developed a feel-
 ing of bitterness over the peace terms negotiated by Theodore Roosevelt.
 There followed the beginnings of the Japanese immigration problem, which
 coincided with a growing suspicion in America over Japan's intentions
 in East Asia.

The California school imbroglio, which was to have unfortunate
 repercussions in terms of United States-Japan relations, emerged as a
 full scale issue in 1906 when the San Francisco school board bowed before
 the current wave of anti-Japanese hysteria in California by decreeing
 that all children of Oriental parentage should be barred from the reg-
 ular schools and segregated in a special institution. Although not many
 children were involved, the order clearly constituted an act of discrim-
 ination against the Japanese, and the reaction from Japan was "immediate
 and vehement."¹⁹ California's response, in turn, reflected an intensifica-
 tion of anti-Japanese sentiment in the West. Partial settlement of the
 issue, through the "gentlemen's agreement" of February 1907, relieved
 many ruffled feelings on both sides of the Pacific, but feeling against
 the Japanese remained strong in California and in May 1907 Washington
 was further embarrassed by anti-Japanese riots in San Francisco.²⁰

Meanwhile press reports of an imminent war with Japan and of the
 threat of the Japanese to the American West Coast wrought increased

¹⁹ Dulles, Forty Years of American-Japanese Relations, p. 76.

²⁰ Neumann, America Encounters Japan, p. 125.

nervousness if not negative feelings among Americans traditionally well disposed toward the Japanese. At this point, Roosevelt decided upon the expedition of the Great White Fleet to Pacific waters and in the spring of 1908 announced a plan for the fleet's round-the-world cruise by way of Tokyo Bay. It was an event which took place with apprehension on both sides but which, in the end, was hailed as a successful demonstration of good relations between the United States and Japan. It surpassed Roosevelt's expectations. "I cannot too strongly express my appreciation of the generous courtesy the Japanese showed the officers and crews of our fleet," commented the President, "and I may add that every man of them came back a friend and admirer of the Japanese."²¹ For all the oratory which accompanied the event, the realities of this demonstration of American power at this point in time did not escape a number of Japanese who viewed it as another reminder of the growing "white peril"²² in the Western Pacific.

There would be new occasions, in the years 1908-17, for concern among those who might have sought in this country closer ties with the Japanese or greater support for Japan's cultural reputation in America. The course of political and international events further complicated relations and worked generally to heighten tension between the two

²¹Payson J. Treat, Japan and the United States, 1853-1921 (Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1921), p. 202.

²²Neumann, America Encounters Japan, p. 127.

nations. The Root-Takahira Agreement of 1908, which bound the United States and Japan to a mutual respect of each other's territorial possessions in the Pacific, to a maintenance of the status quo in the region and to a defense of the principle of opportunity for commerce and industry in China, tended to soothe American sentiment against Japan. In 1909 talk of war and doubts of Japan's friendship were expressed when Japan disapproved of the scheme, advanced by Philander C. Knox, to internationalize Manchuria's railroads. In 1911-12 what was to be called the "Magdalena Bay Affair"--an effort on the part of an American company to offer its leasehold in Mexico's Lower California to a group of Japanese--hit the press and jingoes revived fears of an impending Japanese invasion of the West Coast. Although at the time Japan officially disavowed interest in Mexico, the affair "established a long-lived myth that the Japanese had plotted to secure a base in North America."²³

If the publication in 1911 of a new commercial treaty between the United States and Japan struck a positive note in the relations between the two states, this came in the year of the Chinese revolution, resulting in the overthrow of the Manchu dynasty and the establishment of a republic early in 1912, an event which profoundly affected the situation in East Asia and which diverted American attention to and sympathies with the Chinese people. Subsequent events reinforced America's sympathies with China--at the expense of Japan's reputation among the

²³Neumann, America Encounters Japan, p. 145.

the American people. Henceforth, Sino-Japanese relations would be all the more carefully watched by Americans imbued with the principles of the Open Door and the "territorial integrity" of China, concerned with the Chinese attempt to establish a republic, and sympathetic with any people who seemed to be harshly used by a more powerful neighbor. In the years before World War I then, the Americans' sympathetic view of China was set, along with their growing ambivalent if not hostile view of Japan.

In actuality, political conditions within Japan in 1912 did not lend themselves to the enhancement of Japanese-American cultural relations. The death of Emperor Meiji and internal political strife tended to mark the end of an era for the Japanese, just as a new era was beginning for the Chinese in East Asia. Further unrest in Korea, now an acknowledged protectorate of the Japanese, muddied the waters of East Asia further, and served only to weaken Japan's image in the United States. Alleged cruelties by Japanese to Koreans aroused American humanitarian and church groups and many of the general reading public against Japan. At the same time, manifestations of a heightened anti-Japanese feeling in this country appeared in May 1913 with the passage of California's Alien Land Act, which specifically excluded Japanese aliens from the purchase of land in California, and which sparked further recriminations between Japan and the United States. The death in 1914 of Henry Willard Denison, an American diplomat-lawyer who had served the Japanese Foreign Office as legal adviser and therefore served as a "channel for frank informal communication," removed from the scene and at a most

Inopportune time the man who had smoothed the course of Japanese-American relations for over thirty years.²⁴

The outbreak of World War I in August 1914 led to an almost immediate declaration of war against Germany by Japan. The latter's successes in the capture of Tsingtao, the chief port of Germany's leasehold on the Shantung Peninsula, and the German-held islands in the Western Pacific, alarmed many Americans who saw in these actions a threat to America's interests in the region. There then followed the communication of Japan's famous "Twenty-one Demands" to China which, delivered as they were in a peremptory way, incensed the Chinese and further alarmed the Americans concerned with the increasing friction in East Asia. The demands sought China's acquiescence in any agreement which Japan and Germany might agree to concerning the German rights to Shantung, a strengthening and enlargement of Japanese interests in Southern Manchuria and Eastern Inner Mongolia, and the general strengthening of Japan's position in China as a whole. The issuance of the demands served only to confirm suspicions that had arisen in America of the aggressive policies of the Japanese. They led to a deepening sympathy for the Chinese among the American people, and to promotion of a new hate-Japan campaign in the American press. The Hearst newspapers published a series in 1915 entitled "Japan's Plans to Invade and Conquer the United States," and

²⁴Robert S. Schwantes, Japanese and Americans: A Century of Cultural Relations (New York: Harper and Bros., 1955), p. 28.

Many other journalists joined in exploiting this new source of hostility toward Japan.²⁵

Such was the situation, regarded as increasingly disturbing by thoughtful Americans as well as by the public at large whose anger had been whipped up by an "ever alert" press, when in 1917 America entered the war and became an "associated power" with Japan in the struggle against Germany.

2. Americans and Japan's Cultural Reputation: The Era of World War I

It is against this backdrop of rising tensions between the United States and Japan prior to America's entry into World War I that the cultural relations between the two nations must be viewed and the cultural reputation of Japan in America assessed. In spite of the racial, immigration, and political issues, and the deterioration in the diplomatic and international arena, Japan's cultural reputation in America remained high for a number of years after the probable peak period of 1895-1905.

If some channels of communication between the United States and Japan were curtailed in these years, others were sustained and indeed broadened over those which had existed prior to 1905. The unsettled political situation in Asia, and the conditions during the war years, signified a reduction in contacts in this period. But there still remained a flow of Americans and Japanese travelling between the countries touring,

²⁵Neumann, America Encounters Japan, p. 145.

[studying, teaching, conducting business or, in the case of Americans in] Japan, engaging in missionary activities. An increased nationalism in Japan, following the promulgation of the Imperial Rescript on Education in 1890 and lasting until about 1910, resulted in a reduction in the number of Americans teaching in Japanese universities and middle schools and consequently a decline in the number of potential interpreters of Japan to the American people. Still, these were important years since a number of American educators and teacher-missionaries found themselves in Japan in one capacity or another, pioneering in a number of educational enterprises and acquiring the background of experience that would enable them, at a later date, to contribute to an awareness of Japan and things Japanese in America.

James Curtis Hepburn, who spent thirty-three years in Japan as a medical missionary and became the compiler of the first Japanese-English dictionary, returned to the United States in the 1890s, settled in New Jersey, and remained the rest of his life an influential student of Japan. He was recognized until his death in 1911 as one of Japan's best friends in the West and one of Japan's ablest interpreters to the American people. In 1905 the Emperor of Japan conferred upon him the Third Order of the Rising Sun in recognition of his service to Japan in the early Meiji years. As the inventor of the Hepburn-style Roman transliteration of the Japanese language, he blazed new paths for Westerners seeking to comprehend the Japanese, and opened new doors to East-West communication.

[Sidney Lewis Gulick emerged as another distinguished American]
missionary-educator of these years who contributed substantially to
America's knowledge of Japan. Gulick spent twenty-five years in Japan
as a missionary of the American Board, and served for a time on the
faculty of the new Imperial University, which opened in Kyoto in 1897.
He returned to the United States in 1913 to become, in 1914, Executive
Secretary of the Department of International Justice and Goodwill of
the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America--a position
he held for twenty years.²⁶ Gulick devoted the last ten years of his
life to a study of the psychic and cultural characteristics of the
people of Asia in a notable effort to effect mutual understanding be-
tween the East and the West. The result was a book ultimately published
that constituted "a compendium of 45 years of study, thought, writing
and lectures to interpret the East and the West."²⁷ Few Americans had
had the background of experience with the Japanese and the knowledge
of Japan's cultural attainments that Gulick might have claimed upon his
return to the United States on the eve of World War I. In time he would,
indeed, claim the authority of as many as thirty-four books which directly
or indirectly concerned Japan. He became an acknowledged authority on
the religion and psychology of the Japanese people, as well as on their
sociology and history. One authority referred to him as "a trained

²⁶He was succeeded in this position by John Foster Dulles, the
future Secretary of State.

[²⁷William P. Woodard in Contemporary Japan, 28, 3 (May 1966), 654]

[scholar, an original thinker, a dynamic leader and a champion of human justice."²⁸]

Gulick also played a leading role in the period 1914-24 in the quest for a rational immigration policy regarding the Japanese and for enlightened treatment of Japanese-Americans. He gained recognition in 1903 with what was regarded as his most important work: Evolution of the Japanese: Social and Psychic.²⁹ As an outspoken critic of the forces of irrationality prevalent in these years of international unrest, and as a leader of the opposition to discriminatory practices and legislation against the Japanese, Sidney Gulick sought probably more conscientiously than any other American of the time to effect a mutual understanding between the peoples of the East and West.

A number of other American educators who served in Japan ultimately contributed to the store of America's knowledge of Japan. Daniel Crosby Greene, one of the outstanding American missionaries in Japan, terminated his residence there in 1913 after over forty years of service with the American Board Mission. While in Japan he helped Sen Katayama, one of Japan's Socialist leaders, establish a settlement house in Tokyo. Galen M. Fisher arrived in Japan in 1897 to spend twenty years there in the service of the Young Men's Christian Association, and to devote the rest of his life in America to the facilitation of contacts between Japan and the United States, and to interpret Japan to the Western

²⁸Ibid., p. 654.

²⁹New York: Fleming H. Revell Co., 1903.

World.³⁰ During his tenure there, Fisher was instrumental in the develop-
ment of a YMCA teacher movement which brought to Japan in the period
1900-12 a good number of young Americans to teach in the provincial
middle schools of the country.³¹ A major event in student circles around
the world also took place under Fisher's supervision in 1907 when the
World Conference of the World Student Christian Federation was held in
Tokyo--the first international conference ever held in Japan.³² Through
his involvement with such activities--in particular the impetus he gave
to the teaching of English in Japan, and to the participation of Ameri-
can teachers in that program, and through his activities on his return
to the United States at the time of America's entry into World War I--
Galen Fisher emerged as one of the more significant figures who sought
to widen the channels of communication between Japan and America in
the immediate post-World War I era.

³⁰Fisher made a solid contribution to the literature on Japan with his Creative Forces in Japan (West Medford, Massachusetts: The Central Committee on the United Study of Foreign Missions, 1923). He was also editor of the manuscript for publication of Sidney L. Gulick's The East and the West: A Study (Rutland, Vermont: Charles Tuttle and Co., 1963).

³¹By 1912 as many as 99 men had served in 39 different cities of Japan. Cited in Schwantes, Japanese and Americans, p. 168.

³²Earle Buckley, "Half Century of the Y in Japan," Japan Christian Quarterly, Volume XIX (Summer 1953), p. 239.

Two additional missionary-educators, among others active in Japan in the period before and after World War I, must be singled out for their impact on American-Japanese cultural relations. Dr. William Axling went to Japan in 1901 to serve in a Baptist mission in Hokkaido, and several years later moved to Tokyo where he started the Baptist Tabernacle--the first institutional church ever founded in Japan.³³ He remained in Japan working, teaching, and preaching in the slums of Tokyo until World War II. Following his retirement in 1944, Axling devoted the next fifteen years to writing and to interpreting Japan and Japanese culture for his fellow Americans.³⁴

Another figure, whose influence was ultimately very great in the area of Japanese studies in the United States, was August Karl Reischauer. He arrived in Japan in 1905, immediately following his ordination at the McCormick Theological Seminary in Illinois, to teach ethics and philosophy in the mission college Meiji Gakuin in Tokyo, and commenced a lifetime of devotion to Japan and Japanese studies. His long residence in Japan, together with his scholarly attainments and devotion to education, served not only to establish him as one of the Western world's most respected early Japanologists, but also inspired his sons to undertake the study of Japanese and the interpretation of Japanese culture for generations of Americans. One of Reischauer's

³³Leland D. Hine, Axling: A Christian Presence (Valley Forge, Pennsylvania: The Judson Press, 1969), p. iv.

³⁴Ibid., p. iv.

More notable achievements was the series of lectures he delivered on Buddhism at New York University in 1913. These enlightening lectures were later reproduced in the volume Studies in Japanese Buddhism³⁵ which served to introduce many Americans to the religious beliefs and customs of the Japanese people. Together they constituted a fresh, thoughtful and sound interpretation of the place of Buddhism in Japanese culture.³⁶

The period before the war saw a number of other prominent Americans in Japan who made a special effort to inform the American people of their encounter with the culture of the Japanese. William Elliot Griffis continued until the 1920s his active and authoritative interpretation of Japan and its cultural institutions for Americans. George Trumbull Ladd of Yale University lectured on modern philosophy at Doshisha University in the 1890s and elsewhere in Japan following the Russo-Japanese War, after which he returned to America "an apologist for Japanese imperialism."³⁷ The Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, founded in 1910, arranged an exchange of lecturers program which brought Inazo Nitobe, one of Japan's most respected scholars, to the United States in 1912. Nitobe was already well known as the author of

³⁵New York: Macmillan, 1917.

³⁶Reischauer, Studies in Japanese Buddhism, p. iii. Several other Americans served as missionaries in Japan during this period and returned to the United States as interpreters of Japan to the American people. They were Ernest Clement, J.A.B. Scherer, Glenn Shaw, D.C. Holtom, J.W.T. Mason and John Batchelor.

³⁷Schwantes, Japanese and Americans, p. 171.

[Bushido: The Soul of Japan³⁸ which sought to interpret for the West the spiritual essence of Japanese civilization.³⁹ The Carnegie program⁴⁰ enabled Hamilton Wright Mabie, editor of The Outlook and a popular writer on American history and literature to go to Japan in 1912-13 to lecture on American civilization, and to return to the United States a popular and perceptive interpreter of Japanese culture. Besides articles which appeared in the periodicals of the day, Mabie produced Japan Today and Tomorrow⁴¹ in which the attempt was made "to convey an impression of the genius of the Japanese people, not by definition nor by characterization, but by making clear its reflection in the vital landscape of the country."⁴²

Another prominent American who became enamored of Japan was David Starr Jordan, President of Stanford University. Jordan visited Japan in 1911-12. During his stay, the Emperor conferred upon him the medal of the Second Rank of the Order of the Sacred Treasure, an honor

³⁸Philadelphia: The Leeds and Biddle Co., 1900. A tenth revised edition of the work was published by G.P. Putnam's Sons in 1905.

³⁹This was a deep concern of Nitobe's throughout his life. His ties with the United States remained close up to his death in the early 1930s. Few Japanese of these years worked more assiduously to promote goodwill and understanding between the United States and Japan.

⁴⁰It was the first of its kind in the United States.

⁴¹New York: Macmillan, 1914.

⁴²Mabie, Japan Today and Tomorrow, p. 2. Another New Yorker, George William Knox, reflected upon his experiences in Japan as a professor of history and philosophy on leave from the Union Theological Seminary in Japanese Life in Town and Country (New York: Putnam's, 1904).

Which, according to Japanese students at Stanford University, "placed him among the nobility of Japan" and represented "the highest dignity that can be conferred upon a foreigner."⁴³ He remained a lifelong friend of the Japanese, and during the troublesome years of debate over and hostility against the Japanese 1912-24, his voice was a stabilizing force in California and the nation.

Although better known as a writer than as an educator, Hamilton Holt, managing editor of The Independent in 1912, served also as a booster of Japan's cultural reputation in America during the era of World War I. Having travelled extensively in Japan, he became an unabashed admirer of things Japanese and wrote persuasively of his impressions of Japan. "If Japan is fully abreast of the age in the arts of war," commented Holt at the time of the war, "she has also developed the fine arts in a way that has called forth the admiration of the world."⁴⁴ In the post-World War I years voices such as Jordan's and Holt's appeared to become increasingly obscured by the rush of events and the deteriorating international situation. One consequence appeared to have been the decline in Japan's cultural reputation abroad.

⁴³The Stanford Alumnus, XIII, 6 (February 1912), p. 193. Jordan sought to promote Japanese studies at Stanford University.

⁴⁴Hamilton Holt, "Japan Today," The Independent, LXXII (April 15, 1912), 878-84.

3. Agencies Concerned With Japan's Cultural Reputation in America:
The Era of World War I

Before America's involvement in World War I, a somewhat systematic, organized effort was made to further Japan's cultural reputation in the United States by the Japan Societies established in 1905 and 1907 on the West and East Coasts. Binational organizations were established in both Japan and the United States in these early years of the century. The first of the kind specifically intended to promote and cultivate friendship between Americans and Japanese was founded in Tokyo at the turn of the century. This Friends of America Association (Bei-yu Kyokai) was subsequently absorbed by a new organization established in 1917, the America-Japan Society (Nichi-Bei Kyokai). By a variety of activities and through its large membership, which included both Japanese and Americans, it sought to strengthen the ties between the two peoples and to stimulate an awareness and appreciation of the two cultures among Americans and Japanese alike.⁴⁵

The oldest organization of its kind in the United States, the Japan Society of San Francisco, was founded in 1905 largely as a result of the efforts of Henry P. Bowie of nearby San Mateo. He became the guiding spirit of the Society during the initial years of its existence. An American of private means, he spent about ten years in Japan, studied the language and the art of the people, returned to America early in the

⁴⁵Schwantes, Japanese and Americans, p. 286. Membership in 1917 was about 500; in 1940 over 750.

twentieth century to lecture on the laws and canons of Japanese painting] at the University of California, Stanford, the Sketch Club of San Francisco and at other institutions in the East.⁴⁶ As president of the Japan Society, Bowie stimulated the society's engagement in a variety of activities that served to promote cultural and commercial relations with Japan and to enhance, in the Bay Area at least, the American's appreciation of the culture of Japan.

The Japan Society of New York became, in the years prior to Pearl Harbor, the most active of any organization engaged in the broadening and sustaining of ties between the United States and Japan. The Society was founded in 1907 on the occasion of the visit to New York of the Japanese warships Isukuba and Chitose. A number of important and financial leaders of New York came together to establish the organization for the purpose of entertaining prominent Japanese visitors to the United States and generally to advance the cause of Japanese-American cultural and commercial relations. During the presidency of Lindsay Russell, from 1910-1919, the Society broadened its functions to interpret Japan to the United States and to promote a more friendly understanding between the two nations. This included the diffusion throughout the country of a genuine knowledge of the people of Japan, their aims, ideals, arts and sciences, industries and economic conditions. A monthly news bulletin, together with a "trade bulletin", were issued by the Society, and books and pamphlets on Japan distributed to the membership. The Society's

⁴⁶ Bowie's book On the Laws of Japanese Painting (San Francisco: P. Elder and Co., 1911) was very highly regarded by the critics.

lecture bureau arranged for lecture series and a hospitality committee,⁷ a travel information bureau, and a book publishing department were maintained. Although membership remained small--it comprised about 900 Americans and 100 Japanese in 1914--the publications they brought out and distributed reached a reasonably large audience.

The most notable publications sponsored by the Society in the immediate prewar years were two volumes concerned with United States-Japan relations.⁴⁷ Taken together the books represented an interchange of thought and information between leading minds of both countries. They sought to underscore for war-weary and skeptical Americans, along with the friends of Japan in America, the points upon which the East and West could meet.

4. Agencies Concerned With Japan's Cultural Reputation in America: The Period Between the Wars

In the wake of World War I some international agencies, such as the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace and the Institute of International Education in New York helped to bring Americans out of their ethnocentric shell. New and expanded programs of these agencies promoted American cultural exchange with the peoples of Asia, including Japan. To aid librarians in the selection of materials relative to the

⁴⁷ Naoichi Masaoka, ed., Japan to America: A Symposium of Papers by Political Leaders and Representative Citizens of Japan on Conditions in Japan and on the Relations Between Japan and the United States (New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1914); Lindsay Russell, ed., America to Japan: A Symposium of Papers by Representative Citizens of the United States on the Relations Between Japan and America (New York: G.P. Putnam's, 1915).

Field of international relations, the Carnegie Endowment undertook in the 1920s the establishment in public libraries throughout the United States what became known as "international mind alcoves"⁴⁸ In addition, the Institute of International Education, aided by a grant for the Endowment, was founded in 1919. Beginning in the 1920s the Institute established programs which facilitated the international exchange of students and teachers between the United States and countries around the world, including Japan. The Carnegie Corporation of New York and the Rockefeller Foundation contributed funds in support of foreign area study in the nation's colleges and universities beginning in the 1930s. It was the Rockefeller Foundation in particular which lent support for programs in East Asian studies in America.

Other organizations facilitated cultural exchange programs between Americans and Japanese. Lions International, established in 1917, initiated a program in 1926 that led to ties with Japan; Rotary International initiated its programs, which eventuated in ties with Japan, as early as 1919. The interests and needs of young people working to develop international understanding were served by the National

⁴⁸The books placed in these alcoves, by 1922 over 150 established across the country, had been chosen from the most recent publications on the customs, art, culture, government, or geography of foreign nations and peoples. The particular purpose of the alcoves was, in the words of Nicholas Murray Butler, then President of Columbia University and head of the Division of Intercourse and Education of the Endowment, "to assist readers to gain a wider knowledge of the peoples of the world and thereby a larger interest in them." Amy Hemenway Jones, International Mind Alcoves (New York: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 1927), p. iii.

Education Association's Committee on International Relations and the World University Service of New York, both established in 1920. The Young Women's Christian Association, and the Young Men's Christian Association, both of which had initiated programs in Japan in the late nineteenth century, renewed cultural contacts in Japan after World War I.⁴⁹ Young people also developed some contacts with Japan as a result of programs initiated by the Boy and Girl Scouts of America. In 1929, the Caravan of East and West, Incorporated of New York initiated an international youth correspondence program, and in 1932 the Experiment in International Living was launched which included, later in the 1930s, opportunity for young Americans to reside in Japan.⁵⁰

⁴⁹Yet the interchange of teachers and students between the United States and Japan in the period between the wars did not appear to be as extensive as that which had occurred prior to World War I. Americans had thus had fewer opportunities than existed between 1890-1915, for direct contact with either Japanese, who might have studied or travelled in America, or with American educators seeking to interpret Japan to the people of the United States. The YMCA terminated its English teaching program in Japan in the late 1920s, which meant that fewer Americans still would have opportunities to become acquainted with the culture of the Japanese. Some Americans who had originally been drawn to Japan by the program remained after it had been phased out. One of them, Glenn Shaw, who taught at Yamaguchi High Commercial School and the Osaka School of Foreign Languages in these years before World War II emerged as one of the ablest interpreters of Japan and the culture of the Japanese to the American people. The 1930s were comparatively stringent years for the Christian enterprises in Japan. Church groups in the United States were beginning to recall their missionaries from Japan at least as early as 1931; among the teacher-missionaries who remained there in the 1930s, and who subsequently contributed to America's awareness of Japan and its culture were William Axling, Otis Cary, Andrew N. Nelson and August Reischauer and their families.

⁵⁰At the same time, student conferences, which included Americans, were held on an annual basis in Japan, 1934-40.

Adult education in international affairs was the concern of organizations such as the Pacific and Asian Affairs Council of Honolulu, founded in 1925, the Council on Foreign Relations, Foreign Policy Association, Institute of World Affairs, and the Institute of Current World Affairs--all founded in New York in this post-World War I era. It was the Foreign Policy Association of New York which assumed the leadership position in world affairs education in America between the wars.⁵¹ But the American public's single most important source of information about the Far East in the years before World War II was the Institute of Pacific Relations (the IPR), an "unofficial international body" established in 1925 with the aim "to study the peoples of the Pacific area and to employ the fruits of that study to make reliable information and reasonable discussion the instruments for the solution of Far Eastern and Pacific problems."

The American Council of the IPR--one of eleven members around the Pacific--was established in New York City. Its work was supported by voluntary contributions and subscription to its publications which included, in addition to a number of books and pamphlets, Pacific

⁵¹It was the editor of Survey, Paul U. Kellogg, who saw the need to enlighten Americans in the areas of world affairs and inspired a group of publishers, writers and professors to join him in support of internationalism. In November 1918 the group formally organized itself into the League of Free Nations Association with an initial membership of 141 which included such distinguished names as Charles and Mary Beard, John R. Commons, Walter Damrosch, John Dewey, Felix Frankfurter, Judge Learned Hand, William E. Hocking, Jacob H. Schiff, E.R.A. Seligman and Ida M. Tarbell. See: Fifty Years: The Story of the Foreign Policy Association (New York: The Association, 1968), p. 5-7.

Affairs, a quarterly devoted to a discussion of the current political and economic situation in the countries of the Pacific, and Far Eastern Survey, a fortnightly review of economic developments in the Far East. The American Council of the IPR, under the leadership of its Secretary-General Edward C. Carter--who had been active with the YMCA in Japan--sparked the publishing of a variety of books, and numerous special studies that sought to inform the American people of the culture of East Asia as well as of special aspects of life in the Orient.⁵²

Also effective in expanding the American's consciousness of Japan, its culture and civilization, were both the American and Japanese organizations that had been established to promote cultural exchange and mutual understanding between the people of the two countries. The quarter century prior to Pearl Harbor saw many of these "societies" established in both countries while the activities of those already established, in New York and San Francisco, were expanded--at least until the late 1930s. The America-Japan Society of Tokyo was started in 1917, while a Japan-America Society of Kobe, and one in Osaka were established in 1921 and 1922. In the United States, a Trans-Pacific Society was organized in Los Angeles in 1916 "to foster a better feeling and just relations between Americans and Japanese."⁵³ In addition,

⁵²Pearl Buck, a regular contributor to Asia magazine, expressed the view that the IPR had been "probably the most effective in its contribution of knowledge concerning the Far East of any American organization." (Asia, XXXVI [December 1936], p. 821.).

⁵³Schwantes, Japanese and Americans, p. 293.

Japan-America Societies were founded in Boston in 1920, Seattle in 1923, New Orleans in 1928, and Chicago in 1930. The New Orient Society of America was organized in Chicago in 1930 to further cultural relations between the Orient and the Occident and to aid in publication of works of orientalists.

The activities and membership of these societies varied over the years, but the one that stood out in terms of range and effectiveness was the Japan Society of New York. It had received a substantial amount of financial assistance in 1920 when several Japanese firms doing business in New York presented a number of securities for a Townsend Harris Permanent Endowment Fund. This together with the support and interest of a good number of residents of New York gave it the means to organize a record number of activities in the period between the wars which accurately and reliably interpreted Japan to the people of the United States and generally served to promote a friendly understanding between the two nations. The lecture series it sponsored in the 1930s was especially noteworthy, for it included lectures by such outstanding authorities on the culture of the Japanese as Kenneth Scott Latourette of Yale University, Joseph W. Hall (Upton Close) whose writings on Japan were popular in the late 1930s, ~~Arthur Davison Hicks~~ and Louis Ledoux, the American authorities on Japanese prints, and Lawrence Binyon, the Englishman whose books on Japanese art were highly regarded in the 1930s. In addition, the Japan Society of New York distributed to members and friends dozens of books, magazines and pamphlets on Japan

in the decade before the war.⁵⁴ The preparation and dissemination of a syllabus on Japan⁵⁵ proved to be an especially useful item among school and college personnel then seeking to introduce courses of instruction on Japan in the United States.

5. Tokyo-based Efforts to Enhance Japan's Cultural Reputation, 1920-42

Besides the binational organizations, there existed a number of additional agencies that sought, in the 1920s and 1930s, to enhance Japan's cultural reputation in America. The impetus for the activities of these new agencies generally came from Japan. Except for the Society for Japanese Studies of New York, established in the mid-1930s and headed by Louis V. Ledoux with the objective of promoting appreciation of Japanese art forms in America, the direction and flow of cultural materials--some called it propaganda--relative to Japan and its civilization emanated from Tokyo. The Japan Travel Bureau of the Board of Tourist Industry and Japan Government Railways had maintained offices since the 1920s in both Los Angeles and New York. These were natural outlets through which informational material was disseminated to the American public. Japan Magazine, for example, was an illustrated monthly published by the Nippon Yusen Kaisha (Japan Steamship Lines) of Tokyo, a publication which enjoyed moderate circulation in the

⁵⁴They included William Elliot Griffis' Proverbs of Japan, Madame Sugimoto's A Daughter of the Samurai, Louis Ledoux's The Art of Japan and Harold Gould Henderson's The Bamboo Broom.

⁵⁵It had gone into an eighth edition by 1937.

United States in these years before the war.⁵⁶

From 1927-43 the Mainichi newspaper of Tokyo published an English language yearbook, Japan Today and Tomorrow. In the fall of 1938, the publishers of the Japan Times brought out a new weekly publication which endeavored "to present all phases of the present day trends in general news, foreign relations, Japanese press views, social and cultural activities...to those abroad." Entitled Japan Times Weekly: Views and News of the Far East, it aimed at "promoting international trade, cultural intercourse, presenting a fair and intelligent interpretation of current events with intellectual appeal...."⁵⁷ This weekly news magazine suspended publication immediately after Pearl Harbor. Some highly specialized Japanese publications which may have found their way into American university libraries in these years were Contemporary Japan, a quarterly journal started in 1931 by the Foreign Affairs Association of Japan (and continued publication through the war years); the Oriental

⁵⁶Other Tokyo-based publications were a yearbook of Japan, entitled Japan Illustrated, edited and published by the Nippon Dempo News Agency from 1934-38, and Cultural Nippon, published from 1934-41 by the Nippon Bunka Chuo Renmei (Central Federation of Japanese Culture) in Tokyo. The sole agent for this latter publication, a colorful and attractive quarterly, was the Maruzen Company of Tokyo, but it was available in the United States through the offices of the Japan Travel Bureau in Los Angeles and New York, and from P.D. Perkins of Pasadena, California, one of the few outlets in the United States in the 1930s for materials on Japan.

⁵⁷Japan Times Weekly, I, 1 (September 1, 1938), p. 5.

Economist, a monthly journal which started in 1934 in Tokyo and continued publication right up to the outbreak of war; Monumenta Nipponica, a semi-annual scholarly publication devoted to Japanese culture, started by Sophia University in 1933; The Japan Christian Quarterly, which the Christian Literary Society of Japan began publishing in 1926; and two publications on Japanese Buddhism, The Eastern Buddhist and Young East, started in 1921 and 1931.

It is questionable whether these publications out of Tokyo reached much of an audience in the United States. Nevertheless, there would have been some American exposure to them via the Japan Travel Bureau outlets since interest in tourism in Japan remained reasonably high in the United States until about 1938. American tourists in Japan had averaged 5000 annually in the mid-1920s, 8000 in 1929-30, and over 9000 in 1935. In a further effort to inform Americans about Japan during the 1930s, the Japan Board of Tourist Industry established at its outlets in the United States circulating libraries stocked with a selection of books calculated to give a sound knowledge of Japan and the Japanese. It had been the intention of the Board at this time (1938) "to lend out, upon request, all the books of each library...for a specified period...to schools, clubs and libraries...."⁵⁸ Also, in 1934, the Board started its Tourist Library of booklets on all aspects of Japanese life and culture, a series which consisted of as many as 33

⁵⁸The Circulating Library of Japan (Tokyo: The Japan Board of Tourist Industry, 1938), p. 1.

Handy and attractive volumes by 1940.

Concurrent with the other stepped up activities of the Japanese government in this area was the establishment in 1934 of the Kokusai Bunka Shinkokai (the KBS), an "international cultural society" which embarked upon a broad and significant program of activities within Japan and abroad--most notably in the United States--designed to enhance Japan's cultural reputation among foreigners. The publication of informational materials, in pamphlet and book form, represented one of the society's first and ultimately the most far-reaching and effective undertakings. By 1937 the KBS had published at least a dozen pamphlets in its series on Japanese culture, which were beginning to find some circulation in the United States.⁵⁹ In 1935, the KBS opened its own library to the public in Tokyo--filling a long felt need of foreign residents in Japan to have assembled in one convenient place "all useful books and periodicals in Western languages pertaining to Japanese culture."⁶⁰

⁵⁹Some of the titles were: A Short Bibliography of Books in Western Languages on Japan, Development of Japanese Theater Art, History and Trends of Modern Japanese Literature, Masks of Japan, The Social Status of Women. Many of these initial volumes constituted records of lectures delivered at special KBS Series of Lectures on Japanese Culture held during the autumn of 1935 at the Imperial Hotel in Tokyo.

⁶⁰Catalog of the KBS Library: A Classified List of Works in Western Languages Relating to Japan in the Library of the KBS (Tokyo: Kokusai Bunka Shinkokai, 1937), p. 2.

While these efforts of the KBS filled a real need in Japan, exposing Westerners to a systematic study and observation of Japan's cultural achievements, they did little for those Americans who might have had an interest in Japan but were "here, and not there," and they did nothing for the majority of Americans who scarcely knew where Japan might have been situated on the map of the world. In recognition of this situation, the KBS decided to make a more concerted effort than had been attempted previously to reach the American people with its wares. In November 1938 there was opened in New York, at Rockefeller Center, the office of the Japan Institute. The declared purpose of the new establishment was the dissemination in the United States of informational materials on the culture of the Japanese.

About the time the Japan Institute was established, the KBS announced that 10,000 copies of Introduction to Contemporary Japanese Literature, and of Introduction to Classical Japanese Literature, both recently published by the society, were being sent to the leading universities, libraries and cultural organizations of the United States. In December 1938 the society sent, in response to a request from the New York Folk Arts Center, about 300 pieces of Japanese folk craft for display at the center. Earlier, in September 1938, the KBS contributed a large number of books and other materials to the Oriental Institute of the University of Hawaii. In May 1938 the KBS sent Yozo Yoshino to the United States to help popularize the abacus in America. In 1939 the KBS sent to Oglethorpe University in Georgia, at the request of the

[university, garden trees and stone lanterns, and an expert on gardening]

In 1940 it sponsored a world-wide essay contest to further understanding of Japan, offering round trip travel to Japan and a scholarship to the winners. The contest was a part of the 2600th anniversary of the founding of the Japanese empire, and was offered "as a means of furthering understanding of Japanese civilization and of contributing to the intimacy of Eastern and Western civilizations."⁶¹ Also in 1940 the KBS announced in commemoration of the anniversary a "mobilization of the world's scholars for publication of a collection of essays on Japanese culture." Twenty noted scholars representing ten different nationalities consented to contribute essays to a volume which was to be printed in English, French, German and Japanese editions.⁶² Such were the activities and efforts undertaken by the KBS, in these crucial years in the history of American-Japanese relations, to encourage the American people to become more appreciative of the customs and culture of the Japanese.

⁶¹In May 1941 the winners of the contest were announced, with an American professor of philosophy at a California college winning first prize. His had been one of 105 essays received from the United States and Hawaii.

⁶²Among the contributors selected were the former Italian Ambassador to Japan who happened to have been a long time student of Japanese arts and whose manuscript for this commemorative volume dealt with Kyoto and the city as a background of Japan's cultural history; Arthur Waley, who wrote his famous essay entitled The Originality of Japanese Civilization; George B. Sansom and Lawrence Binyon of the British Museum; Serge Elisseeff of Harvard University, the authority on Kabuki, and on the arts and literature of Japan; John H. Wigmore of Northwestern University, the American authority on the law of Japan; and Louis Ledoux, authority on Japanese prints, of New York.

6. American Journalistic Efforts Affecting Japan's Reputation Abroad

As the thirties came to a close, Americans relied more heavily than ever before upon America's own media services to determine views concerning Japan and the "Far Eastern question." Possibly it was in recognition of this that prompted the Japanese to look for alternative ways to reach the American reading public. The American periodical press appears to have been a logical means by which to accomplish this objective and in time the Japanese were able to conclude an agreement with a trio of Westerners (two Americans and one British subject) who "bought and operated in behalf of the Japanese government certain magazines, particularly The Living Age, a monthly, and The Foreign Observer, a weekly." In September 1942 the three men were seized by the Federal Bureau of Investigation as agents of the Japanese government. In October 1942 the three were indicted, under the Espionage Act of 1917, as agents of Japan, and charged with having accepted money from Japan (since 1938) to publish periodical articles containing Japanese propaganda and "only material favorable to them...."⁶³ Thus was terminated this ill fated effort on the part of the Japanese to salvage their cultural reputation in America by way of the periodical press. Thus too was terminated The Living Age, one of the nation's more venerable monthlies.

⁶³New York Times, October 7, 1942. A month later it was reported the three received seven year prison terms for their "espionage activities." New York Times, November 13, 1942.

One of the nation's newer monthlies published between the wars was Asia. By the 1930s this journal had become well established and known among the reading public as the handsome, detached "American magazine of the Orient" devoted to reflection upon and interpretation of the culture and development of all the countries of Asia. In their own words, the magazine sought "to assist in better international understanding," and to adopt a neutral stance and a broad point of view, in regard to conflicting national interests and philosophies. The effort of the editors was "to bring forth the deeper currents of Asiatic life and thought" and to present them in a manner that appealed to readers in all parts of the world who had serious interest in the Orient and its relation to the Occident. Long before Life popularized the picture essay in the 1930s, Asia was presenting to the American people well researched, authoritative articles on all aspects of the culture of the Japanese and other peoples of the Far East.

⁶⁴In Asia Americans were exposed to the poetry, prose and folklore of the Japanese, to the customs of the people, and to historical pieces and interpretive yet moderate accounts of the government, politics, and diplomacy of the Japanese. Over the years there were special pictorials devoted to Japanese drama, food, gardens and art. Madame Sugimoto's A Daughter of the Samurai was serialized in the magazine in the mid-1920s. In the early years of its publication (since 1917) there were articles by Walter Weyl expressing concern over Japan's growing population and by Franklin D. Roosevelt imploring American understanding of Japan and cooperation with Japan in "world upbringing." In the 1930s there were articles by well known scholars and authorities on the Far East; by some well known Japanese-Americans: Samuel I. Hayakawa and Yone Noguchi; by some especially well known journalists: William H. Chamberlain, Willard Price, Edgar Snow; and political writers such as Eliot Janeway, Ernest K. Lindley, Ernest O. Hauser, Hugh Byas and A. Morgan Young.

Overall the tone of Asia was remarkably balanced and moderate--even as the Far Eastern question grew in intensity and complexity--and the quality of the publication remained consistently high. Its appeal was to the educated American with an interest in Asia, and possibly because such appeal was limited in the America of the 1930s, the magazine limped along--changing its name to "Asia and the Americas" shortly after Pearl Harbor--until its termination as a viable, positive force in the publishing world a short time after the end of the war. In the crucial decade before the war however, Asia represented the lone, consistent, detached view exclusively devoted to the people, culture and politics of Asia, a sober voice and an attractive channel of communication on the arts and culture of Japan for the American people.

The periodical press in the United States continued to devote substantial space to Japan and the Japanese in the 1920s and 1930s, but the concern was with political, economic and diplomatic--not so much cultural or even social--matters. Attention to the cultural aspects of Japanese civilization, to the arts and literature, the religion and philosophy, customs and folklore of the Japanese, declined considerably in the late 1920s--in comparison to treatment of things Japanese in the periodical press of the first two decades of the twentieth century--and became even more sparse in the 1930s. There had occurred in America a flowering of interest in and coverage of Japanese literature in the early 1920s, but these were short-lived, and became virtually non-existent in the 1930s. Almost the same was the case with Japanese art.

The tremendous American enthusiasm for Japanese prints of the early years of the century seems to have been spent by the mid-to-late-1920s, and while there occurred a mild spurt of interest in and coverage of the art of the Japanese in the mid-1930s, generally the press of the 1930s represented, in terms of expressed interest in the arts of the Japanese, barren ground. The truly dramatic decline in coverage of things Japanese came however, in 1937. One searches American magazines almost in vain for coverage of subjects relative to Japanese culture in the years 1938-42.⁶⁵

⁶⁵ There is one exception to this general observation. As concern for or interest in the arts, literature, and other aspects of Japanese civilization declined markedly in these years immediately preceding Pearl Harbor, there existed in America a concomitant curiosity about and coverage of the Japanese--the character of the people and their spiritual beliefs. This was made evident in the sudden spurt of informative periodical articles dealing with the religions of Japan, the "ways" of the Japanese, and the Japanese "psyche," in the years 1939-1941. Actually in the years between the wars there appeared a number of special periodical articles and special issues devoted to Japan. Perhaps the special effort that stood out in the 1930s was the September 1936 issue of Fortune which was entirely devoted to "The Japanese Empire." This was regarded at the time as the most thorough analysis any magazine had ever attempted of the social, economic and political conditions in Japan. The text of the issue had been well researched and lucidly written. It was embellished with maps, charts and numerous pictures. Articles included those on "Gentlemen of Japan," history, industry and commerce, the Japanese citizen, the farmer, and on "The Science of Thought Control." After the mid-1930s, thorough American analyses of Japan and Japanese culture seemed increasingly hard to find, a fact which scarcely led to the enhancement of Japan's cultural reputation abroad in these years before Pearl Harbor.

7. American and Japanese Writers' Efforts Prior to Pearl Harbor

Many books were published in the United States during and after World War I which dealt with the political situation in Japan and with American-Japanese relations. Japanese immigration to the United States was an issue which sparked a good deal of literature and adversely affected Japan's cultural reputation in America. Much of the unfavorable image Americans held of the Japanese in the 1920s and 1930s came as a result of the complex racial and political problems between the United States and Japan at the time. As early as 1909 books appeared which set about to change the American image of Japan.⁶⁶ The most sensational at the time was The Valor of Ignorance⁶⁷ by Homer Lea, a Californian who returned from military service in China to devote himself to awakening Americans to the Japanese "threat." A believer in racial theories, Lea argued that European immigration to the United States had left too few native born Americans to compose a fighting force valiant enough to expel the Japanese.⁶⁸

The works of a San Francisco newspaperman, Wallace Irwin, also

⁶⁶Neumann, America Encounters Japan, p. 128.

⁶⁷New York: Harper and Bros., 1909. The book was republished in 1942 with an interesting introduction by Clare Booth.

⁶⁸Neumann, America Encounters Japan, p. 128. Before going out of print in 1922, Lea's book had reportedly sold over 18,000 copies.

damaged the cultural reputation of the Japanese in America in this period. He created through his characterizations the most widely held stereotype of the immigrant Japanese at this time. Irwin pictured one of his characters, Hashimura Togo, as a thirty-five year old schoolboy who spoke a comic pigeon-English, and who was depicted as a buck-toothed, ever smiling, ultra polite, but crafty "Jap."⁶⁹ Irwin's stories first appeared in Collier's and later in such publications as the New York Times and the popular Good Housekeeping. These writings, incorporated in Letters of a Japanese Schoolboy⁷⁰ and in Mr. Togo: Maid of All Work⁷¹ among others, "introduced millions of Americans to a face and a type which was to become standard for American cartoonists for the next generation."⁷²

Several other works, published in 1917, dealt with the racial issue. One of these, The Japanese Invasion⁷³ by Jesse Frederick Steiner, was a balanced study of the racial aspects of Japanese immigration to the United States. Subtitled "A Study of the Psychology of International

⁶⁹Neumann, America Encounters Japan, p. 129.

⁷⁰New York: Doubleday, Page and Co., 1909.

⁷¹New York: Duffield and Co., 1913.

⁷²Neumann, America Encounters Japan, p. 129.

⁷³Chicago: A.C. McClurg, Co., 1917.

Contacts," it was a sober and judicious work that furnished "a needful
antidote" in the words of one reviewer, "to the hectic and hysterical
appeals with which the literature of our Japanese relations [had] been
disfigured...."⁷⁴ Another book which sought to place the issues in a
more rational light for the American public was Anti-Japanese War-Scare
Stories⁷⁵ by the noted missionary and friend of Japan Sidney Gulick. He
had previously written a pro-Japanese account of the issues in The
American-Japanese Problem: A Study of the Racial Relations of the East
and West.⁷⁶ As if to counter these publications, Montaville Flowers,
a Californian and an acknowledged racist and confirmed Japanophobe,
wrote an incredible anti-Japanese tract entitled The Japanese Conquest
of American Opinion.⁷⁷

Description-and-travel type books on Japan were also produced
in considerable abundance in America between the wars, but their number
declined markedly in the 1930s as the "I was there" reports of corres-
pondents and popular political writers came to be much in demand. Some
descriptive works, such as Esther Singleton's Japan as Seen and Described
by Famous Writers,⁷⁸ the works of Lafcadio Hearn, and others, continued
to be read and generally enjoyed by those who may have sought them.

⁷⁴Nation, 105, 2734 (November 22, 1917), p. 571.

⁷⁵New York and Chicago: Fleming H. Revell, 1917.

⁷⁶New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1914.

⁷⁷New York: George H. Doran Co., 1917.

⁷⁸New York: Dodd Mead and Co., 1904.

in the 1920s.⁷⁹ Early in this decade the popular writer Julian Street returned from an extensive visit to the land of the rising sun to write Mysterious Japan,⁸⁰ while toward the end of the decade there appeared Unfathomed Japan: A Travel Tale in the Highways and Byways of Japan and Formosa,⁸¹ written by Harold and Alice Foght after a visit to Japan as guests of the National Association for the Encouragement of Learning. The latter book served to reinforce in the minds of Americans the somewhat romanticised view of Japan which Julian Street, Esther Singleton, Lafcadio Hearn and others had generally managed to convey in their descriptive-and-travel accounts of Japan earlier in the century.

A more realistic view of the Japanese was found in Miriam Beard, Realism in Romantic Japan,⁸² one of the more popular books of the early 1930s. Miss Beard's concern had been primarily with the changing Japan, although she revealed a keen appreciation of traditional Japanese culture. Although she preferred to look on the bright

⁷⁹David Murray's Japan, one of the standard introductions to Japan and originally published in 1894 in G.P. Putnam's Story of Nations series, came out in a new dress in 1906 (New York). Also well liked in America was a new and revised edition (edited by Ernest Clement) of Richard Hildreth's Japan As It Was and Is (Chicago: C. McClurg & Co., 1906). Another travel book read in the 1920s: Alfred M. Hitchcock, Over Japan Way (New York: Henry Holt & Co., 1917).

⁸⁰Garden City, New York: Doubleday Page and Co., 1921.

⁸¹New York: Macmillan, 1928.

⁸²New York: Macmillan, 1930.

and optimistic side of Japan and was interested primarily in feeling its aesthetic and artistic spirit--thus making the book especially attractive to Americans contemplating travel to Japan in the 1930s-- Miss Beard saw a great deal that appeared to have escaped most writers of travel books. The distorted image of "romantic Japan," the legacy of the late nineteenth century, died hard in America--in spite of the issues between the United States and Japan and the events of the years since the Treaty of Portsmouth--and books such as Miriam Beard's helped to puncture myths and provide a realistic assessment of "the awakening East." For this reason and because of its general appeal to the public, Realism in Romantic Japan represented, in the consideration of Japan's cultural reputation in America, one of the more important American publications in the period between the wars.

In the years immediately preceding Pearl Harbor, Japanese publishing firms produced (and sought to disseminate in the United States) a number of books for Western readers written and edited by both Japanese and Westerners.⁸³ Introducing Japan to the American people from a somewhat different vantage point were the Japanese themselves who, by the late 1920s and in the 1930s, discovered an American audience for their sophisticated works. Several of these "ambassadors of culture" had travelled and attended school in the West, and returned to Japan to write in the Westerners' language interesting, interpretive accounts of the customs, culture and traditions of the Japanese. Etsu Inagaki

⁸³ See: Adrienne Moore, Interviewing Japan (Tokyo: Hokuseido, 1940).

Sugimoto was one of the first and probably the most widely read of this new group of writers who, with A Daughter of the Samurai,⁸⁴ established herself as a sensitive and charming interpreter of Japan. She described an almost forgotten aspect of Japan's past, and the clash of conflicting values in an emerging modern state.

A Daughter of the Samurai appears to have been widely read in the United States and abroad. A new edition of the work, with an introduction by Christopher Morley, was published in the mid-1930s.⁸⁵ Madame Sugimoto was highly praised for the work, and she received letters of appreciation from people all over the world--people as diverse as Albert Einstein and Rabindrath Tagore. With her literary reputation established, Madame Sugimoto went on to teach Japanese language and literature at Columbia University in the 1930s, and to lecture on Japanese culture and history before groups around the United States.⁸⁶

Dr. Inazo Nitobe, the Japanese scholar-lecturer who had, since the 1890s been devoting his life to the interpretation of Japan to the West, and of the West to the Japanese, found several of his numerous

⁸⁴Garden City, New York: Doubleday Page & Co., 1925.

⁸⁵Garden City, New York: Doubleday Page & Co., 1935.

⁸⁶The contents of A Daughter of the Samurai had been serialized for readers of Asia in the 1920s, and Madame Sugimoto contributed additional material on the customs and culture of the Japanese in other American publications in the 1930s. Although her other works never achieved the acclaim nor the popularity of A Daughter of the Samurai, she contributed further to the American's understanding of Japanese ways in the 1930s with A Daughter of the Nohfu (Garden City, New York: Doubleday Page, 1935) and A Daughter of the Narikin (1932).

works on Japan made available to the American people in the 1930s. He returned to the United States in 1932 to deliver a series of lectures on Japanese culture, but found as he crossed the country at a time of strained relations between the United States and Japan, his lectures less than warmly received. His unsuccessful bid to bolster Japan's sagging cultural reputation in America undoubtedly hastened his death which came less than a year later as he was attending an IPR conference in Victoria. His mission of interpretation for his country was carried on by his published works later in the decade.⁸⁷

Another visitor-lecturer from Japan with whom Americans became acquainted in the 1930s was Baroness Shidzue Ishimoto who wrote numerous articles that appeared in the periodical press and found her work Facing Two Ways: The Story of My Life⁸⁸ fairly widely read in America. The ladies of the land were particularly charmed by the story the Baroness told--a story all the more appealing because she had been born into an age-old aristocratic family of Japan and married a liberal-minded gentleman who took her to America whereupon she became an ardent feminist and advocate of birth control.

⁸⁷See his Lectures on Japan: An Outline of the Development of the Japanese People and Their Culture (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1939); The Japanese Nation (New York: G.P. Putnam's, 1932); Japan (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1932); Western Influences in Modern Japan (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1932); Editorial Jottings (Tokyo: Hokuseido, 1938).

⁸⁸New York: Farrar Rinehart and Company, 1935.

By the 1930s Toyohiko Kagawa was being called by American Christians the "Wesley of Japan" for his long heralded social work activities in the slums of Kobe and elsewhere in Japan. He captivated large audiences in America during tours in 1931 and 1936, and he cultivated on these occasions many new friendships with Americans. Kagawa had spent several years in the United States earlier, and he received his bachelor of divinity degree from Princeton Theological Seminary in 1916. He knew America and Americans well, and how to communicate with them. At a time when Americans found in Sun Yat Sen and (perhaps to a lesser extent) Chiang Kai Shek, positive images with whom to identify in China, and found in Mahatma Gandhi a figure with whom they could identify when they looked to India, no comparable charismatic leader emerged in Japan. This fact, viewed together with the story of Japan's "government by assassination" as it unfolded in the decade of the 1930s, adversely affected the image Americans may have held of the Japanese in this crucial period between wars.

The one Japanese who might have come near the stature of a Sun Yat Sen or a Gandhi in the eyes of Americans was Kagawa--but his was a different kind of leadership and a different kind of cause. Thousands of Americans identified with this Christian presence in the world, and in 1936 some of the writings of Kagawa, which reflected as much of the culture of the Japanese as they did the conditions under which he labored in the slums of Kobe, were made readily available to Americans in translations published by the Cokesbury Press of

Nashville, Tennessee. His A Grain of Wheat consisted of some of his thoughts while Songs From the Slums included poems written by Kagawa while he had been living in Kobe. In these writings and others, and during his evangelical tours in the 1930s, Kagawa described the slum conditions and the needs for Christian social work, and admonished Americans "for not taking Christ seriously."⁸⁹ Along his route, something of the spirit, life and culture of Japan was also conveyed to the American people by this popular Christian who happened to be Japanese.

⁸⁹Jan Karel Van Baalen, Kagawa the Christian (Grand Rapids, Michigan: W. B. Eerdman's, 1936), p. 22.

CHAPTER II

JAPANESE STUDIES IN AMERICA, 1917-41

1. Introduction

The period between the wars constituted important formative years of Japanese studies in the United States. Although the ranks of American Japanologists were still thin in number at this time, some definitive accomplishments were made in the organization of American college and university course offerings on East Asia, in the reorganization of the curricular offerings of American institutions of higher education, in the establishment and expansion of library resources on East Asia in America, in the training of scholars and educational personnel in the field of East Asian studies, and in the preparation of materials on East Asia for use in American schools and colleges. The advocates of the introduction of the study of East Asia into the schools and colleges of America before World War II constituted "a small but determined band, resolved to storm the formidable fortresses of American indifference and inertia...."¹

The obstacles to be overcome by this determined group were many and diverse. The curriculum of American colleges and universities revolved essentially around the study of Western man, and vested

¹Meribeth E. Cameron, "Far Eastern Studies in the United States," Far Eastern Quarterly, VII, 2 (February 1948), p. 118.

CHAPTER XIII

THE HONORABLE BRIDGE: IN RETROSPECT

1. Prior to Pearl Harbor

Zen, the Tale of Genji or the ukiyo-e of Japan were about as far removed from the realities of the deteriorating international situation of the late 1930s as anything could possibly have been. A few publications relative to the creative achievements of the Japanese may have found their way into the private or public libraries of the nation in these years, and they might have been topics for conversation among a few intellectuals conscious of the culture of the peoples of Asia, but concern for such matters appeared to be all but obliterated at this time by the overwhelming anxiety in America over the Far Eastern Question. Cultural life receded more and more into the background and martial and international concerns loomed ever larger in the minds of men in America, and elsewhere in the Pacific region.

"Americans do not want Japanese culture but facts," exclaimed Dr. Asako Matsuoka after an extended lecture tour in the United States during the academic year 1938-39. The recipient of a Ph.D. from Columbia University and traveling with a Japanese womens' delegation, Dr. Matsuoka met with Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt at the White House before she returned to Japan in the spring of 1939.¹ Very much in agreement

¹Japan Times Weekly, June 22, 1939, p. 256.

[with the lady educator from Tokyo was the director of the Japan-America Society of Tokyo, who upon recalling the custom of exchanging dolls between the United States and Japan (in the late 1920s and early 1930s) and noting Japan's participation in the world's fairs, very forthrightly commented that the idea that the "mere sending of so-called friendship envoys, dolls and other gifts will add to Japanese-American friendship is ridiculous!" To this gentleman, efforts to become friendly had to be made "through culture: literature, personal contact...."² The reference to personal contact appeared to be most apt, for it was the decline in cultural and educational exchange between Japan and the United States, together with a sharp reduction in commercial intercourse between the two nations beginning in 1939-40, which hastened the decline of Japan's cultural reputation in America prior to Pearl Harbor. Too, a constriction of the general channels of communication between the two peoples militated against mutual understanding at precisely that moment it was needed most. From about 1937 to the outbreak of war in 1941, the periodical press of America paid virtually no attention to things Japanese.

Essentially the same can be said for those in positions to produce and publish books in America. The concerns of the press in regard to the Japanese were perhaps of necessity oriented in the direction of political and diplomatic questions, not cultural matters, in

²Japan Times Weekly, June 15, 1939, p. 221.

[these years. In response to appeals among Americans for facts which would enlighten them as to conditions in the Far East, American publishing houses became increasingly concerned with the idea of conveying through the eyes of correspondents and others on the Japan scene, readable, objective accounts of the internal situation within Japan and China. In addition to more scholarly publications of the Institute of Pacific Relations and the university presses, American publishers brought out a large number of analyses of the apparent diplomatic, political and economic aspirations of the Japanese at this crucial moment in history. Little of note was produced on the basic cultural aspects of Japanese civilization. Preoccupation with the political and diplomatic course of events in East Asia detracted considerably from efforts to reinforce and enhance Japan's cultural reputation in America at this time.]

One group that might have had the chance to interpret Japanese culture in America, at a time when the picture of the Japanese and their culture appeared more sinister by the day, was that segment of the American population which remained generally inarticulate or whose voice had been rendered ineffective: the Japanese and Japanese-American residents of the Western states. Actually these people had been the victims of discrimination in America for years and the thought of their serving as unofficial ambassadors or interpreters of Japanese culture in America prior to Pearl Harbor would have been highly unlikely. While some of the Issei may have contributed indirectly to the American's]

awareness of Japan's culture through their gardening, agricultural or commercial activities--many of them had become gardeners in the San Francisco and Los Angeles areas--they were generally leaderless, inadequate in their knowledge of the English language and therefore ineffectual in their efforts to communicate their views to caucasian Americans.

The Nisei, second generation Japanese-Americans, of whom there were about 71,500 on the Pacific Coast, at an average age of 19 at the time of Pearl Harbor, were too busy at this time being or trying to become American to pay much attention to the culture of their parents.³ Even if they had had an interest in interpreting the culture of their forebears for the edification of Americans around the country, it would have been extremely difficult for them to do so, since as the thirties wore on, Americans of Japanese descent encountered increased hostility born of prejudice, and discrimination in employment and housing.⁴ Their potential as interpreters of the culture of the Japanese to the people of the United States was unrealized as a result of the failings both within and without the Japanese community in America of these years.

³Bradford Smith, Americans from Japan (Philadelphia: J. P. Lippincott, 1948), p. 199.

⁴Manger White, "Between Two Flags," Saturday Evening Post (September 30, 1939), pp. 13-14. The pages of the paper serving the Japanese community, and serving as an index of the views of the Japanese community of San Francisco of these years, the New World Sun Daily reflected the problems encountered by the Issei and Nisei.

The Japanese-American, in his concern over the deteriorating situation in 1940-41 might have looked to other groups or individuals, or to other means or measures, to effect some kind of reconciliation of the differences between Americans and Japanese during these dark months before the outbreak of war. But the situation had reached the point where few if any voices outside the respective governments found themselves in any kind of position--or seem to have had the inclination--to be heard at this critical juncture in the relations between the United States and Japan. In desperation Langdon Warner of Harvard got in touch with Kanichi Asakawa at Yale in the late fall of 1941 and asked him whether he did not think a direct appeal by President Roosevelt to the Emperor of Japan might not help to avert war. Asakawa is said to have commented shortly after Pearl Harbor that the American leaders had displayed unwillingness or inability to "gain an insight into the heart and genius of a very old and peculiar nation," although he admitted that it was "unreasonable to expect that this could be done suddenly...."⁵

It can be said that for those in the United States who may have sought it, there existed in this period prior to Pearl Harbor evidence of "the heart and genius of this very old and peculiar nation." Thanks to the efforts of men like Langdon Warner, Louis Ledoux, Harold Gould Henderson, among others, an American interest in and appreciation

⁵Theodore Bowie, Langdon Warner Through His Letters, p. 158.

of Japanese art and art forms was kept alive in these years. Progress was made, at the Boston Museum of Fine Arts, the Freer Gallery, and elsewhere, in the development and expansion of representative collections of Japanese art in America. Japan came through to numerous Americans in the fiction--however slight--and travel literature of the period, often times brilliantly and not infrequently in a favorable light. In the translations of the Americans Gregg Sinclair and Glenn Shaw, among others, and especially in the translations of Arthur Waley and of Arthur Sadler, some of Japan's finest classical literature came within the reach of Americans for the first time in the 1930s. A noticeable, albeit circumscribed, interest in Japanese Buddhism manifested itself in the United States in the 1920s and 1930s. While the exchange of cultural materials and persons between the United States and Japan declined considerably in this period, as compared with previous times and exchanges, there had been a few occasions through which American contact with the Japanese, and with representative aspects of their culture, were in fact made during the years 1918-41.

It was, it must be noted, the Japanese and not the Americans who sought to increase the cultural exchange between the two countries in the 1930s. The lecture tours of Nitobe and Kagawa, early in the decade, were followed by those of Jiro Harada, the authority on Japanese architecture, and Asako Matsuoka, the lady educator from Tokyo, among others, in the late 1930s. American teachers toured Japan as guests of the Japan Travel Bureau in 1938 and 1939, and student

conferences brought American undergraduates to the country in 1938 and 1940.⁶ American businessmen were invited to Japan in 1939, in an effort by the Japanese to provide Americans with direct exposure to Japanese civilization. Although it came to be regarded as an arm of the regime in power in Tokyo, the stepped up efforts of the KBS in the period 1938-41, were a further indication of the Japanese taking the initiative in the cultural sphere in these years. One of the few efforts undertaken by the Americans in these years to promote world accord, was the creation in 1938 of the Division of Cultural Relations of the United States Department of State. Its initial efforts were directed exclusively to the creation of programs with and in Latin American States, however, and American-Japanese relations were unaffected by this new enterprise prior to Pearl Harbor.

Ironically Japan was to have been host to its first World Exposition in 1940, with the proposed theme of "Integration of Eastern and Western Culture," but the whole plan was suspended due to the deteriorating international situation. Also and again in 1940, the International Olympic Committee had selected Sapporo for the site of the Winter Olympics--but World War II brought an end to that plan. As these potential opportunities for cultural, athletic and intellectual exchange between the two countries withered away in these years

⁶Notes on Far Eastern Studies in America, 8 (January 1941), pp. 22-23.

「prior to Pearl Harbor,⁷ it happened that simulataneously there appeared」
to be fewer and fewer voices in America available, able or willing to
speak up on behalf of the Japanese. American missionary activities in
Japan had been subsiding since the early 1930s, which led to a large
reduction in the number of direct contacts between Americans and
Japanese.⁸

Death and retirement had stilled the once vigorous and res-
pected voices of Americans long identified with Japan--voices which
might have been listened to and which might have been raised on behalf
of Japan and its cultural reputation in America. The influential
lovers of Japan had departed the scene. The voices of Lafcadio Hearn
and Ernest Fenollosa had long been stilled, though their literature
remained. William Elliot Griffis, for half a century a friend and
voice of authority of Japanese culture, died in 1928. Inazo Nitobe
and Frederick Starr, of Chicago, renowned scholars of Japanese cul-
ture and long time friends of Japan, passed from the scene in 1933.
Sidney Gulick was in retirement in Hawaii; Ernest Clement died in
1941. Promising young scholars suffered untimely deaths in the 1930s:
Robert K. Reischauer and C. Walter Young. The voices which remained

⁷ Exceptions were the sending to Japan in 1939 of Thomas Blake-
more who became a leading American authority on Japanese law; in 1939
the establishment of the Institute for American Studies at Rikkyo Univ-
ersity in Tokyo with the American Douglas Overton selected to serve
there in 1940; in 1940 the Experiment in International Living shifted
to Japanese placement of students abroad.

「⁸ Early in 1941 a deputation of Japanese Christian leaders came」

were less the scholars and authorities on Japanese culture than those of the correspondents whose concerns were political, socio-economic, diplomatic and martial.

Yet there were some promising voices emerging in this period, particularly in the late 1930s, that were then or would become recognized for their deep appreciation of Japan's culture: voices that would be mostly identified, in one way or another, with America's institutions of higher education. The personages of Edwin O. Reischauer, Serge Elisseeff and Langdon Warner at Harvard University; Hugh Borton, Ryusaku Tsunoda and Harold Gould Henderson at Columbia University; John Whitney Hall of Amherst and Charles Fahs of Pomona; Robert B. Hall at the University of Michigan and John Embree at the University of Chicago; Kenneth Scott Latourette at Yale and Delmer Brown at Stanford; and others, served to advance the field of Japanese studies, and in consequence the reputation of the Japanese abroad, in the decade of the 1930s.

These were to be the enlightened, perhaps the more hopeful voices in the future of Japanese-American relations, and they were to be among the men who would provide the intellectual underpinning for the restoration of Japan's cultural reputation in America after the war. But in December 1941 the voices of all men, friend or foe, speaking on behalf of Japan in America, were suddenly stilled by the bombs which fell on Pearl Harbor. It was then however, that men might have

to the U.S. in an effort to stem the tide toward war.

realized that America's slow progress in discovering the realities of the Japanese had been outdistanced by the rapid rush of events. As one State Department official observed later: "It was one of fate's bitterest ironies that... America should find itself at war with Japan without really knowing who the Japanese were...."⁹

Shortly after Pearl Harbor the Boston Museum of Fine Arts shut its Japanese Department for fear of cranks. The doors remained shut for the duration of the war. Somehow the closing of those doors proclaimed the death knell of Japan's cultural reputation in America, as well as the incredibility of the state of affairs between the United States and Japan.

2. The Productive Postwar Years

American consciousness of Japan increased significantly in the quarter century following World War II. These were tremendously productive years in terms of the development of people-to-people relations, the flow of cultural materials abroad, the publication and dissemination of literature on Japan throughout the United States. American appreciation of Japanese culture was considerably enhanced as a result of direct and frequent American contact with, exposure to, the arts, literature and spiritual life of the Japanese. Builders of the bridge over which these literary, spiritual and aesthetic currents flowed in the period 1945-70 were numerous and diverse. Together

⁹Walter P. McConaughy, "The American Image of Japan," The

they--Japanese and Americans alike--contributed toward the restoration, and the establishment on firm ground, of Japan's cultural reputation abroad. By 1970 Japan's cultural achievements, as well as her fantastic economic recovery from the war, had won the respect and admiration of millions of Americans. Of those Americans, well over two million either lived in Japan or visited the country in these postwar years. The great majority left Japan--to return to all strata of American society--"with a strong sense of friendliness and admiration for the Japanese."¹⁰

The situation regarding Japan's cultural reputation in the America of 1970 stood in stark contrast with that of 1941, and it pointed up in many ways the revolutionary changes that had occurred in both the West and the East during the quarter century following World War II. The period from the entry of the United States into World War I to her entry into World War II was characterized by an American attitude of ambivalence, wariness and outright hostility toward Japan as relations between the two peoples deteriorated along with the international situation. The period from the end of World War II to 1970 was characterized by an American attitude of general respect for the Japanese and growing admiration of their cultural, economic and political achievements. The traditional cordial

Department of State Bulletin, XLV, 1165 (October 23, 1961), p. 663.

¹⁰Edwin O. Reischauer, "Inevitable Partners," Life, 57, 11 (September 11, 1964), p. 27.

relations between the two were restored and reinforced as channels of communication were dramatically expanded and as personal contacts were made.

Japan figured prominently in the communications and transportation revolution of these postwar years, with the restoration of her cultural reputation abroad a significant consequence of that revolution. Japan became very much a part of the knowledge explosion of the 1950s and 1960s--to the extent that by 1970 it would be possible to assert that few, if any, countries or cultures outside of America's own, exceeded Japan in print, picture and text in these years. Again in contrast with the years preceding Pearl Harbor, there was found to be in the period 1945-70 an overwhelming amount of informative literature--essentially positive and persuasive, attractive, inexpensive and readily accessible--on the customs, character and culture of the Japanese. A growing American romance with things Japanese, in contrast with a growing distaste for things Japanese among Americans prior to Pearl Harbor, found an eager and accommodating Japanese and American communications "industry" which, in the employment of revolutionary new techniques in production and dissemination, literally bombarded the public with its enticing wares. The scratches on the American mind concerning Japan were thus widespread, and of considerable consequence. For the culture of no non-Western country came anywhere near that of Japan in impressing itself upon the consciousness of Americans during these years following World War II.

Facilitating the encounter between East and West during the postwar years was a host of Americans and Japanese who, through their own efforts or the organizations with which they were associated, took forceful and often imaginative action in effecting a closer relationship between Japan and the United States. The men and women of the occupation--Douglas MacArthur, Faubion Bowers, William Woodard, Oliver Statler, Ellen Gordon Allen, Edward Seidensticker, Harold Gould Henderson, Lucy Crockett, Glenn Shaw, Fanny Hagen Mayer, Eugene H. Dooman, to name but a few of the many who found themselves in Japan or affected by Japanese culture, during the years of the occupation--succeeded in the assumption of leadership roles to make Americans more aware than they had ever been previously of the customs and culture of the Japanese. John D. Rockefeller, III of New York, Langdon Warner and Edwin O. Reischauer of Harvard, Donald Keene, Hugh Borton, George B. Sansom and Daisetz T. Suzuki at Columbia University, Robert B. Hall and John W. Hall of the University of Michigan, Harold Strauss of Alfred Knopf Publishing Company, Charles A. Moore of Hawaii--to name but a few of the numerous Americans in the period 1945-55 who moved to hasten America's passage to the East--laid the foundation for a better understanding of Japanese culture in the United States after the war.

The foundations, international and cultural organizations and institutions of higher education around the country also moved significantly in the 1950s to inspire Americans to an appreciation of

[the customs and cultures of the non-Western world. Japan and Japanese]
culture became an important--in some cases the predominant--part of
this effort. Concurrently there occurred in the West generally and
the United States particularly, the "institutionalization" and "com-
mercialization" of Japanese culture abroad. There were established
Haiku Clubs and Bonsai Societies, Ikebana International Chapters and
Karate and Go Associations together with the Society of Friends of
Eastern Arts (New York), the Far East Ceramic Group (Boston), the
Sumi-e Society of America (New York), the Zen Center and the American
Society for Eastern Arts based in San Francisco, the Japan House of
Art at Elmhurst, New York, the International Theater Institute of New
York City. All segments of American society appeared to be touched or
affected by these "institutionalization" efforts and many Americans
were deeply influenced by their participation in the activities of
these institutions. Few Americans escaped entirely an encounter with
some aspect of the culture of the Japanese during these years, and
most Americans may well have come away from their encounter inspired
to further their comprehension of some part of the Japanese experience.
Many others became impressed to the point of pursuance of a lifetime
of study and appreciation of the art and culture of Japan.

The commercialization of Japanese culture in America after the
war manifested itself in a variety of ways, but perhaps most noticeably
in such areas as interior decoration, landscape gardening and arch-
itecture, flower arrangement and bonsai cultivation, in the]

establishment of arts and crafts shops and in the proliferation of Japanese restaurateurs around the country. Few Americans in 1970 had been untouched by some aspect of this commercialization and many had come under the spell of shibui through an occasional exposure to the ukiyo-e, the ceramic art of Japan, bonsai, tempura or netsuke increasingly in evidence across the land. In greater evidence in the America of the 1960s--indeed visible at every turn--were the quality products of an amazing industrial and commercial empire built by the Japanese from the ashes of defeat in World War II. Americans of all ages and all walks of life found their lives touched by the creative, commercial and industrial genius of the Japanese. With the trade between the United States and Japan in the 1960s the greatest trans-oceanic commerce between two countries the world had ever seen, people in all areas of the country found--generally to their liking--products from Japan meeting their direst needs and most exacting demands.

In stark contrast with the prewar situation, the "made in Japan" label of the 1960s held the connotation of quality merchandise generally available at a cost lower than comparable products in the American market. Americans of all income brackets appreciated that. The upshot was a dramatically altered view of the Japanese and their culture from that held by Americans before the war. What came to mind in this situation were the words of George Bailey Sansom:

When one considers the various forms of intercourse between nations, it appears that trade relations, which are usually thought of as nothing but the exchange of

things, are in fact those which exercise the greatest influence, especially as between countries separated by long distances. Attempts to impose ideas by means of religious missions or books or other means of persuasion seem to have less effect than the objects of trade, which are silent but convincing....¹¹

3. The Evidence of Japan in America: In Retrospect

The strong evidence of Japan in America in this postwar period had implications for Americans beyond the mere enjoyment of or fascination with the arts, literature, spiritual or commercial elements of Japanese civilization. American exposure to the bunraku at Seattle, to Rashomon in the art theaters of the nation in the 1950s, to the Japanese house and garden at the Museum of Modern Art, to the Zen paintings at the Boston Museum of Fine Arts, to the Tale of Genji or the writings of Daisetz T. Suzuki in new paperback editions, or to a teriyaki steak at one of the Benihana establishments, led to-- or perhaps were manifestations of--a better informed, even-tempered interest in Japan, the Japanese and Japanese cultural resources. This in turn contributed substantially to a friendly understanding of the Japanese that scarcely existed prior to Pearl Harbor. It may also have inspired Americans to a consideration of the Japanese influence in America, to an awareness of how Japan had become a part of their

¹¹George B. Sansom, The Western World and Japan (London: The Cressett Press, 1950), p. 152.

own lives and culture. An historic synthesis of cultures was discernible among the more thoughtful Americans concerned about the possible counter-impact of the East upon the West.

If the most pleasing gateway to a nation's culture is that provided by its art forms, as many contend, then the years 1945-70 were especially important ones for Japan's cultural reputation abroad. For in the United States there appeared a proliferation of the creative accomplishments of the Japanese unparalleled in the nation's history, and there was evidence virtually at every turn of Japan's influence upon the course of America's own world of creative accomplishments. The quality of American life was enhanced as Americans acquired a tolerance for new art forms and a new perspective on the world of culture (as well as on the cultures of the world) through their encounter with the culture of the Japanese. An historic shift in outlook, toward a sympathetic view of the East and a deeper understanding of the peoples of Eastern Asia, came as part of this American encounter with Japan after World War II.

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL ESSAY

1. The Early Years of Relations Between Japan and United States

If the civilization of the Japanese was alien to the people of the United States, the Japanese and their culture were not entirely unknown to the Western world in the spring of 1852 when Commodore Mathew Galbraith Perry received his written orders for the Japan expedition. In preparation for his assignment, Perry obtained copies of all the important books about Japan, of which there was a surprising number available. At this time the most authoritative work was Philipp Franz von Siebold, Nippon, Archive zur Beschreibung von Japan (Wurzburg and Leipzig: L. Woerl, 1847). Von Siebold had been a German physician and naturalist attached to the Dutch factory at Deshima (Nagasaki) in the 1820s, and had accompanied the head of the factory on an embassy to the Shogun's court at Edo (Tokyo) early in the nineteenth century, and as a result had probably learned more about Japan than any European since the 1500s. Next to Von Siebold's work of importance to Perry was an English translation of a Dutch work by Engelbert Kaempfer, The History of Japan (London: T. Woodward and C. Davis, 1728). This had served for well over a century as the standard book on Japan in the West. It was Kaempfer's History of Japan, in fact, which had set the pattern for later descriptions of Japan and established, as well, the pattern of Western response to Japanese culture. His

basically negative opinions of Japan's art, architecture, and gardens led later Americans to believe that while Japanese culture might offer subjects worth investigating, it had little to teach.

Perry also took along with him a copy of Karl Peter Thunberg, Travels in Europe, Africa and Asia, Made Between the Years 1770-79 (London: F. and C. Rivington, 1795). This work, a translation of which appeared in 1793 and the reprints of which in American magazines in the 1790s constituted one of the earliest sources of American knowledge of Japan, was produced by the Swedish professor Karl Peter Thunberg of the University of Upsala. It contributed substantially to the image Westerners held of the Japanese government and political institutions up to the time of the Perry expedition. Japan had been presented as "a veritable Utopia, with neither Throne, Sceptre, Crown, nor any other species of Royal Foppery...." (Cited in Samuel Eliot Morison, Old Bruin [Boston: Little, Brown & Co., 1968], p. 277).

If America's early conception of Japan was as an ideal state, this view withered away in the 1840s and 1850s as the physical contacts between Japanese and Americans and as European writings concerning Japan were made available for American consumption. One of the best assessments of these writings, and of Westerners' contacts with Japan in the early nineteenth century were found in Harry Emerson Wildes, Aliens in the East (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1937). Also noteworthy: Shunzo Sakamaki, "Western Concepts of Japan and the Japanese 1800-1854," Pacific Historical Review, VI (1937), pp. 11-12,

The Japanese were variously portrayed by Europeans, some of whom had never been there. Beginning in the mid-1850s, with interest in the Japanese expedition high in America, official reports of it along with other publications on the Japanese became available to Americans. Among the latter was Richard Hildreth, Japan As It Was and Is: A Handbook of Old Japan (New York: Phillips, Sampson and Co., 1855). It represented the first account of Japan written by a reputable American historian. The work was considered to be the best synthesis of European knowledge of Japan then available, and it represented, during the remainder of the nineteenth century, one of the standard American works on Japan. Another early American publication on Japan was Bayard Taylor, A Visit to India, China and Japan in the Year 1853 (New York: G. P. Putnam's, 1855). The author was the future poet and diplomat who was at this time a youthful American journalist who had managed to secure a place for himself on the crew of Perry's ship during the expedition. While his book was relatively skimpy in its description of Japan, it nevertheless gave a favorable view of the Japanese and it was widely read.

The early relations between the United States and Japan were admirably described in Inazo Nitobe, The Intercourse Between the United States and Japan: An Historical Sketch (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1891), while one of the finest treatments of the early impact of Japan upon Americans was made available in James Rogers Bowditch, The Impact of Japanese Culture on the United States (Unpublished Ph. D. Dissertation, Harvard University, 1963).

The works on Japan of the British scholar-diplomats continued to be of great value to those Americans who may have sought, in the period between the wars (1917-1942), enlightenment on the culture of the Japanese. The works of the Americans William Elliot Griffis, Ernest Clement, Richard Hildreth, among numerous others, also maintained their popularity among American readers. In the late 1920s and 1930s several new works of importance were published in the United States which served further to enhance America's knowledge of the Japanese. Kenneth Scott Latourette's The Development of Japan (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1918) had gone into a fourth revised edition by 1938. One of the great classics on Japan came out in the decade prior to Pearl Harbor: George B. Sansom, Japan: A Short Cultural History (New York: Century Co., 1932). One of the best and most readable books ever produced in the United States, of particular value to adults approaching the history of Japan for the first time, was Marion May Dilts, Pageant of Japanese History (New York: Longmans Green and Co., 1938). Another short but surprisingly complete and readable volume available to the layman was Mary A. Nourse, Kodo: The Way of the Emperor (Indianapolis: Bobbs Merrill, 1940). Some of the best insights into the Japanese, their character and culture, came in the classic study by John Embree, Suye Mura: A Japanese Village (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1940). Such fine anthropological studies did well supplemented by works such as H.H. Gowen, An Outline History of Japan (New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1927).

The spiritual and aesthetic side of the Japanese found itself in evidence in America between the wars through the writings of various Americans and Britishers. Perhaps most noteworthy, and scholarly, were J. W. T. Mason's The Meaning of Shinto: The Primaeval Foundation of Creative Spirit in Modern Japan (New York: E. P. Dutton, 1935) and D. C. Holtom, The National Faith of Japan: A Study in Modern Shinto (New York: Dutton, 1938). Sir Charles Eliot's Japanese Buddhism (New York: Longmans Green and Co., 1935), Tasuku Harada, The Faith of Japan (New York: Macmillan Co., 1926) and Alice Getty, The Gods of Northern Buddhism (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1914)--in a new edition in 1928--circulated in the United States prior to Pearl Harbor. Achieving some popularity earlier, in the 1920s, were the works of L. Adams Beck. This Canadian lady sought to convey the "romance" of the Orient to Westerners through her well written stories. One of her first successful works was Key of Dreams: A Romance of the Orient (New York: Dodd Mead and Co., 1922). This was followed by Ninth Vibration and Other Stories (New York: Dodd Mead, 1923), Perfume of the Rainbow (New York: Dodd Mead, 1923), Splendour of Asia (New York: Dodd Mead, 1926), The Story of Oriental Philosophy (New York: Cosmopolitan Book Corporation, 1928) and The Openers of the Gate (New York: Cosmopolitan Book Corporation, 1930). In 1931 the Japan Society of New York published her Ghost Plays of Japan which were reprinted from The Perfume of the Rainbow; the book was selected by the American Institute of Graphic Arts as one of the "fifty books of the year."

2. Descriptive-and-travel Literature

There appeared a veritable flood of literature on Japan in this period, 1945-70, some of it hastily and inaccurately conceived but most of it casting Japan in a new and favorable light. Very much in the description-and-travel category of literature on Japan were the general surveys produced in the postwar years by American publishers, and the impressionistic accounts of Japan written by Western tourists and travelers there. Few Americans had the time or the inclination to get acquainted with many of these books, but over the years there were equally few among educated Americans who did not have the opportunity at least to peruse one or two of these volumes in a leisurely way. In McGraw-Hill's "The World in Color" series, there was published (translated from the French) Dore Ozrizek, Japan (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1957) and in another publisher's series entitled "Nations of the Modern World," Sir M. Esler Dening, Japan (New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1961). Both of these volumes were designed to appeal to the general reader desiring a comprehensive picture of Japan and the part the country was playing in the modern world. Similar in format but with a livelier text and more dramatic pictures and commentary depicting the contemporary Japanese scene was Edward Seidensticker, Japan (New York: Time-Life Books, 1965). This volume, in the Life World Library series, was a superb publication introducing the American to virtually all aspects of Japan and its culture. Another "reference-type" volume on Japan, which emphasized the contemporary scene, appeared in Elizabeth and Victor Velen, The New

Japan (New York: H. W. Wilson Co., 1958). 7

Very much characteristic of a good many postwar accounts of Japan which stressed the beauty and charm of the country was the series of impressions of an American woman, honestly told, in Marion Taylor, American Geisha (London: G. Bles, 1956). Another traveler in Japan, Sachaverell Sitwell, a well-known British travel writer and art critic, spent several months in Japan in the mid-1950s and wrote beautifully of it in The Bridge of the Brocade Sash: Travels and Observations in Japan (New York: World Publishing Co., 1960). In this book the author dwelt at length on Japanese culture, on the applied arts and painting in Japan, on Kyoto, Tokyo, the Kabuki, some of the out-of-the-way, less popular attractive sights of Japan. Bridge of the Brocade Sash turned out to be one of the most perceptive and most outstanding introductions to cultural Japan produced in the Western world after the war.

The 1960s saw the publication of numerous new "impressionistic" accounts of Japan that helped generally to reinforce in the minds of the Americans a favorable image of the Japanese. An intelligent and sympathetic Australian journalist, Colin Simpson, put down his impressions of the Japanese in Japan: An Intimate View (New York: A. S. Barnes, 1960). The personal observations and results of interviews with Japanese during extensive travels in the country were amusingly related in Alexander Campbell, The Heart of Japan (New York: Alfred A. Knopf & Co., 1961). The British editor of the travel magazine Go spent a year in Japan in 1960-61 and described his impressions in Quentin Crewe, Japan:

Portrait of Paradox (New York: Thomas Nelson Sons, 1962). Somehow, Mr. Crewe managed in his book to give the reader a very simple, human view of Japan and the Japanese shorn of the Geisha and cherry blossom sentimentality.

The benefits of extensive travel and residence in Japan as a representative of the American Universities Field Staff program were seen in a collection of reports written between 1955-1962 and published in Lawrence Olson, Dimensions of Japan (New York: American Universities Field Staff, 1963). While Olson was concerned essentially with politics and national issues and problems of the Japanese, he still found an opportunity to write about schools and temples, industry and family budgets, ethics, customs and culture of contemporary Japan, and his work served as a scholarly yet very readable introduction to the new Japan. The American who read Olson's work could very well have supplemented the exercise with the reading of several classic introductory volumes on Japan. Edwin O. Reischauer, Japan: Past and Present (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1946) was updated and revised in 1970 and published as The Story of a Nation, volumes which could only be regarded as outstanding contributions to the field of literature on Japan. Herschell Webb, An Introduction to Japan (New York: Columbia University Press, 1955) represented a rewriting and updating of the Japan Society syllabus on Japan that had proved such a basic reference work before the war and served thousands of Americans who sought seriously to investigate Japan and its history prior to--or on return from--travel to the Orient. Other useful

Reference works that came out after the war were Hugh Borton, ed., Japan (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1951), and John W. Hall and Richard K. Beardsley, Twelve Doors to Japan (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1965). Ray F. Downs, ed., Japan Yesterday (New York: Viking, 1969), represented one of the most recent good reference works, containing excerpted writings of numerous Americans and others who had been students of Japanese history, art, thought and culture.

In the 1960s, there were yet additional highly impressionistic accounts of the new Japan written or produced by persons resident or travelling in Japan in these years after the war. Bernard Rudofsky, an American who spent two years in the country early in the sixties, wrote an informal guide to Japan and the Japanese in The Kimono Mind (New York: Doubleday, 1965). Dwelling as much on the social life and customs of the Japanese as on a description of Tokyo, Kyoto and other areas of interest to the foreigner, Rudofsky's interesting book left the reader with a most favorable impression of this extraordinary land. A glimpse of an ancient land in photographs, watercolors, ink and pencil sketches was what Morton Wesley Huber had in mind in the production of Vanishing Japan (New York: American Photographic Publications, 1965). Another beautiful introduction to Japan, replete with photographs and good accompanying text, was prepared in 1968 for foreigners expected for Expo '70: Japan All-Around (Tokyo: Ministry of Trade and Industry). An equally charming travelogue of present-day Japan was produced in the mid-1960s by a Westerner, William Swaan, Japanese Lantern (New York: Taplinger Publishing

[Co., 1967).]

Two more Australians wrote in the 1960s highly individualistic accounts of Japan and the Japanese as a result of residence and travel there after the war. Mildred Watt's Japan: Land of Sun and Storm (Boston: Little, Brown, 1966) gave a straightforward, perceptive and charming view of Japan--a highly impressionistic account of the people, their art, theater, language, and character. As if to counteract this favorable view of Japan, Hal Porter, an Australian writer of verse and fiction and a former resident of Japan in the late 1940s, returned in 1967 with the view to review the changes in Japan and to write about them. The result was The Actors: An Image of the New Japan (Sydney: Angus and Robertson, 1968), a highly impressionistic account of Japan and the Japanese character which turned out to be a devastating attack on virtually everything Japanese. Porter's polemic was exceptional in that it cast the Japanese in such an unfavorable light--quite in contrast with the wealth of description-and-travel literature that depicted the new Japan in these years after the war as a land of beauty and of people of extraordinary accomplishment.

One of the first of the new books on Kyoto and its environs, and one of the finest and most indispensable guides to the city, was R. A. B. Ponsonby-Fane, Kyoto: The Old Capital of Japan (Kyoto: Ponsoby Memorial Society, 1966). In 1962, there was published also in Kyoto the volume simply entitled Kyoto which represented a collaborative effort of several well-known Japanese writers and artists including Jiro Osaragi, Takehiko]

Ibuki, and Minoru Shibata. This volume turned out to be a classic, a magnificent, large book of beautiful photographs, with a fine text, including a good introductory essay on Kyoto's history, arts, festivals and people, and commentary on its castles and gardens. In Tokyo in 1964, there was published a very pleasant, substantial guide to the city, its castles, palaces and gardens, in Gouverneur Mosher, Kyoto: A Contemplative Guide (Tokyo and Rutland: Charles E. Tuttle Co.). In this country in the sixties there was published Martin Hurlmann, Kyoto: in the Momoyama Period (Norman, Oklahoma: University of Oklahoma Press, 1967), a very scholarly work in the University of Oklahoma's The Centers of Civilization Series.

The works of Lafcadio Hearn, Basil Hall Chamberlain's Things Japanese, Douglas Sladen's Queer Things About Japan would be among numerous previously published and well-known works on Japan reissued in the 1950s and 1960s by Charles E. Tuttle Company of Tokyo and Vermont. Tuttle brought out numerous new works as well, such as Harold S. Williams, Shades of the Past (1959), a series of historical accounts generally of the "old" Japan. The charm of old Japan was written by a perceptive and sensitive former correspondent for the Christian Science Monitor and The Washington Post in Japan in Frank H. Hedges' In Far Japan: Glimpses and Sketches (Tokyo, 1946). The experiences and impressions of an American traveler in Japan in the period between World Wars I and II were depicted in Bernice B. Wyman, A Strand of Pearls from Old Japan (Boston: Christopher Publishing House, 1952), while the

Experiences of a Japanese girl growing up in Japan in the years before World War II were charmingly recounted in Reiko Hatsumi, Rain and the Feast of the Stars (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1959), a book which gave beautiful vignettes of Japan (some of which appeared prior to publication of the book, in The New Yorker and Mademoiselle magazines.

Perhaps the most prolific of them all was Mock Joya, a writer for the Nippon Times in Tokyo for many years, whose Milestones in Life (1949), Japanese Customs and Manners (1949), and Quaint Customs and Manners of the Japanese (1951, 1953 editions) delighted and enlightened foreigners by the thousands in Japan during the postwar period. Setsuo Uenoda, Japan Yesterday and Today: Sketches and Essays on Japanese City Life (Tokyo: Tokyo News Service, 1952), Shunkichi Akimoto, Exploring the Japanese Ways of Life (Tokyo: Tokyo News Service, 1961), and Iwao Matsuhara, On Life and Nature in Japan (Tokyo: Hokuseido, 1964) were three more volumes of "potpourri" which sought to explain Japanese culture, customs and manners to the Westerner. Two American publishers in Japan brought out numerous "description and travel" books on Japan in these years, books written by both Japanese and foreigners. Among those by Japanese were Tsuneji Hibino, Meet Japan: A Modern Nation with a Memory (Tokyo and Rutland: Charles E. Tuttle, 1966), which presented a clear picture of the Japanese scene as it was actually at the time of the Tokyo Olympiad for which it was prepared; and Kayuo Nichida, Storied Cities of Japan (Tokyo: John Weatherhill, 1963), a nice little work of history and legend regarding the famous cities of Japan. Perhaps the

most prolific writer of them all in these years before and after the war, a writer concerned with the interpretation of Japan, its customs and culture, for the Westerner, was the Englishman Lewis W. Bush whose Japanalia: A Concise Cyclopedia, first published in 1938, came out in revised editions in 1956-1968. Originally, this work had been conceived as a simple handbook of folklore and customs for easy reference for the visitor, student or anyone interested in Japan and the Japanese. After the war, it was expanded to include an outline history of Japan, Japanalia (from abacus to Zen), lists of Emperors and Empresses, prime ministers, publishers. In 1967, Bush completed another volume, Japanalia: Past and Present which contained yet additional miscellaneous data: the Japanese zodiac, festivals, gods and demons, "old highways" and numerous other subjects for the amusement of the foreign visitor to Japan.

One of the best descriptive works about Japan and its people, past and present, to be published after the war was Donald Keene, Living Japan (New York: Doubleday, 1959). As one of America's most eminent Japanologists, Donald Keene took special pains to explain in this beautiful volume the Japanese mode of life, home and marital customs, religious beliefs, educational programs, industry, arts and skills, sports--and many other aspects of life in contemporary Japan. The lively and authoritative text was enhanced by carefully chosen, representative photographs of modern Japan, all of which conveyed to the American a realistic, clear and sympathetic portrait of the new Japan. A good supplement to Keene's work, because it was the more impressionistic and romantic in its

Interpretation of Japan and its culture, was Fosco Maraini, Meeting With Japan (New York: Viking, 1960), which delighted thousands of American Book-of-the-Month-Club members and armchair travelers to the Far East in the early 1960s. This book, written by an Italian whose love for Japan and faith in her people survived two years of barbarous treatment as an interned anti-Fascist at Nagoya during the war, gave Americans a fascinating, strikingly photographed, generally well-written introduction to Japan. Another picture-essay of the people, especially of the residents of Tokyo, appeared in 1962 in Jacqueline Paul, Japan Quest: An Illustrated Opinion of Modern Japanese Life (Tokyo and Rutland: Charles E. Tuttle). Also in 1962, there appeared the first of two volumes on the people of the new Japan written by Pearl S. Buck whose concerns after the war were with all the people of Asia. In A Bridge for Passing (New York: John Day), she gave a colorful, graphic, and appreciative picture of present day Japan, depicting especially the beauty of the Japanese scene and the unspoken empathy of the Japanese people. Then in 1966, in The People of Japan (New York: Simon and Schuster), Miss Buck gave another sympathetic portrayal of the Japanese, a view of the people of the new Japan more deeply informed and more deeply charitable than most Westerners' views. This book was lavishly illustrated which added to its attraction for many Americans. Complementary to Pearl Buck's books was one written by a British lady who went to Japan in the early 1960s, lived with a Japanese family and during her stay kept a diary on her experiences which served as the basis for Nina Epton's Seaweed for

Breakfast: A Picture of Japanese Life Today (New York: Dodd Mead, 1963).

The women of Japan were the subject of numerous works published in the years after the war. Mary R. Beard, The Force of Women in Japanese History (Washington, D. C., 1953) consisted of sketches of Japanese women in the history of the country which placed them in a new dimension for most Westerners. A Japanese who had been educated at Wellesley College before the war and returned to Tokyo to endure the war years there, wrote about her homeland and some of the results of the Japanese defeat in Sumie Seo Mishima, The Broader Way: A Woman's Life in the New Japan (New York: John Day, 1953). The book was important because it gave the American a vivid picture of life in Tokyo during and after the bombings of World War II and because it acquainted him with the new Japanese women, their ideas and ideals. In the same vein as Mishima's work were reprints of the works of Etsu Sugimoto after the war: A Daughter of the Samurai (Rutland, Vermont: Charles E. Tuttle, 1966), and Samurai Daughter in America (London: Macmillan, 1963). Young ladies of the new Japan, generally representative of upper middle class family life in Japan, told their story in Earl H. Cressy, Daughters of Changing Japan (New York, 1955).

A biography of the Empress of Japan and the Royal Family was published in English translation in the 1950s and enjoyed by Americans whose interest in the Royal Family was aroused by the works of Elizabeth Gray Vining (Windows for the Crown Prince and Return to Japan, respectively

published in 1952 and 1960 by Lippincott, Philadelphia) and by the marriage of the Crown Prince to a commoner. Kooko Koyama, Nagako: Empress of Japan (New York, 1958) gave a good account of hidebound tradition and customs in Japan as well as an interesting portrayal of a devoted couple and loving parents. Then in 1960, in time for the famous visit of the Crown Prince and his recent bride to America, the American literary figure Charlie May Simon wrote The Sun and the Birch: The Story of Crown Prince Akihito and Crown Princess Michiko (New York: Dutton, 1960). This was as much a portrayal of changing Japan and the life and customs of the Japanese people as it was the account of Prince Akihito's marriage. It was a book which had special appeal to young Americans.

Appealing to more mature Americans whose curiosity about the Geisha and general interest in the cultural beauties of Japan were aroused as a result of increased contact between Japanese and Americans after the war were a number of publications of the 1950s and 1960s. P. D. Perkins, whose familiarity with and interest in Japan went back to prewar years, wrote Geisha of Pontocho (Tokyo: P. D. Perkins, 1954) in an effort to present an authentic picture of the true geisha and of the institution "peculiar to Japan." Of equal value as a social document was Kikou Yamata, Three Geishas (New York: John Day, 1956). An especially beautiful book "for the Western reader who knows nothing about Japan beyond being familiar with the single word Geisha" was written in 1960 by a Western authority on the Kabuki, A. C. Scott: The Flower and Willow World: The Story of the Geisha (New York: Orion Press, 1960).

Equally interesting was Sara Harris, House of the Ten Thousand Pleasures (New York: Dutton, 1962). A stunning and lavishly illustrated volume was also published by the Japan Publications Company in 1964: Takako Shibusawa, Kon-Nichi-Wa: Japanese Beauties Today (Tokyo).

Dan Kurzman's Kishi and Japan: The Search for the Sun (New York: Obolensky, 1960) was a sensitive, accurate and informative work on a prominent Japanese and his times (the 1940s and 50s) out of which many Americans gained excellent insights into postwar Japan. An even more prominent figure of Japan was the subject of a biography by a British journalist familiar with Japan: Leonard O. Mosley, Hirohito: Emperor of Japan (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, 1966). This volume had an obvious appeal to a popular American audience and represented an effort to trace the path of Japan and the Japanese people and government throughout the previous sixty-odd years, as well as Hirohito and his family. Hirohito emerged from the book a gentle, introverted, scholarly man of peace. In contrast with the figure of the Emperor of Japan was Japan's war leader and prime minister who was the subject of a biography by a British major in World War II, stationed in Japan after the war: Courtney Browne, Tojo: The Last Banzai (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1967). In 1968, there appeared a new biography of the great humanitarian-bacteriologist of the World War I era, Hideyo Noguchi, in Dan D'Amelio, Taller Than Bandai Mountain (New York: Viking Press, 1968).

Michihiko Hachiya, Hiroshima Diary (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina, 1955) and earlier John Hersey, Hiroshima (New York:

[Alfred A. Knopf, 1945) told arrestingly and well the tragedy of Hiro-]
shima. These were followed by the publication of other works which fo-
cused in one way or another upon Hiroshima and the bombing which
ushered in the atomic age. The head of the New York Times Tokyo Bureau
in the 1950s, Robert Trumbull, wrote Nine Who Survived Hiroshima and
Nagasaki (New York: Dutton, 1957) which told the incredible story of
nine Japanese who survived the atomic bombings of both cities. A book
which originally appeared in German but which was translated into En-
glish and published in an American edition was Robert Jungk, Children
of the Ashes: The Story of a Rebirth (New York: Harcourt Brace and
World, 1961). Edward Teller wrote on the nuclear age and weapons in The
Legacy of Hiroshima (New York: Doubleday, 1962), and the New York Times
produced a general assessment of Hiroshima, the effects and meaning of
the bomb, in Hiroshima Plus 20 (New York: The New York Times Co., 1965).
A poignant, well-articulated reminder of the bomb and its impact, in a
sense a reexamination of Hiroshima, the city and its inhabitants twenty
years after the bomb, was found in Rafael Steinberg's Postscript from
Hiroshima (New York: Random House, 1966). A social-psychological-his-
torical study of the bombing, in which Americans were introduced to the
life of the city of Hiroshima prior to its destruction and to an assess-
ment of the bombing, was found in one of the most significant books of
the decade: Robert Jay Lifton, Death in Life; Survivors of Hiroshima
(New York: Random House, 1968). As a Yale research psychiatrist, Robert
Jay Lifton spent several years in Japan prior to 1962 when he began]

Research and the writing of Death in Life. While he was engaged in his work there, and interviewing survivors of the bomb, his wife was busily absorbing Japanese culture with an eye toward conveying some of it to the American people in the form of literature especially for young people. The fruits of her labors were found in Return to Hiroshima (New York: Atheneum, 1970), a picture essay on the city and its people--and the legacy of the bomb. Earlier, in 1968, Betty Jean Lifton authored a story set in rural Japan which had great appeal to young people: The Many Lives of Chio and Goro (New York: W. W. Norton, 1968). Also in The One-Legged Ghost (New York: Atheneum, 1968) Mrs. Lifton retold an old Japanese folk tale to the delight of ten-year-olds. Mrs. Lifton's books on Japanese themes for young Americans were representative of a burgeoning number of such works made available in America in the 1950s and (especially) the 1960s. On the whole this literature was remarkably well written, attractive, authoritative and popular. As such it went a long way toward the introduction of Japan and its culture to young and impressionable Americans after the war.

Two well-written, popular accounts of the turbulent era which followed Commodore Perry were produced by Patricia Barr, who resided in Yokohama a number of years and traveled throughout Japan in the course of her research and the writing of the volumes. The Coming of the Barbarians (New York: Dutton, 1967) gave the Western world an attractive, lively account of the opening of Japan to the West in the period 1853-70, while The Deer Cry Pavilion: A Story of Westerners in Japan 1868-

[1905 (New York: Harcourt Brace and World, 1968) served as an equally stimulating and popular account of the Westerners in Meiji Japan--and incidentally an assessment of the role played by Americans in the emergence of Japan as a modern state. Earlier, in 1955, there was published one of the pioneering and most reliable studies undertaken on the relations between the United States and Japan in Robert S. Schwantes, Japanese and Americans: A Century of Cultural Relations (New York: Harper and Brothers). Another fine volume which served to direct the attention of Westerners to the fascinating story of the Americans and their role in the development of modern Japan was Foster Rhea Dulles, Yankees and Samurai (New York: Harper and Row, 1965), which explored essentially for the lay American reader the contacts between Americans and Japanese during the 19th century. What made Dulles' volume especially valuable was his concern with the personal experiences of individuals--both Americans and Japanese--who helped provide a bridge between the two cultures in the period up to the turn of the century. Similar to Dulles' lively account, yet unique in that they represented the personal experiences of Englishmen in Japan during the Meiji era, were the reprints of the classics of John R. Young, Young Japan: Yokohama and Yedo 1858-79 (Tokyo and Rutland, Vermont: Charles E. Tuttle and Co., 1968) and Sir Ernest Satow, A Diplomat in Japan (Tokyo and Rutland: Charles E. Tuttle, 1968). Another valuable addition to the material in English on this crucial time in Japanese history and in United States-Japan relations was Henry Heusken, Japan Journal 1855-61 (New Brunswick, New Jersey: Rutgers

[University Press, 1964), while Michael Cooper, ed., They Came to Japan (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1966), presented for American scholar and layman alike the fascinating accounts of the European visitors to Japan in the 16th and 17th centuries, enlightening views of Japan and the Japanese that many of the 19th century visitors to Japan perused--as did Perry--prior to their own residence and travel there in the Perry-Meiji era.

The centennial of Perry's opening of Japan inspired the publication in 1952 of Sidney Wallach, ed., Narrative of the Expedition of an American Squadron to the China Seas and Japan (New York: Coward McCann, 1952) which was an edited version of the three formidable volumes originally compiled by Francis L. Hawks and published by the government in 1856 under the same title. Also in 1952, there was published Henry Graff, ed., Blue Jackets With Perry in Japan (New York: New York Public Library) which contained a long introductory essay devoted to a rapid but well documented survey of the state of knowledge concerning Japan current by 1853 in America. Graff's work served as a fine supplementary volume to Allan B. Cole, ed., Yankee Surveyors in the Shogun's Seas (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1947) which gave an excellent picture of early post-treaty relations between Japanese and Americans. A decade later in 1962, there was published, at long last, George Henry Preble, The Opening of Japan: A Diary of Discovery in the Far East 1853-1856 (Norman, Oklahoma: University of Oklahoma Press, 1962) which gave Americans new insights into the situation in Japan and China at the time

of the famous expedition, by one of the junior officers of Perry's crew. In 1967, there appeared what quickly became recognized as the definitive biography of Perry: Samuel Eliot Morison, Old Bruin: Commodore Matthew Calbraith Perry (Boston: Little, Brown, 1967), and then in 1968, there appeared Roger Pineau, ed., The Japan Expedition 1852-54: The Personal Journal of Commodore Matthew C. Perry (Washington, D. C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1968). This handsome volume, skillfully edited, and with beautiful reproductions of watercolor prints by the expedition's principal artist, and illustrations of Japanese fish, birds, and shells (which served as an enchanting tribute to American lithography), was not intended as a scholar's source book but rather as a book simply to be read and enjoyed. As such, it had considerable popular appeal. One of the most vivid accounts of the real beginnings of American-Japanese relations was contained in The Complete Journal of Townsend Harris, revised and updated in an edition published by Charles E. Tuttle Company, with the cooperation of the Japan Society of New York, in 1959.

3. The Japanese-American

Concerned with the status and history of the Japanese-American in America in these years and with telling the world about them, were Harry H. L. Kitano of the University of California, Los Angeles, and William K. Hosokawa, Associate Editor of the Denver Post. Kitano's major work, Japanese-Americans: The Evolution of a Subculture (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, 1969) constituted a highly readable history and penetrating sociological study of Japanese-Americans and the

Evolution of the Japanese-Americans' role and status in American society. He investigated the cultural attitudes which produced the phenomenal postwar rehabilitation of the Japanese-American, interpreted the character of the Japanese-American and explained the unusually low incidence of crime and delinquency among members of the minority group--a remarkable success story in virtually every sense of the term. This theme was further developed in an article which appeared in the New York Times Magazine in 1966: William Peterson, "Success Story: Japanese-American Style," Kitano also came to grips with one of the vital problems of the twentieth century in a work coauthored with Roger Daniels: American Racism: Exploration of the Nature of Prejudice (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, 1970). This was an interdisciplinary study of the Japanese-American and other minority groups in California which gave the reader valuable insights into the basic causes of racial and ethnic conflict and offered at the same time a fresh approach to the understanding and amelioration of future problems of prejudice. One of the finest and most objective studies of the second generation Americans of Japanese descent and their immigrant parents--extending from Manjiro Nakahama, the first Issei who was brought to the United States in 1843 by a whaling captain, through the Second World War--was completed by Bill Hosokawa and published in 1969 as Nisei: The Quiet Americans. The book was a major contribution to the literature on the Japanese-American and constituted a splendid probe of the insular life of the Japanese communities in the United States over the period since immediately before

The Second World War. 7

The Japanese figured prominently in numerous additional studies published in the United States in the years during and since the war. Carey McWilliams, Prejudice: Japanese-Americans: Symbol of Racial Intolerance (New York: Public Affairs Committee, 1944) and Ansel Adams, Born Free and Equal: Photographs of the Loyal Japanese-American (New York: U. S. Camera, 1944), respectively utilized their writing and photography skills in 1944 to present to the American people sympathetic accounts of the problem encountered by the Americans of Japanese descent after Pearl Harbor. McWilliams gave a vivid word picture of what happened to the Japanese-Americans in the mass exodus from the West Coast in 1942 and incidentally produced an excellent account of how prejudice was manufactured. Ansel Adams told the story of several thousand loyal Americans locked up in the Manzanera Relocation Center in Inyo County, California. Clear, cogent writing was complemented by expert photography which gave the American a telling, sympathetic picture of these victims of wartime hysteria. Another book on the Japanese-American came out just as the guns of war were stilled: Forrest E. Lavolette, Americans of Japanese Ancestry (Toronto: Canadian Institute of IR Affairs, 1946).

There followed in 1946 three extraordinary publications which contributed significantly to the American's understanding of the Japanese and their culture, the Japanese-American and his problems. In Andrew William Lind, Hawaii's Japanese: An Experiment in Democracy (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1946) it was indicated that the Japanese in

Hawaii committed not a single act of sabotage either before or after December 7, 1941 and that they were not only worthy and valuable citizens, but normal human beings who worked hard for a fair share of freedom from intolerance. Ruth Benedict, The Chrysanthemum and the Sword: Patterns of Japanese Culture (Boston: Houghton Mifflin & Co., 1946), represented one of the classics of the immediate postwar years and proved to be one of the most fascinating, incisive and informative works on the Japanese and their culture ever produced by a Westerner. For Americans it was an especially instructive book, all the more remarkable because it had been based upon interviews with Nisei, as well as upon extensive research on the literature of Japan and on the Japanese. The book was written as an assignment on the study of Japan for the Office of War Information. The result of anthropologist Benedict's labors was an authoritative account of how the Japanese viewed life and themselves, and with sketches of Japanese society, the system of practical ethics, the Japanese ideas of good and bad, the disciplines which made the Japanese able to live according to their code. As such the work fascinated thousands of Americans as a penetrating contribution to the history of human thought. It served, as well, as a guide for Americans in their relations with the Japanese after the war, as an invaluable introduction to the behavior of the Japanese in all walks of life.

The third 1946 publication of note turned out to be the first of a trio of significant works produced as a result of the University of California Japanese-American Evacuation and Resettlement Study which

Began its work in 1942 and formally terminated in 1948. Dorothy S. Thomas and Richard S. Thomas, with Richard S. Nishimoto, The Spoilage (Berkeley: The University of California Press, 1946) represented a study of the experience of the Japanese-Americans in the relocation centers, with particular emphasis on Tule Lake, California, analyzing the reactions of the evacuees to administrative policies, to center experience, and to the war. Dorothy S. Thomas, The Salvage (Berkeley: The University of California Press, 1952) followed the fortunes of Japanese-Americans who left the relocation centers to resettle in American communities before the army released the majority of the evacuees in December, 1944. Then in 1954, there was published, Jacobus TenBroek, Edward N. Barnhart and Floyd W. Matson, Prejudice, War and the Constitution (Berkeley: University of California Press), perhaps the most important of the three volumes undertaken by the University of California special study group since it surveyed the historical origins, the political characteristics and legal consequences of the Japanese-American evacuation. The book served as a remarkably effective treatise in defense of the need for Americans to strengthen their capacity for reason under pressure: and in the process the dignity of the Japanese-American who became the wartime victim of unreason and endured a fate to which no American should ever have been subjected, was measurably enhanced.

The wartime evacuation of the Japanese-Americans from the West Coast continued to be the subject of notable books published in the United States for the twenty-five years following the war. One of the

men involved in the University of California study project, Morton Melvin Grodzins, completed and had published Americans Betrayed: Politics and the Japanese Evacuation (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1949). The story of the Japanese in Hawaii and of their internment during World War II was told in Kazuo Miyamoto, Hawaii: End of the Rainbow (Rutland, Vermont: Charles E. Tuttle, 1964). Another "personal" version of the relocation of the Japanese-Americans during the war years was Daisuke Kitagawa, Issei and Nisei: The Internment Years (New York: Seabury Press, 1967). A most important work in terms of Japan's cultural reputation in America was the very striking Allean H. Eaton, Beauty Behind Barbed Wire: The Arts of the Japanese in American War Relocation Camps (New York: Harper & Bros., 1952). With a sympathetic foreword by Eleanor Roosevelt and with a clear, simple style of writing embellished by telling photographs and lovely pictures, the story of how the Japanese-American faced uncertainty and stress with dignity and courage was revealed.

More detached accounts of the evacuation came out in the 1960s: Allan R. Bosworth, America's Concentration Camps (New York: Norton, 1967), and Audrie Girdner and Anne Loftis, The Great Betrayal: The Evacuation of the Japanese-Americans during World War II (New York: Macmillan, 1969). Human interest accounts of the Japanese-Americans helped further to alter American views toward the Japanese and their culture in these years. One of the more poignant stories to appear in print after the war was Monica Sone, Nisei Daughter (Boston: Little, Brown, 1953).

[In 1948, there appeared in Lippincott's "Peoples of America" series]
Bradford Smith, Americans from Japan (Philadelphia), a general survey
of the Japanese-Americans, their lives and customs, from the time they
first came to American territory in the Hawaiian Islands to their par-
ticipation in World War II. A more scholarly work, in the University
of California "Publications in History" series, was Roger Daniels, The
Politics of Prejudice: The Anti-Japanese Movement in California and the
Struggle for Japanese Exclusion (Berkeley: University of California
Press, 1962). One of the basic points Daniels made in his work was that
"less than a generation ago, the accomplishments of the anti-Japanese
movement were viewed as great deeds. . . . Today the last legal ves-
tiges of anti-Orientalism have been wiped from the State's statute
books. . . . The revolutionary change in the climate of opinion . . .
has been caused by . . . the fact that the vast bulk of California
Issei and their descendants were, despite almost continuous abuse and
privation, superlatively good citizens. . . ."

4. Japan in Print: The Years of the Occupation

The lighter side of the American experience in Japan during the occupation was depicted in Tats Blain, Mother-Sir! (New York: Appleton Century Crofts, 1953) parts of which originally appeared in Charm magazine in 1951; in J. Malcolm Morris, The Wise Bamboo (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott, 1953) which originally appeared in part in The Saturday Evening Post as "My Six Fantastic Years at the Imperial Hotel" in 1952, in Ellen R. Thysell, The Bride Grew Horns (New York: Vantage Press, 1956); in Anne Cleveland, It's Better With Your Shoes Off (Rutland, Vermont and Tokyo: Tuttle, 1955); and in Jack Matsuoka, Rice Paddy Daddy: The Adventures of G. I. Bill in Japan (Tokyo and Rutland, Vermont: Tuttle, 1956). Also amusing was Allan R. Bosworth, Ginza Go, Papa-San (Tokyo and Rutland, Vermont: Tuttle, 1955) and the same author's The Lovely World of Richi San (New York: Harper, 1960). With six years of U.S. Navy duty in Japan, Bosworth acquired a variety of insights into Japanese culture that he managed to convey in a pleasant, readable way in his writings, some of which appeared in The New Yorker and Harpers Magazine. In the same "genre" as the Bosworth books, in that they represented the observations and impressions of Americans, or foreigners, in Japan during the period of the occupation or the years which followed, were a number of publications of the period 1945-1970. Willard Price, who had resided in Japan before the war and had already been known for his Children of the Rising Sun (New York:

[Reynal and Hitchcock, 1938) and his novel Barbarian (New York: John Day, 1941) as well as for his assessment of the Japanese and their position in the world in Japan Rides the Tiger (New York: John Day, 1942), wrote a tract in opposition to the Emperor system and retention of the Emperor and followed this up with Key to Japan (New York: John Day, 1946). Dedicating the book to the "men of the occupation" the little book made an effort to correct the "misconceptions" held by so many Americans about the Japanese. After the occupation ended, Price went back to Japan "to see the spectacle of a transformed nation," and in Journey By Junk: Japan After MacArthur (New York: John Day, 1953) described almost everything--from the future of Japan to birth control, the Inland Sea to the position of women, and concluded "the goodwill, which was the noblest bequest of a stumbling, naive, but right-hearted occupation should be zealously fostered between Japan and the West. In the long run, it means more than money, arms or directives."

Another American resident of Japan in the prewar years, Helen Mears, also found herself back in Japan after the war, as an adviser to the occupation forces. Her book, Year of the Wild Boar: An American Woman in Japan (Philadelphia: J.B. Lippincott, 1942) exposed Americans during the war years to an excellent, honest portrait of Japan and the Japanese, while her Mirror for Americans: Japan (Boston: Houghton Mifflin and Co., 1948) constituted her own views of the occupation and an assessment of why Japan was important to the United States. A somewhat superficial, but very readable

journalistic account of the occupation and of the Japanese character in relation to it was Noel F. Busch, Fallen Sun: A Report on Japan (New York: D. Appleton Century Co., 1948). In Popcorn on the Ginza: An Informal Portrait of Postwar Japan (New York: W. Sloane Associates, 1949) Lucy H. Crockett gave a warm, sympathetic account of the Japanese for thousands of American relatives and friends of occupation personnel who were curious to know what it was like to live there in the immediate postwar years.

Two more American women, an English lady writer, and several gentlemen from Japan, England and Australia as well as from the United States also wrote on Japan for Western audiences in these years after the war. Margery Finn Brown, the wife of a West point Colonel stationed in Japan in the late 1940s wrote a lively, informative, warm hearted account of her life there in Over a Bamboo Fence (New York: Morrow, 1951). A year later another better known American writer, Elizabeth Gray Vining, completed and had published Windows for the Crown Prince (Philadelphia: J.B. Lippincott, 1952) which captivated Americans for its simply told story of four years at the Imperial Court of Japan where she had been invited to teach English to the Crown Prince. The British writer, Honor Tracy, toured Japan as an observer of the occupation and conditions there in the late 1940s and wrote an exceedingly critical account of it all in Kakemono: A Sketch Book of Postwar Japan (London: Methuen, 1950). In somewhat the same vein was Karl Eskelund, The Emperor's New Clothes (London: Macmillan, 1955) which consisted of

sketches of postwar Tokyo and Kyoto and conversations with Japanese.

Also in 1955 there appeared The Japanese Are Like That (Tokyo and Rutland, Vermont: Tuttle, 1955) by Ichiro Kawasaki. One of the finest of the entire lot of books on Japan written in these postwar years was Allan S. Clifton, Time of Fallen Blossoms (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1951). An Australian stationed in Hiroshima in 1946, Clifton was fluent in Japanese and managed to establish close personal contact with the Japanese during his stay there. As a result, his book gave a fascinating and understanding picture of the Japanese and conditions in Japan in the immediate postwar period. Three more American writers, in Japan either with the occupation or during the Korean War period, wrote perceptively of the Japanese of these years. John LaCerde, correspondent with the Philadelphia Evening Bulletin in Tokyo, wrote an often amusing and somewhat perceptive account of the occupation in The Conquerer Comes to Tea: Japan Under MacArthur (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1946). Walter Sheldon developed for the Far Eastern Network, the broadcasting outlet of the U.S. forces stationed in Japan, a series of radio programs entitled "Enjoy Japan" which were designed to interpret Japan for the benefit of the Americans living there. Subsequently there was published his Enjoy Japan: A Personal and Highly Unofficial Guide (Tokyo and Rutland, Vermont: Tuttle, 1956). Later Sheldon produced The Honorable Conquerors: The Account of Japan 1945-1952 (New York: Macmillan, 1965), which was one of the few reasonably thorough accounts of the occupation produced by an American. Another

notable work, the outcome of an American correspondent's encounter with Japan as a language student with the U.S. Navy during the war and later as an official with the occupation, was Frank Gibney, Five Gentlemen of Japan: A Portrait of a Nation's Character (New York: Farrar Straus, 1953). In his book Gibney succeeded in interpreting perceptively the character of the Japanese people for a wide American audience.

If an acquaintance with Japan in the period after the war spurred Americans and others on to an interpretation of Japan and the Japanese for the benefit of Western audiences, in time the occupation itself would become the subject of more serious students. Post Wheeler, an American foreign service officer in Japan before the war, wrote an assessment of the Japanese and their ability to be "reformed" by the occupation in Dragon in the Dust (Hollywood: Rodd, 1946). Another long-time student of Japan, Douglas Haring, edited a series of articles, prepared by men who had been involved in the training of American military government officers for the occupation, dealing with a variety of topics: Japan's Prospect (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1946). While the book was really intended for the serious student of Japan, it did contain an excellent and relevant guide to reading on Japan which helped Americans get their bearings on this terribly complex nation. Another study of the occupation which appeared in 1947, one that emphasized its political aspects, was Frank R. Kelley, Star Spangled Mikado (New York: McBride, 1947). An eyewitness report of the occupation by the correspondent in Tokyo of the Chicago Sun was Mark Gayn, Japan Diary

(New York: W. Sloane Associates, 1948). A similar report was Russell Brines, MacArthur's Japan (Philadelphia: J.B. Lippincott, 1948). The Institute of Pacific Relations sponsored a series of volumes dealing with the occupation at this time: Edwin M. Martin, The Allied Occupation of Japan (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1948); Harold Wakefield, New Paths for Japan (New York: The Council, 1948); T. A. Bisson, Prospects for Democracy in Japan (New York: The Council, 1949); and W. MacMahon Ball, Japan: Enemy or Ally? (New York: Macmillan, 1949). Following up on Martin's The Allied Occupation of Japan was Robert A. Fearey, The Occupation of Japan: Second Phase, 1948-50 (New York: The Council, 1950). With American interest in Japan engendered by the occupation seemingly at an all time high in 1950, Edwin O. Reischauer's classic The United States and Japan (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1950) met the needs of thousands searching for a penetrating yet readable history of Japan and their relations with the United States. The first effort to assess the occupation from its inception to its formal end was written by a Dutchman, Baron Everett J. Lewe van Aduard, Japan From Surrender to Peace (The Hague: M. Nijhoff, 1954). The book was made appealing to Americans partly because it contained an introduction by the man who largely framed the Peace Treaty with Japan and the then Secretary of State, John Foster Dulles.

One of the most comprehensive and authoritative studies on the occupation was Harry Emerson Wildes, Typhoon in Tokyo: The Occupation and Its Aftermath (New York: Macmillan, 1954). The next significant

study of the occupation and its aftermath was Kazuo Kawai, Japan's American Interlude (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1960) which dealt with selected controversial aspects of the Japanese reaction to American influence during the occupation period. Another of the few scholarly studies of this period was Hans Baerwald, The Purge of Japanese Leaders Under the Occupation (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1960). In 1964 there appeared Douglas MacArthur's Reminiscences (New York: Macmillan, 1964) which had been widely read in the United States as they appeared in a serialized version in Life.

William J. Sebald, With MacArthur in Japan: A Personal History of the Occupation of Japan (New York: Norton, 1965) represented a valuable first hand view of MacArthur and the occupation written by the senior civilian official in the occupation hierarchy. In 1968 there appeared among Columbia University's "Occasional Papers of the East Asian Institute" Herbert Passin, The Legacy of the Occupation of Japan (New York: Columbia University Press, 1968) which represented a detached, perceptive examination of the legacy of the occupation by one of America's foremost scholars of Japanese social institutions. With foundation support and the cooperation of the Social Science Research Council of New York, political scientist Robert Ward of the University of Michigan was appointed, late in the 1960s, director of a major research project to investigate the American occupation of Japan. A full, objective account of the occupation period had yet to be written.

5. Japan in Print: The Missionary Impulse

The foremost American publisher of missionary literature in the postwar period was the Friendship Press of New York, affiliated with the National Council of Churches of Christ. The war itself did not deter the Friendship Press from the publication of some works by and about missionaries who had served abroad, and the occupation had scarcely begun before such publications as The Return to Japan, reporting on the Christian deputation to Japan in the fall of 1945, were being published. Also in 1946 there was published Toru Matsumoto, A Brother Is A Stranger, the autobiography of a Japanese Christian, graduate of Union Theological Seminary, temporarily interned in the United States after Pearl Harbor. The banner year for Friendship Press publications on Japan appeared to be 1949, with numerous accounts written by or about missionaries who had served or were then serving in Japan. The range of titles was considerable, the appeal to a wide audience. There were books such as Anne M. Halladay, Toshio and Tama: Children of the New Japan and Alice Gwinn, Fun and Festival from Japan which appealed to young people, novels such as Toru Matsumoto's The Seven Stars, and biographies of Japanese Christians such as W. H. Murray Walton, A Torch in Japan. Friendship Press also brought out in 1949 Marianna Nugent, Tales from Japan, Basil Miller, Twenty-two Mission Stories from Japan, Toyohiko Kagawa's Songs from the Land of Dawn, and a broad scale survey of Japan by a scholar-missionary who had served in both

[Japan and Korea, William S. Kerr, Japan Begins Again. In succeeding years there were published, among others, Kenneth Scott Latourette, Introducing Buddhism (1956); William Arling, This Is Japan (1957) which was an illustrated little paperback giving a "capsule view" of contemporary Japan (1957); Takenaka Masao, Reconciliation and Renewal in Japan (1957), (revised edition, 1967); Reverend Philip Williams, Journey into Mission (1957)--the diary of a young missionary who spent the years 1950-55 in Japan; Charles W. Iglehart, Cross and Crisis in Japan (1957), which gave an excellent picture of some Japanese churches and of Christian work in Japan; Katherine Johnson, In Our Time 1947-57 (1958), which gave a description of the cooperation between and activities of the Interboard Committee for Christian Work in Japan, which had its headquarters in New York City, and the Kyodan in Japan; Marianna N. and Norman Y. Pritchard, Ten Against the Storm (1957), written in commemoration of the 1959 centennial of the Protestant Church in Japan and recounting the story of American missionary families of distinction in Japan as well as of prominent Japanese Christians, including Inazo Nitobe and Joseph Hardy Nishima; and Charles H. Germany, The Response of the Church in Changing Japan (1967) written by an American who had served as a missionary in the Methodist Church in Japan 1947-64 and who was concerned, in this well written work, with two basic aspects of Japanese life: the rapidity of change in major areas of life and "a new understanding of the nature of Japan's inner identity."

The experiences of missionaries in Japan were recounted in a variety of ways during the postwar years. Numerous missionaries spoke to church groups--and others--while on furlough at home. Many other missionaries and their acquaintances sought to put down "for the record" and "for the folks back home" accounts of Japanese life and culture along with the story of their experiences while serving in Japan. Richard Terrill Baker combined his views of contemporary Japan with a study of the growth of the American involvement in Christian work in Japan in his Darkness of the Sun: The Story of Christianity in the Japanese Empire (New York: Abingdon, Cokesbury Press, 1947). In 1948 the Catholic Foreign Mission Society of America published a description of the challenge of Japan for Catholic missionaries in Everett F. Briggs, New Dawn in Japan (New York: The Catholic Foreign Mission Society, Inc., 1948). Among William Axling's numerous publications on Japan was Japan at the Mid-Century: Leaves from Life (Philadelphia: American Baptist Publications Society, 1955). This American missionary, who had served in Japan over 50 years, was himself the subject of a biography published in 1969: Leland D. Hine, Axling: A Christian Presence (Valley Forge, Pennsylvania: The Judson Press, 1969). The stories of some women missionaries in Japan were told in Jessie Trout, Bertha Fidelia: Her Story (St. Louis: Bethany Press, 1957); Helen Wells Seymour, A Japan Diary (New Haven, Connecticut, 1956); Katherine F. Berry, Katie-San: From Maine to Japanese Shores (Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1962); Mabel Francis, One Shall Chase a Thousand (Harrisburg, Pennsylvania:

[Christian Publications, Inc., 1968)--the gripping story of the faith of an American Catholic missionary who remained in Japan after Pearl Harbor; Clara Paine Otis, Sojourn in Lilliput: My Seven Years in Japan (New York: Association Press, 1962); Retha H. Eldridge, From the Rising of the Sun (Washington, D.C., 1963)--the story of radio evangelism in Japan; Leonora E. Lea, Windows on Japan (Greenwich, Connecticut, 1956) --written especially for young people by an American who served the Episcopal Church in Japan for over 30 years and remained in Kobe during World War II; Russell T. Hitt, Sensei: The Life Story of Irene Webster Smith (New York: Harper and Bros., 1965)--in the Harper Jungle Missionary Classics series and about the establishment of the Sunrise Home for Wayward Women, the sensei's work at Ochanomizu Student Center and at Sugano prison; Gwen Norman, Japan Profiles: Ten Portraits of Contemporary Japanese Christian Men and Women (Toronto: United Church of Canada, 1967); and Hazel S. McCartney, In the Gray Rain (New York: Harpers, 1957). The latter book, excerpts of which originally appeared in Lutheran Woman's Work, in The Foreign Missionary and in The Lutheran, told the story of women in Japan and gave brief glimpses into Japanese life, customs and culture, written by an American teacher-missionary who had served for many years at Kyushu Jogakuin in southern Japan.

Toyohiko Kagawa's thoughts and poetry, haiku and tanka, were made readily available to Americans in Dorothy Clarke Wilson's A Grain of Wheat: A Dramatization of the Novel by Toyohiko Kagawa (Boston and Los Angeles: Baker's Plays, 1940), and in his popular novel A Grain of

Wheat; in his Songs From the Land of Dawn (New York: The Friendship Press, 1949), and in Toyohiko Kagawa and Franklin Cole, The Willow and the Bridge: Poems and Meditations (New York: Association Press, 1947).

A host of books and articles on Kagawa were produced by the American press which further served to enlighten Americans about him, his achievements, his culture. Among the books, one of the most popular was William Axling's biography which had originally been published in 1932 but which came out in revised editions after the war. Jan Karel Van Baalen, Kagawa the Christian (Grand Rapids, Michigan: William B. Eerdmans, 1936) was concerned with Kagawa and his critics, written by a fellow student of Kagawa's from Holland, who received a Bachelor of Divinity degree along with Kagawa from the Princeton Theological Seminary in 1916. Emerson O. Bradshaw, Unconquerable Kagawa (St. Paul, Minnesota: Macalester Park, 1952) dealt with Kagawa's character, principles, life experiences and beliefs while Cyril J. Davey, Kagawa of Japan (New York: Abingdon Press, 1960) represented a biography written especially for young Americans. One of the best biographies of him, written by an American writer of some renown, was Charlie May Simon, A Seed Shall Serve: The Story of Toyohiko Kagawa, Spiritual Leader of Modern Japan (New York: Dutton, 1958). In the World Christian Books series sponsored by the International Missionary Council in cooperation with the Christian Literature Council of Great Britain and the Committee on World Literacy and Christian Literature of the United States was Jessie M. Trout, Kagawa; Japanese Prophet: His

Witness in Life and Word (New York: Association Press, 1959).

The many works by or about Toyohiko Kagawa contributed a great deal to the American's impression of contemporary Japan in these years after the war while another work sought further to awaken foreigners to the work of Christians in Japan: Kenneth C. Hendricks, Shadow of His Hand: The Reiji Takahashi Story (St. Louis: Bethany Press, 1958). More scholarly works on the Christians in Japan produced in 1959 to coincide with the centennial of Protestant Christianity in Japan were Charles W. Iglehart, A Century of Protestant Christianity in Japan (Tokyo and Rutland, Vermont: Tuttle, 1959). Specifically concerned with the history of cultural confrontation between religious groups was a missionary of the United Church of Christ in Japan during the years 1950-55: Ernest E. Best, Christian Faith and Cultural Crisis: The Japanese Case (Leiden: World Council of Churches, 1966). It represented a pioneering effort to trace the interaction between the Japanese and one branch of a religious faith that was alien to their culture. The story of one of the historically significant Protestant Churches in Japan--Downtown Church, founded in 1890 in Tokyo on the Ginza as a Methodist Fellowship--was published in 1967 in Robert Lee, Stranger in the Land: A Study of the Church in Japan (London: Lutterwirth Press, 1967). Other works of a scholarly nature, produced by missionaries in Japan in these years, were the works of Johannes Laures, S.J., a book designed to help the student of Japan "sense that nation's cultural background," Takaaki Aikawa and Lynn Leavenworth, The Mind of Japan: A Christian Perspective (Valley

Forge, Pa.: The Judson Press, 1967) and Andrew N. Nelson, The Modern Reader's Japanese-English Character Dictionary (Tokyo and Rutland, Vermont: Tuttle, 1962). This was considered to be the first really practical, completely up-to-date and authoritative dictionary in its field in almost 50 years. It represented a major work, the result of close to 40 years in Japan as a Seventh-Day Adventist missionary-educator and student of the Japanese language. The fruits of Nelson's labors were admirably incorporated between the covers of this new dictionary of the Japanese language for English speaking students, a book which was dedicated to his son Richard Andrew Nelson, M.D., "who as a busy surgeon and against great odds passed the Japanese National Medical Examinations given in both oral and written Japanese." By the production of this dictionary, and by the evidence of his son's mastery of the Japanese language, Andrew Nelson epitomized the American missionary's role in the interpretation of Japan and the Japanese to the American people in these years, and represented the accomplishment of the American missionary effort in Japan. For in the production of his dictionary and by inspiring his son to take up the study of the Japanese language, Andrew Nelson served to perpetuate and widen the channels of communication between Americans and Japanese. Nelson was following a tradition established in the 19th century and carried into the 20th by able American missionaries whose concerns, or whose children's concerns, would be as much the interpretation and dissemination abroad of Japanese culture as the perpetuation of the gospel in Japan.

6. UNESCO-Inspired Literature on Japan

One of the earliest productions inspired by UNESCO was Anthology of Japanese Literature from the Earliest Era to the Mid-Nineteenth Century (New York: Grove Press, 1955), translated and edited by Donald Keene of Columbia University. There followed the next year publication of Keene's second major work: Anthology of Modern Japanese Literature (New York: Grove Press, 1956). This volume was also brought out by Charles Tuttle Company of Tokyo and Rutland, Vermont in 1957, and it published several other volumes in the UNESCO program in the 1960s, including Modern Japanese Stories and Michio Takeyama's Harp of Burma. Another rare volume in the UNESCO Collection of Representative Works was that written by the master of enlightenment in the Meiji era who strongly supported the introduction of Western ways into Japan, and founded one of the great institutions of higher education in Japan, Keio University of Tokyo. The Autobiography of Yukichi Fukuzawa was translated into English by Fukuzawa's grandson, Eiichi Kiyooka, and published by Columbia University Press in 1966. This university press had established itself by the 1960s along with Stanford and the University of California, Harvard University and the University of Washington, as one of the major American outlets of books on Japan, and in 1967 there were brought out two additional volumes in the UNESCO series: Essays in Idleness by Kenko Urabe, and Japan's First Modern Novel: Ukigumo by Shimei Futabatei, respectively translated by Donald Keene

and Marleigh Ryan. Japanese writers of the period 1915-40 received some attention by UNESCO in the publication by Stanford University Press in 1968 of Kafu the Scribbler, brilliantly edited by Edward Seidensticker, and the publication by Henry Regnery of Chicago in 1967 and 1968 of Kokoro and The Three Cornered World, both works of the writer of the World War I era, Natsume Soseki.

The American publisher Alfred A. Knopf of New York worked closely with UNESCO in an effort to bring some of this Japanese literature to the American public in these years after the war. One of the first of the Knopf publications included in the UNESCO series of Contemporary Works, was Yasunari Kawabata's Snow Country, translated and with an introduction by Edward Seidensticker. There followed the publication of numerous other contemporary works, at least three of which were also associated with or inspired by UNESCO: Junichiro Tanizaki, The Makioka Sisters (1957) and The Diary of a Mad Old Man (1965), and Kobo Abe, The Woman in the Dunes (1964).

A new publication of a translation of the Manyoshu, containing some of the most exquisite poetry of mankind, was published by the Columbia University Press in 1965 as one of the volumes in the UNESCO program of translations. There would be numerous other classics of Japanese literature in new dress after the war as a result of the UNESCO enterprise. Among them were the translations and editorializations of H. Hrower and Earl Miner, Teika Fujiwara, Superior Poems of Our Time (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1967), and of Donald Keene,

[Major Plays of Chikamatsu (New York: Columbia University Press, 1961).]
The Tale of Genji, also in the UNESCO series, was published in an Anchor Book edition (New York: Doubleday, 1967). Also made available to Western audiences: Ivan Morris' translation of Saikaku Ihara, The Life of an Amorous Woman (New York: New Directions, 1963).

The first of a series of volumes produced by Japan's leading philosophers in this postwar period, the special concern of UNESCO, was Hajime Nakamura, The Ways of Thinking of Eastern Peoples (Tokyo: Kodansha, 1960). Probably the greatest Japanese thinker of recent times was Kitaro Nishida who established himself in 1911 with A Study of Good, brought out in English translation under the UNESCO banner in 1961 (Tokyo: Kodansha). There followed in this series the works of Tetsuro Watsuji (A Climate), and Seichi Hatano (Time and Eternity), the latter writer (1877-1950) well known as the forerunner of the study of Western philosophy and religion among Japanese scholars. The fifth volume in the UNESCO series was Tsumetsugu Muraoka, Studies in Shinto Thought (Tokyo: Kodansha, 1964). One other volume in the series, Nyozeikan Hasegawa, The Japanese Character: A Cultural Profile (Tokyo and Palo Alto: Kodansha, 1966) represented the attempt by a Japanese to analyse the unchanging mainsprings of the Japanese character and cultural tradition, originally written and published in Japan in 1938. As a study written in the difficult prewar period--and widely respected in Japan long after the war--its social and psychological significance was considerable. His writings sought especially to enlighten Americans about Japanese culture.

7. The Performing Arts and Japanese Art and Architecture

Some of the representative publications on Japanese art produced in these postwar years were: Theodore Bowie, The Drawings of Hokusai (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1964); Theodore Bowie, East-West in Art; Patterns of Cultural and Aesthetic Relationships (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1966); Theodore Bowie, Langdon Warner Through His Letters (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1966); Faubion Bowers, Japanese Theater (New York: Hermitage House, 1952); Faubion Bowers, Japanese Theatre (New York: Hill and Wang, 1959); Faubion Bowers, Theatre in the East (New York: T. Nelson, 1956). Donald Keene's numerous works on the literature of the Japanese, and his translations of traditional and contemporary Japanese literature, together with his coauthorship of Sources of Japanese Tradition related to the arts and aesthetics of the Japanese, brought the American well across the bridge of understanding of the arts of the Japanese; additionally, his significant contribution to the publications Bunraku, The Art of the Japanese Puppet Theatre (Tokyo and Palo Alto: Kodansha International, 1964) and Noh, The Classical Theatre of Japan (Tokyo and Palo Alto: Kodansha International, 1966)--two stunning volumes in pictures and text--gave Americans insights into the arts of the Japanese that had scarcely been available before the war.

J. Edward Kidder, Jr. emerged as one of the world's authorities on ancient Japan and early Japanese art during this postwar period. Among his important works were: Japan Before Buddhism (New York: Praeger,

[1959); Masterpieces of Japanese Sculpture (Tokyo and Rutland, Vermont: Charles E. Tuttle, 1961); Early Japanese Art (Princeton, New Jersey; Van Nostrand, 1964); Japanese Temples; Sculpture, Paintings, Gardens and Architecture (London: Thames and Hudson, 1964); Ancient Japan (New York: John Day, 1965) in the publisher's "Young Historian" Series; The Birth of Japanese Art (New York: Praeger, 1965); Prehistoric Japanese Arts: Jomon Pottery (Palo Alto and Tokyo: Kodansha International, 1968).

Sherman Lee, who served as curator of Asian art in Detroit, 1947-49, at the Seattle Art Museum 1948-1952, and at the Cleveland Art Museum 1952-1958 and since 1958 Director of the Cleveland Art Museum, produced Japanese Decorative Style (Cleveland: Cleveland Museum of Art, 1961), and A History of Far Eastern Art (New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc. and Harry N. Abrams, 1964). Clay Lancaster contributed substantially to our fund of knowledge of Japan with The Japanese Influence in America (New York: W. H. Rauls, 1963), and Richard Lane, in addition to his writings and translations of Japanese literature, wrote the text for one of the spectacular volumes of the postwar years: Masters of the Japanese Print: Their World and Their Work (Garden City, New York: Doubleday, 1962).

Certainly one of the most prolific writers of this postwar period, in the area of Eastern art, was Hugo Munsterberg, whose works included: The Arts of Japan: An Illustrated History (Tokyo and Rutland, Vermont: Charles E. Tuttle, 1957)--into its seventh printing, attesting to its popularity by 1970; The Folk Arts of Japan (Tokyo and Rutland, Vermont: Charles E. Tuttle, 1958); The Ceramic Art of Japan: A Handbook for

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Collectors (Tokyo and Rutland, Vermont: Charles E. Tuttle, 1963); Zen and Oriental Art (Tokyo and Rutland, Vermont: Charles E. Tuttle, 1965). John Rosenfield assumed the task of translating and interpreting for the English-speaking world the spectacular volume one of S. Noma's The Arts of Japan (Tokyo and Palo Alto: Kodansha International, 1966) and completed Japanese Arts of the Heian Period (New York: Asia Society, 1967). Charles S. Terry made it possible for the Western world to savor a good deal of the genius of the East in Masterworks of Japanese Art (Tokyo and Rutland, Vermont: Charles E. Tuttle, 1956) which was based on the definitive six-volume "Pageant of Japanese Art" edited by the staff of the Tokyo National Museum, and described as "one of the most outstanding Japanese publications since the end of the war." It consisted of a survey of Japanese art with plates representative of painting, sculpture, ceramics, textiles, lacquerware, metalwork and architecture. Terry also produced or adapted the text of the extremely popular Kodansha Library of Japanese Art, published by Tuttle Company in the years 1956-1960, Mosaku Ishida's Japanese Buddhist Prints (Tokyo and Palo Alto: Kodansha International, 1964), two beautiful volumes produced by the East-West Center Press of Honolulu: Utawaga Hiroshige: The Fifty-three Stages of the Tokaido and Katsushika Hokusai: The Thirty-six Views of Mount Fuji, and Contemporary Japanese Houses, Volumes I and II (Tokyo and Palo Alto: Kodansha International, 1964, 1969). Harold Stern was largely responsible for the beautiful Master Prints of Japan: Ukiyo-e Hanga (New York: Harry N. Abrams, Inc., 1969). Langdon Warner's The Enduring Art of

Japan (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1952) was published in an Evergreen paperback edition in 1958 and had gone into its tenth printing by 1970.

Among the more outstanding volumes published in the period 1955-1970 were: Bradley Smith, Japan: A History in Art (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1965); Terukazu Akiyama, Japanese Painting (New York: Crown, 1961); Yukio Yashiro, 2000 Years of Japanese Art (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1961); Treasures of the Six Temples of Nara, Horiyuji II: Sculpture (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1968)--one of a projected 14 volumes published in the succeeding decade; Kadokawa Shoten, ed., A Pictorial Encyclopedia of the Oriental Arts: Japan (New York: Crown, 1969); and a "Masterworks of Ukiyo-e" series of books (designed to gather together for the first time the full panorama of ukiyo-e, from its inception in early genre paintings to the versatile genius of such masters as Hiroshige) launched by Kodansha International Publishing Company in 1968; also prepossessing: Louis Frederic, Japan: Art and Civilization (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1969), and the first book to deal with Zen painting comprehensively: Yasushi Awakawa, Zen Painting (Tokyo and Palo Alto: Kodansha International, 1970). There were also many reprints and new editions of classics published in these years: Arthur D. Ficke, Chats on Japanese Prints (Tokyo and Rutland, Vermont: Charles E. Tuttle, 1958); Kakuzo Akakura, The Ideals of the East (Tuttle, 1970); Henri L. Joly, Legend in Japanese Art (Tuttle, 1967); Henry P. Bowie, On the Laws of Japanese Painting (New York: Dover Publications, 1967); Sadakichi

[Hartmann, Japanese Art (New York: Horizon Press, 1970); Ernest Fenol-losa, Epochs of Chinese and Japanese Art (New York: Dover Publications, 1963); Jean Buhot, Chinese and Japanese Art (New York: Praeger, 1967); Lawrence Binyon, The Spirit of Man in Asian Art (New York: Dover Publications, 1965). The works of Englishmen became available in American bookstores and museums: Jack Hillier, Japanese Colour Prints (London: Phaedon, 1966), Peter Swann's The Art of Japan: From the Jomon to the Tokugawa Period (New York: Crown, 1966), An Introduction to the Arts of Japan (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1958), Hokusai (London: Phaedon, 1959), Art of China, Korea and Japan (New York: Praeger, 1963)--the latter volume in its fourth printing by 1967; and John Bestor, whose adaptation of Masakatsu Gunji, Kabuki (Tokyo and Palo Alto: Kodansha International, 1969) helped to make this stunning volume a landmark publication of the postwar period. Representative of some of the magnificent catalogues of Japanese art produced in the United States after the war was Helen Gunzulus, The Clarence Buckingham Collection of Japanese Prints (Chicago: The Art Institute of Chicago, 1955). A notable work by Isamu Noguchi, who sought to bridge the gulf between Eastern and Western art in these years, was A Sculptor's World (New York: Harper and Row, 1968). Another notable American artist, Frank Lloyd Wright, produced The Japanese Print; An Interpretation (New York: Horizon Press, 1967), while one of America's most popular authors of the 1950s, J. Michener, produced The Floating World (New York: Random House, 1954), Japanese Prints: From the Early Masters to the Modern (Tuttle, 1959)--which had

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gone into its fifth printing by 1970, The Hokusai Sketchbooks: Selections from the Manga (Tuttle, 1958), and The Modern Japanese Print: An Appreciation (Tuttle, 1962). Oliver Statler's Modern Japanese Prints: An Art Reborn (Tuttle, 1956) went into its 11th edition by 1970, and his Japanese Inn, which beautifully and tastefully depicted the art of the Japanese, became a national best seller. Statler's The Black Ship Scroll (Tuttle, 1960) represented another fine work from the hand of this versatile interpreter of Japan to the American people.

Several notable publications of these years on the architecture of Japan, in addition to those cited in the text, were: N. F. Carver, Jr., Form and Space of Japanese Architecture (Tokyo: Shokokusha, 1955); J. B. Kirby, Jr., From Castle to Tea House: Japanese Architecture of the Momoyama Period (Tokyo and Rutland, Vermont: Charles E. Tuttle, 1962); W. Kuitermann, New Japanese Architecture (New York: Praeger, 1960); A. L. Sadler, A Short History of Japanese Architecture (Tuttle, 1962); William Alex, Japanese Architecture (New York: George Braziller, 1963); K. Seike and Charles S. Terry, Contemporary Japanese House, Volumes I and II (Tokyo and Palo Alto: Kodansha International, 1966, 1969); R. Boyd, New Directions in Japanese Architecture (New York: George Braziller, 1968); and T. Itoh and Y. Futagawa, The Elegant Japanese House: Traditional Sukiya Architecture (Tokyo: Weatherhill, 1969).

8. The Literature of Zen in America

The literature of Zen in America must start with (but is not confined to) the works of Daisetz T. Suzuki which became generally available to Americans through the efforts of American publishers in the decade 1955-65. Studies in Zen, edited by Christmas Humphries of London, was published by Philosophical Library of New York in 1955. Then came one of the very best of the lot, and ultimately a "best seller" in its paperback edition: Zen Buddhism; Selected Writings, edited and with an excellent introduction, entitled "Zen for the West" by William Barrett (New York: Doubleday Anchor Books, 1956). Next came Zen and Japanese Culture (New York: Pantheon Books, 1959) which was a new and revised (shortened) version of Suzuki's work originally published by the Eastern Buddhist Society of Kyoto in 1939. In 1959, there also appeared The Training of the Zen Buddhist Monk (New York: University Books). Grove Press of New York, engaged in the publication of much literature on Japan in these years, brought out Suzuki's Manual of Zen Buddhism in 1960, and in 1961 what was generally regarded as the most significant of all Suzuki's writings: Essays in Zen Buddhism, First Series. Essentials of Zen Buddhism; Selections from the Writings of Daisetz T. Suzuki was published in 1962 by Dutton of New York.

There occurred a proliferation of publications on Zen by those seeking to interpret it, and its relationship with the culture of the Japanese, in the years after the war. Christmas Humphries was one of the first to become involved in this upsurge of activity vis-a-vis Zen in

the immediate postwar years, with his Zen Buddhism (London: Heinemann, 1949). One of the next interpretive works was Hubert Benoit, The Supreme Doctrine; Psychological Studies in Zen (New York: Pantheon Books, 1955). In 1957, there appeared a Zen Dictionary by Ernest Wood, published by P. Owen of London, and later by Charles E. Tuttle of Tokyo and Rutland, Vermont. Grove Press of New York, continuing in its efforts to bring the fruits of Eastern Civilization to the West, brought out in 1958 The Zen Teaching of Huang-Po on the Transmission of Mind. Then in 1957, Tuttle of Tokyo and Rutland, Vermont brought out Paul Reps' Zen Flesh, Zen Bones which consisted of some writings from early Zen literature: a little volume which proved to be most popular since by 1971 it had gone into its fourteenth printing. The Peter Pauper Press of Mount Vernon, New York published in one of its attractive editions in 1959: Zen Buddhism; An Introduction to Zen, while there also appeared in that year Chikao Fujisawa, Zen and Shinto; The Story of Japanese Philosophy (New York: Philosophical Library, 1959). It was also the year of the publication of Sohaku Ogata's Zen for the West (New York: Dial Press). Christmas Humphries' The Way of Action; A Working Philosophy for Western Life (London: Allen and Unwin, 1960) circulated in the United States, while the prominent Arthur Koestler expressed his views on East-West synthesis, and Zen, in The Lotus and the Robot (New York: Macmillan, 1960). An East-West exploration of Zen's unique philosophy, through which there might come a deepening awareness of mankind's spiritual brotherhood, was the aim of Nancy Wilson Ross in 1960 upon

Completion (with the assistance of Daisetz T. Suzuki, Ruth Fuller Sasaki, Paul Reys, and numerous others) of The World of Zen: An East-West Anthology (New York: Random House) which was designed for the general reader. In 1960, there also appeared Sessue Hayakawa's Zen Showed Me The Way (Indianapolis: Bobbs Merrill). The next year appeared to be the high water mark in the publication of books on Zen in America. Pantheon Books of New York brought out Frederic Spiegelberg, Zen Rocks and Waters, and Alan Watts' This Is It and Other Essays on Zen and Spiritual Experience. There also appeared Van Meter and Betty Ames' Japan and Zen (Cincinnati: University of Cincinnati Press), Ernest Becker, Zen: A Rational Critique (New York: Norton), William A. Briggs, Anthology of Zen (New York: Grove Press), Nyogen Senzaki and Ruth S. McCandless, The Iron Flute (Tokyo and Rutland, Vermont: Tuttle). Then there appeared Jeffrey Swann, Toehold on Zen (Cleveland: World, 1962), Heinrich Dumoulin, A History of Zen (New York: Pantheon Books, 1963); Alice Getty, The Gods of Northern Buddhism: Their History, Iconography and Progressive Evolution Through the Northern Buddhist Countries (Tokyo and Rutland, Vermont: Tuttle, 1962). Lucien Stryck, Zen: Poems, Prayers, Sermons, Anecdotes, Interviews (Garden City, New York: Anchor Books, 1965), Nancy Wilson Ross, Three Ways of Asian Wisdom; Hinduism, Buddhism and Zen and Their Significance for the West (New York: Simon and Shuster, 1966), Zenkei Shibayama, A Flower Does Not Talk: Zen Essays (Tokyo and Rutland, Vermont: Tuttle, 1971).

Westerners who had studied Zen Buddhism in a temple instead of

a library were finding themselves, by the late 1950s, dissatisfied with most of what was being said about Zen in the Western world. They felt that Zen in the West had been largely a literary event, and that it was time to enter a new phase of understanding of Zen Buddhism. The new concern would be with the practice of Zen. The numerous publications of these years which were more relevant to the practice rather than the "theory" of Zen were the following: Nyogen Senzaki, Buddhism and Zen (New York: Philosophical Library, 1953); H. Dumoulin, S. J., The Development of Chinese Zen (New York: The First Zen Institute of America, Inc., 1953); Robert Linssen, Living Zen (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1956); Ruth Fuller Sasaki, Zen, A Religion (New York: The First Zen Institute of America, Inc., 1958); Chang Chen-chi, The Practice of Zen (New York: Harper, 1959); Chisan Koho, Soto Zen (Yokohama: Soji-ji Temple, 1960); Trevor Liggett, comp. and trans., A First Zen Reader (Tokyo and Rutland, Vermont: Tuttle, 1960); Eugen Herrigel, The Method of Zen (New York: Pantheon Books, 1960); Robert Powell, Zen and Reality (New York: Taplinger Publishing Co., 1962); Bernard Phillips, ed., The Essentials of Zen Buddhism; Selected Writings of D. T. Suzuki (New York: E. P. Dutton, 1962); Paul Wiempahl, The Matter of Zen; A Brief Account of Zazen (New York: New York University Press, 1964); Philip Kapleau, The Three Pillars of Zen (Tokyo: John Weatherhill, 1965); Aelred Graham, Zen Catholicism: A Suggestion (New York: Harcourt Brace, 1964); Hugo Lasalle, Zen: Way to Enlightenment (New York: Taplinger, 1966); Norimoto Iino, Zeal for Zen (New York: Philosophical Library, 1967); Thomas

Merton, Mystics and Zen Masters (New York: Farrar, Straus, 1966); Thomas Merton, Zen and the Birds of Appetite (New York: New Directions, 1968); Dom Aelred Graham, Conversations: Christian and Buddhist: Encounters in Japan (New York: Harcourt Brace, 1968).

Zen and the arts and culture of the Japanese, the relationship of the two (the "infusion" of Zen into the arts of Japan) constituted the basic theme of untold numbers of articles and books of the period 1955-1970. Among the more notable works were the following: Daisetz T. Suzuki, Zen and Japanese Culture (New York: Pantheon Books, 1959); Alan W. Watts, The Spirit of Zen: A Way of Life, Work and Art in the Far East (New York: Grove Press, 1954)--made available in an Evergreen paperback edition in 1960, into its eleventh printing by 1970; Nancy Wilson Ross, The World of Zen (New York: Random House, 1961); Kakuzo Okakura, The Book of Tea (Tokyo and Rutland, Vermont: Tuttle, 1956); Kakuzo Okakura, The Ideals of the East; With Special Reference to the Arts of Japan (Tokyo and Rutland, Vermont: Tuttle, 1970); Arthur Waley, Zen Buddhism and its Relation to Art (London: Luzac, 1922); Toshimitsu Hasumi, Zen in Japanese Art; A Way of Spiritual Experience (New York: Philosophical Library, 1962); Hugo Munsterberg, Zen and Oriental Art (Tokyo and Rutland, Vermont, 1965); Reiko Chiba, Sesshu's Long Scroll: A Zen Landscape Journey (Tokyo and Rutland, Vermont: Tuttle, 1954); Museku Ishida and Charles S. Terry, Japanese Buddhist Prints (Tokyo and Palo Alto: Kodansha International, 1967); Yasuichi Awakawa, Zen Painting (Tokyo and Palo Alto: Kodansha International, 1970); Eugen Herrigel,

[Zen in the Art of Archery (New York: Pantheon Books, 1953); Gustie L. Herrigel, Zen in the Art of Flower Arrangement; An Introduction to the Spirit of the Japanese Art of Flower Arrangement (Newton Center, Massachusetts: C. T. Branford Co., 1958); Toyo Okamoto, The Zen Gardens (Tokyo: Mitsumura Suiko Shoin Co., 1962).]

GLOSSARY

ASAHI	朝日	Morning sun; a leading Tokyo newspaper
BASHO	芭蕉	Great master of <u>haiku</u> poetry
BONSAI	盆栽	A potted plant; miniature shrub
BUNRAKU	文楽	Classical Japanese puppet theatre
BUSHIDO	武士道	Code of the warrior; chivalry
CHIKAMATSU	近松	Japan's great playwright, compared to Shakespeare.
CHUSHINGURA	忠臣蔵	The loyal league of 47 <u>ronin</u>
DOJOJI	道成寺	A <u>Kabuki</u> play
EDO	江戸	Tokyo
FUSUMA	襖	A sliding door (screen)
GAGAKU	雅楽	Imperial court music
GO	碁	A game best described as "Japanese chess"
GUNKI MONOGATARI	軍記物語	War tales
HANIWA	埴輪	Ancient clay figures
HAGAROMO	羽衣	A robe of feathers: <u>Noh</u> drama
HARA KIRI	腹切り	Disembowelment; committing suicide
HEIAN	平安	Ninth-11th century Japan
HAIKU	俳句	Seventeen syllable poetry
IKEBANA	生花	floral art; Japanese way of flower arrangement
ISSEI	一世	First generation Japanese-American
JIMMU TENNO	神武天皇	The first emperor according to Japanese mythology
JUDO	柔道	One of the traditional martial arts of Japan; physical training
JUJITSU	柔術	Physical training of the Japanese

SHIMIZU YUKIHA

KANAMEI

JINRIKISHA	人力車	A man-pulled vehicle
KABUKI	歌舞伎	Classical Japanese (popular) drama
KANJINCHO	勘進帳	A <u>Kabuki</u> play
KARATE	空手	Empty hand fighting
KATSURA	壱	A palace in outskirts of Kyoto
KANSAI	関西	The central district of Japan
KENDO	剣道	One of the traditional martial arts
KINKAKUJI	金閣寺	Golden Pavilion (Kyoto)
KAMAKURA	鎌倉	Site of ancient capital (Shogunate)
KOJIKI	古事記	Record of ancient matters
KOKUSAI BUNKA SHINKOKAI	國際文化 振興會	International cultural society of Japan
KYOGEN	狂言	Comic interludes of the Japanese stage
KYOTO	京都	Site of old capital of Japan
KOKKA	國華	Venerable monthly art journal
KOTO	琴	Musical instrument resembling the harp
KOKORO	心	Spirit (heart-mind)
KINSEI SHIRYAKU	近世史略	A brief history of modern times

KDAN	公案	In <u>zen</u> , an idea, riddle
MELJI	明治	Era which bears Emperor's name: 1868-1912
MONOGATARI	物語	tales
MAINICHI	毎日	daily; One of leading Tokyo newspapers
MIKADO	御門	The Emperor of Japan
MANYOSHU	万葉集	Myriad leaves; ancient collection of poetry
NIPPON BUNKA CHUO RENMEI	日本文化 中央連盟	Central Federation of Japanese culture
NARA	奈良	Ancient capital of Japan (7th-9th cent.)
NETSUKE	根付	Tiny carved figures (ivory)
NIHONGI	日本紀	Chronicles of old Japan
NOH	能	Classical court drama
NANGA	南画	Southern school of Chinese painting
NISEI	二世	Second generation Japanese-American
ORIGAMI	折り紙	Art of paper-folding
RASHOMON	羅生門	The main gate of the outer wall of the capital
RIMPA	琳派	A school of painting
RINZAI ZEN	臨濟禪	Zen sect of Daisetz T. Suzuki
ROKONJI	龍泉寺	Zen monastery in Kyoto
SOTO ZEN	曹洞禪	Zen Buddhist sect
SHIBUI	渋い	quiet, refined taste
SAMURAI	侍	Japan's warrior class
SHINTO	神道	Ancient <u>kami</u> cult of Japan
SUGAWARA DENJU	菅原伝授	A <u>Kabuki</u> drama
SHINGON	真言	True Word: a Buddhist sect

SUMI-E	墨絵	ink-brush painting
SOKEI-AN	龍鳳庵	reverend
TAISHO	大正	The period from the death of Meiji to beginning of Showa; 1912-25
TANKA	短歌	short poem
TALHEIKI	太平記	medieval war tale
TOKUGAWA	徳川	Shogunate in Tokyo, 17th-19th century
TEMPURA	天麩羅	fried, as lobster or shrimp tempura
TOHO GAKKAI	東方学会	Institute of Eastern Culture
UKIYO-E	浮世絵	Pictures of the floating world
YOSHITSUNE	義経	One of the great romantic heroes of Japanese history (12th century)
YAMATO-E	大和絵	Japanese style painting, as distinguished from the Chinese
ZAZEN	座禅	meditation
ZAIBATSU	財閥	The financial cliques of the pre-World War II era; family conglomerates
ZEN	禅	A form of Buddhism which emphasises meditation

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