The Formative Years of the Transpacific Networks Promoting Japanese Studies in America

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Introduction

Throughout the 1990s and into the twentieth-first century, American Japanologists have been actively discussing their taken-for-granted academic disciplinary practices and ideology.[1] Behind the debate, according to Helen Hardacre, lies the introduction of postmodern theories into Japanese studies, and the destabilization of geopolitically based area studies, particularly after the end of the Cold War. Hardacre also argues that with the advance of globalization, national boundaries have become less relevant, and that it is therefore becoming more difficult to confine Japanese studies within a single space defined by cultural boundaries.[2]

Based on this recognition, common among American Japanologists, I will focus my attention on a more detailed debate in the specialized discipline of Japanese studies. There is an increasing awareness among Japanese art historians in US academia that their disciplinary practices and ideology, as well as the canonization of Japanese art, have been strongly influenced by the Japanese academy.[3] The art historian John Rosenfield has argued that it was during the 1960s that the disciplinary practices and ideology which are currently under scrutiny in Japanese art studies in America came into existence firmly with the following trends: an increasing access to Japanese scholarship with the ability to read primary and secondary Japanese texts and to communicate with Japanese colleagues; the appointment of Japanese-born art historians to university faculties in the United States, notably Shujiro Shimada and Yoshiaki Shimizu at Princeton and Miyeko Murase at Columbia; and the acceptance of an increasing number of American students at Japanese academic institutions.[4] Yoshiaki Shimizu points out that the Japanese art exhibition of 1953, sponsored by the Japanese government, introduced the notion of a "Japanese canon of cultural patrimony" among art historians in America and argues that this event eventually altered the acquisition policy for Japanese art objects in American

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[1] See, for example, Helen Hardacre ed., *The Postwar Development of Japanese Studies in the United States* (Leiden, Boston and Koln: Brill, 1998); H. Harootunian and Naoki Sakai, "Nippon Kenkyu to Bunka Kenkyu," *Shiso*, 877 (1997), 4-53; *The Postwar Development of Japanese Studies in the United States: A Historical Review and Prospects for the Future* (Tokyo: The International House of Japan, 1993).

[2] Helen Hardacre, "Introduction," Hardacre ed., *The Postwar Development*, xiv-xvi.

[3] John Rosenfield, "Japanese Art Studies in America since 1945," Hardacre ed., *The Postwar Development*, 161-194; Mimi Hall Yiengpruksawn, "Japanese Art History 2001: The State and Stakes of Research," *The Art Bulletin*, 83, 1 (March 2001), 105-122; Yoshiaki Shimizu, "Japan in American Museum: But Which Japan?," *The Art Bulletin*, 83, 1 (March 2001), 123-134.

[4] Rosenfield, 164-5.

museums.[5] The current debate among Japanese art historians in America indicates that their academic discipline has been receiving a strong influence from the Japanese academy since the end of WWII and particularly from the 1960s. There are underlying concerns about the naturalized hierarchical structure linking Japanese and American academia, and critiques of the idea that authority in Japanese art studies is to be found most naturally in the work and ideas of Japanese art scholars, while Japan forms the natural network center for Japanese art studies.[6]

Although there are many papers which have discussed the history of Japanese studies in America, they have commonly been based on the assumption that Japan naturally formed the stable center of authority in Japanese studies from the beginning, and they have not discussed how Japan and the Japanese academy came to exist as natural network centers for Japanese studies.[7] This assumption makes it seem natural and obvious that the American academia received support and encouragement from Japan in the history of its development, and this structure is not considered to be subject to change. This paper, however, will examine that the current disciplinary practice and normalized centers of authority in Japanese studies are the products of transpacific networks promoting Japanese studies in the American academy and have been created as a result of international relations and geopolitical histories. Particularly from the end of the 1920s to the 1930s cooperation between Japanese and American academia came into being within a web of scholars, financiers, diplomats and missionaries both from America and Japan, which networks I refer to as the transpacific networks promoting Japanese studies in America in this paper. The group of people from the American side hoped to establish a highly competitive Japanese studies structure within the American academy in order to produce American knowledge about Japan. The other group of people in Japan was seeking a path to convey the true picture of Japan at a time when Japan was becoming increasingly isolated internationally. Each group's needs met through their personal connections and eventually created the organizational networks promoting Japanese studies in America. During this period, these networks founded lobbying organizations which promoted the establishment of Japanese studies within American universities and colleges, and built channels to draw funds

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[5] Shimizu, 130.

[6] Yiengpruksawan, 110. She explains that Japanese art history in North America has been shaped around the collector and the Japanese academy especially after 1945. Also Shimizu discusses the situation by taking an example that the Japanese specialists of Japanese art are more empowered to deal with specific requirements of handling or restoring art objects both in Japan and outside Japan, thus, in his opinion "the information and knowledge about (works of Japanese art) are locked solidly in Japanese-speaking domains." Shimizu, 132.

[7] The Social Science Research, *Japanese Studies in the United States: A Report on the State of Field, Current Research and Future Needs* (New York: American Council of Learned Societies, 1970); The United States-Japan Foundation ed., *Japan–America Dialogue: A Survey of Organizational Activities* (Tokyo: Kodansha International, 1981); The Japan Foundation, *Beikokuni Okeru Nippon Kenkyu* (Tokyo: The Japan Foundation, 1977); Hugh Borton, "Nippon Kenkyu No Kaitakushatachi," Chihiro Hosoya and Makoto Saito eds., *Washington Taisei To Nichibei Kankei* (Tokyo: University of Tokyo Press, 1978), 545–576.

into Japanese studies from influential organizations such as the Rockefeller Foundation, the Carnegie Corporation and the *Kokusai Bunka Shinkokai* (now the Japan Foundation). Their efforts founded the groundwork of current Japanese studies and the presently naturalized academic discipline and disciplinary practice. In this paper, I will focus my attention on the organizations outside academia, and examine how individuals who were interested in promoting Japanese studies from both sides of the Pacific became involved in several organizations, particularly centering around Jerome D. Greene in its very early stage. I will also discuss the process by which they began to promote this discipline collectively in America and defined the course of its disciplinary practices that has continued to this day.

I. The Japanese Culture Center of America

From the end of the 1920s to the beginning of the 1930s, a web of transpacific networks promoting Japanese studies in organizations was gradually being established. This web was being realized due to various people's wishes and efforts, and particularly through Jerome D. Greene's strenuous efforts in this period to bring such intentions to promote Japanese studies from both sides of the Pacific together to reify an effective and collective working structure.

In 1927, Ryusaku Tsunoda, secretary of the Japanese Association of New York, visited Japan to secure support for his plan to establish an "organization to spread among the people of the Western hemisphere an accurate knowledge of the civilization of Japan."[8] With an introduction from government officials such as the Japanese Ambassador to America, Tsuneo Matsudaira and Consul General in New York, Hiroshi Saito, Tsunoda contacted various influential individuals and institutions in Japan to invite them to participate in his plan.[9] On March 13, 1928, he and his supporters organized the Japanese Culture Center in America at the Kogyo Club in Tokyo.[10] By May of 1929, Tsunoda and his supporters had collected more than 30,000 books, manuscripts and documents, and raised some funds to maintain the collection. Upon his return to the United States, he consulted various institutions such as the Library of Congress, the Morgan Institutions and Columbia University regarding the possibility of the establishment of a Japanese culture center and the custody of books he had collected in Japan. Eventually, Tsunoda and his supporters chose Columbia University for the temporary home for the collection.[11] They agreed on a three-year contract under which the Japanese supporters would provide the expenses involved in the custody of the collection and the University would arrange temporary space for the collection, and give Tsunoda the status of a university curator. At the

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[8] *Japanese Culture Center at Columbia University: Memorandum in the Development of Japanese Studies and the Organization of a Japanese Culture Center at Columbia University* (pamphlet), 3, in HUG 4436.7 Greene, Jerome D., Japan, file, Committee for Japanese Studies, Harvard University Archives (hereafter cited as HUG).

[9] Gaimusho joho-bu to oubei kyoku, September 16, Showa 2 (1927), in Kakkoku ni okeru gakkai kankei zakken, beikoku-no-bu, Diplomatic Record Office, Tokyo (hereafter cited as Gakkai, DRO).

[10] *Japanese Culture Center* (pamphlet), 4, HUG.

[11] Uchimura to Saito, May 10, 1929, Gakkai, DRO.

same time, the Japanese Culture Center of America (JCCA) was established in New York as a formal association to promote "the appreciation and influence of Japanese arts and letters in the United States of America by the establishment of a Center, at which books, manuscripts and works of art relating to Japanese and other oriental culture may be accumulated and made accessible" to scholars in this country.[12] Jerome D. Greene was appointed as chairman, and the members of the JCCA numbered over sixty, including John D. Rockefeller, Jr., Katsuji Debuchi, the Japanese Ambassador in America, and Professor Kanichi Asakawa of Yale University.[13]

Jerome D. Greene was at the time the director of Lee Higginson & Co., and was also very active in many organizations. He was one of the founding members of the Rockefeller Foundation and was acting as a trustee of the various Rockefeller boards.[14] He was also acting as trustee of the Brookings Institute in Washington D. C., and was vice president of the Japan Society in New York, and had just been appointed chairman of the American Council of the Institution of Pacific Relations. Greene had been born in Japan in 1874 as the son of an American missionary, Daniel Crosby Greene, and had spent most of his childhood in Japan before entering Harvard University. His father had been dispatched by the American Board of Foreign Missions, and was not only actively engaged in his religious activities but also served in many other capacities. He was the second president of the Japan Asiatic Society, following Earnest Satow, and was later decorated with the Third Order of Merit with Cordon of the Rising Sun by the Japanese government.[15] Jerome D. Greene thus had a multiple ties in many different connections on both sides of the Pacific.

In 1931, when the initial three-year agreement was terminated, the JCCA made another agreement with Columbia University. The JCCA agreed to donate their collection of books and promised to continue to do so in the future. In return, the University assured the establishment of the Institute of Japanese Studies under the guidance of a committee which consisted of a member from JCCA and Columbia faculty members to promote Japanese studies at Columbia. At the same time, the University appointed Tsunoda as a salaried curator at Columbia from July 1, 1931, and as a lecturer on Japanese history in the faculty of Political Science. Roy F. Aoki was also appointed as a visiting lecturer on Japanese contemporary affairs for three years with his salary funded from gifts from Japanese sources. In 1932, both Columbia and Barnard College decided to accept the Japanese language course for college credit.[16] Throughout this process, Jerome D. Greene, as the chairman of the JCCA, maintained close

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[12] *Japanese Culture Center of America* (pamphlet), Gakkai, DRO.

[13] Memorandum of Japanese Culture Center, June 5, 1929; Memorandum of Japanese Culture Center, July 30, 1929, Gakkai, DRO.

[14] Greene to Laufer, June 26, 1930, HUG.

[15] *A Hundred Years of Japan American Relations* (San Francisco and Tokyo: The North American Daily, 1949), 83. For his biography, see, Evarts Boutell Greene, *A New-Englander in Japan* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1927).

[16] Memorandum of Society for the Promotion of Japanese Studies, July 30, 1931, HUG; *Society for Japanese Studies* (pamphlet), Gakkai, DRO.

communication with supporters in Japan, and also took a strong leadership in negotiating with the University.[17] After the new agreement was in effect, the JCCA was renamed the Society for the Promotion of Japanese Studies, for the further promotion of Japanese studies at the nationwide level.[18]

II. The American Council of Learned Societies, Committee on Japanese Studies

The American Council of Learned Societies (ACLS) is a prestigious academic organization established in 1920 to promote scholarly activities in the humanities. In 1928, they agreed to promote East Asian civilization studies and organized a committee on Chinese studies.[19] Under the committee on Chinese studies, they set out to stimulate an interest in Orient, particularly Chinese cultures, in the appropriate learned societies and decided to maintain a standing committee on the promotion of Chinese studies. By the early 1930, they felt the need to extend their activities to promote other studies such as Japanese, Korean, Burmese, Indo-Chinese, Indian and African, however, they thought they should postpone further expansion until they saw definite results from their activities in promoting Chinese studies. Thus, they had no intention to engage in a program connected with Japanese studies at that time.[20]

On July 3, 1930, Jerome D. Greene wrote a letter to Mortimer Graves, secretary of the committee on the promotion of Chinese studies, and assistant secretary of the ACLS, to ask if they were interested in sponsoring a small conference to inquire into the present resources regarding Japanese subjects, particularly in the fields of fine arts, history, philosophy, literature, and language in the United States.[21] In responding to this letter, Graves mentioned they were not yet ready to inaugurate any programs related to Japanese studies, particularly as all of their income for 1930 had been already allotted and as there were many demands upon their small unallotted balance. Nonetheless, Graves suggested meeting Greene in person to discuss this matter before the meeting of their executive committee which was to be held in early August.[22] The results of their meeting and the executive committee of the ACLS held on August 2nd[23] were explained in the letter from Graves to Greene dated August 11, 1930.

> My dear Mr. Greene,
> As I told you hastily over the telephone our Executive Committee was favorably impressed with the idea of finding out what could be done in Japanese studies, and agreed to create and maintain a temporary committee to investigate the subject further.[24]

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17) Greene to Saito, August 16, 1929, Gakkai, DRO; Greene to Aoki, February 7, 1931, Gakkai, DRO.
18) Memorandum of Society for the Promotion of Japanese Studies, July, 30, 1931, HUG.
19) Borton, 550-1.
20) Graves to Greene, July 21, 1930, HUG.
21) Greene to Graves, July 3, 1930, HUG.
22) Graves to Greene, July 21, 1930, HUG.
23) See, also *The ACLS Bulletin*, 14 (November 1930), 55.
24) Graves to Greene, August 11, 1930, HUG.

In the same letter, Graves also recommended Langdon Warner of Harvard University as the chairman for the new committee on Japanese studies, and asked Greene if he could request Warner to accept the position, as Graves recognized Greene's connection with Harvard. Langdon Warner was a Japanese and Chinese art scholar who trained initially under Okakura Tenshin in Japan, and then became a lecturer of Japanese and Chinese art and a curator of the Fogg Museum, both at Harvard University.[25] The first meeting of the committee on Japanese studies was held in the Harvard Club of New York on December 6, 1930, with the following in attendance: Langdon Warner (chairman), Mortimer Graves (secretary), Edward Capps, Jerome D. Greene, Kojiro Tomita.[26]

The establishment of the committee on Japanese studies at the ACLS was remarkably important for the development of Japanese studies in the 1930s. If Greene had not been able to successfully persuade Graves and the ACLS to establish the committee on Japanese studies, the growth of this discipline would have been delayed considerably.

III. The Institute of Pacific Relations

The Institute of Pacific Relations (IPR) was a non-official international organization under the auspices of which people from countries around and interested in the Pacific Rim got together regularly every two or three years to discuss problems occurring in Pacific countries and to exchange views and opinions in a good-will manner. The first conference was held at Honolulu, Hawaii in 1925 with the support of the Young Men's Christian Association (YMCA) International, with more than 140 members from nine countries attending, with the aim to promote Pacific amity and world-peace.[27] The success of the first conference led this organization to set up a permanent institute by establishing the governing body of the Pacific Council in Honolulu. Ray Lyman Wilbur, president of Stanford University, was commissioned as the first chairman of the Pacific Council. Stanford was one of the very few US universities which had a chair in Japanese studies at that time, the chair being supported by an endowment fund from Viscount Eiichi Shibusawa.[28] J. Merle Davis was appointed as the first general secretary.

J. Merle Davis was the son of Jerome D. Davis, an American missionary to Japan. Jerome D. Davis was one of the co-founders of Doshisha University in Kyoto, and Davis and Daniel Crosby Greene engaged in managing Doshisha in its early stages in the 1880s as faculty members. According to Greene's biography, Greene and his family appreciated Davis' friendship

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[25] For Warner, see, Theodore Bowie ed., *Langdon Warner through His Letters* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1966); Yukio Yashiro, "Langdon Warner," *Nihon Bijutsu no Onjintachi* (Tokyo: Bungei Shunju Shinsha, 1961).

[26] Memorandum of Proceedings of the Committee on Japanese Studies, HUG.

[27] There are many studies about the IPR, see, for example, Daizaburo Yui, *Mikan no Senryo Kaikaku* (Tokyo: University of Tokyo Press, 1989); Michio Yamaoka, *Taiheiyo Mondai Chosakai no Kenkyu* (Tokyo: Ryukeishosha, 1997).

[28] Edward C. Carter, *China and Japan in Our University Curricula* (New York: American Council, IPR, 1929), 62.

and named their third son, whom I discuss in this paper, Jerome D. Greene.[29]

The participation of some American members interested in Japanese matters, as well as Japanese scholars in founding the IPR, supports the IPR's assertion that "studies of various aspects of Japanese civilization have had a prominent place in the work of the Institution from its inception."[30] In 1928, the American Council of the IPR commenced a survey relating to Japanese studies in America. Two surveys were prepared as a data paper for discussion at the third IPR conference held in Kyoto in 1929. One of the surveys was conducted in the summer of 1928 to inquire about the institutional condition of Chinese and Japanese studies in American universities and colleges. It was compiled by Edward C. Carter, and published as *China and Japan in Our University Curricula* in 1929. This survey revealed the fact that Far Eastern studies were not well established among American higher educational systems, and concluded that "our Western civilization systematically ignored the Orient."[31] It was also pointed out that within this under-developed area of Far Eastern studies, Japanese studies was even less developed than Chinese studies. Again in 1935, Yasaka Takagi published another survey on Japanese studies in the American academy from the IPR.[32]

Another preliminary study, conducted in the summer of 1929 with financial aid from the Carnegie Corporation, was carried out in surveying the collections of Chinese and Japanese art objects held in American museums. Chinese and Japanese art objects were regarded as "one of the most important channels of cultural contact between the United States and the Orient," and were understood to signify "a true picture of the life, the art, and the techniques of the Orient." It was also considered that the superb quality of these works would educate American people to understand that "these Orientals [were] not sinister barbarians but a race founded in deep wisdom and culture," and thus, the works could function as a remarkable educational tool.[33] Upon this understanding Japanese art was used as the most effective tools to demonstrate refined Japanese civilization both from American and Japanese sides.

The Japanese Council also contributed to the IPR's study on Japan both by presenting data papers for discussion at the conferences and by participating in research sponsored by the Pacific Council. Their studies were more focused on the field of social sciences as was suggested in Takagi's report of 1935.[34] For example, research such as that on "Land utilization in Japan" by Shiroshi Nasu, "Japan's position in Manchuria" by Mashimichi Royama, and "Possi-

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[29] Greene, *A New-Englander in Japan*, 130.

[30] Memorandum of Japanese Studies of the Institute of Pacific Relations, HUG.

[31] Carter, *China and Japan*, 6.

[32] Yasaka Takaki, *Japanese Studies in the Universities and Colleges of the United States: Survey for 1934* (Honolulu: IPR, 1935). Please note that Yasaka Takaki is known as Yasaka Takagi in Japan, however, most of the correspondences with the IPR during the prewar period used Takaki as his name, and his publication from the IPR was published Takaki as well.

[33] Benjamin March, *China and Japan in Our Museums* (New York: American Council, IPR, 1929), v-vi.

[34] Takaki, *Japanese Studies*, 33–34. In this report, Takagi suggested a need for a more scientific study of Japanese history and contemporary Japanese life. He also claimed that Japanese art has received a share of the attention of so-called Japanologists, and especially of American experts on Japanese things.

bilities for further development of Japanese industry" by Junshiro Asari were sponsored by the international research committee of the IPR.[35] Such IPR activities promoting Japanese studies were not, however, very successful in the end. This was partly because the IPR's main interest shifted to Chinese matters and at the same time they became suspicious of the propaganda quality of Japanese papers in the 1930s. After WWII, they withdrew from the activities of promoting Japanese studies in American academy as well. Nevertheless, the IPR's role in supporting Japanese studies within the transpacific networks in its early stages cannot be dismissed, particularly in their activities of making preliminary surveys of the state of Japanese studies in America.

By the end of 1930, the major organizations promoting Japanese studies in America, such as the JCCA, the ACLS committee on Japanese studies, and the IPR had been firmly established in cooperation with their supporters in Japan. These organizations were often involved in joint actions in their project of establishing this field as a professional discipline with grants from such organization as the Carnegie Corporation.

IV. The Rockefeller Foundation

During the prewar period, the Rockefeller Foundation and the Carnegie Corporation were the largest financial contributors to Japanese studies in the United States. Without their financial contribution, it would have been impossible to develop the institutional and the personal bases for Japanese studies as a professional discipline in academic institutions. Grants from the Carnegie Corporation in this field began early. The Carnegie Corporation funded projects such as the IPR's 1929 report "China and Japan in Our Museums," and the summer seminar on Far Eastern Studies at Harvard University in 1932. On the other hand, it was not until well into the 1930s that the Rockefeller Foundation (RF) launched into funding Japanese studies in America.

At a trustees' meeting of the RF in the spring of 1933, the following new policy was declared:

> The humanities should exert national and international influence for a reduction of racial prejudice. Ignorance of the cultural background of another people is at the root of many misunderstandings that are as harmful internationally as political and economic differences. That ignorance can be steadily lessened by an interchange of cultural values, by discovery of common origins for diversified national ideas and ideals and by the interpretation of one culture group to another.[36]

The RF had decided to develop new fields to which to grant their funds, and one of these new

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[35] Memorandum of Japanese Studies of the Institute of Pacific Relations, 6–9, HUG.

[36] Agenda for Special Meeting of Trustees of the Rockefeller Foundation, April 11, 1933. Cited in Raymond B. Fosdick, *The Story of the Rockefeller Foundation* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1952), 240.

fields was related to the "improvement of international communication through the development of language teaching, particularly with relation to Latin America and the Far East."[37] According to this new policy, the Humanities division of the RF began supporting Japanese studies through various projects. Prior to this decision, the IPR had been supported since its foundation first from the Laura Spelman Rockefeller Memorial and then from the RF since 1926. However, this grant from the RF had come from the program of the Social Science division, and this was allotted for general expenses purposes, and not allotted for the purpose of promoting Japanese studies.[38]

How did the Far East come within the RF's scope as a new field into which to channel their grants? Again this development was brought about by Jerome D. Greene. Greene, as a trustee of the RF, had prepared a memorandum for their Princeton meeting titled "Eastern Asia as Field for Humanistic Studies," which he wrote sometime around November 1930. One of the items on the agenda for the meeting was to discuss "some things of immediate importance in the field of the humanities." In this memorandum, Greene submitted an observation that "one of the most important of all humanistic fields" was "that of Eastern Asia, having special reference to China and Japan."[39] In his memorandum, Greene referred to the mutual efforts that were about to rise on both sides of the Pacific to promote Japanese studies, such as the establishment of a center of Japanese scholarship in the United States, first by accumulating a collection of books donated by the Japanese, and also the provision of facilities in Japan so American students could have access to the most appropriate persons and organizations for their studies.[40] He also stated his hope that fellowships and scholarships, which he considered an important means of rapidly gaining scholarly ground, would be granted by the great foundations so that some Americans might become interested in pursuing careers in Far Eastern studies. He concluded his statement as follows:

> My purpose in presenting this memorandum has been, not that of procuring any immediate action from the Rockefeller Foundation, but of impressing upon the Trustees the importance of Oriental studies within the field of the humanities, and also to call attention to the desirability of having American appreciation of Oriental culture thoroughly aroused at this particular time, rather than at a later period when both material and the men of China and Japan whose co-operation is essential may be hard to find.[41]

As was proposed by Greene, one of the most important and urgent needs in promoting

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[37] Fosdick, 242.

[38] The Rockefeller Foundation, *Annual Report*, 1936, 370, 379; *Annual Report*, 1949, 255. For study of the RF's Social Science division and the IPR, see, Yutaka Sasaki, "The Rockefeller Foundation and the Institute of Pacific Relations," *The American Review*, 37 (2003); 157–175.

[39] Memorandum of Eastern Asia as a Field for Humanistic Studies, 1, HUG.

[40] Ibid., 2.

[41] Ibid., 5–6.

Japanese studies was the necessity of fellowships and scholarships to send prominent students to Japan for further language study and research to train them as professional scholars. The need for fellowships was agreed upon by many other supporters of Japanese studies. Edward C. Carter's IPR data paper, prepared in 1931 on the subject concerning American fellowships awarded for research in Far Eastern studies, was another indication of this recognition.[42]

Partly due to Greene's efforts to attract the RF's attention to include Japanese studies as one of their new fields for grants, the Humanities division of the RF inaugurated a fellowship program in 1933 which specialized in the fields of language and cultural studies of the Far East, as well as programs to support Far Eastern studies in American academic institutions.[43]

It was in this period that the importance of Japanese language qualifications for professional scholars began to be emphasized. As a result of this requirement, it became possible for American scholars to access directly the knowledge made in Japanese academia, and this eventually generated a new channel of transpacific distribution of knowledge about Japan. At the same time, this expectation of qualifications in language ability eventually created a new disciplinary practice in Japanese studies, contributing to the situation in which Japan formed the center of authority in Japanese studies.

The 1930s saw a further collaboration among organizations from both sides of the Pacific in promoting Japanese studies as a professional discipline. One of the first fruits of these networks' collective efforts was the Seminar on Far Eastern Studies held at Harvard University in the summer of 1932. This seminar was held under the auspices of the Harvard-Yenching Institute, the committee on Japanese and Chinese studies of the ACLS, the Carnegie Corporation and the Society for the Promotion of Japanese Studies (SPJS formerly the JCCA). Forty students were selected to participate in the seminar, mostly from the fields of art, history, philosophy and religion. Among them were Edwin O. Reischauer and Hugh Borton.[44] Borton later referred to the fact that this summer seminar must have influenced the RF's decision to start granting fellowships in Far Eastern studies from the following year.[45]

V. *Kokusai Bunka Shinkokai* (The Society for International Relations)

Soon after the end of the summer seminar at Harvard University in 1932, Jerome D. Greene was offered the position of Wilson Professor of International Politics at the University College of Wales, and decided to accept this position and to leave for Britain. On this occasion, he resigned as chairman of the SPJS. Louis V. Ledoux took over this position in 1933, and con-

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[42] Edward C. Carter, *American Research Fellowships and the Far East* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1931).

[43] The Rockefeller Foundation, *Annual Report*, 1949, 19.

[44] *The Seminar on Far Eastern Studies at Harvard University* (pamphlet), Gakujutsu kankei zakken, beikoku no bu, DRO (hereafter cited as Gakujutsu, DRO).

[45] Borton, 558–9. He also mentioned that this seminar influenced Harvard's decision to introduce Japanese course as a normal credit course, however, at Harvard, Japanese language course was already introduced from the academic year of 1931/32. See, Harvard University, *Catalogue*, 1931, 189.

tinued to work for the further promotion of the field.[46] Ledoux, a graduate of Columbia, was a businessman, as well as a poet and a connoisseur of Japanese art, particularly of *ukiyo-e* prints. He was also known as the president of the Japan Society in New York at the time of outbreak of the Pacific War.[47]

At the annual meeting of the SPJS in 1933, when Ledoux accepted the presidency, the decision to rename the SPJS the Society for Japanese Studies (SJS) was also made. Ledoux stated he would endeavor to coordinate the individual and sporadic efforts that were being made in America and in Japan to promote this field of study collectively and effectively. Then, he reported that there was a group of prominent men in Japan who were deeply interested in promoting Japanese studies abroad, and were willing to give not only funds but also their personal services as well. In his report he continued saying this group in Japan had suggested forming a small informal body to engage in such activities as looking after American students in Japan, arranging visits of Japanese professors overseas, and publishing the results of Japanese research in English. Ledoux concluded his report by saying he would meet Count Aisuke Kabayama when he visited New York to discuss the matter further.[48]

This group of prominent men in Japan Ledoux had mentioned eventually established the Society for International Relations or *Kokusai Bunka Shinkokai* (KBS, now the Japan Foundation) in April 1934, in cooperation with the Japanese government and in the midst of Japan's notification of withdrawal from the League of Nations.[49] This organization, headed by its president Prince Ayamaro Konoe, vice presidents Marquis Yorisada Tokugawa and Baron Seinosuke Goh and chairman Count Aisuke Kabayama, had been founded at the time when Japan was becoming increasingly isolated from the international community and Japan's political and economic claims were harder to push through internationally. Under such circumstances, international communication through cultural means gained a significant importance. At the same time, members of this group believed Japan could convey its true and fair picture and enhance its prestige by promoting civilized Japanese cultures to outside the world.[50]

The KBS's actual activities in relation to the United States during the prewar period were focused on the following areas: to support Japanese art exhibitions; to send Japanese scholars to give lectures at American academic institutions; to donate books and documents on Japanese culture and works of art; and to establish scholarships for students and scholars while also assisting their research in Japan by placing them under proper scholarly guidance.

The KBS supported five exhibitions between 1934 and 1939 in America including an exhi-

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[46] *Society for Japanese Studies* (pamphlet), 2-4, Kakkoku ni okeru kyokai oyobi bunka dantai kankei zakken, beikoku no bu, dai 2 kan, DRO (hereafter cited as Kyokai, DRO).

[47] For Louis V. Ledoux, see, Donald Jenkins, *The Ledoux Heritage: The Collecting of Ukiyo-e Master Prints* (New York: Japan Society, 1973); Edwin O. Reischauer, *Japan Society 1907-1982: 75 Years of Partnership Across the Pacific* (New York: Japan Society, 1982), 38, 41-2.

[48] *Society for Japanese Studies* (pamphlet), 5-10, Kyokai, DRO.

[49] For KBS, see, Atsushi Shibasaki, *Kindai Nippon to Kokusai Bunka Koryu* (Tokyo: Yushindo, 1999).

[50] *The Society for International Cultural Relations: Its Prospectus and Scheme* (pamphlet), HUG.

bition entitled "Japanese Costume: An Exhibition of No Robes and Buddhist Vestments" at the Metropolitan Museum of Art in 1935.[51] Among them was also one of the most important Japanese art exhibitions held outside Japan during the prewar period. The KBS supported "A Special Loan Exhibition of Art Treasures from Japan" at the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston in conjunction with the Tercentenary Celebration of Harvard University in 1936. The possibility of this art exhibition was first brought up from the American side when Kojiro Tomita, curator of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, consulted the members of KBS at the end of 1934 to see if they could support the museum's plan. At the KBS directors' meeting of December 14, 1934, they had agreed to assist the Japanese art exhibition by forming a committee headed by Prince Iesato Tokugawa.[52] The KBS and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs selected and sent to America, with expenses, one hundred works of art including national treasures and properties of the Imperial household and of Prince Takamatsu.[53]

Historically, the Japanese government had sent and exhibited collections of Japanese art in America on several different occasions. For example, Japan had exhibited a wide rage of decorative art objects on the occasion of the Philadelphia Centennial Exhibition of 1876 for the purpose of demonstrating the superb quality of Japanese techniques and to promote sales overseas. They were recognized as industrial arts but not as fine art.[54] In 1893, Japan sent to the Chicago Exposition many works of fine art by contemporary artists such as Gaho Hashimoto, Gyokusho Kawabata and Koun Takamura to prove that Japan, too, possessed fine art like civilized Western countries. The Japanese government tried to present Japanese fine art on the grounds of the Western fine art domain, and at the exposition site, Japanese style paintings were installed in western style picture frames.[55] At Chicago, the Japanese government's effort to represent Japan as a highly civilized country through art seemed to be achieved at least institutionally by its being able to exhibit the collection in the fine art department for the first time at an international exhibition. In contrast with the collection installed at Chicago, a collection of Japanese art gathered for the occasion of a 1936 art exhibition consisted of old art from the Nara to Edo periods, including national treasures and properties from the Imperial and aristocratic families. Each art object was considered as an expression of the Japanese essence and

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[51] Memorandum of Dai 10-kai rijikai (1934), The Japan Foundation Library (hereafter cited as JFL). Alan Priest, curator of the Metropolitan Museum of Art wrote Shigekichi Mihara (managing director of the KBS), Ino Dan (director) and Yukio Yashiro respectively if they could coordinate to loan Japanese costumes for their exhibition. At the director's meeting of the KBS held on September 14, 1934 the KBS decided to assist this exhibition. See, Alan Priest, *Japanese Costume: An Exhibition of No Robes and Buddhist Vestments* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1935).

[52] Memorandum of Dai 14-kai rijikai (1934), JFL.

[53] See, *Illustrated Catalogue of a Special Loan Exhibition of Art Treasures from Japan* (Boston: Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, 1936); Kokusai Bunka Shinkokai ed., *Boston Nippon Kobijutsu Tenrankai Hokokusho* (Tokyo: KBS, 1937).

[54] Tomoko Nakashima, "The Vogue for Things Japanese in the American Aesthetic Movement," *The Komaba Journal of Area Studies*, 4 (2000); 157–176.

[55] *World's Columbian Exposition of 1893 Revisited* (Tokyo: Tokyo National Museum, 1997).

character of the time, and together they were thought to represent not only the authentic Japanese art history but also a history of the civilized Japanese nation. This Japanese art exhibition of 1936 preceded the postwar Japanese art exhibitions sponsored by the Japanese government, and became an important opportunity to introduce the concept of Japanese art history centered on "national treasures and premodern heritage of the Japanese state and its people,"[56] the concept which prevailed predominantly among Japanese art historians in America during the postwar period.

The KBS also contributed financially to support American scholars and students to conduct their study and research in Japan. For example, a scholarship program for American students was set up soon after the establishment of the society. In June of 1934, Mortimer Graves of the ACLS visited Japan and met Kiyoshi Kuroda of the KBS to ask whether the KBS could host young scholars who wanted to study in Japan. At the following directors' meeting of the KBS, they agreed to grant a fellowship with a recommendation from the American side.[57] As a result of this scholarship, one of the first American Ph. D degrees in Japanese art was granted in 1942 at Columbia University to Jon Carter Covell. Her dissertation entitled "Under the Seal of Sesshu" could not have been completed without various forms of institutional support created by the transpacific networks promoting Japanese art, including a scholarship from the KBS. She studied at Columbia under Ryusaku Tsunoda, where the JCCA had originally lobbied to establish the department of Japanese studies, then studied language and Oriental art at the *Institute d'Art et d'Archeologie* of the University of Paris on a Carnegie scholarship in 1933. She came to Japan during 1934-35 with a scholarship from the KBS, and she accomplished her research for her dissertation in Japan under the guidance of Japanese art scholars such as Professor Rikichiro Fukui of Tohoku Imperial University and Teijiro Mizoguchi of Tokyo Imperial Household Museum. She continued her study on a fellowship from the ACLS in 1937 and a scholarship from the IPR in 1938, and completed writing her dissertation in 1941, publishing a book in 1941 based on her dissertation with the assistance from the SJS.[58]

KBS's actual financial contribution was not significant during the prewar period. However, their prominent personal networks among influential scholars, government officials and financiers in Japan became very valuable in promoting Japanese studies in the American academy.

VI. The Prewar Development of Japanese Studies as a Professional Discipline

Japanese studies continued to develop during the 1930s, with a new flow of funds from organizations such as the Carnegie Corporation, the RF, the ACLS and the KBS. With the fellowships granted from the above mentioned organizations and Harvard University, many of the first generation of Japanese scholars such as Edwin O. Reischauer, Hugh Borton, Alexander Soper, Shunzo Sakamaki, Harold J. Noble among others received their scholarly training in

[56] Yiengpruksawan, "Japanese Art History 2001," 117.

[57] Memorandum of Dai-7 kai rijikai gijiroku (1934), JFL.

[58] Jon Carter Covell, *Under the Seal of Sesshu* (New York: De Pamphilis Press, 1941), vi-vii.

Japan.[59]

At Harvard University, courses on the history of Japanese and Chinese art were delivered by Langdon Warner on and off from the academic year of 1913, and produced many prominent art historians. Yet, Warner's effort in terms of promoting Japanese art studies in the American academy was sporadic, without any other Japan related academic and language programs at Harvard. Nonetheless, an opportunity to develop Far Eastern studies including Japanese studies as an institutional effort was given when the Harvard-Yenching Institute was founded in 1928 with a bequest from Charles M. Hall. The Harvard-Yenching Institute's original scope was primarily to develop Sinology. However, their direction was altered to include Japanese studies when the French Sinologist, Paul Pelliot, who had been invited to assume the position of the first director of the Harvard-Yenching, declined the offer and suggested his younger colleague, Japanologist Serge Elisseeff, for the position. Japanese language course had been offered since 1931 by Hideo Kishimoto, who later became a professor of Tokyo University. Yet the summer seminar on Far Eastern studies at Harvard in 1932, and Elisseeff's appointment to director of the Harvard-Yenching Institute and professor of Far Eastern language at Harvard University in 1934, accelerated the expansion of Japanese studies at Harvard. Elisseeff, now regarded as the "Father" of Japanese studies in America, was highly competent in Japanese language and was the first Western student who officially entered and graduated as a regular student from the Imperial University of Tokyo.[60] Many of his students, including Edwin O. Reischauer, followed his path and studied at the Imperial University of Tokyo before WWII with grants from Harvard or other organizations. Elisseeff also launched the *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* in 1936, which quickly became a prestigious academic journal of Far Eastern studies. Without a doubt, Harvard led Japanese studies and its development in the American academy from the prewar period. Nevertheless, within the transpacific networks other academic institutions, too, gradually developed their programs of Japanese studies.

During the summer of 1935, Columbia University arranged a Section of Chinese and Japanese Studies as a part of the Columbia summer session. This seminar, as well as the appointment of the visiting professor, George B. Sansom, was made possible by a grant from the RF.[61] George B. Sansom was a British Japanologist who had lived in Japan as a diplomat for a long time, and later became the first director of the East Asian Institute at Columbia in 1948. The University reported in 1939 that the offering of courses in the Japanese language, history, and art has been "considerably expanded over that of any previous year. Because of the cooperation of the Rockefeller Foundation with the University Trustees, the budget provision for instruction in this field is now four times that allotted by the University two years ago." Hugh Borton and Harold Henderson were then engaged as full-time faculty members in Japanese

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[59] Memorandum of Society for Japanese Studies: Minutes of the Annual Meeting, February 15, 1939, 8, HUG.

[60] Edwin O. Reischauer, "Serge Elisseeff," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*, 20, 1/2 (June 1957), 1-35; Yasuo Kurata, *Elisseeff no Shogai* (Tokyo: Chuo Koronsha, 1977).

[61] Memorandum of Report on Japanese Studies in Columbia University, May 23, 1935, HUG.

subjects along with Ryusaku Tsunoda as curator and lecturer. They also renamed their department from the Department of Chinese to the Department of Chinese and Japanese, and concluded in the report that the development in Japanese studies at Columbia had been made possible through a "continued correspondence with our friends in Japan and with organizations having common interests on both sides of the Pacific."[62]

With a grant from the RF, Princeton University also established Far Eastern studies at the School of Public and International Affairs, and appointed Robert K. Reischauer, who had completed his Ph. D from Harvard in Japanese history, as a full-time teaching member of faculty in 1936. Nonetheless, its expansion was interrupted considerably by Reischauer's death during his research trip to China in 1937.[63]

By the end of the 1930s, with the establishment of scholarship and fellowship programs for American students to study in Japan, and of teaching positions at academic institutions for those who finished their studies in Japan, Japanese studies in the form of the current disciplinary practice and ideology gradually came into existence. Through this process Japan and the Japanese academy began to form natural network centers for Japanese studies in America. These transitions were mostly materialized by the efforts of the transpacific networks promoting Japanese studies inside and outside academia. Many of the first generation of professional Japanese scholars who received their training in the 1930s under a new disciplinary practice generally acquired high standards of linguistic competence. And when the war in the Pacific broke out, many of them joined the military service with their scholarly capacities. By then, there were more than a few scholars in America who could provide Japanese language instruction in the war time program.[64] At the beginning of the 1930s, there had been very few Japanese specialists with language abilities in the American academy, and young American students like Reischauer, Borton, Charles B. Fahs and Covell had all had to go to Europe for their Japanese language training before they went to study in Japan.

Conclusion

With the establishment of the transpacific networks promoting Japanese studies as a collective working structure from the end of the 1920s through the 1930s, Japanese studies as a professional discipline gradually but firmly emerged within academic institutions by the time of the war in the Pacific. The location of Japanese studies shifted from the hands of the connoisseur to the professional, from outside to inside academia and from sporadic to institutional prac-

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[62] Memorandum of Society for Japanese Studies: Minutes of the Annual Meeting, February 15, 1939, 5, HUG.

[63] The Rockefeller Foundation, *Annual Report*, 1936, 291.

[64] For example, Edwin O. Reischauer engaged in setting up a school for the training of translators and cryptanalysts on Japanese coded messages. Both Elisseeff and Reischauer produced Japanese language textbooks which were also used in the military language training. See, Nancy Monteith Deptula and Michael M. Hess, *The Edwin O. Reischauer Institute of Japanese Studies: A Twenty-Year Chronicle* (Cambridge: Harvard University, 1996), 8.

tice. In this process of the development of Japanese studies, Japan and the Japanese academy gradually came into existence as centers of authority in Japanese studies in American academia.

Up until the end of the 1920s, Japanese studies within European academic institutions was much more advanced than in America. Therefore, the Harvard-Yenching Institute and the East Asian Institute at Columbia invited their first directors from France and Britain respectively, and the first generation of professional scholars had to go to Europe to receive their academic and language training before they went to Japan. There existed a hierarchical structure within Japanese studies distinguishing the European and the American academy, and the Japanese academy existed outside this structure then. However, during the 1930s and after WWII, when American Japanologists began to study within the Japanese academy instead of the European academy as a part of their academic training, and to develop a "reliance on the Japanese academy for guidance and approbation,"[65] the balance of power in this hierarchical structure within Japanese studies shifted among the Japanese, American and European academies. The Japanese academy gradually emerged as the authority in Japanese studies in America.

As I have discussed in this paper, from the end of the 1920s and through the 1930s, there were various changes in the nature of Japanese studies in the United States. These transitions were largely made possible with an effort of the transpacific networks promoting Japanese studies which consisted of scholars, financiers, diplomats and missionaries from both sides of the Pacific. The group of people from the American side aimed to establish highly competitive Japanese studies in American academia which would equal the discipline as it existed in Europe. The other group of people in Japan took this opportunity to promote a "true" picture of Japan through its art and culture, particularly at a time when Japan was increasingly confined and lacked such an opportunity during the 1930s. Their cooperation to promote Japanese studies together in America was interrupted due to the war between the two countries, nevertheless, when the war was over they began to promote this field of study again on a much larger scale.

[65] Yiengpruksawan, "Japanese Art History 2001," 110.

The Formative Years of the Transpacific Networks Promoting Japanese Studies in America

〈Summary〉

Tomoko Nakashima

The current debate among American Japanologists over their taken-for-granted academic disciplinary practice demonstrates underlying concerns over the naturalized hierarchical structure organizing relations between the Japanese and American academies, and includes a critique of the situation in which Japan forms a normalized center of authority in Japanese studies. This paper discusses how Japan and the Japanese academy came into existence as centers of authority in Japanese studies in America, and examines how this hierarchical structure was a product of social and geopolitical construction that emerged from the transpacific networks promoting Japanese studies in the American academy. From the end of the 1920s, these networks, which consisted of scholars, financiers, diplomats and missionaries on both sides of the Pacific, founded lobbying organizations such as the Japanese Culture Center of America, the American Council of Learned Societies, the committee on Japanese studies and the Institute of Pacific Relations. They tried to establish Japanese studies within American universities and colleges, and built channels to draw funds into Japanese studies from influential organizations such as the Rockefeller Foundation, the Carnegie Corporation and the *Kokusai Bunka Shinkokai* (now the Japan Foundation). At the same time, during this period in place of the European academy, the Japanese academy was introduced as the most appropriate academic institution to provide American Japanologists a part of their scholarly training. As a result of the efforts of the transpacific networks promoting Japanese studies in America, the Japanese academy gradually emerged as a natural network center for Japanese studies.