

## Gentlemen's Agreement, 1908: Fragments for a Pacific History

### *Gentlemen's Agreement*

IN 1908, TWO GENTLEMEN agreed that the Japanese arriving on the shores of the Pacific coast of North America were not gentlemen. One of these gentlemen was in Tokyo and the other was in Washington, DC. On October 11, 1906, the San Francisco school board, claiming overcrowding due to the destruction of buildings by the earthquake that occurred in April of that year, had declared that Japanese and Korean students would no longer be permitted to attend any of the city's public schools except the Oriental School, which had been built to segregate the children of "Chinese and Mongolian" immigrants after the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882. Japanese residents of San Francisco cabled the news westward to Tokyo, and the Japanese press raised protest. Word of the Japanese protest was then cabled back to Washington, where members of the federal government learned of the school board's decision for the first time. The possibility of war in the Pacific was discussed in Japanese and American newspapers and in the United States Congress. President Roosevelt stepped in. Diplomatic notes were exchanged during 1907. The Japanese government agreed to restrict emigration, resulting in the "Gentlemen's Agreement" between the United States and the Empire of Japan.<sup>1</sup>

### *Where the line between laborer and gentleman must be drawn*

"It becomes a serious question to determine where the line between laborer and gentleman must be drawn," remarked Thomas J. O'Brien, U.S. ambassador to Japan, at the Japan Society in New York in August 1908.<sup>2</sup> In its

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ABSTRACT This experimental essay takes the form of a series of episodes related to immigration, race, empire, radical politics, family norms, disease and health, expositions, houses, furnishings, dress, hairstyle, and bodily comportment among Japanese, Koreans, Australians, and North Americans in the year 1908. I have eschewed conventional methods of historical argumentation so that the connections between seemingly disparate events and utterances may emerge elliptically, evoking a historical milieu through their resonance with one another. Interpretive summaries appear in italics. A wiki version of the essay and an apologia for historical montage can be found at [www9.georgetown.edu/faculty/sandj/](http://www9.georgetown.edu/faculty/sandj/). Japanese and Korean names appear in their original order, with family name first. / REPRESENTATIONS 107. Summer 2009 © The Regents of the University of California. ISSN 0734-6018, electronic ISSN 1533-855X, pages 91-127. All rights reserved. Direct requests for permission to photocopy or reproduce article content to the University of California Press at <http://www.ucpressjournals.com/reprintinfo.asp>. DOI:10.1525/rep.2009.107.1.91.

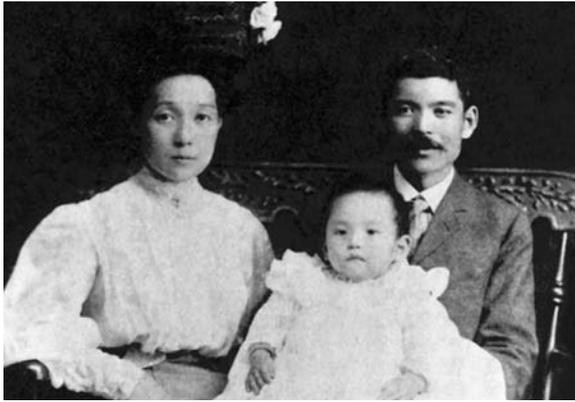


FIGURE 1. Hashiguchi Nobusuke poses with his wife and child on a bench.

new immigration policy, the Japanese government chose to draw the line by separating what it called *imin* (migrants) from a new category of *hi-imin* (nonmigrants). A November 1908 government directive sent from Tokyo to prefectural offices elaborated on the distinction. *Imin* were described as those “who have less opportunity for cultivation,” while *hi-imin* belonged to “the educated classes.” Passports were to be issued only to *hi-imin* and to the spouses and minor children of *imin* already overseas.<sup>3</sup> These restrictions, however, did not apply to Japanese people traveling to Korea or China.

#### *An immigration company*

At the time, Hashiguchi Nobusuke, son of a lumber merchant from Obichō, Miyazaki Prefecture, on the Pacific coast of Japan, was struggling to establish an immigration company in Seattle, Washington, on the Pacific coast of the United States (fig. 1). Arriving initially as a student, he had worked as a houseboy in American homes, started a tailor’s shop, and gradually accumulated capital until he was able to buy a plot of forestland on the Columbia River in Oregon. He was seeking Japanese laborers to harvest the pine there.<sup>4</sup>

#### *The imprisoned and exuberant populations of China and Japan*

Eighty-five years earlier, when the territory around the Columbia River, known to the British as the Columbia District and to the Americans as the Oregon Country, was still in dispute, Missouri senator Thomas Hart Benton had urged that it be taken by American troops so as to bring Christianity and democracy to the “imprisoned and exuberant populations” of China and Japan, who might one day also find in this place “their granary.” According to an account titled “The Romance of American Expansion” in the May 23, 1908, edition of the journal *Outlook*, Benton’s rationale seemed so absurd at

the time that members of the senate “laughed heartily, and forgot all about the really vital issue of forestalling the British in the occupation of Oregon.” The British claimed rights based on purchase of the land from the Indians.<sup>5</sup> By 1908, the region, together with California, had become a granary for roughly 150,000 immigrants from Japan and 75,000 from China. Approximately 38,000 Japanese immigrants worked on American farms. In 1910, they owned or leased 194,742 acres of farmland in the state of California and cultivated 70 percent of the country’s strawberries.<sup>6</sup>

### *Mansions with spacious verandas*

Most had come via Hawaii, where Japanese, Chinese, and other laborers were brought on contract to work on sugar plantations until 1900, when the U.S. Congress passed the Organic Act, declaring Hawaii a territory of the United States. Thereafter, contract labor was forbidden. People continued to make the eastward journey. In 1908, of 45,603 sugar plantation laborers counted in Hawaii, 31,774, or roughly 70 percent, were Japanese.<sup>7</sup> They lived in rows of barracks. According to Ronald Takaki, foremen occupied “handsome bungalow cottages.” Plantation owners lived in “mansions with spacious verandas” and maintained clubs exclusively for whites.<sup>8</sup> In Hawaii, Japanese immigration brokers lured their countrymen further eastward with promises of freedom and high wages in California. A carpenter in Japan in 1902 earned roughly two-thirds of one yen, or about 32 cents, per day. A Japanese free laborer on a sugar plantation earned roughly 68 cents per day. A railroad worker in California could earn a dollar a day.<sup>9</sup> Advocates of Asian exclusion in California feared what they called the “Hawaiianization” of the west coast.

### *American bungalows to Japan*

Unable to start a business importing laborers from Japan to the west coast of the United States, Hashiguchi Nobusuke decided instead to export American bungalows to Japan. He shut down his business in Seattle in December 1908 and boarded a ship for Yokohama the following month. Upon returning to Japan, he opened shop in Shiba, Tokyo’s furniture district, and hung out a sign reading *Amerika-ya*, “The America Store.”<sup>10</sup> Although the bungalow house type, first developed for British colonists in India and subsequently diffused as a simple model for vacation cottages, had originally had one story, the Seattle houses that Hashiguchi had worked in as a houseboy and was now seeking to introduce to Japan were year-round residences with two stories.<sup>11</sup>

Hashiguchi had little background in architecture. In a memoir written in 1925, he recorded that a strict upbringing in which he was forced to sit on the floor with his legs folded under him for long periods had formed in him a dislike of *tatami* mats. When he arrived in the United States and realized that rich and poor Americans alike sat on chairs, he became convinced that this was a practice that should be brought at once to Japan.<sup>12</sup>

Structures designed for middle-class Seattle families fit poorly with either the preconceptions or the needs of the upper-class urbanites who were the clientele for Western-style houses in Japan at the time. Japanese clients wanted American-looking houses but still wanted *tatami* mats on the floors. Five of Hashiguchi's first six bungalows were purchased by a man who rented houses to foreigners.<sup>13</sup> Thereafter, the America Store shifted to taking commissions for residential designs and began in the business of designing and custom-building houses, as well as importing furniture.

#### *A two-seater swing*

Writing in the Japanese popular press, Hashiguchi emphasized the difficulty of cleaning Japanese houses and their lack of security, as well as the inconvenience of wearing Western business suits for the office and changing into Japanese dress at home. He also promoted sitting in chairs. He acknowledged to readers of the Tokyo-based magazine *Ladies' Companion* that many people thought it was "impossible to relax" in a house where one spent the whole day sitting off the floor, "as if riding in a train." But the reason people believed this, he explained, was that the Japanese had been given bad chairs. Most of the chairs people had in their homes, he claimed, were actually designed for office use.<sup>14</sup> The accompanying advertisement for the America Store featured a rocking chair and a two-seater swing, contrasting with the office furniture and railway seats Hashiguchi expected his readers would associate with Western living.<sup>15</sup>

#### *The absence of suitable music*

The focus of the house in Hashiguchi's ideal was not a casual "living room" of the kind fashionable in the contemporary American literature of decorating at the time, but something more like a Victorian parlor.<sup>16</sup> The piano was a central feature. In the *Ladies' Companion*, Hashiguchi observed that, in contrast to Western houses, Japanese houses were poor "stages for socializing and family togetherness." He blamed the absence of suitable music in Japan for a lack of social activities involving the whole family. In the West, he noted, it was common to entertain company at home with piano

music and songs. Hashiguchi claimed that this did not happen in Japan for reasons rooted in feminine habits. Japanese women learned music to entertain themselves in their maiden years, but usually gave it up after marriage. Consequently, social gatherings tended to occur outside the home, and wives and daughters were excluded.<sup>17</sup>

### *Poetry cannot feed a people*

The monthly journal *Success* (Seikō), also published in Tokyo, urged readers in 1910 to settle permanently in the United States because the “barbaric” Japanese family system was holding the nation back. “Family signifies the poetry of life,” observed the writer, “but poetry cannot feed a people.” *Amerika*, another Tokyo-based journal, had observed two years earlier the unfortunate circumstance that most of the Japanese labor migrants to the Pacific coast of America were “animal-like . . . much like the coarse and vulgar Chinese laborers in Japan.”<sup>18</sup>

### *If these groups would scatter*

Returning to New York from a trip to Japan in 1911, educator and journalist Hamilton Holt told the *New York Times* that the Japanese maintained good hygiene, noting that on the voyage from Japan to Korea he had looked in steerage and found three hundred Japanese passengers there, “clean and sweet, with no odor.” He added that the “tendency of the Japanese in this country of segregating themselves in colonies” was acknowledged in Japan to have caused isolation and prejudice, and that it was felt that relations would improve “if these groups would scatter.”<sup>19</sup>

*Certain ideas and material forms were flowing westward at the beginning of the twentieth century, from the east coast of the United States to California and from there to Japan: bungalows, garden cities, informal family intimacy, simple living, and outdoor recreation. As they traveled, they embodied both civilization (as it was then understood by Anglo-Americans) and the antidotes this civilization had generated within itself. A counter-current across the Pacific—this one of people—had reached a peak and was now impeded.*

### *A tour of Asia*

In March 1908, David and Mary Gamble embarked from the port of Los Angeles on a westbound ship. David Gamble was one of ten children of James Gamble, cofounder of Proctor and Gamble. He was also the company’s

former secretary and treasurer. Now in retirement, he and Mary decided to build a house in Pasadena, California, seeking California's fresh air and the simple bungalow lifestyle. Ground was broken in March. To avoid the upheaval of construction and moving, they took a tour of Asia. Studying details of Japanese architecture in Bostonian Edward Morse's book *Japanese Homes and Their Surroundings* and in the Japanese pavilions at the 1904 World Exposition in St. Louis, their architects, Charles and Henry Greene, had designed them a bungalow "in the Japanese manner," although the building also showed the influences of Tyrolean and other European wood architecture. For interiors, the Greenes imported hardwoods from South America, Africa, and Asia, and also used California pine and other local softwoods.<sup>20</sup> Upon the Gamble family's return in August, the Greenes carved them a wall relief of Mount Fuji in redwood.<sup>21</sup>

### *The way Americans treated animals*

Nishimura Isaku (Isaac), whose parents had been converted to Christianity by an American missionary shortly before his birth in 1884, arrived in the United States from Japan via Europe in 1908. His two younger brothers were in Boston and Los Angeles. Because of restrictions under the Gentlemen's Agreement and possibly because of Nishimura's association with socialists, Japanese authorities had denied him a passport to the United States. He embarked for Europe from his native Shingū, a port town on the Pacific coast of Wakayama Prefecture known for its high number of overseas emigrants, traveling via Singapore, Colombo, and the Suez Canal. Once in Europe, he claimed falsely at the Japanese embassy in The Hague that his brother was ill and needed to be brought back to Japan. The two did later return together, setting sail from San Francisco and arriving in Yokohama via Honolulu. Although in Shingū Nishimura had advocated an American lifestyle, he does not appear to have been favorably impressed by his experience in the United States. In his memoir, *For My Own Benefit (Ware ni eki ari)*, Nishimura recalled the admiration he had felt for the way Americans treated animals, but he also noted that he had suffered discrimination. A plainclothes policeman searching for a Chinese murder suspect harassed him on a train. Japanese people, his brother in Los Angeles informed him, were not welcome at restaurants and barbershops. He went to a restaurant anyway, despite his brother's fear.<sup>22</sup>

### *Like the king of a little kingdom*

Nishimura's parents had dressed him in Western clothes from infancy. He had an aversion to removing his shoes and sitting on the floor in the customary Japanese manner. After his marriage in 1907, he sent for copies

of American magazines such as *Good Housekeeping*, *House and Garden*, and *House Beautiful* and set about instructing his wife in American cooking and laundry methods, as well as in the English language. He ordered all of their furniture from Montgomery Ward in Chicago. On his return from the United States, he built a house based on plans in an American book.<sup>23</sup> His biographer, Katō Yuri, has observed that Nishimura treated his domestic life as a performance. The writers and artists who frequently visited the Nishimura house in Shingū wondered at it. Painter Ishii Hakutei, who stayed for a month in 1913, wrote that the “Western style scene” of family suppers taken in rattan chairs at a table on the front lawn “inspired me countless times.”<sup>24</sup> Guests were struck by the exoticism of the setting, food, and utensils. Just as married life had commenced with personal lessons for his wife in Western domestic work, Nishimura’s family gatherings were exercises to be enacted in accord with his vision. “He’s like the king of a little kingdom,” commented poet Yosano Akiko.<sup>25</sup>

### *Civilized people needn’t take their meals*

A self-trained architect, Nishimura also designed several dozen houses for friends and relatives in the course of his career, many of them bungalows. These designs embodied in architecture the ideal of social transparency he advocated. The designs called for interiors that were visible from outside the front door. Nishimura combined the living and dining rooms, thereby putting the place where one ate within sight of guests. This might be thought a source of inconvenience in the event visitors came when one was eating, he admitted, but there ought to be nothing shameful about being seen eating. Civilized people needn’t take their meals as if they were beasts hiding their prey, he asserted.<sup>26</sup>

### *Escaping the smoke of civilization*

In an early issue of *House* (Jūtaku), a magazine edited by Hashiguchi Nobusuke and women’s educator Misumi Suzuko, Nishimura informed readers that the bungalow was the ideal house for putting Japanese life in step with the rest of the world. The bungalow’s roof was similar to that of a Japanese house, and the interior was composed of simple planes and right angles, agreeing with Japanese taste. In fact, much of the bungalow’s design, Nishimura pointed out, took hints from Japanese architecture. Designed for “escaping the smoke of civilization and living an artistic life close to nature,” the true American bungalow, according to Nishimura, comprised only four or five rooms, with no entry vestibule or reception room. A large living room (*ribingu rūmu*) served as dining area and study. Although some bungalows

did have a small hall (*hōru*), this was not a house for people leading lives of the kind that required them to “turn visitors away at the front door or have someone answer the door to say no one [was] home.”<sup>27</sup>

### *A few communistic ideas*

In 1908, British expatriate and self-trained architect James Peddle rushed back to Sydney from Pasadena to contribute bungalow plans to a housing design competition for Daceyville, Australia’s first garden city, planned after the model Englishman Ebenezer Howard had proposed in *Garden Cities of Tomorrow* (1902). Named for John Rowland Dacey, a parliamentarian who for years had been advocating planned housing for workers, Daceyville soon became a fashionable suburb. The California bungalow was introduced in the Australian architectural press in the same year, described as promising the blessings of “pure country air” and a “state of health [and] happy responsibility” to the “pleasure-loving” Australian people, whose “nomadic instinct” led them outdoors at every opportunity. In the journal *Building*, Peddle praised the landscape of San Francisco’s new suburbs in Berkeley and Oakland and urged his countrymen to adopt a “few communistic ideas” from their American neighbors by removing the fences around their property.<sup>28</sup>

Dacey himself was a treasurer of the Australian Labor Party at the time and a member of its protectionist faction. The party manifesto called for “cultivation of an Australian sentiment, based on the maintenance of racial purity.”<sup>29</sup> “Many years ago,” political commentator A. Maurice Low wrote in the New York–based journal *Forum* in October 1908, “Australians resolved that Australia should be a white man’s country and that the immigration of Asiatics should not be permitted.” Low noted that this left Australian sugar plantations relatively undeveloped because “the white man cannot or will not work in them.” The Japanese in particular were “more bitterly disliked,” in Australia, he asserted, than “any place on the face of the globe.”<sup>30</sup>

### *Even Englishmen, who disliked being seen at home*

Architect Tanabe Junkichi published an article in the January 1908 issue of the *Journal of the Society of Japanese Architects* introducing members of the society to bungalows in western Australia. Tanabe had never traveled to Australia. His source was a report submitted by an architect in Perth to the Royal Institute of British Architects. The original report pointed to the adaptations that had been made to the Australian climate and advertised the pleasures of relaxing on the verandah—an “open-air sitting room”—noting

that even Englishmen, who disliked being seen at home, would be converted to Australian habits if they tried it. The author referred to the single-story houses with broad verandahs as “bungalow-like,” which, Tanabe explained to his Japanese colleagues, referred to a type of dwelling that was common in India and elsewhere.<sup>31</sup>

Struck by visual similarities to “ordinary houses around Tokyo,” Tanabe found in the Australian bungalows a model for the reform of Japanese domestic architecture. As eating habits were Westernizing and “most people” wore Western clothes, he wrote, architects had a responsibility to devise a “universal dwelling reform” proposal that would “respond to the desire for European tastes among the middle ranks.” Nothing was intrinsically wrong with making the architectural solution “pure Western style,” but cost, climate, and the present “national level” of the Japanese people stood in the way. The British writer, in Tanabe’s translation, remarked that he expected his “fellow countrymen would be astonished by the crudeness of the buildings.” In Tanabe’s view, these Australian houses offered the Japanese a compromise for the time being.

### *Disparaged as a custom of savage origin*

In the British architect’s description of taking the air on the verandah in Australia Tanabe found confirmation that the Japanese habit of doing the same thing need not be “disparaged as a custom of savage origin.” But he disapproved of the fact that entrance to the houses in several of the plans was gained directly through the verandah, since this would allow visitors to look inside the house from the entry.

*English bungalows were not the same as Seattle bungalows, which were not the same as Pasadena bungalows or Hawaiian bungalows or western Australian bungalows. Yet, as Anthony King has demonstrated, the bungalow idea of simple living and informality was a thread connecting all of them, and connecting the experience of life in tropical colonies of the British empire to the emergence of modern leisure and vacation cottages, to the American Arts and Crafts movement, and to the production of suburban mass housing in North America, Australia, and elsewhere. Hashiguchi Nobusuke’s bungalows were drawn from a tributary to the second, commercial diffusion of the bungalow type, which flowed from England to the United States through pattern books and magazines then spread throughout the Pacific Coast of North America through the sales of prefab builders. Tanabe Junkichi’s western Australian houses belonged to the first wave of diffusion from India through the British Empire.<sup>32</sup> The Greene and Greene bungalow, the Rolls Royce of rustic houses, was heavily influenced by the American fashion for things in Japanese style that accompanied the simple life ideal promoted in Gustav Stickley’s journal *The Craftsman* and other periodicals.*

### *Decadence and neurasthenia*

Abe Isoo, one of the founders of the Social Democratic Party in Tokyo, wrote in 1908 that the Japanese lacked healthy outdoor recreations. Anglo-Saxons engaged in wholesome and vigorous activities that gave them “bodies of steel and nerves of iron,” he informed readers in the June issue of *Success* magazine. Japanese pastimes, in contrast, were “feminine, inactive, and retiring,” and took far too much time. Sumo wrestling was the only exception, but this was merely a spectator sport. Brothels and restaurants dominated in the places where Japanese people gathered. Sitting on *tatami* mats at home hindered physical movement. The result of Japanese sedentary habits was decadence and neurasthenia, evident even among the immigrants to the west coast of America.<sup>33</sup> Abe became one of the leading promoters of baseball in Japan.

### *This sport, which every nationality of laborers is keen for*

Hawaiian sugar production more than doubled between 1898, when the islands became a U.S. territory, and 1908, a decade later, increasing from 229,414 tons to 521,123 tons annually. The wages of Japanese laborers on Hawaiian sugar plantations increased little. Between 1902 and 1908, the average daily wage of a free laborer had increased by 5 cents. That earned by a Japanese contract cultivator decreased from 99 to 91 cents.<sup>34</sup> An organization of Japanese workers in the islands calling themselves the “Higher Wage Association” demanded better wages and working conditions and threatened to strike. Pleas were published in the *Nippu jiji*, a Japanese newspaper in Oahu, begging Japanese workers to remember their culture and the shame that “reckless radicals” might bring upon their country. Higher Wage Association leaders spoke of Japanese national spirit (*yamato damashii*) too. By the end of January 1909, 7,000 Japanese workers on Oahu had gone on strike. Although the strike ultimately collapsed, most of the strikers’ demands were met. The Sugar Planters’ Association raised wages and agreed to renovate camps.<sup>35</sup> This association also advised plantation managers to provide recreation for workers, including sports, music, and movies. Managers were told to lay out baseball grounds, “to encourage this sport, which every nationality of laborers is keen for.”<sup>36</sup>

### *If I never get back*

Jack Norworth, a blackface comedian and vaudeville songwriter, was riding a train into Manhattan one day in 1908 when he composed a song called “Take Me Out to the Ball Game” on some scrap paper. The line “I don’t care if I never get back,” rhymed with “buy me some peanuts and Cracker Jack.” With the rise of two professional leagues, baseball had become a pastime to



FIGURE 2 (*left*). The Pacific Refreshment Room. Ōishi Seinosuke stands second from left in a top hat. Nishimura Isaku stands beside him in a bowler. Courtesy Nishimura Isaku kinenkan.



FIGURE 3 (*right*). Kōtoku Shūsui in Japanese formal dress.

be enjoyed sitting down. Norworth's song became known in the United States as the "unofficial anthem of baseball" and cemented the relationship between this pastime and one of the country's first mass-produced sweet snacks, whose slogan was "the more you eat the more you want."<sup>37</sup>

### *Pacific Refreshment Room*

Nishimura Isaku's uncle, Ōishi Seinosuke, was one of several family members who raised Isaku after his parents were killed when their church collapsed in the Nōbi Earthquake of 1891. Ōishi drifted to the United States, where he worked as a houseboy and cook, then studied medicine in Oregon. Returning to Shingū, he opened a restaurant, said to be the first establishment in the prefecture to serve Western food. Isaku painted the sign that hung out front, reading (in English and Japanese) "Pacific Refreshment Room" (fig. 2). The name was chosen for the dual meaning of the word "pacific." Ōishi was contributing at the time regularly to the socialist *Commoners' Newspaper*, edited by Kōtoku Shūsui (fig. 3). This was the only newspaper in Japan to oppose the war with Russia over dominance of Korea and Manchuria.

“Unlike an ordinary Western style restaurant,” Ōishi explained in announcing plans for the refreshment room to *Commoners’ Newspaper* readers, “we have expended every effort in the design to follow the principles of Western simple life philosophy in each particular, from the construction of the building to the selection of furniture to the interior decoration. Inside, we are providing a newspaper and magazine reading area and simple musical instruments and indoor games to create a place for youth to enjoy healthy recreation, food and drink.” The restaurant also offered free meals to the poor on appointed days. It soon failed. According to Nishimura’s memoir, customers didn’t like being lectured about Western manners.<sup>38</sup> Around 1908, Ōishi turned from moral reform and ministering to the poor to anarchism and the philosophy of direct action that Kōtoku Shūsui was beginning to espouse. At the end of a typical day in Shingū, he told readers of the magazine *Kumamoto Review* in a personal sketch that summer, he “would often give a speech and talk with the young about revolt.”<sup>39</sup>

### *Dressed like a Tokyo gentleman*

Authorities shut the offices of the *Commoners’ Newspaper* in 1905, shortly after publication of Kōtoku’s translation of *The Communist Manifesto*. Kōtoku spent five months in prison, then boarded a ship in Yokohama bound for Seattle and San Francisco. He wrote to San Francisco anarchist Albert Johnson before his departure that he was coming to the United States so that he could “criticize the position of ‘His Majesty’ . . . from [a] foreign land where the pernicious hand of ‘His Majesty’ cannot reach.”<sup>40</sup> Lecturing before an audience of more than five hundred people in Seattle’s Japanese Association Hall, he found the podium flanked by portraits of the emperor and empress. Portraits of naval heroes of the war with Russia and a work of calligraphy by Marquis Itō Hirobumi, then Japan’s Resident General in Korea, hung on the other walls. Kōtoku’s own appearance and manner reminded Iwasa Sakutarō, his Japanese comrade in San Francisco, of the Meiji emperor. He dressed “like a Tokyo gentleman,” in a morning coat and bowler hat and carried a wooden sword. It seemed “curiously grotesque in San Francisco,” Iwasa would later write. Conditions for the socialists in San Francisco encouraged Kōtoku. “This is a revolutionary age,” he told a Japanese audience there, “if we aspire to revolution today, it will be easy to make a name for ourselves and win fame.”<sup>41</sup>

### *An inflowing horde*

In the May 1908 *International Socialist Review*, Cameron H. King Jr. observed that “our feelings of brotherhood toward the Japanese” must wait “until we

have no longer reason to look upon them as an inflowing horde of alien scabs.” Discussing the issue of Asian immigration at a meeting of the Socialist Party in Oakland, writer Jack London stated, “I am first of all a white man and only then a Socialist.”<sup>42</sup>

### *At the International Congress on Tuberculosis*

Doctor Ishigami Tōru traveled eastward to Washington, DC, in 1908, probably by ship to Seattle or San Francisco, then over land (since the Panama Canal, construction of which had been taken over by the United States from France in 1904, would not be complete until six years later). He made the journey to attend the International Congress on Tuberculosis and present a serum he claimed would cure the disease. Ishigami was a student and assistant of Kitasato Shibasaburō, the discoverer of the plague bacillus. He had traveled to Hong Kong with Kitasato and helped there in isolating the bacillus. The New York–based *Harper's* magazine first trumpeted Ishigami's serum as the main news of the gathering but subsequently printed a skeptical article by a participating doctor from New York: “The claims made at the Congress by Dr. Ishigami of Japan as to the value of his serum [remain] still un-substantiated and unendorsed by the medical profession at large,” the doctor noted, “more and more stress has been laid upon hygienic measures and modes of living for the strengthening of the patient's own powers than upon the use of any particular medicine.”<sup>43</sup> Hygienic concerns included segregation of the infected from others. In the understanding of some attending the congress, the problem of tuberculosis related to the undesirable mixing of races. Ignorance of hygiene among nonwhites, they feared, threatened white populations.<sup>44</sup> Ishigami published the trial results of his serum in the November issue of the *Philippine Journal of Science*.<sup>45</sup>

### *If, by any chance*

“If, by any chance, ten thousand hungry man-eating tigers were suddenly brought from the Far East and set free to ravage our Pacific coast,” began an article by William Inglis in the July 4, 1908, issue of *Harper's*.<sup>46</sup> Inglis chose this simile to emphasize the threat of fleas carrying the plague bacillus, although some readers might also have heard echoes of Yellow Peril rhetoric in it. The article did not address immigration, however. It noted that spread of the disease was slow in Japan and the United States because people in these countries bathed frequently. It also described the quarantine measures taken after the disease had “obtained a foothold among the Asiatics in San Francisco, and even among a few Caucasians.” An accompanying photograph showing a

two-story San Francisco row house with bay windows bore the caption “In this Japanese House were found both Human Creatures and Rats infected with Bubonic Plague.”

### *Ladies' Agreement*

Following the Gentlemen's Agreement, more women traveled from Japan to the continental United States than men. Between 1910 and 1920, the number of Japanese women and girls living in the United States increased by 150 percent.<sup>47</sup> Photographs of women were posted at immigration company offices, which arranged marriages for a fee. Japanese authorities consented to halt the emigration of picture brides in 1920, under what was sometimes called the “Ladies' Agreement.”<sup>48</sup> Albert Johnson, chairman of the Congressional Committee on Immigration, reported that Japanese picture brides were in fact coming as laborers, since they worked in the fields with their husbands in addition to raising an average of five children.<sup>49</sup> In 1925, Kiyō Sue Inui, professor at Tokyo University (formerly assistant professor at the University of California) wrote of the problem of Japanese immigrant women working alongside their men in the fields that “it is admitted that it is not the American standard,” but that the “Japanese community is doing its best to discourage this practice through their various organizations.”<sup>50</sup> Thirty-five hours of free instruction in American domestic management, hygiene, and etiquette were offered by the emigration society of Yokohama to women embarking for the United States.<sup>51</sup>

### *Somewhere in the uncivilized west*

Misumi Suzuko moved south from Tokyo to Zushi on the Pacific coast when she took an appointment as principle of the Kamakura Girls' School in 1908, probably for reasons of health (fig. 4). She had shown signs of tuberculosis. Doctors advised that the air of Zushi, near Kamakura where the school was located, would offer her the best chance of alleviating the effects of the disease. “Everyone has heard of men” remarked a journalist for *Harper's* magazine in October of the same year, who “threw up their jobs and lived in a tent somewhere in the uncivilized west” because of tuberculosis.<sup>52</sup>

While teaching at the Kamakura Girls' School, Misumi began to apply what she called “movement economy” to domestic practices, influenced by the American Frederick Taylor's theory of scientific management. Subsequently, she commissioned the America Store to design a house for her in



FIGURE 4. Misumi Suzuko.

accordance with these principles. She preached her domestic science to America Store president Hashiguchi. The two collaborated in founding the Dwelling Reform Society, which published the monthly journal *House* and sought public support throughout Japan to alter Japanese houses based on an American model for greater efficiency.<sup>53</sup>

### *She played the organ*

Misumi was thirty-six and unwed at the time she arrived in Zushi. In addition to fresh air, her doctors advised that marriage would help alleviate her condition. While she was living on the coast, twelve boys from a nearby school drowned in the Pacific in a boating accident. Misumi memorialized the incident by putting lyrics to a hymn by American composer Jeremiah Ingalls. She named the song “The Foot of White Fuji.” She played the organ to accompany her students, who sang at the boys’ funeral. The song became popular, adding to the incident’s renown throughout Japan.

Mr. Ishizuka, the boys’ dormitory supervisor, had been approached by a third party who proposed that Ishizuka marry Misumi. Ishizuka was in Kamakura negotiating the match when the boys drowned. He resigned to take responsibility for the tragedy, drifted west to Okayama (where he married someone else), and later north to the Japanese colony on Sakhalin.

After his death, his son blamed a popular novel called *Hototogisu* for his father's misfortunes: Namiko, the romantic heroine in this novel, is consumptive. She seeks the healthy air of the Pacific at Zushi, where she sojourns with her beloved, a naval officer. Ishizuka, his son theorized, transposed the romance of the novel into the context of his own life when he encountered the consumptive Misumi. In later life, Ishizuka forbade his son to read novels.<sup>54</sup>

Translated into English as *Nami-ko: A Realistic Novel*, *Hototogisu* received praise from American reviewers. William Ellis Griffis called it "the only work of fiction in English which gives a real and true picture of the home life of contemporaneous Japan," adding that "it may possibly do for Japan's slavery of woman what Mrs. Stowe's picture of black slavery did in our country."<sup>55</sup>

*Attitudes toward disease and health and toward family, forms of recreation and leisure, ways of comporting the body, and casual furniture and interiors had circled the globe with European expansion, picking up new traits in the context of European colonial domination. Fear of contagion drove people to new territorial occupations in the mountains and on the coasts away from population centers. In Japan as in Europe and North America, consumptives who could afford it took the "fresh-air cure," sleeping in open-air porches and languishing in reclining chairs at sanatoria. At the same time, the chronic character of tuberculosis called for new domestic habits and placed the disease in the frame of the romance of conjugal domesticity that had emerged in the nineteenth century.*

### *A second place to colonize*

Tokutomi Roka, the author of *Hototogisu* (*Nami-ko*), was rich from the royalties on his bestselling novel when he moved in 1908 from the Aoyama district of Tokyo to the suburban farm hamlet of Kasuya seven miles to the west. He called the move his "flight from the capital." As he recounted four years later in his memoir-cum-novel *An Earthworm's Ramblings*, he was seeking a simple life away from civilization. Leo Tolstoy, whom he had visited at his estate south of Moscow in 1906, had urged him to take up farming for the moral benefits of hard work and country living. On March 11, 1908, Roka wrote in a letter to his friend Kunikida Doppo, who was hospitalized with tuberculosis, "The rail line between Shinjuku and Hachiōji is supposed to pass through here by the time of the Great Exposition in 1912. Now some gentleman from Tokyo has purchased land nearby. One day a factory could even be built in the valley below me, breathing black smoke. If that happens, it's over. I'll go find a second place to colonize right away."<sup>56</sup>



FIGURE 5. “Mr. Kenjiro Tokutomi is leading a rural life. . .,” *Fujin gahō* (The Ladies’ Graphic), April 1914.

### *North across the Tumen River to Manchuria*

A scroll bearing the calligraphed words “Though poor, not fawning; though rich, not proud” hangs today in the study of Tokutomi Roka’s Kasuya house (fig. 5), which has been preserved as a museum. The brushwork belongs to An Jung-geun (Christian name Thomas), who would become a hero of the movement for Korean independence from Japanese colonial rule, although he was little known at the time he wrote the words. The two never met. Roka received the scroll from a schoolteacher in the Manchurian city of Dalian while traveling there.<sup>57</sup> In 1908, An had moved north from the Korean peninsula across the Tumen River to Manchuria to lead a Korean guerrilla force against Japanese occupation. Forced to scatter by Japanese troops there, he and several others crossed the border to Russia and made their way to the port of Posjet, south of Vladivostok. There, in late November, he cut off the tip of his left ring finger and, together with twelve comrades, including a farmer, a hunter, and a barber, signed a declaration in blood vowing to give his life for the nation.<sup>58</sup>

### *King Kojong, who kneels on the ground*

The previous July, Marquis Itō Hirobumi, the Japanese Resident General, had forced the Korean monarch to abdicate and had disbanded his military.



FIGURE 6. Kitazawa Rakuten's depiction of the signing of an agreement between Japan and Korea. *Tokyo Puck* 3, no. 21 (August 1907). Courtesy Tokyo University Graduate School of Interdisciplinary Information Studies Library.

A document was drawn up that gave all authority to appoint and remove officials in the peninsula to the Resident General. Japanese political cartoonist Kitazawa Rakuten depicted the signing ceremony in the magazine *Tokyo Puck* (fig. 6). In the drawing, Itō and Foreign Minister Hayashi Tadasu sit on chairs wearing military uniforms on the Prussian model, their legs apart and their hands resting on their thighs. They look down on the bowed head of King Kojong, who kneels on the ground of a foreshortened Korean peninsula as he applies his seal to the document laid out before him.<sup>59</sup> After the agreement, throughout the peninsula and in areas farther north dominated by the Japanese, Korean resisters gathered to fight. This was when An bade farewell to his family and headed north.<sup>60</sup>

### *A better class of colonists*

The report on Korea in the April 2, 1908 issue of *The Independent* of New York related that Durham White Stevens, foreign advisor to the Japanese Resident General in Korea, had been shot and killed by an undetermined number of Koreans at the ferry station in San Francisco. It also mentioned a bill passed by the Japanese parliament for colonization of people in Korea, which the *Independent* stated was aimed at diverting the flow of emigration

away from the United States and at ensuring that a “better class of colonists” would go to Korea than the “adventurers who followed the army” there.<sup>61</sup> At the end of the year, the government of Prime Minister Katsura Tarō (formed in July) created the Oriental Development Company to assist Japanese colonists in starting farms on the peninsula. Sixty thousand were projected to emigrate in the first three years of the program, but two years later, no one had signed up. The Japanese who emigrated voluntarily to the continent preferred to live in the cities. The Oriental Development Company subsequently shifted to providing loans for Japanese to purchase land to be farmed by Korean tenants.<sup>62</sup> Since the establishment of the protectorate in 1905, the Resident General had forbidden Korean emigration to Hawaii and the United States in order to reduce the competition for Japanese laborers there and to control Korean independence activists.<sup>63</sup>

### *Expelled or encysted*

“The Panama Canal will people California with assimilable men and women,” wrote James D. Phelan, Ph.D., former mayor of San Francisco, in 1913, the year before the canal’s completion. The Japanese, Phelan asserted, was “a perfect human machine, given to ceaseless and unremitting toil,” without regard for “the higher aspirations exprest in a happy home.” He continued: “We have created a race question, against which all history has warned us: where two races are endeavoring to live side by side, one must take the inferior place, or an irrepressible conflict is precipitated. Just as a foreign substance will derange the human system unless it is expelled or encysted, even so it is with the body-politic.”<sup>64</sup> With completion of the canal four years away, competition had begun in 1908 between San Francisco, New Orleans, and San Diego to become the primary site for the Panama Pacific International Exposition. San Francisco would be chosen.

### *Like the Koropokkuru chased out by the Ainu*

In the autumn of 1908, socialist-turned-anarchist Kōtoku Shūsui was moving westward in the Tokyo region. Like the novelist Tokutomi Roka, he was in search of living space. His fellow anarchists had been arrested on June 22 while Kōtoku was at home in Kōchi Prefecture. He set off toward Tokyo in August to reconstitute the party. Stopping in Shingū, he received a physical examination from Dr. Ōishi, who found him weak and suspected that he had tuberculosis. Kōtoku also asked Ōishi whether he knew how to construct a bomb. Ōishi replied that he did not. In October, he settled in the village of Sugamo, near Ōtsuka station in the suburbs of Tokyo. The *Economic Newspaper* (Keizai shinbun) published a November 3 letter from Kōtoku describing

Sugamo's clear streams and sleeping cows. Kōtoku did not mention the politics of his move, portraying himself as a man of slender means forced out by the growth of the city. Using English loanwords with a note of sarcasm, he wrote of the vogue for having one's "*reshiidensu*" separate from one's "*ofisu*," describing this as the sine qua non for the civilized "*bijinesuman*." He had hoped to reside in Ōmori, in the south of the city, but it was dominated by wealthy gentlemen, Kōtoku reported. Thus he was driven to "seek a quieter place" in Sugamo by more powerful colonists expanding the periphery of civilization, "like the Koropokkuru people chased out by the Ainu, or the Ainu chased by the Yamato people" of Japan. When the electric tram line extended from Otowa to Ōtsuka, this area too would change—"then where shall people like me who have failed in the fight for survival go?"<sup>65</sup>

### *A hierarchy of twelve races*

Members of the Japanese Society of Ethnology were engaged in a debate at the time about the existence of the Koropokkuru, Ainu people indigenous to Hokkaido, an island claimed by Japan with the establishment of the Hokkaido Colonization Office forty-nine years earlier, preserved legends of a tribe of diminutive humans who lived under the leaves of butterbur plants. Tsuboi Shōgorō, the president of the Society of Ethnology, believed that these legends told of an earlier race that had been displaced or destroyed by the Ainu. Through Tsuboi's auspices, a group of nine Ainu people had been brought to the St. Louis International Exposition in 1904 as live exhibits. The frontispiece of an official publication from the exposition depicted a global hierarchy of twelve races, with the Japanese (represented by the figure of a woman) in the third position, beneath the Russian and the "Americo-European," and seven places above the Ainu (represented by a man), who was third from the bottom.<sup>66</sup> This illustration did not include a Koropokkuru person.

### *The Mikado's fighting-men drilling*

Viscount Kaneko Kentarō received a visit from U.S. Exposition Commissioner Loomis in Tokyo in the summer of 1908. Tokyo's World Exposition, planned for 1912, was intended to display Japan's peaceful intentions to the United States and the world. A cartoon in the newspaper *Yorozu chōhō* showed Loomis in Tokyo appearing shocked to find "the Mikado's fighting-men drilling on the peaceful exposition grounds." *Harper's* magazine reprinted the cartoon together with an article in which the writer remarked that the Japanese cartoonist had the mistaken impression that Americans were alarmed, when in fact, "little matters like this awaken no interest in Americans when the presidency and the national baseball championship are

in dispute.” The international exposition was later cancelled for financial reasons, and a smaller domestic one held in its place.<sup>67</sup>

*Because the latter is a republic*

The following year, Viscount Kaneko addressed American readers on the virtues of study in America for Japanese students. The question had once arisen in Japan, he explained, of “whether Japanese youths should not rather be sent to monarchical countries in Europe than to the United States, because the latter is a republic,” where they “might imbibe radical ideas.” “But the result of work by Japanese who returned from America showed that they were far more conservative than those educated in Europe.”<sup>68</sup>

*The only form of intercourse which you may permit*

Earlier, when Kaneko was Secretary of Japan’s House of Peers, Herbert Spencer had written to him warning against the mixing of races. “Inter-marriage of foreigners and Japanese,” Spencer advised, “should be positively forbidden. . . . There is abundant proof, alike furnished by the inter-marriages of human races and by the inter-breeding of animals that when the varieties mingled diverge beyond a certain slight degree *the result is invariably a bad one in the long run.*” Spencer added that he had confirmed this “within the last half hour” by speaking with a “gentleman who is well-known as an authority on horses, cattle and sheep.” “I have for the reasons indicated,” he continued, “entirely approved of the regulations which have been established in America for restraining the Chinese immigration, and had I the power would restrict them to the smallest possible amount, my reasons for this decision being that one of two things must happen. If the Chinese are allowed to settle extensively in America, they must either, if they remain unmixed, form a subject race in the position, if not of slaves, yet of a class approaching to slaves; or if they mix they must form a bad hybrid. In either case, supposing the immigration to be large, immense social mischief must arise, and eventually social disorganization. The same thing will happen if there should be any considerable mixture of the European or American races with the Japanese.” The “only form of intercourse which you may with advantage permit,” he asserted, was “importation and exportation of physical and mental products.” He concluded the letter with a flourish: “I end by saying as I began—*keep other races at arm’s length as much as possible.*”<sup>69</sup>

At the time that Viscount Kaneko received the American Exposition Commissioner in Tokyo, the *Ladies’ Graphic* magazine, published in Tokyo, had recently featured Kaneko’s house as a model of hybrid Japanese-Western style interior decorating. Photos in the magazine showed a miniature

reproduction of the Venus de Milo in the decorative alcove, carpets, animal hides and leather chairs on the *tatami* mats, and ink paintings of large birds of prey on the sliding doors.<sup>70</sup>

### *That their basic stock was white*

Spencer's letter to Kaneko was quoted by the *London Times* in 1904. The *Times* quotation in turn was quoted by *Harper's* on September 26, 1908, with the editorial note that "agitation for exclusion of Japanese from America—and Americans from Japan—is not to be condemned until a certain biological objection to intermingling is conclusively disproved."<sup>71</sup> Yet some disputed that Japanese and American people were racially distant. Reviewing William Elliott Griffis's recent work *The Japanese Nation In Evolution: Steps in the Progress of a Great People*, the journal *Outlook* noted that Dr. Griffis offered "many evidences of descent of Iranian, Caucasian, or Aryan ancestry," as well as Malay, and that "the early Japanese belonged to the Semitic race." Griffis claimed "that their basic stock was white—an Aryan or Ainu stock." Unlike the Chinese and Koreans, they were not Mongolian.<sup>72</sup>

### *A third story to accommodate her trapeze*

In 1908, actress Blanche Sloan had just completed construction of a summer bungalow east of Manhattan in Jamaica, New York. Sloan, who was known as the "Queen of the Air," had the builders include a third story to accommodate her trapeze. She had debuted in New York seven years earlier when the Bon-ton Burlesquers performed "Americans in Japan."<sup>73</sup> The second story of her summer house was a single open living room with a platform for her piano and an open-air sleeping porch with a "disappearing bed." *Bungalow* magazine incorrectly described the house as a "torri" (referring to the *torii* gates at the entries to Shinto shrines). The magazine praised the design, observing: "It not only provides all of the requirements of occidental life, but also embodies much of the refinement that is invariably present in the architecture of the land of the Mikado." The building's exterior resembled a Buddhist temple hall. A similar structure built in Florida was known as the "Bungoda."<sup>74</sup>

### *Japanese-made parasol*

Nagai Kafū, a Japanese writer who modeled himself on Baudelaire and enjoyed the company of actresses and prostitutes, had lived in New York for most of his sojourn in the United States (fig. 7). He had started out in Seattle, then traveled eastward to St. Louis, Kalamazoo, and Washington, DC, before



FIGURE 7. Nagai Kafū's self-portrait on a folding fan. Nihon University Center for Information Networking.

settling in New York. In 1908, by which time Kafū had moved further eastward to Paris, his collected sketches of the United States were published in book form in Tokyo as *Amerika monogatari* (American Stories). In one of these stories, he described the madam's chambers at a brothel in Manhattan, where a "Japanese-made parasol and round red lantern" hung from the ceiling. The room also displayed "a double screen with a golden pheasant embroidered on black fabric, which is apparently also made in Japan." "All these shades of Oriental colors create an amazing incongruity," wrote Kafū.<sup>75</sup>

Another of Kafū's American sketches describes James and Stella, a young couple in Chicago, performing *Traumerei* together at the piano in her family home, then ending their song in a passionate embrace accompanied by the rapturous applause of her parents. At home in Japan, young writer Tanizaki Jun'ichirō wished to emulate Kafū's decadence and cosmopolitanism but, unlike Kafū, he had not been born into wealth and had never traveled overseas. He read Kafū's American stories while staying on the Pacific coast to convalesce from neurasthenia, which literature scholar Ken K. Ito describes as "an illness then fashionable in literary circles."<sup>76</sup>

### *Endless vistas of decoration*

Reporting from Yokohama, Anna H. Dwyer told readers of the *Craftsman*, published in New York, that housekeeping in Japan "opens endless vistas of decoration so dear to the feminine mind. And—blessed fact—in that delightful land expense is not the one and all-important consideration." Dwyer combined "brasses, gold screens, and richly tinted hangings" in the *tatami*-mat rooms. On her Indian reclining chair, she "piled brightly tinted cushions."<sup>77</sup> Like bungalows, reclining chairs made of tropical materials had become popular in Anglophone metropolises after first being adopted by colonists in Asia. As the American author of *The House Beautiful: Essays on Beds and Tables, Stools and Candlesticks* had earlier written of a Chinese bamboo reclining chair he had found in the attic room of a "modern-built house": "Who but an Oriental could have devised such a combination of luxury as this chair?" The chair's

owner had added to the Oriental effect with a Japanese fan, a bronze sculpture of a crane, and Japanese scrolls hanging from the ceiling.<sup>78</sup>

*Attempt to kick Japanese parasols he had hung from the ceiling*

While Kafū was living in New York, the newspapers reported daily on a trial for murder sparked by an actress on a swing. Harry K. Thaw was being tried for killing architect Stanford White in a jealous rage born of White's earlier seduction of his wife, actress Evelyn Nesbit. Thaw had fired three shots at close range. In January 1908, a jury acquitted him on the grounds that he had been insane at the time. White had been famous for his many affairs with young women. When he met her at age 16, Nesbit herself was famous too. She was an artist's model, and her face adorned department store displays as well as the stained glass windows of suburban churches. The press called her hair her "crowning glory." White placed her in a red velvet swing in his penthouse studio, from which he had her attempt to kick Japanese parasols he had hung from the ceiling. He also dressed Nesbit in kimono. Photographer Rudolf Eickemeyer shot her in a loose kimono lying on a bear rug and titled the photo "Tired Butterfly" (fig. 8). It became his best-known picture.<sup>79</sup>

*Although American architecture and design and the popular rhetoric of simple living were laden with images of Japan, the cultural trade across the Pacific was profoundly unequal. The cultural vanguard in Japan was attempting to import a totality of what it was to be civilized as measured by Anglo-Americans. Americans, on the other hand, were importing—in addition to Asian labor—aesthetics, usually in the superficial form of adornments and gewgaws. In some cases, particularly among elite architects and their clients, the Japan aesthetic in America derived from deep admiration for the materials, textures, and designs that Americans found in Japanese art, books on Japan, and Japanese pavilions at the expositions—an aesthetic strikingly different from the Victorian norm. Yet equally commonly, or perhaps more so, Americans appropriated things Japanese for an air of Oriental decadence or as part of the game of temporarily escaping the bounds of civilization.*

*And urged his compatriots to cut their hair*

Korean nationalist An Jung-geun pressed on from Posjet farther north to Harbin, where he fired seven shots at close range as Prince Itō Hirobumi, the former Korean Resident General, alighted at Harbin station on October 26, 1909 (Itō had been made Prince in 1907 and resigned as Resident General earlier in 1909). Three of the bullets hit the former Resident



FIGURE 8. Rudolf Eickemeyer, “Tired Butterfly.” Platinum print, 1909. National Museum of American History Photographic History Collection.

General in the chest and stomach. He died that day. In cross-examination, the Japanese military police prosecutor in Liaotung asked An: did he know that Itō himself had been antiforeign at one time, but had gone to England, seen Western civilization and changed heart? Yes, An replied, he knew also that Itō had gone to the United States, where he learned a great deal, and had then come back and urged his compatriots to cut their hair. The prosecutor asked: did An realize that Japan could not annex Korea with the powers looking on, when that country had “a history of several hundred years of independence?” An replied that he knew this but he knew reasons that the powers were choosing to ignore Japan’s ambition to annex Korea and he believed that Itō was seeking the annexation because Itō was mad.<sup>80</sup>

In the Japanese press, Itō was known as a man mad for women. A Japanese newspaper cartoon published the following year showed the Resident General in a contorted position falling backward from the impact of An’s three bullets. His shadow formed the Chinese character for “woman.”<sup>81</sup>

### *The laws of nature don’t allow it*

While he was living in Sugamo in 1908, Kōtoku Shūsui began a romantic relationship with his anarchist comrade Kanno Sugako. The two were not married and Kanno had another lover who was in prison at the time.

The scandal of Kōtoku and Kanno's "free love" filled the gossip columns of Tokyo newspapers.<sup>82</sup>

Then, in June 1910, Kōtoku was arrested for a murder that had not occurred. Kōtoku was one of twenty-six people accused of high treason. Ōishi Seinosuke of Shingū was another. They were accused of plotting to kill Mutsuhito, the Meiji emperor. In late 1907, after Kōtoku had left San Francisco, some number of his Japanese anarchist compatriots in Berkeley had left a note on the door of the Japanese consulate addressed to Mutsuhito (using his personal name). It read, in part: "Do you know the identity of Emperor Jimmu, who is called your ancestor? Japanese historians say that he was the son of a god, but this is just a fiction with which to exalt you. The laws of nature don't allow it. Thus there is no need for us to go to the trouble of asserting that he in fact evolved from apes just as we have and possessed no special powers. . . . If he was not native [to Japan], he probably drifted there from China or Malaysia. . . . You are treated as sacred and inviolable, while the bourgeoisie [*shinshibatsu*; literally, the "gentlemen's faction"] indulge themselves as they please and the masses fall into ever greater misery." The note concluded with a threat: "There is a bomb near you, set to explode. Farewell."

Police fanned out across the Japanese archipelago to make arrests, including in the port of Shingū. No bombs were found. No arrests could be made in California, where the crime of *lèse majesté* did not exist. United States immigration law prohibited deportation of the accused immigrants without proof that they had been anarchists before arriving in the country. At the red-painted house where the Japanese anarchists lived in Berkeley, Iwasa Sakutarō and collaborator Takeuchi Tetsugorō told investigators that they had been influenced by Jack London. Kōtoku, Ōishi Seinosuke and ten others were hanged on January 24th, 1911.<sup>83</sup> The following week, novelist Tokutomi Roka delivered a famous speech at the First Higher School for Boys lamenting their execution.

### *Where lotus-eaters might dwell*

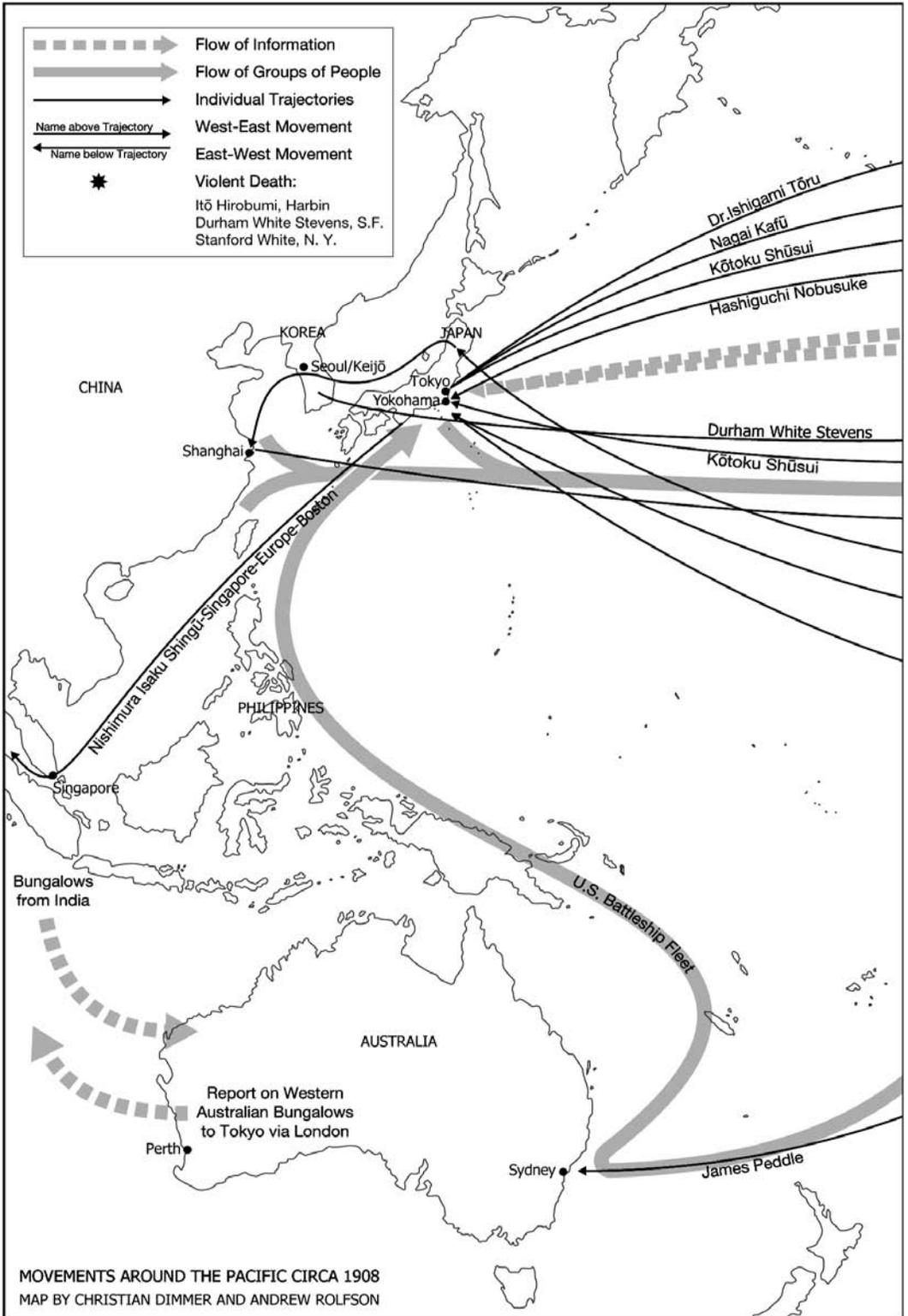
In the summer of 1907, twenty-seven days after leaving San Francisco, the *Snark* made landfall at Pearl Harbor on the Island of Oahu, Territory of Hawaii. Jack London, his wife Charmian, and the Japanese cabin boy they called "Tochigi" (his full name was Tochigi Hidehisa) went ashore. London and his wife were received at the Hawaiian Yacht Club. London was renowned for his reports on the Russo-Japanese War, his popular novels, and his essays. Among these were "The Yellow Peril" (June 1904) and "How I Became a Socialist" (1905), in the latter of which he vowed never to "do another day's hard work with my body more than I absolutely have to do." In

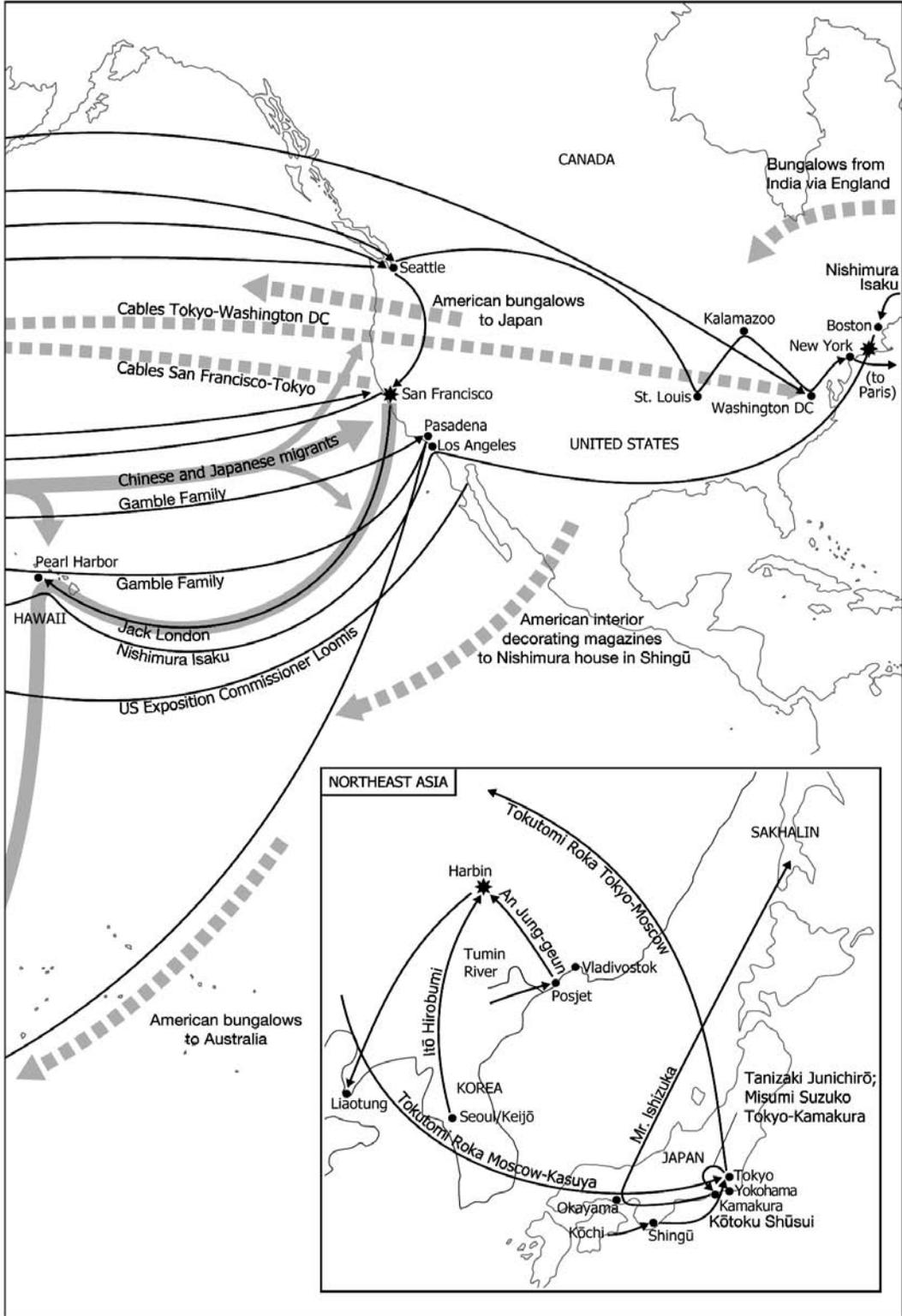
an article published in the August 8, 1908, *Harper's* magazine, London described the scene at Pearl Harbor to readers as a dream. The couple was greeted by "clean men" with tanned cheeks, whose eyes "were not dazzled and bespectacled from gazing overmuch at glittering dollar-heaps." They were led to a "dream-dwelling" with "great sweeping verandas, where lotus-eaters might dwell." There they were served by Japanese maids in native dress, who "drifted around and about noiselessly, like butterflies." The walls were hung with tapa cloths. The room held a grand piano, "that played, I was sure, nothing more exciting than lullabies."<sup>84</sup>

*Underneath cultural experiments with exotic manners, dress, and hairstyles lay real politics. Politics in turn were heavily filtered through racial ideology, in the minds of Japanese and Korean people as much as in the minds of white Americans and Australians, and for anarchists as well as for conservatives. The Japanese state and its elites were in an unusual position because Japan was an underdeveloped imperialist, trying to export its own population to other countries while at the same time seeking recognition as an imperial power. One of the ways they negotiated this position was by implicitly accepting the racist terms of the white-dominated global order and treating the underclass at home as a race apart. Acceptance of the Gentlemen's Agreement with the United States, as Mitziko Sawada has pointed out, was an instance of this strategy of domesticating international race politics in order to prevent racial perceptions from affecting the gains the empire was seeking in Asia or the standing of Japan among the powers.<sup>85</sup> When Japanese radicals opposed to the imperialist state went overseas, they bore with them the burden of being Japanese, which in California also meant "Asiatic." Domestically, they faced the burden of the sacred emperor in addition to capitalism. Korean resisters bore the brunt of all of this plus the loss of their national sovereignty.*

### ***An American lake, which is the dream***

In summer 1908, as Americans read of the adventures of the *Snark*, the United States fleet was also westbound on a grand tour. Plans for the voyage had been announced on March 14. On March 19, U.S. Secretary of State Elihu Root received a letter of invitation from Japanese ambassador Takahira Kōgorō saying that the ambassador had the honor "to communicate to you that the Imperial Government, having learned of the contemplated cruise of the United States battleship fleet from San Francisco to the Philippine Islands, are sincerely anxious to be afforded an opportunity to cordially welcome that magnificent fleet and to give an enthusiastic expression to the sentiment of friendship and admiration invariably entertained by the people of Japan towards the people of the United States." Acting Secretary Bacon





responded on behalf of the United States that it gave “this Government peculiar pleasure to accept” the invitation.<sup>86</sup>

Writing of the significance of the fleet’s tour for Australians, journalist A. Maurice Low observed in *Forum* that although the voyage had no immediate political objective, it was an “international event” that had “quicken[ed] the imagination of the Anglo-Saxon world.” “The world,” Low wrote, believed that the United States and Japan would eventually go to war for dominance in the Pacific. “If the Saxon triumphs and the United States makes the Pacific an American lake, which is the dream of more than one American statesman, Australia has nothing to fear; but if Japan is victorious, and the rising sun mounts even higher, Australia is at the mercy of Nippon and a white man’s Australia is a memory only.”<sup>87</sup> The fleet arrived in Yokohama on October 18 to an enthusiastic welcome. Thousands of Japanese schoolchildren sang American songs. According to an item published in the *Independent* earlier in the year, Japanese “servants and laborers” living on the Pacific coast of America had contributed in amounts starting from 25 cents to a fund to pay for entertainment of the fleet in Japan.<sup>88</sup>

### *Gentlemen’s Agreement*

The two gentlemen were fictional. The “Gentlemen’s Agreement” (as it came to be known subsequently) was an exchange of letters and cables between multiple representatives of two governments during 1907 and 1908. Without a formal treaty, there were no signatories. The precise contents of the letters were kept secret by the two governments.

### *Takahira-Root, or Root-Takahira*

In Washington, DC, on November 30, 1908, U.S. Secretary of State Root and Japanese ambassador Takahira signed their names to identical notes declaring their mutual satisfaction with the “status quo” in the “region of the Pacific Ocean.”<sup>89</sup> The documents signed by these two men are known in the United States as the Root-Takahira Agreement and in Japan as the Takahira-Root Agreement. Under Prime Minister Katsura, the Japanese government adopted the policy of “concentrating overseas migration on Korea and Manchuria.”<sup>90</sup> Korea was annexed in 1910. Japanese people continued to migrate in large numbers to the Pacific coast of America until 1924, when the United States Exclusion Act prohibited all further migration.

## Afterword

In the fifty episodes that constitute the body of this essay, I sought factual specificity and a minimum of interpretive intervention. At the same time, I made no effort either to hide the exercise of arbitrary authority underlying my selecting and juxtaposing of facts or to cover the gaps of uncertainty between and around them.

Despite the great value of linear causal exegesis to the practice of history, much is also sacrificed for the sake of the discipline's accepted modes of narration and argumentation. We sacrifice, among other things, what might be called the sense of a total milieu: the deep interconnectedness of experience in any given moment of the past. Montage offers one way to recover this sense. No causal relation is likely to be found—at least by conventional notions of causality—between the popularization of a sugary snack through a song sung at American baseball games and the provision of baseball grounds to mollify strikers on Hawaiian sugar plantations, or between references to a young actress's hair in the American press and to the former Korean Resident General's hair in the testimony of his assassin. Yet the rough contemporaneity of these events and words permits us to imagine social and cultural patterns connecting them that would be occluded in a conventionally constructed argument explaining any one of them.<sup>91</sup>

In writing this essay, I attempted a historian's version of the literary experiments of writers in the French group Oulipo, who imposed arbitrary limits on themselves—avoiding the use of one letter of the alphabet, for example.<sup>92</sup> Here my limits were: (1) I endeavored to use a minimum of adjectives and adverbs, which introduce the subjective evaluation of the author, and of concept nouns, which announce an abstract frame within which the events should be read. Instead, I made liberal use of quotation, allowing both the juxtaposition of the texts and their sometimes surprising singularity to imply historical possibilities without demanding that they serve as representative statements of a general argument.<sup>93</sup> (2) In lieu of discursive unity at the abstract level, I chose to note in researching and emphasize in writing certain nouns, or sets of related objects: gentlemen, laborers, animals; bungalows, verandahs, pianos, chairs, swings; also colonies (but not “colonialism”), expositions, sports, food, romance, hygiene, contagious disease, murder. I tried to suggest the constant motion and flowing currents of these things and the people entangled with them through use of a few active verbs related to physical movement: “travel,” “move,” “drift,” “scatter” (each implying different degrees of volition), and to be as precise as possible about who was where and moving in which direction at the moment in which I described or quoted them. (3) I arranged episodes so as to have some feature of each episode recur in the next one, in order to encourage resonance between the narratives of disparate events and to avoid

entropy. (4) Finally, I sought to restrict the essay as much as possible to acts and utterances of the year 1908. I permitted myself to deviate from these rules occasionally when it served to weave the overall fabric more tightly. With the death of Itō Hirobumi (October 1909) and the High Treason trial (1910–11) toward the end, I introduced a glimpse of the denouement to particular sequences of events that began to unfold during the period in which the Gentlemen's Agreement was negotiated.

In contrast to diachronic history, the synchronic approach reminds us that the moment matters. The morning news conveys this to us in the present with its strange juxtapositions of simultaneous events from around the world. Each day, our minds absorb a montage of information and shape from it a world. Yet it is too easy when writing history to forget that people and events of any past moment also occupied one world simultaneously. In 1908, large parts of that world were already "globalizing," as they became bound together by railroads, steamships, telegraph lines, and newspapers. Although it is possible to define "globalization" so as to place its onset centuries or even millennia in the past, global simultaneity was unimaginable before the late nineteenth century. Near-instantaneous communication emerged rapidly after midcentury. The first successful trans-Atlantic cable had just been laid when London was linked to Bombay in 1870. The United States laid cables to Hawaii, Guam, and the Philippines in 1902–3, five years before the Gentlemen's Agreement.

Synchronic historical montage may therefore be particularly suited to narration of global modernity in the same way that visual and literary montage served to evoke its physical and psychological experiences so vividly in the early aesthetic experiments of modernism. The figures whose trajectories I have interrupted momentarily as they moved around the Pacific at the beginning of the twentieth century are not only players in a fragmentary Pacific history of my retrospective imagining; they were at the time themselves aware of and influenced by the accelerating movements of information, ideas, and other people along the same traffic routes. The deep interconnectedness implied by the montage form correlates with a real interconnectedness that people were just beginning to experience in 1908.

Montage results in an open-ended history rather than a bounded one. Obviously the associations within one year could spin out infinitely—theoretically they would be infinite within a day, an hour, or a minute. Walter Benjamin's *Arcades Project* offers perhaps the most famous model for a history assembled from fragments (although I did not have Benjamin consciously in mind when assembling the fragments for this essay).<sup>94</sup> Benjamin advocated introducing the surrealist technique of montage to history as a means to achieve "heightened graphicness" and overcome what he termed "vulgar historical naturalism"—by which I believe he meant the deceptive

appearance of order and inevitable progression that linear prose narrative creates. He wrote that through montage, he hoped to “discover in the analysis of the small individual moment the crystal of the total event.” In the instance of the *Arcades Project*, the event was the entire nineteenth century. Blessed with an extraordinary imagination and ensconced in the vast Bibliothèque Nationale, Benjamin never finished.<sup>95</sup> My ambitions here were more modest. I would not dare wish for the “crystal of the total event” in this historiographic experiment, but I hope it may have something of the “heightened graphicness” that Benjamin called for.

## Notes

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- My thanks to Ellis Avery, Philip Kafalas, Christine Kim, Aviel Roshwald, Alan Tansman, and Julia Adeney Thomas for comments on drafts of this essay. Thanks also to Ken Ito for inspiration.
1. For a detailed account of these events, see Thomas A. Bailey, *Theodore Roosevelt and the Japanese-American Crisis* (Stanford, CA, 1934). A key study of the context of U.S.–Japan diplomacy at the time is Akira Iriye, *Pacific Estrangement* (Cambridge, MA, 1972).
  2. Mitziko Sawada, *Tokyo Life, New York Dreams: Urban Japanese Visions of America, 1890–1924* (Berkeley, 1996), 53.
  3. *Ibid.*, 44, 53.
  4. Uchida Seizō, *Amerika-ya shōhin jūtaku: ‘Yōfū jūtaku’ kaitakushi* (Tokyo, 1987), 14, 22–24.
  5. H. Addington Bruce, “The Romance of American Expansion, Fifth Paper: Thomas Hart Benton and the Occupation of Oregon,” *Outlook* 89, no. 4 (May 23, 1908): 197.
  6. Ronald Takaki, *Strangers from a Different Shore: A History of Asian Americans* (Boston, 1989), 189; Franklin Ng, ed., *The Asian American Encyclopedia* (New York, 1995), 3:786; Brian Niiya, ed., *Encyclopedia of Japanese American History* (New York, 2001), xvii (chart); Roger Daniels, *Asian America: Chinese and Japanese in the United States Since 1850* (Seattle, 1988), 69.
  7. Alan Takeo Moriyama, *Imingaisha: Japanese Emigration Companies and Hawaii, 1894–1908* (Honolulu, 1985), 97 (chart).
  8. Takaki, *Strangers from a Different Shore*, 156.
  9. *Ibid.*, 45; Moriyama, *Imingaisha*, 170.
  10. Uchida, *Amerikaya shōhin jūtaku*, 35.
  11. On the global diffusion of bungalows, see Anthony King, *The Bungalow: The Production of a Global Culture*, 2nd ed. (New York, 1995). King’s remarkable study provided inspiration for this essay.
  12. Uchida, *Amerikaya shōhin jūtaku*, 14–19, 21, 27, 30.
  13. *Ibid.*, 41.
  14. Hashiguchi Nobusuke, “Chūryū no yōfū jūtaku ni yō suru kagu,” *Fujin no tomo* (September 1912), quoted in Uchida, *Amerikaya shōhin jūtaku*, 51–52.

15. Advertisement reproduced in Uchida, *Amerikaya shōhin jūtaku*, 49.
16. On American living rooms and parlors, see Karen Halttunen, "From Parlor to Living Room: Domestic Space, Interior Decoration, and the Culture of Personality," in *Consuming Visions: Accumulation and Display of Goods in America, 1880–1920*, ed. Simon J. Bronner (New York, 1989), 157–89.
17. Hashiguchi Nobusuke, "Chūtō no yōfū jūtaku," *Fujin no tomo* (September 1911). Quoted in Uchida, *Amerikaya shōhin jūtaku*, 55–56.
18. Quoted in Sawada, *Tokyo Life, New York Dreams*, 118–19.
19. "Hamilton Holt Says Japan Seeks Peace with the World," *New York Times*, December 31, 1911, 11.
20. Edward S. Bosley, *Greene and Greene* (London, 2000), 116; Clay Lancaster, *The American Bungalow, 1880–1930* (Mineola, NY, 1995), 122–31.
21. Anne Mallek, Gamble House curator, personal communication, June 14, 2008. Dates for the Gamble's Asian tour: Xing Wenjun, *Social Gospel, Social Economics, and the YMCA: Sidney D. Gamble and Princeton-in-Peking* (Ph.D. diss., University of Massachusetts, Amherst, 1992), 37.
22. Nishimura Isaku, *Ware ni eki ari: Nishimura Isaku jiden* (Tokyo, 1960), 180–94.
23. Katō Yuri, *Taishō yume no sekkeika: Nishimura Isaku to bunka gakuin* (Tokyo, 1990), 24, 43, 67–72.
24. Quoted in *ibid.*, 73.
25. Quoted in *ibid.*, 75.
26. Nishimura Isaku, *Tanoshiki jūka*, 3rd ed. (Tokyo, 1919), 39.
27. Nishimura Isaku, "Bangarō," *Jūtaku* 1, no. 4 (October, 1916): 7.
28. King, *The Bungalow*, 237–39.
29. C. Hartley Grattan, "The Australian Labor Movement," *The Antioch Review* 4, no. 1 (Spring 1944): 63.
30. A. Maurice Low, "Foreign Affairs," *Forum* 40, no. 4 (October, 1908): 307.
31. Tanabe Junkichi, "Nishi Gōshū no jūka," *Kenchiku zasshi* 253 (January, 1908): 23–33.
32. King, *The Bungalow*, 231–32.
33. Abe Isoo, "Nihonjin wa nani yue fukenzen naru goraku ni fukeru ka" [Why Do Japanese Indulge in Unwholesome Leisure Activities?], quoted in Sawada, *Tokyo Life, New York Dreams*, 99–100.
34. Edward D. Beechert, *Working in Hawaii: A Labor History* (Honolulu, 1985), 170.
35. *Ibid.*, 172–74.
36. Quoted in Takaki, *Strangers from a Different Shore*, 161–62.
37. Baseball Almanac, [http://www.baseball-almanac.com/poetry/po\\_stmo.shtml](http://www.baseball-almanac.com/poetry/po_stmo.shtml).
38. Katō, *Taishō no yume no sekkeika*, 55.
39. Joseph Cronin, *The Life of Seinosuke: Dr. Oishi and the High Treason Incident* (Kyoto, 2007), 71.
40. F. G. Notehelfer, *Kōtoku Shūsui: Portrait of a Japanese Radical* (London, 1971), 106–7, 109, 116 (quotation).
41. *Ibid.*, 121, 125 n. 4, 127 n. 4.
42. Roger Daniels, *The Politics of Prejudice: The Anti-Japanese Movement in California and the Struggle for Japanese Exclusion* (Berkeley, 1962), 30, 127 n. 43.
43. "The Winning War Against Tuberculosis," *Harper's Weekly* (October 10, 1908): 7; Alfred Meyer, "Is Science Conquering Tuberculosis?" *Harper's Weekly* (October 17, 1908): 7 (quotation).

44. Jessica Robbins, "Class Struggle in the Tubercular World: Nurses, Patients, and Physicians, 1903–1915," *Bulletin of the History of Medicine* 71, no. 3 (1997): 424–25; see also Sheila M. Rothman, *Living in the Shadow of Death: Tuberculosis and the Social Experience of Illness in American History* (New York, 1994).
45. T. Ishigami, "Tuberculo-toxoidin and Immunization Serum," *Philippine Journal of Science* (November, 1908): 379–84.
46. "The Flea, the Rat, and the Plague," *Harper's Weekly* (July 4, 1908): 27.
47. *Encyclopedia of Japanese American History*, xvii (chart).
48. Kiyō Sue Inui, "California's Japanese Situation," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 93 (January 1921): 99.
49. This Albert Johnson has no apparent relation to Albert Johnson the San Francisco anarchist.
50. Kiyō Sue Inui, "The Gentlemen's Agreement: How It Has Functioned," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 122 (November 1925): 194.
51. Azuma Eiichirō, *Between Two Empires: Race, History, and Transnationalism in Japanese America* (New York, 2005), 51–58.
52. "The Winning War Against Tuberculosis," *Harper's Weekly* (October 10, 1908): 7.
53. Uchida, *Amerikaya shōhin jūtaku*, 89–99.
54. The incident is analyzed in Karatani Kōjin, *Origins of Modern Japanese Literature*, trans. and ed. Brett de Bary (Durham, NC, 1993), 97–103. The son's account is Miyuchi Kan'ya, *Shichirigahama* (Tokyo, 1978).
55. Kenjiro Tokutomi, *Nami-ko: A Realistic Novel*, trans. Sakae Shioya and E. F. Edgett (Tokyo, 1905), back matter.
56. Quoted in Tsuchida Mitsufumi, *Tōkyō kiroku bungaku jiten* (Tokyo, 1994), 201–2.
57. Hatano Yoshiko, *Kaikyō o koete: chōsen to Nihon (Irubon)* (Tokyo, 1996), cited at Zudōn Nihonshi mondai shū (Matsui Hideyuki, ed.), <http://homepage2.nifty.com/mazzn/533.htm>.
58. Saki Ryūzō, *Itō Hirobumi to An Jūkon* (Tokyo, 1992), 21–23.
59. *Tōkyō pakku* 3, no. 21 (August, 1907).
60. Saki, *Itō Hirobumi to An Jūkon*, 20–21.
61. "Korea," *Independent* 64, no. 3096 (April 2, 1908): 716. Stevens's killers were in fact two: San Francisco–based Korean independence activists Jang In-hwan and Jeon Myeong-un.
62. Peter Duus, *The Abacus and the Sword: The Japanese Penetration of Korea, 1895–1910* (Berkeley, 1995), 304–7.
63. Takaki, *Strangers from a Different Shore*, 57.
64. James D. Phelan, "The Japanese Question from a California Standpoint," *Independent* 74, no. 3369 (June 26, 1913): 1439.
65. Kōtoku Shūsui, "Kōgai seikatsu" (*Keizai shinbun*, November 3, 1908), reprinted in *Kōtoku Shūsui zenshū dai 6 kan*, ed. Kōtoku Shūsui zenshū henshū iinkai (Tokyo, 1968), 470–72.
66. Carol Ann Christ, "The Sole Guardians of the Art Inheritance of Asia: Japan at the 1904 St. Louis World's Fair," *Positions: East Asia Cultures Critique* 8, no. 3 (Winter 2000): 689–91.
67. Robert A. C. Linsley, "Why the Tokio Exposition Was Postponed," *Harper's Weekly* (October 24, 1908): 28.
68. Kentaro Kaneko, "The Effect of American Residence on the Japanese," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 34, no. 2 (September, 1909): 118.

69. Herbert Spencer, "Three Letters to Kaneko Kentaro (1892)," in David Duncan, *Life and Letters of Herbert Spencer* (London, 1908), quoted on Molinari Institute <http://praxeology.net/HS-LKK.htm>.
70. See Jordan Sand, "Was Meiji Taste in Interiors 'Orientalist'?" *Positions: East Asia Cultures Critique* 8, no. 3 (Winter 2000): 637–73.
71. "Comment: East Is East, and West Is West," *Harper's Weekly* (September 26, 1908): 5.
72. "The Japanese in Evolution," *Outlook* 88, no. 9 (February 29, 1908): 509.
73. "In the Vaudevilles," *New York Times*, December 8, 1901, 14.
74. Lancaster, *The American Bungalow*, 93–94.
75. Nagai Kafū, *American Stories*, trans. Mitsuko Iriye (New York, 2000), 122.
76. Ken K. Ito, *Visions of Desire: Tanizaki's Fictional Worlds* (Stanford, CA, 1991), 32, 37–38.
77. Dwyer, "Japanese Wallpapers, Cheap and Beautiful," *Craftsman* 11, no. 3 (December 1906): 398.
78. Clarence Chatham Cook, *The House Beautiful: Essays on Beds and Tables, Stools and Candlesticks* (New York, 1881), 154–55.
79. Michael MacDonald Mooney, *Evelyn Nesbit and Stanford White: Love and Death in the Gilded Age* (New York, 1976), 30, 46, 50, 53.
80. Sixth interrogation report, November 24, 1909. In Kim Chong-Myong, *Itō Hirobumi ansatsu kiroku: sono shisō to kōdō* (Tokyo, 1972), 174–75.
81. Artist unknown, "Onnazuki mono no saigo," *Ōsaka kokkei shinbun* (November 1909); reproduced in *Kindai manga 4: Nichiro sensōki no manga*, ed. Haga Tōru and Shimizu Isao (Tokyo, 1985), 87.
82. Notehelper, *Kōtoku Shūsui*, 174.
83. *Ibid.*, 152–57; Kanzaki Kiyoshi, *Jitsuroku Kōtoku Shūsui* (Tokyo, 1971), 287–91. Notehelper translates a portion of the letter. The excerpt here is my translation from a transcription in Kanzaki, *Jitsuroku*.
84. Jack London, "Adventures in Dream Harbor," *Harper's Weekly* (August 8, 1908): 22.
85. Sawada, *Tokyo Life, New York Dreams*, 41–56.
86. "The Fleet Will Visit Japan," *Independent* 64, no. 3095 (March 26, 1908): 659.
87. Low, "Foreign Affairs," *Forum* 40, no. 4 (October, 1908): 307.
88. "The Fleet Will Visit Japan," 659.
89. See Thomas A. Bailey, "The Root-Takahira Agreement of 1908," *Pacific Historical Review* 9, no. 1 (March 1930): 19–35; Raymond A. Esthus, *Theodore Roosevelt and Japan* (Seattle, 1966), chap. 16.
90. Duus, *The Abacus and the Sword*, 303.
91. The exploration in this essay of isolated, seemingly idiosyncratic episodes and their possible relation to one another may call to mind literary theorist Joel Fineman's observations on anecdote. Fineman argued that the unique contingency evident in the historical anecdote opens a hole in the seeming continuity of history. Catherine Gallagher and Stephen Greenblatt observe this use of anecdote in the works of both E. P. Thompson and Michel Foucault. Ultimately, however, historiographic value must be sought in the work of developing new ways to fill the holes we open rather than in the holes themselves. Hence my interest in the possibility of a total milieu limned by the gestalt of these juxtaposed episodes. See Catherine Gallagher and Stephen Greenblatt, *Practicing New Historicism* (Chicago, 2000), 49–74.

92. On Oulipo and the use of artificial constraints in fiction writing, see Marcel Bénabou, "Rule and Constraint," in *Oulipo: A Primer of Potential Literature*, trans. and ed. Warren F. Motte Jr. (Lincoln, NE, 1986), 40–50.
93. As Roger Chartier observed of the trend in cultural history to seek unique voices in the archive: "No longer the illustration of a regularity established by series and measure, henceforth the quotation indicates the irruption of a difference and a gap." Roger Chartier, *On the Edge: History, Language, and Practices*, trans. Lydia G. Cochrane (Baltimore, MD, 1997), 4.
94. Other scholars and writers have experimented with montage as a method of historical representation. One remarkable example is Michael Lesy, *Wisconsin Death Trip* (New York, 1973), which relies almost entirely on a collection of photographs by a single photographer juxtaposed with quotations from local newspapers. Novelist Nicholson Baker's *Human Smoke: The Beginnings of World War II, the End of Civilization* (New York, 2008), which combines episodes and quotations from news accounts and memoirs in a manner similar to mine but with polemical intent was published by coincidence while this essay was under review. The structure and theme of Baker's work, in turn, recall Sven Lindqvist's *A History of Bombing* (New York, 2001).
95. Walter Benjamin, *The Arcades Project*, trans. Howard Eiland and Kevin McLaughlin (Cambridge, MA, 1999), 461. See also Vanessa R. Schwartz, "Benjamin for Historians," *American Historical Review* 106, no. 5 (December, 2001): 1721–43.