

INTERNATIONALIST IN PREWAR JAPAN:

NITOBE INAZŌ, 1862-1933

by

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ABSTRACT

Nitobe Inazō (1862-1933) ranked among the elite in prewar Japan. He had won early fame, before he was forty years old, as a scholar and a master of the English language with his book Bushido, the Soul of Japan. Subsequently, his career as an administrator in Taiwan, headmaster of the prestigious First Higher School, a scholar of Colonial Policy at Tokyo Imperial University, a noted writer of popular literature for youth, and later Under Secretary-General at the League of Nations and Japanese Chairman of the Institute of Pacific Relations (IPR) made him a well-known personage both within Japan and abroad. He was constantly in the public's eye, and was frequently invited to address diverse audiences on intercultural topics.

But after his death in Victoria, British Columbia in 1933, his work fell into obscurity. Most Japanese in 1985 do not know who he is, except for the fact that his portrait now adorns the 5000 yen note.

There are several published biographies of Nitobe, in Japanese and in English, but thus far, no one has attempted to reconstruct his career upon an investigation of primary materials. Therefore, much of the facts concerning his life are inaccurate, as they stem mainly from anecdotes published after his death.

Though Nitobe authored over twenty books--in English, Japanese, and German--and hundreds of articles, only one

work, Bushido, has survived the ravages of time. He was not, in my opinion, a "thinker" who held and expressed subtle and profound thoughts. Rather, he was a man of action who, by his behavior, influenced a great many people, especially the young. For this reason, I deal only summarily with his ideas.

Scholars disagree on Nitobe's importance in history. His many disciples still adore him as a great man who contributed much to the development of internationalism and liberal thought in postwar Japan. But many others see him as a misguided moralist and reactionary who buckled when he encountered militarism within his country in the 1930s.

This dissertation is a biographical study of Nitobe. It is divided into three main parts: Part One, "The Making of the Internationalist" deals with the first 44 years of Nitobe's life. Part II, "Educator East and West," which focuses on Nitobe in middle age, examines his activities as a charismatic Japanese educator during the late Meiji and Taishō periods; and in Part III, "Diplomat in International Limelight" the focus is upon the activities that Nitobe engaged in during the last 14 years of his life.

The theme that runs throughout the dissertation is the "internationalist." Except for the Introduction and Conclusion, I utilize a narrative style. I have relied upon diverse sources of information, including archives in Japan and North America, as well as interviews and letters with people who knew Nitobe personally.

I portray Nitobe as a man who, early in life, became obsessed with achieving honors for himself, on the one hand,

and a place of respect among the leading nations of the world for his country, on the other. He was a highly idealistic man who, nevertheless, acted always in a pragmatic way. Ideals were things to be worked for. In a world of conflicting values and demands, Nitobe knew that ideals realize themselves slowly. His actions, thus, whenever they appear to be a compromise of his higher principles, have to be seen in light of the circumstances that surrounded him.

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How many worthy men have we
known to survive their own
reputations!

Montaigne, Essays

Introduction

A map of the Pacific Ocean, bordered on the edges by Japan and North America, is imprinted on the lower left side of the new 5,000 yen currency that features Nitobe Inazō. It symbolizes the "taiheiyō no hashi" (Bridge across the Pacific) metaphor that is associated with Nitobe's name, and graphically captures his importance in Japanese history.¹

The currency selection, however, surprised everyone. Unlike Fukuzawa Yukichi or Natsume Sōseki, who adorn the 10,000 and 1,000 yen notes, Nitobe was unknown to the public. He had been forgotten. High school history textbooks today do not even mention him. And many Japanese, says Professor Satō Masahiro, the leading scholar on Nitobe, have difficulty reading his name; not a few write it incorrectly.²

Outside of Japan, Nitobe is a complete stranger. No standard biographical reference book in English lists him, though he ranked among the best known Japanese abroad in his day. Yet hints of his past glory are still present. At the University of British Columbia, in Vancouver, Canada, a lovely Japanese garden, reputedly the best-crafted in North America, commemorates his memory.³ In the garden stands a tall grey

lantern inscribed with the following dedication:

Inazo Nitobe

Apostle of Good Will Between Nations

My study is a commentary on this inscription. Nitobe devoted himself to a mission to win for Japan and the Japanese a place of respect and honor in the world. Details of his life are subsumed under this internationalist motif.

* * *

Internationalism is an ambiguous concept that could pertain to one of several different ideas.⁴ In the lexicon of international relations, it is a relatively new term. The Webster New Collegiate Dictionary defines it as "a policy of cooperation among nations and esp. of the development of close international political and economic relations."⁵ An internationalist, thus, is one who advocates and supports such policies.

But when I apply the term "internationalist" to Nitobe, I do so with its Japanese connotation. Kokusaijin, the Japanese translation for internationalist, include peculiar cultural characteristics that are missing in the English; in Japanese the word has a "positive ring," and signifies a person fluent in a foreign language (usually English), who has strong connections abroad, and who possesses the manners and tastes of a foreigner (gaijin). I urge my readers to keep in mind that I use internationalist in this latter, culture-bound

sense.⁶

Historians of Japan, however, have avoided the word. They prefer the adjective "westernized" to label Japanese such as Nitobe. Ivan Hall, writing of Mori Arinori, quoted Itō Hirobumi who called Mori a "Nihon ga unda seiyō jin" (a Westerner born of Japan).⁷ The young Inazō of early Meiji Japan could be described in a similar manner. But "westernized" does not fit Nitobe's latter years.

In 1919, at age fifty-seven, Nitobe participated in the creation of a new world order that emphasized different rules in the relationship between nations. This plan's failure is not of concern here. My point is that Nitobe, by association with the League of Nations and later with the Institute of Pacific Relations, was a different kind of man from earlier Japanese such as Mori and Fukuzawa Yukichi. Nitobe lived into contemporary times, and shared some of its more idealistic visions.⁸

Moreover, he acted on an international stage. And here lies his personal drama. Miwa Kimitada and Yuzo Ota forcefully argue that Nitobe retained the attitudes and values of a Japanese nationalist while advocating the new internationalism. He harbored a "contradiction," says Ota, that was bound to collide. It did. And this is Nitobe's final tragedy. I will refrain comment here on this interpretation, but will return to it again in the conclusion.⁹

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Scholars mention Nitobe often. Mark Peattie, E.P. Tsurumi and Samuel Ho meet Nitobe as a colonial official in Taiwan; Donald Roden sees Nitobe as an outstanding headmaster at the First Higher School; Earl Kinmouth, tracing the evolution of the Japanese ethic of self-development, condemns Nitobe as a misguided moralist. Miwa Kimitada and Akira Iriye judge Nitobe in light of his inter-cultural activities; Thomas Burkman, studying international diplomacy after World War I, views Nitobe through the League of Nations; and Hirakawa Sukehiro, with an interest in comparative literature, links Nitobe with Bushido, which he considers overly glamorized and "perhaps not true."¹⁰

But no one has yet attempted to grasp the whole of Nitobe, and to properly evaluate his significance in Japanese history. I take on the task here.

*

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To study Nitobe, I faced problems that most scholars can happily avoid. Historians can often, in more cases than not, overlook biographical detail and still write accurately of their subject's work. So can literary critics. And when esthetic qualities are at issue, as it is in textual analysis, the author's life may be safely ignored. This cannot be done with Nitobe. He cannot be left out of his writings. Even with Bushido, his sole work of literary value, to analyze it apart

from the background circumstances of its writing, as many have done, invites misunderstanding.¹¹

Nitobe was primarily a "man of action," not a "thinker." Most of his works addressed contemporary problems. He wrote hastily and produced a huge amount of writings. But not for literature's sake; his main purpose was to instruct in as direct a manner as he could. As I will show, not a few of his books originated as lectures or magazine articles, and were only printed as books because of readers' demand.¹²

The timeliness of his message, combined with his personal appeal and wide reputation as a learned scholar, made Nitobe a highly successful author in his time. But today, of his over twenty books, only Bushido has clearly survived the test of time.¹³

For this reason, intellectual history (shisō), I must emphasize here, is not my main interest. Except for one section, "Advocate of Democracy" in Chapter 6, I used Nitobe's writings chiefly for biographical purposes, and not for their own sake. Under scrutiny all throughout is his character, rather than his thought.

* * *

My approach is chronological. Except for this introduction and the conclusion, I employ a narrative, combined with description, all throughout the text. I chose this mode of composition because only narration can capture with poignancy a life being lived, and to depict an individual

changing over time.¹⁴

I use a periodization employed earlier by Professor Satō Masahiro in his excellent work on Nitobe. He divides Nitobe's life into: (1) "Becoming a Person" (hito to naru); (2) "Work for Japan's sake" (Nihon no tame); (3) "Work for the World's sake" (Sekai no tame). My three major parts follow, with slight alterations, this scheme.¹⁵

In Part I, Making of an Internationalist, I cover the first forty-four years of Nitobe's life in four chapters. The focus of Chapter 1 is Inazō's struggles to resolve a conflict that sprang from his two contrary sets of values: first, to attain worldly fame and glory; and second, to meet the self-sacrificing spiritual demands of Christian values.

I take up the "success" theme in Chapter 2 and trace Nitobe's life through seven years of Graduate Study abroad. His courses, professors, and plans are presented in detail. And his meeting and courtship with Mary Elkinton of Philadelphia, the future Mrs. Nitobe, are described. Mary Nitobe appears frequently throughout the rest of the narrative for she has, far more than any biography of Nitobe has yet shown, had a profound influence upon her husband's life and work.

In Chapter 3, Nitobe's Sapporo professor period, the earlier "success" theme is transformed into "moral duty," with emphasis upon work. But the earlier conflicts are not yet resolved, and Nitobe suffers a nervous breakdown. Chapter 4

describes his search to regain health, his years in Taiwan, and explores the circumstances that lead to his remarkable rise to fame in a few short years.

In Part II, Educator East and West, I relate Nitobe's life from age 44 to 57. In two chapters, I develop the theme of educator. Chapter 5 focuses upon his ornate life in Tokyo in the late Meiji and early Taishō periods. Even in private, in his magnificent Kobinatadai machi home, Nitobe lived a very public life. And as the attractive Headmaster of the prestigious First Higher School, he established a wide reputation throughout the country as an educator second to none. The last section in Chapter 5 is devoted to Nitobe's work in America as the first Exchange-Professor from Japan under the auspices of Carnegie Endowment for Peace, which enhanced his reputation as Japanese's leading internationalist on both sides of the Pacific.

In Chapter 6, I expand the education theme, and show Nitobe in his various roles as an educator. In the first section of this chapter, I turn to Nitobe's academic specialty of colonial policy and his position as an Imperial University Professor. I also delve into his activities as a consultant to the government in its colonizing work. But academia constituted only a fraction of his total work as an educator. He was also fully involved in these years as a popularizer of an ethic called Heimindō (Commoner's path). He wrote many articles and books on self-cultivation and ethics which made him a leader of ethical education. And in the last section in

this chapter, I analyze some of Nitobe's writings on the subject of Democracy at a time when Wilsonian Democracy was making strong inroads into Japan, and show its connection to his work on popular morality.

In Part III, Diplomat in International Limelight, I present the mature Nitobe, from age 57 until his death at 72. The main theme that runs through both Chapters 7, "At the League of Nations and Chapter 8, "The Last Years," is the diplomat. Nitobe is now a highly visible international personage with a world-wide reputation as an enlightened liberal. Chapter 7 draws a portrait of the popular Nitobe, both in private and public, at Geneva. Two sections that move across geographical space--"Travels with Gotō Shinpei" and "Spokesman for the League"--are alternately placed between two more stationary sections--"Work in the Secretariat" and "Life in Geneva."

In Chapter 8, the climactic chapter, I utilize five subsections to highlight the internationalist theme that run throughout his entire life. Though a topical treatment would have allowed for a deeper analysis of the crucial issues that arise here, I have retained, with slight modifications, the narrative format.

In the first section of Chapter 8, "The Retirement Years," I take up the narrative from Nitobe's departure from the League in 1927 until he assumed Chairmanship of the IPR's Japan Council in July 1929. I summarize the huge amount and

diversity of his work that he carried on in this two-year period while supposedly "retired." I wish to illustrate here how the Carlyean maxim that he had embraced in youth, of "doing the duty that lies nearest," had become, by the end of his life, an ingrained habit.

I incorporate a topical treatment into the narrative in section two, "Nitobe, the IPR and the Manchurian Crisis," and use his association with the IPR as a vehicle to introduce the conflict in East Asia. Then I use the 1929 and 1931 IPR Conferences as a stage to show Nitobe's own role against a wider backdrop of the confrontation between Japan and China in Manchuria.

The middle section, "The Matsuyama Incident" chronologically follows. Here, Nitobe's problems come to a head. This "Incident"--really a series of events that took place between February and April 1932--is the climax in Nitobe's life drama. He comes under severe attack by the right-wing Military Reserve Association and succumbs to their pressure.

He decides, as a result of the above incident, to travel to the United States. In section three, "Emissary to North America" I follow Nitobe on his one-year tour to the United States and Canada to "explain" Japan's actions in Manchuria and Shanghai.

In Section five, "The Last Months in Japan and Death in Canada," I narrate the pertinent events in his last seven months of life. I pay particular attention to the journey

that Nitobe takes to the Fifth IPR Conference at Banff, Alberta in 1933, and describes his death in Victoria in October of that year.

And in the conclusion, I explore some of the issues that the final chapter raised. I address his liberalism and his intercultural activities, both of which have come under severe criticism by today's scholars. And I summarize Nitobe as an educator and as a prewar Japanese internationalist.

* * *

Poetry is an apt way to highlight themes in Nitobe's life; for it can capture, in a flash by intuitive insight, what it takes prose many pages to accomplish. Nitobe loved poetry. His first book in English opens, in fact, with a poem about "Black Ships." "History," Nitobe wrote, "begins with poetry."¹⁶ I take his suggestion, and introduce each of the three parts of this dissertation with a poem to give the reader a sense of the over-riding mood. I also present, at the head of each chapter, an idea, in epigramic form, that will give, I hope, a hint of a theme embedded within the chapter.

PART ONE

THE MAKING OF AN INTERNATIONALIST

My heart leaps up when I behold
A rainbow in the sky:
So was it when my life began;
So is it now I am a man;
So be it when I shall grow old,
Or let me die!
The Child is father of the Man;
And I could wish my days to be
Bound each to each by natural piety.

William Wordsworth, My Heart Leaps Up

Men are what their mothers
make them.

Ralph W. Emerson, Conduct
of Life

CHAPTER I

Childhood, Boyhood, Youth: 1862-1883

Nitobe Inazō was born in Morioka to a high-ranking samurai family of the Nanbu domain on September 1, 1862. The Nitobes were prominent locally, with a long lineage that reputedly went back to the twelfth century.¹ His great grandfather was a Confucian scholar and military strategist who served the domain as a respected official; his son, Tsutō (Inazō's grandfather), a man of tremendous vitality and imagination, conceived and carried out, over a period of some twenty years, a staggering engineering feat that irrigated the dry uplands of the Lake Towada district, thus making a settlement on the Sanbongi plains possible.²

Inazō's father, Jūjirō, also gifted in ability, served the daimyo as a minister-resident in Edo where he administered the domain's finances.³ But he suffered a tragic fate; accused by enemies of scheming to steal domain property, he was placed under house arrest and died shortly thereafter at age forty-eight. The charges against him were never verified, and he was subsequently acquitted. Inazō, who was four at the

time, mentioned later that his father died of a "broken heart."⁴

Morioka: 1862-1871

Jūjirō's early death did not affect Inazō in any dramatic fashion; and in adult life, aside from what he had heard while growing up, Inazō would have little personal memories of his father. The youngest of seven children, he was raised by a devoted mother, Seki, and his paternal grandfather, Tsutō, who died when Inazō was ten. His childhood was a happy one; he was an extremely active youngster, quick in mind and strong in body, who loved playing pranks and engaging in rough and tumble play with other children along the banks of the shallow Nakatsu river, which flowed only a few meters away from their home.⁵

The Nitobe family lived just beyond the compounds of the Nanbu daimyo's residence in the old castle town of Morioka, now the capital of Iwate Prefecture and northern terminus for the Tōhoku Shinkansen railway line. Situated in the far Northeastern section of Honshu, Morioka was already a flourishing town of some forty-thousand inhabitants in Inazō's childhood. In spite its great distance from the boom and bustle of Tokyo, the center for the new foreign culture that was flooding into Meiji Japan, Morioka too received a trickle of Western artifacts and influences. In their household, Inazō remembered, were a box of matches, a small musical box, and a silver knife and fork set that his father had brought home

from the capital.⁶ Economically, they appear to have been comparatively well-off:

As to our family, it may be taken as a type of the well-to-do class, perhaps in several ways above the average. It belonged to the samurai or knightly order, rather high up the scale, and though the samurai was usually poor, our family, thanks to grandfather's financial abilities, lived in comparative opulence. Thus on the provincial town it occupied a rather high position both in rank and in worldly possessions; but nationally considered, I have no hesitation in putting it among the more respectable of the middle class.

He received his first English lessons as a child in Morioka. A physician, a friend of the family, who had acquired a smattering of English instruction while living in Edo in the late Tokugawa period, and who owned a few English books, taught Inazō and his brother, Michirō, the alphabet and a few simple vocabulary. Inazō marvelled at the strange script that ran across the page sideways; many years later, he would recollect that English books were called, in his childhood days, "crab books ... because the words were read horizontally like the crawling of a crab."⁸ Their physician-tutor apparently possessed pedagogic talents, for he managed to instill a zeal for the curious new language in the two boys. Reminiscing nostalgically on his earliest English lessons, Nitobe commented in later life:

Every single word was new and opened vistas of an unknown life and activity. Both my brother and I got more interested in English lessons than in Japanese....

But his main education were not these little twiddlings with English; rather, like his father and grandfather before him, the Chinese Classics and the traditional martial arts comprised the core of his early schooling. The Chinese lessons were completely ineffective. He confessed later that he had read "Confucius' Analects and the Works of Mencius without the least comprehending what these sages meant to convey."¹⁰ The experience appears to have had a negative effect on Inazō in that he completely avoided Oriental philosophical writings for many years thereafter. Only in middle-age would he peruse such works again.¹¹

Five years old in 1867, Inazō underwent an initiation ceremony for samurai boys. Displayed before his family and relatives in hakama (skirt worn in traditional Japanese outfit), he was given a miniature sword which, he wrote later, "admitted him into the ranks of knighthood." But he did not wear his sword for long: a law was passed shortly thereafter that banned samurai from bearing arms. Inazō remembered his feelings at that time:

[W]hen I was told to drop [the sword], not only did my loins feel lonely, but I was literally low in spirit. I had been taught to be proud of being a samurai, whose badge the sword was.¹²

Until the sword was banned, fencing had been a regular part of his education. To this were added spear exercises and jujitsu. The latter was included in his childhood training,

he related, because of his father's belief in the school of mu-tō-ryū (no-sword school), whose principle was that a samurai "need not fight with a weapon":

[A] true warrior should by sheer strength of his will, the force of his spirit, which flashing in his eyes or revealing itself in his voice and his whole demeanor, so strike terror into his opponent as to subdue him without striking a blow.¹³

Inazō's early exposure to the martial arts, unlike his study of the Chinese Classics, left an indelible mark in his consciousness. Many years later, reliving the childhood fantasies of the noble warrior that he had aspired to become, Inazō would construct an idealized and highly romanticized version of Bushido, the samurai ethic.¹⁴

His carefree Morioka days lasted only until his ninth year. Seki, anxious for the future of her sons in this period of rapid change, lent much thought to their subsequent education. Deciding that Tokyo offered the greatest opportunities for social advancement, she sent Inazō and Michirō there to an uncle, Ōta Tokitoshi. A younger brother of Jūjirō, Tokitoshi had left Nanbu after the Restoration to pursue his fortunes in the capital. In the Ginza district, he opened a clothing shop to sell Western-style outfits. Childless, he adopted Inazō to continue the Ōta family line.¹⁵

English Studies in Tokyo: 1872-1876

English was in vogue when Inazō arrived in Tokyo in 1871.

For those ambitious to rise in the world, it was considered an indispensable skill of greatest practical value. Widely-read publicists, such as Fukuzawa Yukichi, Mori Arinori and Nishi Amane, extolled the virtues of English, and their very prominence in society lent a powerful testimony to its contemporary worth. Fukuzawa, moreover, in his best-selling book, Gakumon no susume (An Encouragement of Learning), had harshly criticized the inherent defects of the traditional Chinese curriculum.¹⁶

Inazō and his brother enrolled in a private English school that was operated for profit. Schools run by Christian missionaries were also available at less or no cost, but Tokitoshi, suspicious of the missionaries' motives, and despising their religion as most Japanese then did, kept the boys away.¹⁷

For Inazō, growing up in Nanbu made friendship difficult at first with boys from other parts of the country. "The Northeastern brogue," he recalled, "was provocative of merciless ragging and sometimes a cause of real sorrow and home-sickness." But curiously his Tōhoku dialect also gave him certain advantages to learn English, which may have compensated for his initial social ostracism:

I very soon found that, on the whole, I, as well as other boys who came from the Northeastern provinces, could catch and imitate the teacher's intonation much better than the rest.¹⁸

After studying in the private school for about a year, he

enrolled in the Nanbu domain school, the Kyōkan gijuku, which was located in Tsukiji at the former daimyo's residence. Since the school was quite a long distance from his stepfather's house, Inazō was placed in one of the dormitories, which housed over one-hundred boarders. About the same number of students commuted from their homes daily:

[T]his school was large enough to divide students into grades. All the books used were in the English language, which the Japanese teachers translated and explained. The highest class used Quackenbos' English History. The one below read Peter Parley's Universal History. The third class had Mitchell's Geography. I was put in a lower grade and began with a small grammar by Quackenbos.¹⁹

Inazō made rapid progress and was promoted to a small, select class of advanced students, where he continued to excel. In 1875, he passed the difficult entrance examination for the elite Tokyo Foreign Language School that had been established by the government two years before. The competition had been very stiff, since the benefits to be gained were obvious to the many aspirants. Firstly, the teachers were all foreigners, mostly Americans and British, and their lessons were second to none; secondly, tuition fees were nominal, and if a needy family made a request, even this could be exempted. Shortly after he entered, the English Department was reorganized as a separate entity, the Tokyo eigo gakkō (Tokyo English School).²⁰

At this privileged institution, Inazō met a remarkable teacher who taught him many basic English skills:

[N]o teacher at whose feet I sat either before or after him inspired me with such a love of learning as did Mr. M.M. Scott. I dare say that many of my schoolmates will share with me feelings of heartfelt gratitude to this Kentucky veteran of education. He was an educator in the highest sense of the term in drawing out²¹ of each boy what lay latent in his little soul.

Inazō was introduced to English literature in Scott's class, and read selections from Bacon, Shakespeare, Milton and Goldsmith. This talented teacher also gave him his first systematic training in English composition; and one of his youthful essays, entitled "The Importance of Introducing Christianity into Japan," was selected by Scott and sent to the 1876 Centennial Exhibition held in Philadelphia.²²

While studying at the Tokyo eigo gakkō, two events occurred that proved pivotal to Inazō's subsequent schooling. The first was a visit to Sanbongi, the little community that owed its existence to the pioneering work of his grandfather, by the Emperor Meiji in 1876. The Imperial guest, on his one-night stopover, called the Nitobe family members into audience and presented them with money to commemorate the services that Tsutō had rendered:

I was in Tokyo and when all the papers wrote about the royal visit to my house, I felt exalted both by the past of my family and the greatness of my future responsibilities.²³

The second incident was a fiery speech by young government official, a Mr. Nishimura, who had come to his

school to recruit students for the newly established agricultural college in Hokkaido. Nishimura urged them that Japan now needed specialists in science more than it needed generalists in law.

The talk convinced Inazō. Until that time, he had not thought carefully about his vocation. Like most of his classmates, he had vague plans to study law, with hopes of later serving in some branch of the burgeoning government bureaucracy. Now he reconsidered his choice anew.²⁴ His family already had a reputation as developers of agricultural lands. Perhaps he too should pursue this endeavor. With this fresh goal in mind, Inazō entered the second class of the Sapporo Agricultural College in the autumn of 1877.

Sapporo: 1877-1883

The Sapporo nōgakkō (Sapporo Agricultural College) was started by the kaitakushi (Hokkaido Colonization Office). In 1876, Kuroda Kiyotaka, who had from the very first guided its development, arranged through General Horace Capron, his American advisor, and Mori Arinori, the Japanese Minister in the United States, for the President of the Massachusetts Agricultural College, William S. Clark, to start a similar school in Japan. Clark arrived in the summer of 1876 with two assistants, William Wheeler and David Penhallow, to lay the groundwork.²⁵

Though it bore the name "agricultural college," which suggests a work-orientated institution, the nōgakkō's

educational aims were far more comprehensive in scope. The hours devoted to practical experiences, such as working on the college's farm, were relatively few when compared to the actual time spent in the classroom on solid academic subjects. And even though emphasis was placed on the natural and applied sciences, the humanities were not neglected. In the Plan for Organization, which Clark had drawn up, the college's stated objectives were to:

[Q]ualify its students for intelligent and effective work in the administration of business, and in those departments of industry and technical science pertaining to agriculture and the development of natural resources, manufactures, and the maintenance of an advanced civilization; also to promote conceptions of their relations to the state and to society, and of self-culture befitting their prospective stations.²⁶

Clark returned to the United States after only an eight-month sojourn in Sapporo, during which time the college launched its first class. But his two young assistants stayed behind and formed the core of the foreign teaching staff. Wheeler taught mathematics and engineering, and Penhallow, Chemistry. In 1877, another American, an Amherst University graduate, William Brooks, arrived and took over the agricultural courses formerly taught by Clark. The following year, two more New Englanders, John Cutter and Cecil Peabody, joined the staff. The former, a medical doctor, taught Physiology, and the latter, mathematics and mechanics. But because of teacher shortage, all these yatoi (foreign

employees) were forced to become generalists, and much of their teaching involved helping students with English grammar, composition and rhetoric.²⁷

Inazō was well-prepared for the nōgakkō's curriculum. His studies at the Tokyo eigo gakkō had prepared him more than adequately for the classes that were taught in English. His close contact with his teachers, particularly with Brooks and Cutter, gave him invaluable opportunity to speak English almost daily. And with his classmates, Inazō routinely used English; and nearly all his correspondence to them are in this foreign tongue. Yuzo Ota's Eigo to Nihonjin (English and the Japanese) highlights this unique aspect of Inazō's generation with their overwhelming exposure to English in their youth. Undoubtedly, this educational experience eased Inazō's entry later on into international society.²⁸

But just as important were the spiritual influences that he received at the nōgakkō. Clark had left behind his Christian beliefs, which pervaded the school's atmosphere when Inazō arrived. The first-year students, who had all been converted by Clark, were in a proselytizing mood and anxious to win the newcomers to Christ.²⁹

Of the twenty-two members of Inazō's class, seven became Christian and received their baptism in June 1878. Among them, Inazō, Uchimura Kanzō, Miyabe Kingo, Hiroi Isamu, Takagi Tomitarō, Fujita Kyūzaburō. This little band of seven became very closely-knit over the next four years of college; they

developed their own subculture which centered on the independent worship of Christ and the practices of Christian living.

In spite of his outward allegiance, Inazō struggled with his new faith. His spiritual difficulties, which have been described with great acuity by Matsukuma Toshiko, appear to have deep psychological roots.³¹ From early in his Sapporo student days, he was driven by an obsession to gain academic honors. This made him look upon his fellow classmates, especially Uchimura and Miyabe who were his closest friends, as rivals for the best grades. Inazō drove himself to incredible lengths in his study in hopes of gaining the top position in class. His letters back home to his stepfather Tokitoshi describe in great detail the test scores of each student and their respective ranking. Though Inazō excelled in English, his math was weak, which pulled his total average down, and this was a constant source of anxiety for him.³²

Inazō's burning ambition to stand out among his classmates was fostered in him from childhood by his family; particularly by his mother, Seki, and his stepfather. Both held high expectations of him and ceaselessly admonished him, by word and demeanor, that they would not be satisfied with him being of second rank.³³

But Inazō also possessed a sensitive, emotional nature and was quick to realize the inherent contradictions of risshin shusse--with its stress on worldly honor and status--and the ethical values taught by Christianity. Inazō needed

to resolve this painful dilemma in himself and to justify in his own mind his compelling need for outward recognition. He spent long hours in the library reading philosophy and religion to seek an answer to his inner turmoil. By his third year at the nōgakkō, he had transformed from an active lad, who competed well in sports and who "played first base" in baseball intramurals, to a bookish introvert nicknamed by his companions "monk."³⁴ Uchimura Kanzō, in his early autobiography, How I Became a Christian, draws a deft portrait of the troubled Inazō:

Paul (Inazō's Christian name) was a scholar. He often suffered from neuralgia, and was nearsighted. He could doubt all things, could manufacture new doubts, and must test and prove everything before he could accept it. Thomas he ought to have surnamed himself. But with his spectacles, and all his assumed scholarly airs, he was a guileless boy at heart; and he could join with his comrades in a fête champêtre under the cherry blossoms in a Sabbath afternoon, after in that morning he cooled the enthusiasm of the "church" with his gloomy and intricate doubts about Providence and Predestination.³⁵

The prolonged hours of reading had damaged Inazō's vision; he was plagued moreover with severe headaches that would not subside. To relieve the pain, he visited Doctor Cutter who gave him some pills. A mental depression ensued, during which time he castigated himself in his diary that he was "Frail" and "Wrack." In the midst of his agonies, during which time his rank in class fell from third to tenth, he chanced to find in the Independent an article by Thomas Carlyle, which struck a resonant chord in him. Shortly

thereafter, he located a copy of Carlyle's Sartor Resartus, which gave him a key to solve his travails.³⁶ Miwa Kimitada describes Inazō's reading the book "with an urgency of a starved man gobbling up his first decent food in days." Later in life, Nitobe would claim that "Sartor Resartus was his patron for life" and that he had perused its purple pages over "over forty times."³⁷

In July 1880, Inazō left Hokkaido for a short visit to his Iwate home on his way to Tokyo to seek medical treatment for his eyes. Just after he had left Sapporo, a telegram reached the nōgakkō to inform him that he should speedily return home, for his mother was critically ill. Inazō, unaware of the message, did not hurry, and spent some time with a friend visiting Towada before arriving in Morioka after an absence of almost ten years.³⁸

His aunt, whom he mistook at first for his mother, met him at the door. Seeing his exuberant face all aglow, she could not bear to tell him that Seki's funeral had been held only three days before. Instead, she gently led him to the family altar, which was still burning fresh incense to her memory, and quietly said "this is what has happened to your mother." Inazō was stunned and could not utter a word. But his oldest sister, Mine, recalled that she saw him "out in the garden out of sight of people's eyes leaning against the plum tree and weeping."³⁹ Mary Nitobe later described her husband's devotion to his mother:

He carried with him throughout the years of their separation, the letters she had written him, and afterwards read them on every anniversary of her Going. I learned early to respect my husband's desire for a quiet apartness on this hallowed anniversary, and to recognize the fact that there is an innermost recess of the stoutest heart, that no one can or should try to penetrate.⁴⁰

Inazō never forgave himself for not being at his mother's deathbed. And this deep regret made her entreaties, that he become a great person worthy of their ancestors, all the more pressing in his mind. He resolved that he would carry out her wishes.⁴¹

He graduated from the nōgakkō in July 1881 and entered the kaitakushi. Great changes were then taking place. The kaitakushi was being dismantled and its functions transferred to the nōrinshō (Ministry of Agriculture and Forestry).⁴² Because of this streamlining, there was little to do in the Sapporo office, and Inazō spent most of his work hours reading his own books. Realizing that his career was not going anywhere, he petitioned the nōrinshō in May 1883 to release him from his contract. His request was granted.⁴³

The direction in which education starts a man will determine his future life.

Plato, The Republic

CHAPTER II

Graduate Studies Abroad: 1883-1890

Almost twenty-one, Ōta* Inazō, left Hokkaido in the summer of 1883 for Tokyo. In his six years of residence in Sapporo, he had grown into manhood and had acquired a deep affection for the little town and its people. He held high hopes that he would one day return to help the island develop. But before he could do this, he himself needed to grow and learn skills to become a great leader. Beckoned by this "flicker before his eyes," he made plans to prepare for greater things.¹

Search for Fame and Honor: the Path to America

Ōta got his stepfather's approval to further his schooling "for two more years" at Tōdai (Tokyo University). In this quest for graduate education, he appears to have been moved in part by what his Sapporo friends and rivals were doing. Miyabe Kingo was already studying Botany at Tōdai;

* I use Ōta, Inazō's surname at this time, for most of this chapter. Ōta becomes Nitobe again in April 1889, and the circumstances behind this change are explained on page 47-48.

Uchimura Kanzō was also planning to do advanced work in the Fishery laboratory there; Hiroi Isamu, who possessed an engineering bent, was preparing to go to the United States; and an older friend, Satō Shōsuke, was already at the Johns Hopkins University.²

Ōta enrolled in the Faculty of Literature in September 1883, though he was still committed to pursue agriculture as a vocational field. He had found while studying at the nōgakkō that he liked the humanities much more than he did the natural or applied sciences. In the latter, moreover, his ineptness with numbers had kept him from attaining good marks. He was caught in a bind since agriculture, as a practical discipline, was evolving into a specialized field that increasingly employed new technology and thus required some mathematical aptitude. But he found a way out of his dilemma by selecting Agricultural Economics as his major. By doing so he could continue the family tradition and still study literature and history. At Tōdai, in addition to his one course in Agricultural Economics, he took Statistics, English Literature, and English Composition.³

Tokyo University in 1883 was still a young institution that had not yet attained the prestige that would later endowed its professors later with a charmed mystique; its faculty consisted of a number of yatoi and young Japanese instructors who had just returned from overseas study. Ōta's professors were a German named Rhatgen, an American,

Cox, and two Japanese, Toyama Shōichi and Tajiri Inajirō, both of whom had studied in the United States. Though Ōta made excellent grades in his first semester, he complained of poor instruction:

I am getting disgustful [sic] of instruction in the University. I thought I can learn very much in it [sic]; but no! There are plenty of books, but not plenty of good teachers. [sic] Toyama can't teach English very well. We are studying Hamlet: he jumps over many places as too difficult. Cox is simply an old fashioned true-to-rules-of-syntax grammarian. I don't think very highly of his corrections of our essays. He is a man of not much idea. [sic] Toyama's history is also very poor. He knows scarcely anything besides what is contained in the textbook itself; he may know better of philosophy [sic] but that is not my subject of study. I like Mr. Tajiri's Economy; but [the] hours for Economy are too little and self-study alone⁴ can supply what [the] class-room lectures lack.

By early 1884, he decided to leave the university at the end of the second term; he had had enough of incompetent teaching. But many years later, in one of his colorful anecdotes published in Kigan no ashi (Reeds of the Returned Goose), a book that sold well during his reign as Headmaster of the First Higher School, he gave a different account of his motives.⁵ Rather than "poor teachers," he placed blame upon the "backwardness" of Japanese academics at that time. This well-known story goes as follows. Having come early for one of Toyama's classes, he sat in the corner of the room and was reading Henry George's Poverty and Progress, which a friend (most likely Satō) had sent him from

the United States. Toyama asked him the title of the book, and Ōta told him. The professor was impressed. "That," he said, "is an important book. After you finish it, you should write an article for one of the journals." But noticing that the book had been published some eight years before, Ōta was shocked; Japanese scholarship, he concluded, was eight years behind that of the West. That experience prompted him to quit Tōdai and go to America.⁶

Unlike Satō Shōsuke, whose trip was being financed by the Meiji government, Ōta had to fend for himself. Fortunately Tokitoshi had some government bonds that he cashed to obtain money.⁷ It was not a large amount, but sufficient to get Ōta started. Just how long the funds would hold out he did not know; he would entrust his fate to the kindness of Providence. By late summer Ōta's preparation was done; and before embarking on his voyage, he wrote a long letter to his intimate friend, Miyabe Kingo, which illuminate clearly his circumstances:

I shall leave Tokio [sic] for America. I go off unprovided with ample funds. I run a risk: it may be too bold. But thinking that life is at best but a bold attempt at adventure, I decide to go. Some dissuade me from the plan on the score that my health (eyes) may give way. Others strongly recommend me to be settled here with a wife--to confess the truth, the bride was even selected--from a family of an influential Secretary of [the] Dai Jo Kwan; but I rejected [the marriage] ...at present I have no obstacles ...father & mother are healthy: they can eat and drink: I have no obligations: my health is sound: my eyes are better. Let me go. Good-bye, old Friend ... Pray for me as oft as thou rememberest me. I will be true and faithful to

my friends and endeavor to be so to myself.⁸

Ōta left without a well-defined study plan; although he "wanted to do economics," he chose, strangely, a small college in Western Pennsylvania that did not have that type of training.⁹ He had selected Allegheny College, it appears, at the advice of Flora Harris or her husband Merriman Harris, missionaries in Japan for many years, whom he had known in Sapporo. They were in Tokyo during his last year at Tōdai in 1884. In March that year, Harris had officiated at Uchimura's wedding, which Ōta attended.¹⁰ The Harrises were Allegheny College graduates, and had met each other on campus.¹¹ Meadville, Pennsylvania, the location of the school, was Flora's hometown. Her family, the Bests, still resided there when Ōta arrived on October 30, 1884 with another Japanese lad, Okami Yoshiharu.¹²

Founded in 1798, Allegheny College was a four-year liberal arts college with an excellent local reputation. But its backwoods location, some eighty miles north of Pittsburgh in the Allegheny foothills amidst small farms and pastures, foredoomed any prospects that it might develop into a major university. It was too isolated from the cultural stimulation of the Eastern metropolises to attract top faculty and students. In spite of this disadvantage, the people of the college and town still maintained an active interest in the affairs of the wider world. Meadville's population of ten thousand supported three newspapers and several weekly and

monthly journals that served the town and the surrounding county.¹³ The Crawford Journal carried the following item a few days after Ōta and Okami arrived:

Japanese Students--Two students, Messrs. Ota and Akami, [sic] from the most progressive empire of the Orient, have come to Allegheny College direct from Japan. If everything is satisfactory they will be matriculated.¹⁴

Ōta did not delay his business. On his second day in town, he visited President Benjamin Wheeler at the college for an interview; and the following day he began his classes. He was admitted to the Freshman class, and took courses in German, History of Philosophy and the Art of Discourse.¹⁵ But after only a week, Ōta received a letter from Satō urging him to the Johns Hopkins University; studies there, said Satō, would be more appropriate to his aspirations. After a short deliberation, he left Meadville for Baltimore.¹⁶

Studies at The Johns Hopkins University

Satō Shōsuke occupies a prominent place in Hokkaido's history as an educator. He took over as administrator of the Sapporo nōgakkō during its years of struggle to survive budget cutbacks in the late 1880s through the 1890s, and later became Dean of the Faculty of Agriculture when the nōgakkō was incorporated into the Tōhoku Imperial University; and with the founding of the Hokkaido Imperial University in 1918, Satō became its first President. For his long administrative work, he was granted Peerage as a baron.¹⁷

Like Ōta, Satō too was from a high-ranking Nanbu samurai family. As children, he and Ōta had frequently visited each other's home; they attended the Kyōkan gijuku together and even lived together for a few months; Tokitoshi, who was a friend of Satō's father, viewed Shōsuke, who was six years older than Ōta as a trustworthy companion for his stepson. Satō entered the nōgakkō, and graduated as the top student in 1880. Soon thereafter he was appointed instructor at the school, and sent abroad to America in 1883.¹⁸

While in New York, Satō wrote to President Gilman of the Johns Hopkins University expressing his desire to attend the institution; he likewise wrote to Professor H.B. Adams who headed the History and Political Science Department.¹⁹ The Department accepted him as a Graduate Student in the autumn of 1883. He worked hard and won the admiration of both Gilman and Adams. The following October, when Ōta arrived, Satō was already a "Fellow-by-Courtesy"; his recommendation, therefore, carried great weight with Gilman and Adams when Ōta sought entrance to the same department.²⁰ On his application form, he wrote, as his purpose at the university, that he wished "to complete my education and to qualify myself for teaching on my return to Japan."²¹

Ōta and Satō were not the only Japanese at the Johns Hopkins. The same semester that Ōta arrived, another Japanese student, Mōra Yūjirō, enrolled to study Philosophy and Psychology with Professor Stanley Hall. Mōra excelled and

won a University Fellowship in his second year, and obtained his Ph.D. in 1889. Later at Tōdai, he introduced psychological studies into Japan. In the sciences, two Japanese had already won their Hopkins Ph.D's: Kuhara Mitsuru had completed his in Chemistry in 1881; and Mitsukuri Kakichi in 1883 had received a Zoology degree. Both became professors at the Imperial University upon their return to Japan.²²

The Johns Hopkins was in its formative period when Ōta entered; it had opened its doors only eight years before as the first American university devoted to the promotion of Graduate Studies. In Ōta's first year, it had a total enrollment of 290 students--174 Graduate Students and Fellows, 69 Matriculates (undergraduates), and 47 Special Students. They were taught by 52 teachers. In its short existence, the school had produced 54 Ph.D.s--the greatest number in the United States.²³

Its first president, Daniel Coit Gilman, was suited perfectly for the task of creating a modern, research-orientated university. "His one thought," wrote a fellow, "is the Johns Hopkins University for its glory and perfection." Like his colleague, Charles Eliot at Harvard, Andrew White at Cornell, and James Angell at Michigan, Gilman had great power and knew how to use it.²⁴

Although a busy administrator, Gilman had time for students. He set aside a part of his morning hours so that they could come and talk with him about problems they had; he

knew each one personally and thoughtfully extended help such as giving a room in his home to a needy student who had just arrived in Baltimore; or lending money to them in emergencies--simple acts which Hugh Hawkins says "bespeak a generosity beyond the requirements of his position."²⁵

Ōta saw Gilman from time to time and had conversations with him about Japan. When he was in Germany, in 1889, Gilman sent him an article he had written in the Nation on the promulgation of the Japanese Constitution. Ōta wrote back saying that he was "deeply grateful for the interest" that the President had shown in Japan.²⁶

His personal contact with Gilman would later strongly affect and color his own style as a school administrator; in his dealings with his own students many years later, he would exhibit the same charitableness and perform acts of thoughtfulness that he himself had experienced in his relationship with the Johns Hopkins University President.²⁷

Though Ōta, like the other Japanese students, respected Gilman, he was closest to Professor Herbert Baxter Adams whose classes he attended regularly for six straight semesters. He took Adams' courses in History of Politics, Church History, The Renaissance, International Law, Germanic Institutions, and the Seminary in History and Politics.²⁸ Adams was only thirty-six when Ōta first met him, but already commanded a wide reputation as a hard worker among his colleagues. He had come to the Johns Hopkins in 1876 as an Associate, and ran the

department while Gilman searched for a senior professor; he worked with "prodigious energies" tutoring, lecturing, and conducting the administrative chores, and by 1881 had convinced Gilman that an established scholar was not needed. He was promoted to Associate Professor and Head, with a salary of \$2750.²⁹

Adams's major contributions at the Johns Hopkins in this period were the Historical Seminary for Graduate Students and a monograph series, The Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Sciences. Professionally, he served from 1882 as Secretary of the newly founded American Historical Association, and carried out the necessary labor to launch it. Later his work as an inspiring teacher and superb editor were commended by many who knew and studied with him. Some of his many Graduate Students later won great fame; among the most renown were Woodrow Wilson, J. Franklin Jameson, Albert Shaw, and Frederick Jackson Turner.³⁰ When Adams died at age fifty-one in 1901, Wilson wrote the following glowing tribute:

If I were to sum up my impression of Dr. Adams, I should call him a great Captain of Industry, a captain in the field of systematic and organized scholarship. I think all his pupils would accord him mastery in the formulation of research, in the communication of methods and ideals. His head was a veritable clearing house of ideas in the field of historical study, and no one ever seriously studied under him who did not get, in its most serviceable form, the modern ideals of work upon the sources; and not the ideals merely, but also a very definite principle of concrete application in daily study. The thesis work done upon him may fairly be said to have

set the pace for university work in history throughout the United States. That is the whole thing in a nutshell; and it makes a reputation which can never be justly obscured.³¹

Ōta studied also with the two other young instructors in the department, Richard Ely and J. Franklin Jameson. Ely had come to the Johns Hopkins in 1881 after receiving a Ph.D. from Heidelberg. His candid criticism of laissez-faire economics and big business practices soon brought him into direct confrontation with E.L. Godkin, editor of the influential Nation, who sharply attacked him. Ely also became embroiled with a colleague, the astronomer Simon Newcomb, whose conservative views on economics he opposed.³²

But in spite of his controversies, Ely was a promising scholar and an inspiring teacher who attracted many students. He had a talent, "akin to that of H.B. Adams, to stimulate them and set them to work."³³ He did this partly by his own example of labor, the 1880s being one of his most productive decades. Ōta took nine of his courses including Finance and Administration, History of Political Economy, Studies in Administration, and Advanced Political Economy; he also had his first acquaintance with socialism in Ely's class.³⁴

Twenty years later, Nitobe reminisced on his studies abroad and wrote of Ely's confidence in airing his own views and his independence of judgement in criticizing even the masters of political economy such as Herbert Spencer, Ferdinand Lasalle and J.S. Mill. From Ely, perhaps, Nitobe learnt to dare the criticism of his colleagues by stepping

outside the ivory towers of academia to write for magazines and newspapers read by the masses.³⁵

Ōta also took Jameson's Historical Criticism class for two years. Jameson had been hired as an instructor in 1881 after obtaining his Hopkins Ph.D., with a one-year contract that was renewed each year. He remained at the Johns Hopkins throughout the period Ōta was there, and left for a permanent job at Cornell in 1888, where he carved out a distinguished career.³⁶

In his first year, Ōta concentrated his research on agrarian problems. But in the winter of his second year, at a suggestion by Adams, he made a decisive switch and changed his thesis topic to U.S.-Japan relations.³⁷ This topic had considerable contemporary interest since many Americans were following the activities of the Japanese government closely, which was then introducing Western institutions like the cabinet system and constitutional law. Japan's strident attempts to revise the unequal treaties too was a subject frequently discussed in the newspapers.³⁸

Switching his dissertation topic at this juncture in his training is baffling, and thus far none of Nitobe's biographers have pointed to this crucial point. The common view is that his U.S.-Japan relations study was just a part of a broader, well-conceived plan in which Agricultural Economics was the primary aim.³⁹ But the evidence show otherwise; it indicates clearly that Ōta had, in fact, abandoned his earlier goal of "wanting to do agriculture" in favor of a Ph.D. degree

in history.

Ōta plunged into his new topic with great zeal, and his correspondence to Adams reflects much enthusiasm and motivation. Using the historical seminary's mode of discovering new knowledge by a reliance upon primary documents, he gathered his data from many sources: he hunted through old and new journals, newspapers and magazines; he even sent queries to people in Japan like Kimura Kyō, captain of the Kanrin Maru, who had played an active role in shaping the events between the United States and Japan during the first years of formal encounter.⁴⁰

He also wrote to a number of people in the United States whose careers had some connection with Japan. One such person was William Griffis whose book Mikado's Empire, published in 1876, had established him as the foremost American authority on Japan. Griffis was not of much help; rather it was Ōta who gave him valuable material that he used and acknowledged in his Life of Perry, which was published in 1888. But Griffis would not forget the debt; years later, he would play an instrumental role in getting Bushido published by the George Putnam's Sons.⁴¹

The established scholars in the United States were not of much help to Ōta either. They appeared more concerned to further their own careers than to aid a young novice get started. Charles Lanman of Harvard wrote Ōta in Germany for materials. Lanman had already published two books on Japan;

the first in 1872 with cooperation from Mori Arinori, entitled Japanese in America; the second, Leading Men in Japan, appeared in 1886 while Ōta studied at the Johns Hopkins. Busy with other matters, Ōta asked Miyabe, who was then at Harvard studying Botany with Isa Gray, to aid Lanman, saying "he does important work for our country."⁴²

In Baltimore, Ōta had many close ties with the Quaker group that met near the Johns Hopkins University campus, and formally joined them in December, 1885.⁴³ But his closest friends were in Pennsylvania; particularly in Philadelphia, where he frequently visited for extended stays. His connection with the Quaker State apparently came through Uchimura Kanzō, who had arrived in the United States two months after Ōta fleeing his disastrous marriage that had lasted only a few months.

Uchimura while working at a mental hospital in Elwyn was befriended by the Wistar Morrises of Overbrook, Philadelphia, who took a keen interest in him and other Japanese students living around the city. Ōta during summer vacation in 1885 visited Uchimura who took him to one of the monthly prayer meetings which the Morrises held for Japanese students. Ōta, probably because he was a Quaker himself, felt comfortable with his American hosts; moreover his outgoing personality and excellent command of English made socializing easy for him.⁴⁴

Although Ōta had a full social life, his financial predicament was grave. By 1886, the funds that Tokitoshi had

provided him were nearly depleted, and this made concentration on his studies extremely difficult. His eyes, again, began to give him trouble. He visited a specialist for treatment and was charged an enormous medical bill that taxed his dwindling resources.⁴⁵

The pressures to live on little money combined with overwork took their toll, and he fell ill. To recuperate, he headed north to Pennsylvania and spent the whole summer there. Wandering from place to place, Ōta spent a few weeks at the home of friends in Ingleside, a suburb in Philadelphia; then another few weeks in Overbrook; and June and July in Penn Valley with a group of Japanese students. Fortunately, Adams had given him summer work to index papers for the American Historical Association. Furthermore, to supplement his income for the Fall term, he was promised part-time work clipping and filing newspapers at the seminary.⁴⁶

Ōta returned to the Johns Hopkins in October 1886 to begin his last year of Graduate Work. In spite of poor health and little money, he worked diligently on his thesis and had finished some three chapters by March 1887, when welcome news arrived from the nōgakkō: he had been appointed Assistant Professor of Agricultural Economics in absentia.⁴⁷

Training in Germany: the Launching of a Career

"Kabo," he wrote to Miyabe upon receiving his appointment, "rejoice with me!" It was a God-given blessing

beyond his most optimistic dreams; at one stroke, it resolved at least five of his major worries: firstly, and most important, it meant success to his family; secondly, it ironically put him back upon his original academic course of studying Agricultural Economics; thirdly, it provided for funds to be sent to him immediately to continue his studies uninterrupted; fourthly, it assured him of a select place among the faculty of his alma mater; and fifthly, it would allow for his return to his beloved Sapporo. An earlier letter of his provides a clue to his deep emotional attachment to the town:

when I attend the seminary ...and the lectures affect me strongly, I whisper to my own ears, 'Can't I make such an institution in Sapporo?' The other day, Dr. Adams lectured on Dr. Thomas Arnold (for we are studying Roman Institutions at present and Dr. Arnold is a authority) a strong feeling came over me, 'Ah, can't I be a doctor [sic] Arnold of Sapporo?' You see that my thoughts are invariably associated with Sapporo. It is, indeed, my earnest desire and sincere prayer that I may one day be able to do something⁴⁸ for my God & for my country in Sapporo.

Satō Shōsuke, who roomed with Ōta for two years in Baltimore, laughed at the sentimentality and called them "Utopian ideas." But Satō remembered his young cohort's wishes, and was instrumental to get Ōta the prized appointment. After Satō finished his dissertation at the Johns Hopkins in 1886, which was immediately published in the monograph series as The Land Question in the United States, he returned to Sapporo to resume his academic duties. In March 1887, he was made acting Director after the departure

of William Brooks, who had served the nōgakkō for ten years. Satō's first act in his new capacity was to persuade the Hokkaido chō to increase the teaching staff and recommended Ōta and Hiroi for the newly approved positions.⁴⁹

Satō exaggerated Ōta's qualifications as a student of agriculture. "Ōta," he wrote in the report formally proposing his friend for the position, "had been studying Agricultural Economics in the United States." The appointment was made, and Ōta was ordered to leave the Johns Hopkins immediately and proceed to Germany for training.⁵⁰

Agricultural economics was already a specialized subject there in the 1880s, whereas in the United States it would not be so until after the turn of the century. Takaoka Kumao, who later succeeded Nitobe as professor at Sapporo, and who became the third president at Hokkaido University, expressed dismay when he visited the exhibitions at the St. Louis Agricultural Fair in 1904 and saw the "primitive state of the field" in America. In this subject, as in most other fields of research, German universities were far more advanced. From America, thousands of students between 1850 and 1880 had studied the latest scholarship there; many of faculty at Johns Hopkins, including Gilman himself, had been trained in Germany; Ōta's own Professors, Adams and Ely, had Prussian Ph.D's.⁵¹

Ōta's study in Germany was directed with a clear sense of purpose. Though instructed to study Agricultural

Economics, he had the freedom to choose his university and to develop his own course plans. The only condition imposed was that he return to Hokkaido, after three years, to commence teaching and resume other duties. Since the German system allowed for easy movement between universities, Ōta decided that he would study at different schools with the best professors. He chose Bonn University first; Professor Rein, who was working on a project on Japan there, had urged him to come. Leaving New York on May 15, 1887, he arrived in Bonn on June 24th. Along the way, he visited Ireland, England, Scotland, and Holland and wrote to Miyabe that "the journey has been very instructive, & I shall utilize the lessons there--on my return to Sapporo."⁵²

He spent two semesters in Bonn and took a full load of lecture courses and the Political Economy Seminar with Professor Max Sering. And he visited Rein "regularly on[c]e a week, in order to help him and be helped by." Ōta also got a chance to see the actual workings of Prussian industrialization as his class took frequent field trips to nearby factories.⁵³

Despite his difficulty with German, Ōta presented a seminar paper on agricultural conditions in Japan, which Sering thought good enough for publication. On the professor's advice, he sent the manuscript to a journal, Export, which printed it. Ōta, filled with pride at his first academic publication, sent two copies to Adams saying "I can't write German well, but I am glad to say it

has been well received." In the Kigan no ashi he recounted the thrill he received when a postman stopped by to present him with a check for the article from the publishing company. After fourteen months in Bonn, until mid-August 1888, he transferred to the prestigious Berlin University.⁵⁴

At Berlin University, Ōta attended lectures on Finance and Socialism by Adolph Wagner, Agrarian History by Gustov Schmoller. He also took the Statistics Seminar with Professor Meitzen. He worked part-time in addition at the Prussian Bureau of Statistics. Although his relationship with his German professors at Bonn and Berlin was not as close as that with Adams, he wrote that "Schmoller and Meitzen are very kind to me." In the latter's seminar, Ōta worked very hard, and "read four times." Ōta took Schmoller's course in Agrarian History and enjoyed the lectures immensely; after his return to Sapporo, he would lecture on the same subject, and publish his first books in Japanese on themes Schmoller had discussed.⁵⁵

Schmoller, when Ōta sat in his lectures, had already established a reputation as one of the best German economists of his day. He was the leader of a School of Historical Economics which contrasted sharply to the English Classical School whose "timeless abstractions and rules" he vehemently objected to. Schmoller emphasized that the economic life of a nation could be understood only in the context of its institutions, social patterns, and cultural attitudes.

Along with Wagner and Lujo Bretano, two other giants in German economic scholarship, he helped to form, in the 1880s, the Social Policy Association where academics sought to provide input for governmental policies.⁵⁶

The social problems that these German scholars were wrestling with may have seemed wholly theoretical and academic to Ōta and a fellow compatriot, Kanai Noburu, who was also studying Economics with these same professors. But after their return to Japan, both of them would face strikingly similar questions. In the first decade of the twentieth century, when rapid industrialization threatened to rip apart Japan's social fabric, Kanai, as an academic at Tōdai, would play a major role in introducing Social Planning Policy into Japan. And as Colonial Policy Professor, Nitobe would later propose measures for dealing with colonization on the East Asian Continent.⁵⁷

Ōta did not like Berlin. The climate did not agree with him; but more important, he felt that the "moral level" of the city was too low. "[T]his sodom of Germany" where "Harlots without number stalk about in the streets" outraged him; he was indignant too of the "50 or more" Japanese students who apparently patroned these women of the night. They were, he felt, giving Japan a bad name; "I have never heard anything complimentary of them," he complained to Miyabe.

While Ōta made preparations to leave for Halle University, he received jolting news from home. His eldest brother, Shichirō, who was the heir to the Nitobe family, died

suddenly leaving no successor. Ōta's other brother, Michirō, with whom he had studied in Tokyo as a child, had died five years earlier while Ōta was a student at Tōdai. Arrangements were made for him to return to the Nitobe family as its heir in April 1889. From here on, he would be known to all as Nitobe Inazō.⁵⁸

The Halle University that Nitobe entered, unlike Berlin's tradition of abstruse scholarship, had a reputation for its pragmatic orientation. To "advance the worldly practical purposes of men and the benefits of society," as one Halle leader had put it, was its mission. Many Prussian officials had passed through its gate. Its agricultural faculty, moreover, was considered one of the best in the country. Nitobe studied with Professors Conrad and Kuhn. But after spending a short time there, he realized that Bonn offered him a better opportunity to obtain the Ph.D., so he left Halle for Bonn and arrived in October in time for the Winter Semester of 1889-1890.⁵⁹

But for some reason, Nitobe did not get his Ph.D. from Bonn; why this is so remains a blank page in his studies in Germany. His deadline to return to Japan was fast approaching, and he had only five more months of study left. The Ph.D. exams at Berlin, he had judged, were far too difficult, so he considered other universities. The University at Jena, whose professor had taken an interest in Nitobe's dissertation, was a possibility; but Jena's

doctorate, he said, "has no enviable reputation."⁶⁰

Determined at all cost to get his Ph.D. before going home, Nitobe returned to Halle for his examinations. After presenting his dissertation Über den Japanischen Grundbesitz, dessen Verteilung und landwirtschaftliche Verwertung: Eine historische und statische Studie (Land ownership in Japan; its distribution and agricultural use: a historical and statistical study). Nitobe took the oral examination. It was, he says, a "simple affair, tho ... I did not do as well as I had expected." For his major subject, he was tested in national economy in the following fields: (a) theorie (b) wirtschaftspolitik, (c) finanzwissenschaft, and (d) statistik; and in the two minors, he qualified in philosophie and politik. In the former, he chose "general history of philosophy and logic" and "Spencer, Hume and Socrates;" and for the latter, he was quizzed in "States rights." He passed in all areas and wrote Adams of his achievements.⁶¹

Nitobe desired recognition for his work at the Johns Hopkins to compliment his German A.M. and Ph.D. degrees. Hearing that Motora and Watase Shō, who had enrolled in the Johns Hopkins in 1886, had both graduated with distinction, Nitobe lamented that "only I did not get honors...." He wrote Adams to ask for a degree:

My reasons for wishing it is [sic] this--I have been for 3 years in J.H.U and am perhaps the only Japanese, who had won no honor. I worked, as you know, under many disadvantages,

and could not do as much as others. Yet in my conscience I can say I have done my best--that is to say, as much as my means and health allowed. Still, without a visible mark, I must seem as tho' I had done nothing during my 3 years stay in the U.S. I don't like to seem so, [sic] especially to my own relatives, who have enabled me to study in America. Far be it from me, however, to beg for a degree or honor. If there is [the] least objection to my acquiring A.B. honorius (or whatever it be) I will not ask for your kind offices to have it conferred upon me.⁶²

Giving Nitobe a degree had been on Adams's mind as early as 1887. In a memorandum to Gilman, he expressed "hope [that Nitobe] be 'doctored' by merit and grace if not by the new rules." Upon receiving Nitobe's letter, Adams went directly to the academic board and then to Gilman--who was not one who gave honorary degrees freely--to put forward Nitobe's request.⁶³

Nitobe in the meanwhile had some unfinished business. He wrote the Hokkaido chō for an extension of "three to five months" to "do research on colonial policy in East Prussia and Canada." He got his extension, and spent a few weeks in East Germany gathering data on Junker colonization; then he returned to the United States on July 16, 1890 after an absence of nearly thirty-eight months.⁶⁴

He wrote Adams to thank him for his help in getting his A.B. degree (Honorary), which was granted in June and sent to a Philadelphia friend's address. In mid-August, Nitobe received an letter from Adams expressing interest to publish his Johns Hopkins thesis. Interest in Japan had

grown in America after the recent promulgation of the Japanese Constitution, and this was a favorable indication that income from the book's sales might pay for its own publishing costs. Adams told Nitobe to prepare the manuscript for the press.⁶⁵

Nitobe revised the manuscript in the autumn and send it to Adams who included it as an extra volume in The Johns Hopkins Studies in Historical and Political Sciences. To cover printing costs, Adams loaned Nitobe \$440. The book appeared in 1891 under the title: The Intercourse Between the United States and Japan: a Historical Sketch. In the preface, Nitobe thanked "my friend, Mary P. Elkinton, of Philadelphia," who gave "valuable assistance" in the proof-reading of the book.⁶⁶

Mary P. Elkinton: Romance and Marriage

Mary Patterson Elkinton was the eldest child and only daughter of Joseph Scottus Elkinton, a well-established Quaker businessman who owned, in partnership with a brother, a prosperous soap and candle manufacturing firm in Philadelphia. She was born in 1857 and grew up in comfortable surroundings; her upbringing, typical for middle-class female children of her generation, included a good education with Latin and French at the Friends Select School in the city. She acquired there something of a taste for literature. But throughout, emphasis was placed upon the manners and etiquette of a proper well-bred nineteenth century lady.⁶⁷

Inazō met Mary just prior to his departure for Germany. He had spoken about Japan to the Philadelphia Quaker Women's Foreign Missionary Association at the Wistar Morrises home. Mary was in the audience. In her own way, she was an attractive woman, with large eyes and dark hair worn in braids and twirled into a bun over her head. Her face, round and full, reflected a calm inner disposition, but also suggested firm self-determination. Inazō met her briefly during the serving of tea and cookies after his talk, and they chatted about Japan, in which she showed great interest. They parted after this initial meeting, and he shortly thereafter boarded his ship.⁶⁸

In spite of this one brief encounter, and now separated by great physical distance, Inazō wanted to start some kind of relationship with her. But uncertain of the proprieties involved, he wrote to Mrs. Morris asking for her permission to correspond with Mary. Mrs. Morris, greatly surprised at his straight-laced formality, advised him to write directly to Mary herself. Nitobe did, and their correspondence commenced.⁶⁹

From Germany, he told her of his studies, his travels, and his aspirations; she, for her part, kept him posted on subjects pertaining to current Japanese-American relations. And when Inazō's friend, Iwamoto Zenji, who published the Jogaku zasshi (Women's Journal), asked him for an article on American women, Mary wrote the piece for him.⁷⁰ Over the next

three years, a love-affair bloomed, which was forged and sustained entirely by letters sent across the Atlantic Ocean. Shortly before his studies were completed, Inazō had resolved that he would make Mary his bride.⁷¹

He wrote to Tokitoshi about her and to get his approval for the marriage. After a long period of silence, Tokitoshi replied with a fifty-page letter vehemently opposing; he had gone out and investigated as many of the international marriages among Japanese living in Tokyo that he could find, and had obtained detailed data supporting his argument that such marriages, with rare exceptions, were ultimately doomed to failure. Inazō was downhearted, and decided to consult with his two Japanese friends in Germany, Hiroi Isamu and Saeki Riichirō. He told Saeki that "if you and Hiroi oppose the marriage, I will give it up" After a week of careful deliberation, Saeki told Inazō that he was in favor; Hiroi, likewise, gave a similar answer, and Inazō proceeded with the marriage plans.⁷²

But among Mary's family and relatives, the protests were even stronger. Joseph Scottus, liberal though he was in outlook, would not listen. At Mary's insistence, however, her brother, William, was dispatched to Germany to interview the prospective groom. And Mary's sister-in-law, Sarah, sent Inazō a long letter of encouragement giving him her support. But Mary's father would not change his mind. When Inazō returned to Philadelphia in July 1890, he was not permitted to enter the Elkinton home. After months of fruitless effort to

persuade Joseph Scottus, Inazō and Mary took matters into their own hands and submitted on October 30th to the Friends Group Meeting in Philadelphia their intention to marry.⁷³

The Meeting hesitated to give its approval without a reconciliation within the family. They counseled delay. On Thanksgiving Day, the Meeting again deliberated on the marriage request.⁷⁴ The Philadelphia Inquirer reported on the deliberations which, by this time, had attracted much unwanted publicity:

After considerable discussion, Mr. Elkinton, father of the prospective bride, arose in the meeting and emphatically declared his opposition to the marriage taking place. He declared that he had no objection whatever to Mr. Nitobe as a man, and considered him to be a gentleman of intelligence and culture. But he did object to his daughter being carried away to Japan, where she would be virtually cut-off from her family and friends and surroundings with which she has been familiar all her life.

As a result of Mr. Elkinton's arguments, the affianced lovers did not "pass meeting." ... This left the couple in a predicament, Mr. Nitobe having arranged to return to his native country...⁷⁵

They persisted. Finally, on Christmas 1890, the Meeting Group gave their approval. The wedding was held on New Years Day at the Friends Meeting House on Forth and Arch Street in downtown Philadelphia. Mary's parents did not attend, and she was given away by an uncle and aunt. Professor J. Rendell Harris from Haverford College, a Quaker whom Inazō had met while at the Johns Hopkins, and his wife, represented his parents. On the morning of the 12th, Inazō and Mary visited

her father and mother, who had still not given their blessings, to say goodbye. Joseph Scottus' diary for that day reads in part:

This day our daughter left us for Japan. On parting, the only expression to which I could give utterance, was "Thou art my daughter, and I love thee ..."⁷⁶

The couple crossed the country by railway and took a steamship from San Francisco on January 17th for the long journey across the Pacific to Japan. After arrival in Yokohama, they spent three weeks in Tokyo visiting with family members and friends. Then in mid-February, they left for their new home in Hokkaido.⁷⁷

Inazō's graduate studies abroad had come to a dramatic conclusion. He had been away for six years and four months; in this period had accomplished a remarkable amount. He had received the training he sought; he had won his academic honors; he had acquired the speech and mannerisms of a sophisticated gentleman; and he had married into a respected Philadelphia family. The foundations of his internationalism were solidly established.

But these accomplishments, he saw, were only preliminaries. His real work still lay ahead of him; he had to achieve the many high ideals that he harbored in his mind. He also probably acutely sensed his grave responsibility to bring an American wife from metropolitan Philadelphia, then the second largest city in America, to a little town on

Japan's northern frontier. He had a deep obligation to insure her happiness here.⁷⁸

The Philadelphia newspapers had characterized Nitobe "as a nobleman of high birth." Many eyes in America would now follow his labors; he must not disappoint their high expectations of him.⁷⁹

All work, even cotton-spinning,
is noble; work is alone
noble....A life of ease is not
for any man, nor for any God.

Thomas Carlyle, Past and Present

CHAPTER III

Building Edinburgh: Sapporo, 1891-1897

Nitobe began work on March 1, 1891 soon after his return to Sapporo. Everywhere he looked, he saw things that needed to be done. Mary wrote to her family of his zeal:

Busy he will always be; but to this what can one do but resign one's self and try to help keep up the vitality of one who seemingly must be a victim to his own energy and aspirations....¹

His diverse activities spanned the spectrum of human affairs involving religion, education, economics, and social welfare. One can identify three major themes which underlie and characterize Nitobe's labors at this stage in his life:

(1) His hope to implant within the community at large a spiritual idea based upon Christianity; with this end in mind, he expended much time and money to make available Quaker reading materials for Hokkaido's colonists.

(2) His conviction that moral education was indispensable for youth; wholeheartedly committed to this goal, he spent many hours teaching ethics classes in school, and engaged in the creation of two private schools that stressed character

development.

(3) His desire to fulfill, to the best of his abilities, the various duties and responsibilities placed upon him as an instructor at the nōgakkō and as advisor to the Hokkaido chō.

These themes are unified by a central vision in Nitobe's mind: that his work was contributing to the formation of a higher material and spiritual culture on the island.²

But in the process of "building Edinburgh," Nitobe ruined his health. Though he worked with enormous energy, like a man possessed, and accomplished much, he apparently did not derive inward satisfaction from his labors. He took on more and more work until, finally, he drove himself to physical and mental collapse.

Religious Colonizer

Settling Hokkaido became a high priority item in the Meiji government's agenda after the Restoration. It opened up new arable lands on the Ishikari plain, north of Sapporo, and made them available to colonists. Thousands of them, land-hungry people from the mainland, flocked there to seek a new life. The island's population zoomed upwards, and increased over fourfold from 191,000 to 786,000 in the twenty years between 1877 and 1897.³

Hokkaido's government underwent significant changes too. After the dissolution of the kaitakushi, the island was divided into three administrative districts and controlled

from Tokyo by the nōrinshō. But with the formation of the Hokkaido chō in 1886, the functions of the local governments were integrated under this single entity with headquarters in Sapporo.⁴

While studying abroad, Nitobe kept track of these developments through regular correspondence with friends. "Sapporo," he wrote, "will be a great city someday."⁵ He expressed his longing to return:

the further I come from Sapporo, the greater grows my attachment for it. How I wish to go there and do something to improve it.⁶

Such feelings were not unique to Nitobe alone; his friends, Miyabe, Uchimura and Hiroi, each held similar sentiments. While studying at the nōgakkō, they had idealized Sapporo and identified it with Edinburgh, home of their intellectual heroes: David Hume, John S. Mill, and Thomas Carlyle. The town's northern position, with its lush evergreen forests, high mountain ranges, and crystal-clear lakes, had brought a romantic image of the Scottish city to their adolescent minds.⁷ Scotland's location to the north of London paralleled, Nitobe imagined, Hokkaido vis-a-vis Tokyo. These youthful ideas remained with him; in 1887, after a visit to the venerated city on his way to Germany, he wrote to Miyabe:

[W]hen I was in Edinburgh, most aptly called 'the Athens of the North,' my heart beat high for the future of Sapporo. Can't we do something with it for Him? My idea is that we (disciples)

shall buy the Agr'l College some time in the long future and consecrate it to His service.⁸

Sapporo's growth depended on Hokkaido's economy, which looked promising. The land abounded in natural resources. Hard work and vision, Nitobe felt, were the two key ingredients needed to realize its potential. In July 1877, before entering the nōgakkō, he had signed, as did all of his classmates, a contract that bound him to work after graduation for five years in Hokkaido. Though the contract was rescinded in 1883, Nitobe continued to feel a moral commitment to serve the island.⁹

But he viewed Hokkaido's future not only from a standpoint of its material advancement. A firm spiritual foundation, he believed, had to undergird its economic development. This idea had come to him after he had read an article "Early Quakers in America," which appeared in the November 1882 issue of Harpers Monthly.¹⁰ It depicted the Quakers as men of strong character who, through the power of their faith, overcame numerous obstacles and hardships to achieve success in their settlement of the new continent.

During his studies at the Johns Hopkins University, Nitobe had purchased many books on Quaker history and thought which he brought back to Sapporo. William Penn's colonization exploits particularly impressed him; he saw a historical lesson for Hokkaido's colonists in the "Holy Experiment" that had become Pennsylvania.¹¹ In his imagination, Nitobe visualized the bringing of order to an untamed wilderness in

a similar fashion that the English Quaker had brought civilization to the lands west of the Delaware river; it was the same phenomenon, at a later date and in a different part of the globe, of the march of Progress.¹²

In the summer of 1891, Nitobe loaned the editor of the Hokumon shimpō (North Gate Daily) some of his books on William Penn. The editor used them to write a series of articles for the newspaper. These were renditions in Japanese of the life and work of Penn with particular emphasis on the settling of Pennsylvania. Nitobe collected these articles into pamphlets "for the colonists." Two years later, he compiled and arranged these pamphlets in a two-volume work and added two of his own chapters to round out the form. In December 1894 he had these volumes published privately under the title Uiriamu pen den (Biography of William Penn), his first book in Japanese.¹³

While the Penn articles were appearing in the Hokumon shimpō, Nitobe was busy translating, in his spare hours, selections from Thomas Cope's work on George Fox and William Penn. The book had been printed in Philadelphia in 1882, on the Two Hundredth Anniversary of Pennsylvania's founding, and Nitobe arranged with the author to undertake the Japanese translation prior to leaving the United States. He wrote to the Philadelphia Tract Society for Missionary Work for funds to help in this project. The work was completed in 1894.¹⁴

While working on the above, an unexpected occurrence led

Nitobe to author a third volume on William Penn. In the summer of 1893, a friend from Philadelphia, Doctor Charles Hartshorne, and his daughter, Anna, arrived in Sapporo. Hartshorne gave Nitobe a manuscript copy of Lucy Roberts' A Short Biography of William Penn, hoping that he would translate this too into Japanese. But Nitobe was too busy, so he let Sasai Shū, a young woman who was teaching at the Friends Girls school, carry out the task.¹⁵

But Sasai's work, which Nitobe had been asked to revise, disappointed him by its "stiffness." It also needed, he realized, to be supplemented by additional background information that was not needed in the original meant for an American audience. He decided to redo the entire book.¹⁶ To save time, Nitobe resorted to a technique that he had successfully used earlier for magazine articles, and which he would continue to employ from time to time thereafter. He hired a "young man with a fluent style" to whom he dictated the work; when the man returned the following week with a written draft, Nitobe made his revisions. Within a few months, the translation was completed; he published the book, Kenkoku bidan (Tales of a Beautiful Country), in Tokyo and added Sasai's name as a co-author.¹⁷

Nitobe did not expect his William Penn volumes to bring him profit or literary fame. He knew, for example, that Kenkoku bidan would sell poorly, but he willingly accepted the financial burdens to publish and distribute the book; he sold it at half the publishing cost, and gave many copies away to

hotels in and around Sapporo with hopes that some colonist or visitor would read it. If he could instill in some unknown reader the religious and ethical teachings that were exemplified in the life of William Penn, that would be reward enough for him.¹⁸

Nitobe's altruism to serve the Hokkaido community as a spiritual leader was greatly reinforced by his marriage to Mary. Her close ties to her family exerted a constant influence on his activities. The Elkintons were active in missionary and social work for minority groups.¹⁹ Mary's grandfather, as a young man, had spent sixteen years as a Friends schoolteacher among the Seneca Indians in western New York. Her father, Joseph Scottus, continued the work for social justice and became a leader to help the Doukhobors immigrate to Canada. Joseph, Mary's brother, also worked hard to see that the Russian pacifist group settle safely in Western Alberta and British Columbia.²⁰

While in Philadelphia, Nitobe had struck up a friendship with Joseph.²¹ From Hokkaido, Nitobe wrote Joseph detailed letters about his work and often asked for help with his projects. These letters to Joseph, added to hundreds of others that Mary wrote to her family, relatives and friends, formed a strong spiritual and intellectual link to America; this connection would prove invaluable for Nitobe's educational work.

The Moralist Educator

Nitobe joined the nōgakkō faculty which numbered nine professors. Among the recent appointees were his old classmates Miyabe Kingo and Hiroi Isamu. Both had received their doctorates in 1889; Miyabe from Harvard and Hiroi from Stuttgart. Nitobe's mentor, Satō, served as professor and acting Director. Also on the staff were two foreigners, Arthur Brigham and Milton Haight; they were the last of the yatoi, who were being slowly replaced by Japanese trained abroad.²²

In his first year, Nitobe taught fifteen hours a week; three in Political Economy, four in Agralpolitik, six in German, one in English composition, and one in ethics.²³ His courses were mainly in the honka (regular college), though he had a few hours in the yoka (preparatory department). Nitobe found that he enjoyed teaching in the latter more than he did in the former. Among these "youth ranging in age from 14 up to 22 or 23," he could exert influence in areas of moral development, and found this to be more of a challenge than lecturing in his own academic specialty.²⁴ He requested for more teaching hours in the yoka, and by 1894 had four history classes there. He was put in charge of the weekly ethics lecture as well.²⁵

Nitobe gave the ethics course his highest priority, and carried it out with remarkable earnestness: "Each time I enter the hall before [lecturing] I kneel in my mind before his

throne to bless my words and person and spirit," he wrote to his brother-in-law. Mary, too, noticed his religious devotion and told her family that, before ethics classes, Nitobe "went to the library for moments of quiet solitude and meditation."²⁶ His conception of what ethical instruction should be is revealed in one of his letters:

[To] renew in some measure the old relations between a teacher and his pupils ... a relation of mutual respect and reflections ...whereby a teacher is regarded as a formative²⁷ influence and not a mere information reservoir.

His stress on character development was reflected in his history courses as well. Instead of lecturing to students, Nitobe conducted class discussions, which he described as "talks." The text was Guizot's History of Civilization, which he found "rich in suggestions" for topics to explore. On the chapter on Feudal System, for example, the allusion to women in medieval society raised questions that led to "the subject of the progress of female status in general."²⁸ He did not emphasize quantity in reading, nor was he interested that the students learn historical facts or theories; Nitobe was primarily concerned with history's ethical lessons:

It is my desire especially with younger boys (16-20 years old) to see in their historical readings, nobility of character, greatness of individuals: for they won't understand the "laws of social progress" the evolution of society and the like--if indeed anybody²⁹ even Buckle and Spencer really understood it!

Nitobe also used English literature as a means to implant

moral ideas into his students, since "our people have lost faith in Buddhism and in Confucianism":

I found from my own experience and observation as well as from the opinions of others, that the best method of working on the heart of the young is at present thro' [sic] the avenue of English literature.³⁰

Soon after arrival in Sapporo, he helped form the Eigaku kyōkai (English Association). Twelve classes were started, mainly of students from the yoka, and divided according to interest and ability. Nitobe took charge of two of these classes, the "Longfellow Group," which read the works of the popular nineteenth-century American author, and the "mastery group," which focused their attention on English conversation. Later that summer, he took charge of two other classes: (1) Nineteenth Century Writers, (Carlyle, Charles Lamb) and (2) Milton's Paradise Lost. "Both [these classes]," he writes, "will be capital opportunities to enforce religious and moral truths."³¹

But ethical instruction was not only a matter of classroom lessons or moral exhortations. Nitobe saw opportunities for such lessons in every aspect of life, especially in everyday school activities. To build a closer relationship with students, he volunteered for librarian duties; and he regularly went out to the field to play baseball with them; and in winter time, he brought out his ice skates, which he had brought back from Germany.³²

Nitobe's enthusiasm won him the respect of his students, and he soon became one of the most popular teachers on campus. In March 1892, Nitobe's yoka students, fired up by his ethics lecture, consulted him on starting a campus-wide organization to promote the cultural activities. Two yoka groups joined to form the Gakugeikai (Academic Association).³³

The association's membership totaled over 160, consisting mostly of yoka students. They began the Keirin zasshi (Beautiful Forest Magazine) to which Nitobe contributed regular articles. The magazine, published three or four times a year, became a forum for students to express their ideas on different topics. It also played, says Akizuki Toshiyuki, a significant role in the development of student identity and a "school spirit" at the nōgakkō.³⁴

But his deep involvement with the nōgakkō students did not hinder Nitobe's activities outside the school; he participated actively in the education of the wider Sapporo community. In the early 1890s, the town suffered from a lack of secondary schools. Though it had a four-year elementary school system, it had no middle schools. This state of affairs worried many of the citizens since the number of children of post-elementary age was growing at an rapid rate. It was a pressing imperative that these youth be given local educational opportunities. In the summer of 1891, Hori Motoi, an influential community leader, called a meeting of local educators to discuss a scheme that he had in mind. Nitobe was among them.³⁵

Hori Motoi was born in Chōshū in 1844 and had participated in the Meiji Restoration; when the kaitakushi was established in 1869, he was assigned to it. He later retired from government service and settled down in Hokkaido. As President of a coal-mining railway company, Hori numbered among Hokkaido's wealthiest men. Nitobe had said of him that "had he remained in office, he could have been in the Cabinet."³⁶

Hori planned the building of an academy for boys between the ages of sixteen and twenty four, which would serve Sapporo as a middle school. He would provide the financial resources, he said, if the others assumed the administrative tasks. After several meetings, between June and August, plans were finalized to open the school in September. Nitobe was selected principal of this newly established Hokumei gakkō (Northern Call School).³⁷

Nitobe taught three classes there, which included an ethics course much like the one at the nōgakkō. At these lectures, he presented the students with concrete methods of moral improvement that he himself had adopted years earlier. He suggested that they "keep a diary as a means of self-examination." Another method that he advised was "the practice of cold bathing" to help develop endurance and will power.³⁸

Nitobe arranged his daily schedule so that he could manage the administration, conduct classroom teaching, and allow time to meet with students. He reserved one night a week

for students from the school to visit him; during this time, they could discuss with him any problems that they might have. Later, in his tenure as the Headmaster of the First Higher School, Nitobe would utilize many of these same personal counseling techniques.³⁹

The Hokumei gakkō operated for forty-two months until March 1895, when it closed its doors; a new government-sponsored school had been built nearby, and the Hokumei students transferred there. During its existence, some 110 students passed through the Hokumei's gates. Many proceeded on to the nōgakkō, while others became settlers in Hokkaido. Nitobe served as the school's Principal and he left a strong influence on the lives of the youth who had come into contact with him there.⁴⁰

Just prior to the closing of the Hokumei gakkō, Nitobe began his own school in the evenings. He had long felt an urgent need for an institution that would give study opportunities outside of regular school channels, particularly for youth who had to work during the daytime. Though schools such as this are common today in Japan, it was at that time a revolutionary innovation.⁴¹

Nitobe had first mentioned the idea of wanting to start a school for the disadvantaged in a letter to Miyabe in 1885. Two years later he repeated the idea, but with greater conviction. After his return to Sapporo, he urged the YMCA to start a night school but they did nothing, to his chagrin; he gave up hope and called the YMCA a "sleepy affair." But in

1893, a strange event provided Nitobe with the funds to realize his dream.⁴²

Mary received an inheritance of one thousand dollars from a Philadelphia friend. This woman, as a young orphan, had been taken into the Elkinton home by Mary's father and raised with love and warmth. She never forgot this kindness. When she died, she willed money to Mary, the Elkintons' eldest child. Mary, for her part, decided to let her husband use the gift to start the school that he had for so long thought about.⁴³

Nitobe purchased a lot some thirty-six by sixty-five yards in the poorest section of Sapporo. It had an old wooden two-story building on it. This he used for his little school.⁴⁴ Though the Nitobes referred to it affectionately as the "ragged school" to their foreign friends, its formal name was the Enyū yagakkō. The Chinese characters in the name "Enyū" meant "far off friends" and commemorated the Philadelphians--people such as Joseph Elkinton, David Scull, Doctor Hartshorne--who had provided the resources to make the school possible. A huge portrait of Abraham Lincoln, which adorned the wall of the main room, was sent by Mary's aunt, Sarah Smith. Students from the nōgakkō, volunteered an hour or two a week to serve as teachers.⁴⁵

Nitobe's busy schedule did not allow him to work full-time on his new endeavor. Friends in the community helped him administer the school. One young Christian, a Mr. Sugamura who worked as a minor government official, and his wife,

contributed many hours. A local nurse, Hoshi Honami, helped to publicize the school and gather students' on her rounds among the recent colonists.⁴⁶ Nitobe found the venture deeply satisfying:

It is a blessed work ... and every time I go there I come back with a heart aglow⁴⁷ with human sympathy and a sense of divine love.

In the first few months, a shortage of teachers limited the classes to a few nights each week. But by 1897 when more volunteers were found to teach, the school began to offer classes that met regularly every evening for two hours. Its curriculum consisted of a "regular course" and a "practical course." In the former, academic subjects such as math and English were taught; in the latter, students learned practical skills such as nursing, etiquette and sewing. It also established a Sunday school, with its lectures on spiritual living, as a part of the curriculum.⁴⁸ The school was co-educational, though girls from poor families predominated in the early years. A happy Nitobe was able to report to his brother-in-law in January 1896 that:

[The school] continues to prosper ... [t]he attendance is so large--near seventy--that the three little rooms we have barely give ⁴⁹ space to walk among them when they are seated.

When Nitobe left Sapporo in October 1897, the Enyū yagakō was firmly established and graduated its first class two years later. Though it never attained formal recognition

as an accredited educational institution, it continued for forty-five years to cater to the needs of a segment of Sapporo's youth. In this way, it served an important community function and had a lasting impact. Nitobe remained as Honorary Principal of the school for the rest of his life; Mary was designated second Principal upon his death in 1933; after her passing, in 1938, Hanzawa Makoto, who had been associated with the school for many decades, became the third Principal. The school closed in 1940.⁵⁰

Scholar and Official

The nōgakkō was passing through difficult times during Nitobe's first years as instructor in the early 1890s. Its budget was reduced and talk of abolishing the school entirely were heard in some quarters. After the demise of the kaitakushi, with whose name the school was associated, not a few people thought that its days of usefulness were over.⁵¹

The opening of the newly-created Diet in 1890 had made things worse. The government purse's strings were now controlled by elected men from the mainland who held a dim view of the whole Hokkaido colonization venture. How could they justify public funds to continue a college that was at best of dubious value to most Japanese? A majority of Japanese still held the image of Hokkaido as a wasteland--a land of primitive people, snow, and bears--without much use to the country.⁵²

The prevailing mood within the country, moreover,

contributed to the nōgakkō's unpopularity. After the promulgation of the Meiji Constitution in 1889 and the issuance of the Imperial Rescript on Education the following year, Japanese turned away from imported western ideas and institutions to seek their own unique values and self-identity. This nationalism ran against the legacy of the college. Americans had played a crucial part in founding and developing the town and college, and American influences appeared in all aspects of the school's curriculum. The Christianity that had been fostered there was now seen in a negative light.⁵³

Within this climate, there was steady political pressure exerted to replace the original broadly based academic curriculum with a program that emphasized specialized training of immediate applicability. Since the late 1880s, this work-orientated type of curriculum had been slowly introduced. After Nitobe arrived, this trend was pushed even further, and ended in a complete curriculum reform in 1895.⁵⁴

Nitobe served as chairman of this committee. Though he strongly believed in the academic course to train generalists, which he himself had received during the first years of the college, he could not counter the advocates for a technically-oriented curriculum. He did not speaking against the need to specialize, but in a report on the nōgakkō for the Chicago World Exposition that he had been asked to write, he lamented the "interference of politics in education."⁵⁵

In retrospect, one can see the intrusion of the national government in the school's affair as a phase in the centralization process under the Monbushō (Ministry of Education). It had gradually tightened its control over the nation's schools. Throughout Inoue Kowashi's tenure as Education Minister between 1894 and 1895, many ordinances pertaining to technical education appeared. As part of them, the nōgakkō was placed under the complete jurisdiction of the Monbushō.⁵⁶

Though Nitobe's primary interests were his activities relating to moral development of pre-college age youth, he did not neglect his own academic specialty; he prepared diligently for his classes in Agralpolitik, Agricultural Economics, and the History of Agriculture in Different Countries. Writing these lectures, he says, was not an easy task for he found that though history books described political affairs in great depth, they were "silent on such peaceful arts" [as agriculture]. He worked hard and completed a full set of lecture notes. They formed the backbone of two books that he would published a few years later.⁵⁷

In common with the other courses, Nitobe's Agricultural Economics was allotted afternoon hours to jisshū (practical training) after the curriculum reforms of 1895. In place of jisshū, Nitobe introduced the seminar, the first in Japanese universities, where interested students could pursue their own research topic independently. One of his best students in this seminar, Takaoka Kumao, following his footsteps, studied

in Germany and returned to the college later to teach Colonial Policy, a topic that Satō Shōsuke had first introduced and which Nitobe had also taught.⁵⁸

Although he taught in far-off Sapporo at the not very prestigious nōgakkō, Nitobe attracted some attention within the country a young scholar with great potential. An article "Three Scholars and their Works," dated January 1893, in the Japan Mail, mentions Nitobe's academic accomplishment abroad and describes his doctoral dissertation on Japanese agriculture in great detail.⁵⁹

His academic work appears to have been confined mainly to Hokkaido and already shows his interest to bridge the gap between the scholars and the intelligent laymen. He helped to start the Economic Association in Sapporo and read his technical papers at its meetings. And he helped get a daily column in a local newspaper for the faculty at the nōgakkō to write about their work for the wider public.⁶⁰ And to a publisher in Morioka he submitted parts of his Johns Hopkins Thesis for printing "in a monthly serial in my homeland." He also contributed several short pieces in English to Tokutomi Sohō's magazine, the Far East.⁶¹

Nitobe did not publish much on Agricultural Economics while in Sapporo. Aside from two statistical studies on agricultural villages in a Tokyo-based journal, he produced little.⁶² This paucity resulted from his many involvement with other activities. He wore two official hats: both professor

and technical advisor to the Hokkaido chō. The duties of the latter often required him to undertake time-consuming projects.⁶³ For example, in November 1894, he was asked to investigate and draft, with several others, a technical paper for the Imperial Agricultural Society on the following questions:

- (1) measures to prevent too frequent sale of farm lots;
- (2) procedures for starting Agricultural co-operatives;
- (3) methods in supplying the farming population with horses and cattle;
- (4) measures to prevent the importation of sugar;
- (5) means of facilitating the exchange of seeds.⁶⁴

Working in the field also comprised a part of Nitobe's duties. In order to increase the area of cultivable land, the Hokkaido chō started two peat-bog research stations in the Ishikari valley in 1893. They aimed to reclaim peat-bog soil for agricultural development. Nitobe was assigned to work full-time on this project in July 1893. This project was abandoned not long thereafter, but another similar project began at Kotona near Sapporo in 1910. Though later studies revealed that the economic benefits derived from these projects were marginal, they did lead to the development of over 40,000 hectares, mainly in Western Hokkaido, the greater part of it in the Ishikari plain.⁶⁵

Takakura Shin'ichirō writes that Nitobe also engaged in a surveying project at the request of the local government. It

was being inundated by landlord-tenant disputes. Nitobe submitted a paper, Hokkaido kōsaku jōrei sōan (A proposal regulating land cultivation in Hokkaido), based upon studies of land-tenancy laws in Europe and America. In it he suggested various changes. But his recommendations were not adopted. According to Takakura, Nitobe's draft was the first in Japan to deal in this way with these tenancy laws.⁶⁶

Nitobe's advisory work at the Hokkaido chō was but one of about twenty affiliations with organizations in and around Sapporo. He was involved with different social-service work such as the Red Cross, prison reform work, and support for various schools. And at his own home, he and Mary offered classes in Bible Study and English. But the nōgakkō placed the greatest demands upon him. In addition to a full teaching load, he served as librarian, advisor to student groups, and member of faculty committees. In the summer of 1895, he was saddled with the task of dormitory advisor. And in 1896, when Satō travelled out of Hokkaido, he was appointed Acting-Director of the school.⁶⁷

Nitobe was constantly on the move, always seeking and welcoming new work; whenever requests came asking for his help, he invariably obliged, regardless of how busy he might be with something else. He always managed to fit it into an already densely overcrowded schedule.

In spite of his busyness, however, there were ominous signs that something was wrong. As early as 1892, he complained of a "pain in the right arm" that did not have any

physiological cause. This grew progressively worst over the years. Hanzawa Makoto recalled that Nitobe could not even hold a chalk steady to write on the blackboard. And he was having trouble sleeping. But Nitobe struggled to keep on working.⁶⁸

Crisis!

Nitobe's health steadily deteriorated and by late summer 1897 he was barely able to get out of bed. Mary's letter of August 19th succinctly captures his mental anguish:

[We] are again passing through deep waters; ... I think the heaviest part of it to me is that Inazo should have such hard, hard struggles to lay down all work and do what seems to him absolutely nothing ... A. H. [Anna Hartshorne] has just put into his hands for the afternoon a brush & box of paints to "play" with, as it occurred to him that was something⁶⁹ he could do without thinking too hard over it.

Mary's long illness compounded his problems. In January 1892, Mary gave birth to a son whom they named Thomas. But after only after a week, the baby died.⁷⁰ The delivery appears to have been an agonizing and tramatic experience for Mary. Her age of 34 and the inadequate medical facilities in Sapporo probably contributed to her difficulties. She was bedridden for several months thereafter; in June, Nitobe accompanied her back to Philadelphia where she recuperated. After a period of absence, she returned to Sapporo in 1894, but she never fully regained her health and suffered frequent attacks of fatigue and nervousness.⁷¹

Her poor health only aggravated a more deeply-rooted problem that appears to have been embedded in Nitobe's own psychological makeup. Studying his life between 1891 and 1897 we are struck by the same compulsive pattern that we have seen in his student years: an extraordinarily powerful drive to achieve. His early hunger for recognition and honor seems to have remained an unsatisfied psychological need which he himself may not have understood. In his own mind, he worked for the good of his country, and more specifically for the good of Hokkaido. He fulfilled the moral duty that he had long felt. Wasn't the incredible quantity of his work proof of his devotion and sincerity?⁷²

Work, the Victorians have said, was a virtue; done with earnestness, it is its own reward. Nitobe religiously believed in this; he had earlier embraced Thomas Carlyle's maxim-- "doing the Duty that lies nearest"--as an intellectually formulated answer to his problem of reconciling his desires for worldly fame with spiritual repose. Yet he found that the work he so obsessively pursued did not bring him inward contentment; it did not solve his innermost desires to act out a role on a wider and more prominent stage.

In spite his deep piety and expressions of sincerity, Nitobe appears to have vacillated in his commitment to remain in the backwoods of Hokkaido for the rest of his life. He had expressed a vague dissatisfaction with life there, in spite of his earlier idealistic expressions. Sapporo could not satisfy the longing in his heart for more travel and more experience

in a wider world. As early as 1892, he had sent a feeler out to his Johns Hopkins professor, Herbert Adams, to inquire into possibilities for further study in America.⁷³ And to his brother-in-law, Joseph, he admitted to a loneliness that he felt working in Sapporo where there was no one "at whose feet he could sit at."⁷⁴ And in a moment of candor, to his students, he had revealed that he was not interested in staying at Sapporo for very long.⁷⁵ Mary's illness probably exacerbated these feelings.

But thoughts of wanting to leave created strong guilt in him; he recognized the debt that he owed to the Hokkaido chō and people like Satō, who had helped him get him his appointment.⁷⁶ He could not abandon them. And he could not be unfaithful to his own quest to build Edinburgh. He had to stay to continue his earlier vow. Exerting strong will power and thinking that this would suffice, Nitobe immersed himself with more and more work. But after six and a half years he could take no more. He suffered a nervous breakdown.

To be born thus empty into this modern age, this mixture of good and ill, and yet to steer through life on an honest course to the splendors of success--this is a feat reserved for paragons of our kind, a task beyond the nature of the normal man.

Ihara Saikaku, The Japanese Family Storehouse

CHAPTER IV

The Rise to Prominence: 1897-1906

Hokkaido's cold winter was fast approaching, and the long, grey months ahead promised little hopes for recovery. Bedridden, Nitobe's mind invariably turned to his work. Deciding that a change of location would be the best way to regain his health, Nitobe asked for a leave of absence from the nōgakkō.¹ On October 2nd, he left with his family for a warmer climate in Shōnan.² They stayed there briefly and went on to Kamakura, where they spent the next few months in a rented beach house isolated from the town.³

Recuperation: Life as a Semi-Invalid

Their household now included a three-year old nephew, Yoshio, and Mary's personal nurse, a young physician, Rachel Read. Yoshio was Nitobe's favorite sister Kisa's son. Nitobe had brought Yoshio to Sapporo when he returned from a trip to

western Japan.⁴ Rachel Read was Anna Hartshorne's cousin. She had graduated from the Philadelphia College of Osteopathy in 1892 and accompanied Mary to Japan after the long visit with her family in 1893. Read remained with the Nitobes until about 1900 when she began a private practice in Tokyo.⁵

Her specialty, osteopathy, was a system of therapy based "on a theory that diseases are due chiefly to loss of structural integrity." Prescribed treatment for patients involved manipulation of limbs supplemented by other therapeutic measures, including medicine or surgery.⁶ For Nitobe, Read prescribed frequent rests, like an hour's nap before dinner, morning baths, and a body massage before bedtime.⁷ Nitobe later commented to an acquaintance in Philadelphia that "osteopathy is doing much."⁸

In Tokyo, Nitobe had seen several leading specialists about his illness. They included a Doctor Hashimoto and the renowned German physician, who was teaching medicine at the Imperial University, Edwin Baeltz.⁹ Baeltz gave him a rigorous physical examination. Finding no organic disorder, he concluded that the problem stemmed from emotional causes. He asked Nitobe to explain his circumstances. Nitobe thought that perhaps his heavy work was responsible, and related in detail his many activities. Baeltz, unimpressed, retorted that "overwork was not the cause." The trigger for the breakdown, the German doctor said, had to be something else.¹⁰

Baeltz's minute questioning revealed a recent death of a young nōgakkō student from Kyushu. Nitobe had spent much time

nursing the ill student and was deeply moved by the sight of the dead student's fiancée weeping at the burial. Baeltz felt that this was the immediate reason for the nervous breakdown. Nitobe needed to rest completely, the doctor said. Furthermore, he warned that it would take perhaps three, and as much as seven, years for Nitobe to completely recover his health.¹¹

Nitobe was well enough by December to take short strolls along the Kamakura seacoast. He took Yoshio on the jinrikisha to visit the famous Daibutsu (Great Buddha) or the nearby Hachiman shrine a short drive away. And on cloudless days, the entire family went for outings with picnic baskets to view Mount Fuji.¹² As he got stronger, Nitobe turned back to his work. His first task was to complete the Nōgyō hattatsu shi (History of agricultural development). For short periods--twenty to thirty minutes--he dictated to a young nōgakkō graduate, Kotani Takeji, from his lecture notes.¹³ This technique, which he had used to complete the Kenkoku bidan and some magazine articles, allowed him to work without having to write. The manuscript was complete by early December, and he submitted it for publication.¹⁴

They moved their household again, on January 12, 1899, to Numazu, a coastal town in Shizuoka. Nitobe could now work for two or three hours every day. He began plans for a study that he envisioned as his magnum opus. The whole project entailed three major sections: a one-volume Principles of Agriculture;

a two-or-three volume History of Agriculture; and a two-volume Agralpolitik.¹⁵

After publishing the Nōgyō hattatsu shi, which he described as "a rough outline of 300 pages, covering one third of the ground I have in view," he concentrated on drafting the first of the series, the Nōgyō honron (Principles of agriculture).¹⁶ For the next six months he worked steadily and completed the manuscript in July. He wrote the preface at the Ikaho hotspring resort in Gunma Prefecture, and dedicated the work to the memory of his mother. The publisher Shōkabō of Tokyo brought out the book as their first volume in the Sapporo sōsho, a group of works by professors at the Sapporo nōgakkō.¹⁷

America Again

Still not completely well, Nitobe decided in the summer of 1898 to continue his recuperation in California. A doctor had suggested that its climate would help speed his recovery. Nitobe adopted Yoshio, obtained their travel papers, and submitted his formal resignation to the Hokkaido chō and the nōgakkō. In late July, he, Mary and Yoshio embarked for North America on the Empress of Japan-- Nitobe's third voyage across the Pacific.¹⁸

Travelling with them was a talented twenty-year old girl from Hokkaido, Kawai Michi, whom they had befriended in Sapporo while she studied at the Keisen jogakkō.¹⁹ Kawai was going to Bryn Mawr College, where she had won a scholarship

that had been established a few years earlier through the efforts of Tsuda Umeko and Alice Bacon.²⁰ Concerned for Kawai's safety, the Nitobes carefully instructed her on the do and don'ts of travel abroad; and they went through much pains to see that she safely reached Philadelphia.²¹

Their immediate destination was Vancouver, British Columbia, where they spent the late summer in B.C.'s crisp and cool climate.²² In Victoria, they watched the Doukhobors disembark from their ships. Earlier that year, Joseph Scottus Elkinton had welcomed the first group from Europe in Nova Scotia.²³ Upon arrival in Canada, the Doukhobors dispersed westward. Mary later sent a sketch to her brother that Yoshio had drawn of some Doukhobors at the Victoria waterfront.²⁴

The Nitobes spent some time in Victoria before they moved inland to visit British Columbia's Glacier National Park. After a few days there, they saw Kawai Michi off on the train east to Toronto. They then proceeded southward to their final destination: Monterey Peninsula in California, some ninety miles to the south of San Francisco.²⁵

Monterey was Mexican California's old capital. Though its boom days had ended when the capital was moved to Sacramento, its quiet natural beauty of tall trees and white beaches made it an ideal haven for recuperation.²⁶ It had attracted many artists in its early days.²⁷ In 1879, it was temporary home to a consumptive twenty-nine-year-old Scottish writer from Edinburgh, Robert Louis Stevenson.²⁸ At that time, some 350

denizens lived in Monterey, many of whom were of Spanish or Mexican descent.²⁹ While there, Stevenson wrote a remarkable story about the firebrand Japanese patriot, Yoshida Shōin. Whether Nitobe knew this is not known; but the library that he donated in later life to the Tokyo Women's College contains Stevenson' book.³⁰

When Stevenson left, the town had begun to change into a tourist spot. A new railroad and station had recently been built to serve the brand new Hotel Del Monte.³¹ The hotel had achieved a well-established reputation when the Nitobes arrived seventeen years later in the winter of 1898.³²

They spent several weeks there before they moved to College Park in Santa Clara County, home of the University of the Pacific. There they rested quietly for the next few months. Nitobe could now reflect and meditate without interruption. In the peaceful atmosphere his creative energies burst forth. Ideas that he had long carried upwelled and congealed into a book that would win him a place in Japanese literary history and propel him to international fame in a few short years: Bushido, the soul of Japan.

Nitobe did not have specific plans write Bushido. To Griffis, he had expressed the wish "to try my hand in writing something with a professional view."³³ While in Sapporo, he had written some English-language articles, but they had all been short pieces.³⁴

Though he lacked the time for them, Nitobe retained a strong interest in English-language writings and followed

closely the publications of Uchimura. The latter, after he had gained notoriety through his refusal to bow before the Imperial Rescript, had started to write. Mary Nitobe, as a favor to her husband's friend, helped edit some of Uchimura's works.³⁵ In a letter to Griffis, Nitobe had spoken favorably of them.³⁶ Now, free of distraction and isolated by distance from visitors and self-imposed duties, Nitobe too decided to popularize for an English-language audience.

While in Canada, Nitobe had written an essay, "Expansion of America."³⁷ Though it no longer exists, it was probably written as a response to recent developments in the foreign relations of the United States: the Spanish-American War and the annexation of Hawaii and the Philippines. Bushido would perhaps not have been written, except for a fortuitous occurrence. To Griffis he wrote:

At the suggestion of Miss Hartshorne, who by the way has come to join us from Philadelphia, I have begun a paper on Bushido - Precepts of Knighthood, as an essential of Japanese character, in fact a key to understand the moral sentiments of her people.³⁸

His strong memory served him well as he wrote. Though he did not have many books with him, he probably relied on the University of Pacific library to check many specific details within the text.³⁹ Though no record of the actual drafting of the manuscript exists, it is unlikely that he dictated the whole of it, as one biographer states.⁴⁰ Nitobe may have dictated some sections of it to Anna Hartshorne, but the

balanced rhythm and smooth flow of the prose suggests that he worked and reworked the materials many times to achieve the polish of the final product. And more than likely, he worked on the draft even after he left California.

Nitobe did not know what he would do after he returned home to Japan. Satō Shōsuke wrote regularly to urge his return to Sapporo.⁴¹ Every issue of the Gakugeikai zasshi reported the whereabouts of their beloved sensei. They say repeatedly that Nitobe would return to Sapporo to resume his professorship. But he himself appears to have been ambivalent about the nōgakkō. He had other more lucrative offers. He wrote Adams telling him that he had "received a call from the University of Tokyo, from the Noble's School, as well as from a Department of Agriculture."⁴³

In spite of these flattering offers which held out bright promises for future advancement--not to mention the amenities of Tokyo life--the old Sapporo ties were strong, and he confided to Herbert Adams that "friendship and moral obligation may draw me back to the old place."⁴⁴ In March, while he was in California, Nitobe became a nōgaku hakushi (Doctor of Agriculture) on a recommendation from the academic committee at Tōdai. Elected to this prestigious circle, he now had impeccable academic qualifications that made his talents much sought after.⁴⁵

At this critical juncture in his career, Nitobe opted to fulfill the moral obligation, which he felt he owed to the

college, before his own personal advancement. Nearly recovered, he was anxious to get back to work. He sent his family to Philadelphia in June and left for Sapporo alone.⁴⁶ But fate once again stepped in. He had reached Hawaii when an unexpected appointment came from the nōrinshō. He was asked to investigate American agricultural products and given 1500 yen to carry out the project.⁴⁷

Nitobe backtracked and returned to the continent. This time he crossed the United States and filed field reports to the nōrinshō as he went. By autumn he had rejoined his family on the east coast.

In December 1899, the last month of the nineteenth century, Nitobe visited New England. From Providence, Rhode Island, where he spent a few days at the home of former U.S. Senator Joseph Chalce, whose wife was an old friend of Mary's, Nitobe wrote Griffis to explain that he had completed his Bushido. He asked Griffis if he knew of any suitable publishers.⁴⁸ The Leeds and Biddle Company, a little publishing firm in Philadelphia, was selected. In late December preparations were started and the first copies of Bushido were in the booksellers by early January 1900.⁴⁹

While Nitobe prepared Bushido for the printers, he received an urgent letter from Sone Arasuke, Minister of the nōrinshō, which offered him a job in the Formosan colonization office.⁵⁰ The request came from Gotō Shinpei, Civil Affairs Bureau Chief (minseibu chōkan) of the Taiwan sōtokufu (Taiwan Governor-General's Office). Gotō desperately sought trained

personnel to fill key positions. Through a friend in the nō rinshō he had heard of Nitobe.⁵¹ Nitobe refused the offer twice, but Gotō persisted. Finally, after three insistent letters and a long telegram, Nitobe relented.⁵²

He asked for a one-year extension before taking up his new position so he could study European colonization, particularly in tropical areas. The sōtokufu granted his request. On 10 February 1900, he left his family in Philadelphia with the Elkintons and embarked for Gibraltar. The itinerary he sent Miyabe included Spain, France, England, West Germany, and Italy.⁵³ But upon his arrival in Paris, he was appointed temporary commissioner in the Japanese delegation to the World Exposition, headed by Prince Kan'in, which was opening there that summer. He worked, as one of twenty commissioners, on a miscellany of jobs for four months. In the Fall, he left Paris to resume his independent studies in preparation for a new phase in his career.⁵⁴

Nitobe returned to Japan from Europe via Asia--his first round-the-world-trip of five. In his student days, he had travelled east to St. Petersburg in Russia, and as far south as Austria-Hungary.⁵⁵ Now his journey took him to Egypt and through the Suez Canal, around the Indian Ocean up to Hong Kong, and thence to Japan. His uncle, Ōta Tokitoshi, still healthy and hale, and serving as ward for the Nambu daimyo's family in Tokyo, met Nitobe at Yokohama harbor on January 26th, 1901. Also present were a crowd of Nitobe's former

students, who had come to welcome their sensei home.⁵⁶

With Kodama and Gotō in Formosa

His forthcoming trip to Formosa to join the team of Kodama Gentarō and Gotō Shinpei to develop Japan's first colony was now uppermost in Nitobe's mind. On February 2nd he received his formal appointment as a specialist in the sō-tokufu.⁵⁷

The Japanese had obtained Formosa in April 1895 through the Treaty of Shimonoseki. It was part of a comprehensive settlement that included the cession of the Liaotung peninsula and the Pescadores to Japan; Chinese recognition of Korean independence; an indemnity payment of two hundred million taels; and an extension to Japan of privileges granted earlier to the Western powers.⁵⁸

Contrary to high expectations, Formosa, after its acquisition by the Japanese, became a great liability. "Infamous for its deadly epidemics and ferocious inhabitants," writes E.P. Tsurumi, "[it] was viewed as an unhealthy enough place in the best of times."⁵⁹ Nitobe wrote that when he first heard of the island, he was "frightened by its oppressive climate."⁶⁰ But the difficulties entailed in colonizing the island did not deter the Japanese. To own a colony lent them prestige. And this was a powerful motive, for they felt the eyes of the Western powers upon them.⁶¹

But the first three years of Japanese rule belied earlier promises. The military governors could not bring order out of

the internal chaos.⁶² Nationalist groups did not cooperate with the new rulers; aboriginal tribes in the interior highlands had to be pacified; bandits controlled large regions of the island; and most intractable of all were the diseases--such as malaria--which "killed perhaps more Japanese soldiers than the military campaigns."⁶³

Contributing to these difficulties were those that the Japanese themselves brought to the colony through poor management and bureaucratic inefficiency. "Indifference and ignorance appeared to have been a fundamental attitude with the administration."⁶⁴ The frequent changes in personnel disrupted administrative continuity. Staff morale was low. Among civilian officials, the assignment was seen merely as "a stepping stone to more attractive postings."⁶⁵ And the poorly run organization seems to have attracted many incompetents, who found shelter there to enjoy the benefits of civil service employment.

The Japanese parliament, which voted the subsidy to maintain the island, was losing its patience with the colonization attempt. Many saw it as a sinkhole in which money was being sucked down a drain. There were voices that argued that the island be sold to France for 20,000,000 yen.⁶⁶ The budget had been slashed from 6,000,000,000 yen to 3,900,000 yen in 1898, the year Kodama and Gotō arrived to administer the colony. Their immediate task was to make the island become financially independent.⁶⁷

Kodama Gentarō, appointed Governor-General in February 1898, immediately reorganized the minseibu (Civil Affairs Section) to give more power to his lieutenant, Gotō Shinpei.⁶⁸ It was streamlined from fourteen to five bureaus, all under the direct control of Gotō, whose official title was changed from minseibuchō (Civil Affairs Section Chief) to minseichōkan (Civil Affairs Bureau Chief).⁶⁹ In June, three months after he arrived, Gotō sent 1080 officials back to the mainland. And he actively began to recruit qualified men to fill high-level positions under him. Kodama gave Gotō a free hand to select and choose appropriate staff.⁷⁰ Soon Gotō had under his direct control men loyal to him and his program. Nitobe, one of eleven top officials in the organization, wrote of how his section functioned: "although I rely on specialists, they are all linked together on a chain, and if I pull the master string the links all come together in the right order."⁷¹

When Nitobe joined the Kodama-Gotō team in February 1901, many of the problems that plagued earlier administrations had been solved, or alleviated to a degree so that the main task of economic development could proceed.⁷² As Chief of the Industrial Bureau, Nitobe was given responsibility to create a blueprint for the sugar industry. It became the centerpiece in the plan for the colony's development.⁷³ The role of the Formosan sugar industry, Sam Ho observes, was mainly to serve Japan's own needs, and not produce for a world-wide marketplace. Between 1896-1904, an average of 22 million yen of Japan's foreign exchange was used to finance its sugar

imports. This accounted for over 50% of its trade deficits in this period.⁷⁴

To reduce this huge currency outflow, Nitobe followed the cameralist policies of Frederick the Great that he had studied in German universities. He drafted a technical paper entitled "Tōgyō kairyō iken sho" (Opinion on the improvement of the sugar industry), which outlined a plan to reinvigorate the industry with modern production methods.⁷⁵ Nitobe proposed the creation of a temporary sugar bureau, distinct from the industrial bureau, to be set up for a period of ten years. In September 1901, he submitted a plan to Kodama which the latter quickly adopted and executed.⁷⁶ Nitobe was appointed chief of the sugar bureau, concurrent with his other position.⁷⁷

His plans for the development of the sugar industry bore immediate fruit. Within a few years, sugar production had tripled, and Japan no longer depended on foreign sugar imports.⁷⁸ Other economic programs, such as the monopolies placed on camphor, salt, and opium, and the adoption of the latest technology to process oolong tea leaves proved so profitable that the colony no longer needed government subsidy after 1904--five years ahead of projections.⁷⁹ Along with these financial feats, the sōtokufu had layed down much of the necessary infrastructure for the subsequent development of the island. Transportation facilities, hospitals, and schools benefitted Japanese colonists and native peoples as well.⁸⁰

In spite his talents as a colonial administrator, Nitobe

had no desire to to make it a career. He longed to get back to the classroom. While working in Formosa, he probably confided to Gotō that he would remain for a few years at most and that his heart lay in education. By 1903, conditions in Formosa had improved so that Gotō could allow Nitobe to return to the university.⁸¹

From his days as a Sapporo professor, Nitobe expressed much interest in meeting eminent men. To a friend Zumoto Motosada, a fellow nōgakkō graduate who in 1887 had become a secretary to Itō Hirobumi, Nitobe wrote "while I'm stuck in Hokkaido and cannot even see those persons who rule our country, you, as Itō's secretary, have a chance to mingle with prominent people. How I envy you."⁸² In this same letter, Nitobe asked Zumoto whom he thought, among the elite that he had met, to be the men of highest integrity. Zumoto's reply consisted of two names: Hoshi Tōru and Gotō Shinpei. Nitobe recalled later that this was the first time he had heard of Gotō's name.⁸³

At their first meeting, in January 1901, Gotō lay ill in his Tokyo home with influenza and a fever of over 40 degrees. They discussed Nitobe's appointment and salary.⁸⁴ Gotō perceived Nitobe's worth instantly: over the strong objections of the naimushō (Home Ministry), Gotō saw to it that Nitobe receive a first rank's salary of 2500 yen per year, standard for an official of the first rank, despite his low fifth rank in the bureaucracy.⁸⁵

In origins, experiences and aspirations, Gotō and Nitobe

had much in common. Both were from Tōhoku and "outsiders" to the Sat-chō government clique. Born in 1857 to a samurai family in Mizusawa city, then in the Sendai domain but now in Iwate prefecture, Gotō chose medicine as a vocation.⁸⁶ After receiving training in Fukushima, he went to Nagoya where he became director of the Aichi Prefectural Hospital. In 1882, he met Itagaki Taisuke, the Liberal Party leader, whom he treated for an injury. Through Itagaki's connections, Gotō entered the Home Ministry as a specialist. In the next eight years, he skillfully worked his way up the bureaucratic ladder.⁸⁷

Gotō was sent abroad to study in Germany in 1891 and returned the following year to head the Bureau of Sanitation.⁸⁸ During the Sino-Japanese War, he helped create and head a Sanitation Bureau for soldiers returning from the war. In this capacity, he met Kodama Gentarō, who was then the Army's Vice Minister in the General Staff. The latter, who had noticed Gotō's extraordinary abilities as an administrator, made him his chief of civil affairs when he became Governor-General of Formosa.⁸⁹

Kodama Gentarō was five years older than Gotō and ten years Nitobe's senior. He too was of samurai background. His father had been a low-ranking samurai from the Tokuyama domain with a stipend of twenty koku.⁹⁰ Though "shorter than the average Japanese," recalled Nitobe of his former superior, he made up the disadvantage by a quick

intelligence.⁹¹ He had an uncanny ability, despite a lack of formal education, to grasp the core of complex problems. And without vacillation or indecision, he quickly made up his mind. His was a "man of action," a doer rather than a thinker.⁹²

During the Restoration, Kodama, still in his teens, fought on the side of the Imperial forces against the Tokugawa. In August 1868, he joined the newly created Japanese army and served in the Satsuma Rebellion of 1876-77. Rising quickly in rank, he became Headmaster of the Army College (rikugun daigaku) at thirty five.⁹³ In 1892, after a general tour of Europe to examine military affairs, he served as jikan (Vice Minister) of the Army Ministry and Chief of its Military Affairs Bureau. Distinguished service in the Sino-Japanese War led to an appointment as a lieutenant general and a barony in 1896. He became Governor-General of Formosa in February 1898, a position he held until April 1906.⁹⁴

The spectacular successes in Formosa, to which Nitobe had contributed in no small measure, won Kodama and Gotō laurels from the Meiji government and enhanced their stature in the eyes of their powerful colleagues. Kodama was near the pinnacle of his power; Gotō's star was rising.⁹⁵ For Nitobe's subsequent career, the Formosan interlude was important, for it brought him into intimate contact with these two prominent leaders.

The experience under these two men and their approval brought Nitobe the necessary contacts that assured his own

entry into the inner circle of the Meiji political and educational elite. In 1903, Katsura Tarō formed his second government and made Kodama the Minister of both the Army and Education. Gotō, introduced Nitobe to university officials in Kyoto. With these connections, Nitobe became a professor in the Law Faculty at Kyoto Imperial University in the Fall of 1903.⁹⁶

Bushido and the Russo-Japanese War

After recovery from his nervous breakdown, Nitobe continued the multi-dimensional activities he had started while in Sapporo. He had become accustomed to radically different types of work in the same space of time. But the driving compulsiveness, the irrational need to squeeze as much work into one day, had left him. In Formosa, he paced himself carefully and took caution against over-exertion. Moreover, he appears to have continued his practice of short naps after dinner.⁹⁷

Soon after beginning his job with the sōtokufu, Nitobe conceived a plan to start an English-language journal.⁹⁸ On one of his frequent trips back to Tokyo, he gathered together some old friends, Anna Hartshorne, Alice Bacon and Tsuda Umeko, to discuss the idea. The three were then busily occupied with a new venture: launching a new school for women.⁹⁹ The institute was called the Tsuda jogakkō, and English was its chief subject. The three women

enthusiastically endorsed the idea. They enlisted another native Japanese speaker, Sakurai Ōson, and began the Eigaku shinpō [it was concurrently called The English Student] in late 1901.¹⁰⁰ They brought out their first issue on November 15th. Nitobe served as General Editor and Advisor, while the other four conducted the administrative and editorial duties.¹⁰¹

The Eigaku shinpō's intended audience was students of the English language in middle and higher schools. Its biweekly issues carried a miscellany of English-language articles with copious notes in Japanese to aid and stimulate the novice. Editorials, stories, self-lessons, test questions for examinations, letters from notables, and a gossip editor's file occupied most of its pages. In June 1903, the name was changed to the Eibun shinshi [The Student], but the staff and the contents of the journal remained essentially unchanged.¹⁰²

The Eibun shinshi provided Nitobe with an outlet to express his ideas to youth on religion, morality and the importance of ethical development. At the nōgakkō, he had helped to initiate a student journal in which he had expressed such ideas.¹⁰³ His views had not changed much over the years, and the means that he employed to spread his ideas--the English language--also remained the same. The difference was scale. He now wrote for an audience widely scattered throughout Japan.¹⁰⁴

But Nitobe did not limit his Eibun shinshi articles to ethics and religion. He used its pages to discuss a wide range

of subjects that dealt with all aspects of human experience. The contributions were short and not well developed, as he wrote in odd hours. But they bore his strong imprint and present a deeply personal vision of Nitobe's inner world. These essays, which appeared almost regularly in each issue of the magazine for almost seven years, proved so popular that they were translated and printed in a separate volume, for those unable to read English, by Sakurai Ōson. It was called Zuisōroku.¹⁰⁵

Bushido, the Soul of Japan had established a modest reputation for Nitobe in the United States after its publication by Leeds and Biddle. Though the book had not caught the attention of the major book reviews and literary digests, the reviews which did appear were, almost without exception, favorable.¹⁰⁶ But, more importantly, the book made enough of an impact to attract the attention of Shōkabō, which had earlier published his Nōgyō honron. Ten months after the Leeds and Biddle edition appeared, Shōkabō printed a Japanese edition, which was in all respects the same book, but of inferior paper and binding.¹⁰⁷

This edition sold well in Japan after publication in October 1901. Over the next three years, it ran through nine printings. Its sales helped elevate Nitobe's reputation in Japan as a master of the English language.¹⁰⁸ Curiously, it also created an image of him as a learned scholar of Japanese ethics and Oriental philosophy. Established scholars such as

Inoue Tetsujirō were bothered by the publicity and complained that amateurs such as Nitobe were trespassing on their turf.¹⁰⁹ And prominent Christians, such as Uemura Masahisa, quickly expressed misgivings over Nitobe's attempt to seek an intellectual relationship between Japan's feudal values and the universality of Christ's teachings.¹¹⁰

Though the Shōkabō edition of Bushido helped to establish Nitobe's fame in Japan, it also created many difficulties for him after 1904 when he tried to put out an expanded and revised edition of the work from the well established New York publishing firm, George Putnam's Sons. Mary referred many years later to the Shōkabō edition as pirated.¹¹¹ The company, however, in its first advertisements of the book, explicitly mentions that they "obtained the author's and American publisher's permission to reprint it in Japan."¹¹² It seems that Nitobe had worked out an arrangement with Shōkabō that they sell their edition only in Japan. This understanding was broken by the company when it tried to profit from the burgeoning interest abroad in Japan after the outbreak of the Russo-Japanese War.¹¹³ Shōkabō's publisher forged Nitobe's private seal and contracted with the North Pacific Trading Company and the Simpkins, Marshalls and Company, respectively, to sell the book in the United States and Great Britain.¹¹⁴ When Nitobe found out, he was furious! He called the errant publisher to his Koishikawa home and yelled at the man, his daughter Kotoko recalls, in a voice that caused the "whole house to shake."¹¹⁵

Nitobe's reputation grew steadily in Japan from 1901 to 1904--through large sales of Bushido and the Eibun shinshi articles. Other mass-circulated magazines also sought pieces from him on a diversity of subjects. He willingly obliged.¹¹⁶ At Sapporo, he earned respect for his wide knowledge and talents among people with whom he had personal contact. His reputation extended to those who knew him only in print; he had become a national celebrity with a following, wrote Mary to her family, that "embrace[d] literally thousands."¹¹⁷

The Russo-Japanese War started in February 1904 while Nitobe lectured part-time at Kyoto University. Though Nitobe foresaw war some months earlier as he served in Formosa, he did not realize the repercussions that it would have for him. On the one hand, the war fundamentally challenged his avowed Quaker beliefs; on the other, ironically, it spread his fame around the world as an author of international distinction.¹¹⁸

During the Sino-Japanese War, he and Mary "kept quiet." It was useless, he said, to argue pacifist principles against the war amidst the jingoistic pronouncements of the time.¹¹⁹ But Nitobe did not speak out for the war, nor did he try to justify the nation's position--or explain the issues at stake--to his Quaker relatives. Rather he and Mary supported organizations such as the Red Cross in Hokkaido. He attended rallies to help raise contributions for medical supplies and other material comforts for soldiers fighting in the front.¹²⁰ With Mary he used money from their "baby fund," a

savings account, set up in memory of their son Thomas, to purchase muslin to make bandages. The boys at the Hokumei gakkō made several hundred to send with volunteer nurses from Sapporo who travelled to the Military Hospital in Hiroshima to nurse the wounded.¹²¹

Nitobe's stance on war shifted dramatically in the next ten years. When the fighting with Russian troops began, he did not appear to have any misgivings about what his ultimate position would be as vis-a-vis the conflict. Japan was fighting a righteous war: her participation was a necessary evil for the survival of the nation.¹²²

Nitobe's circumstances had completely altered from the Hokkaido period. In Formosa, he had worked for the colonization effort, and this experience had made him aware of the need to secure the country's borders. He had also come into contact with important decision-makers and was able to see the problem of national defense from their perspective. His former superior, Kodama, at the onset of the war, had resigned from posts in the Katsura government to take on military duties on the general staff.¹²³

Nitobe, in his writings and lectures, spoke out sharply against the Russians. In an article "Slav Peril, Yellow Peril," he attacked the idea that Japan and the Oriental race menaced European civilization. "[T]he Slavs are the danger," he argued. To Mary, he expressed the view that Russian behavior in East Asia resembled a "slowly moving glacier."¹²⁴

Mary Nitobe herself, born and bred a Quaker, with a

father and brother active pacifists, defended the Japanese position and the need for war. In letter after letter to her family, she wrote with sympathy of the people's sacrifices and the heroism of the soldiers on the battlefield.¹²⁵ She observed with concern the image of Japan that the foreign press presented to the world. A piece by a man named Willett, whose contents she felt discredited the Japanese, prompted her to rectify the former's errors in an article for the Outlook magazine.¹²⁶

Nitobe understood the significance of the war. Japan was, he knew, the underdog. Earlier, after the Shimonoseki Treaty, Japan had been humiliated by the Russians, Germans and French in the Triple Intervention that denied her the Liaotung Peninsula and a foothold on the Asian continent. And to add insult to injury, the Russians had moved in shortly thereafter to place their own claim on the region and fortify Port Arthur. To win her security, Japan had to dislodge the Russians and control the Korean peninsula, which they felt was necessary for their vital interests.¹²⁷

But Nitobe felt that Japan's second-class status in the world was not without reason. She was still not the equal of the European nations.¹²⁸ To become strong, Japan had to stabilize her borders. Chinese civilization, Nitobe saw, was crumbling and the Manchus could not cope with the crises.¹²⁹ The Koreans too, vexed Nitobe; in his eyes, they lacked vigor and independence. He wrote of their land as one of "decay

and death."¹³⁰ But his views toward Korea would change much in the next twenty years, and he would advocate an enlightened colonial policy there.¹³¹

Though Nitobe had not concerned himself often in his earlier writings with political issues, he commented now on broad questions of political and international affairs. But his opinions were not scholarly; rather they reflected the conventional opinions of newspaper editorials or bureaucrats. Unlike Uchimura Kanzō, who in 1903 stood by his religious principles and advocated pacifism, the Nitobes were decidedly pro-government.¹³² Uchimura wrote Mary on April 18 1904 the following postcard:

You know I am now a strict peace-advocate, and as very few of my countrymen accept my views, I feel quite lonely these days. I hope you are still true to your old principle, and can enter into deep sympathy with the struggles of the incorrigible peace party in this country.¹³³

But Mary and Nitobe could not sympathize with Uchimura. To her brother Joseph, she wrote:

Clearly as we love Uchimura san we can not follow him in all of his ultra phases of thought and must warn thee that he paints black the other side from that which he has taken and his judgement can not be considered infallible ... This is no time to hamper the government. Horrible as the war is, there was no way in the present stage of civilization for Japan to win the place which she feels she deserves except by fighting.¹³⁴

To Nitobe and Mary, the war from the beginning took on the characteristics of a moral drama, much like the Biblical

battle between David and Goliath: giant Russia on the one side, and tiny Japan on the other. The Anglo-Japanese Alliance, signed in 1902, had made Japan the favorite in Great Britain. Cartoons in magazines such as Punch showed a short but sturdy and upright Japanese soldier shaking hands with a jolly British seaman. American public opinion, too, overwhelmingly favored Japan over the Russian bear. Much needed funds to support the Japanese war effort were raised in the United States by financiers who desired a Russian defeat. Though the war dragged on for twenty months and cost many lives, the Japanese military fought remarkably well. Their exploits attracted much publicity, as newspapers and magazines vied for the latest news from the battlefield.¹³⁵

As Japan began to win, interest in the island people increased. To enhance their image, the Japanese conducted an adroit public relations campaign to "sell themselves" to the West. "Yellow Peril" propaganda had to be combatted. The world's audience was candid: who, they asked, were these Oriental people who had taken on the Russian Empire in battle? Many books, by foreigners and Japanese alike, appeared from 1904 onwards to fulfill the demand for information on the Japanese and their traditional ethos.¹³⁶

Bushido, the Soul of Japan, rode to international fame on the crest of this tidal wave of interest in Japan and the Japanese triggered by the Russo-Japanese War. Copies of the Leeds and Biddle edition had been exhausted. The Shōkabō

edition, released abroad against Nitobe's knowledge, sold very well. William Griffis, Nitobe's acquaintance from his student days at the Johns Hopkins, contacted George Putnam's Sons and inquired if they would print Nitobe's book again.¹³⁷

After negotiations, in which Nitobe made Griffis his mediator with the publishing firm, the contract was signed. Nitobe expanded the book some twenty percent, mostly by adding more examples at the beginning and ending of each chapter. He also added chapter headings as Griffis suggested. But aside from these changes, Bushido remained essentially the same. Griffis read the proofs when printing began; and he added a preface for the book, which was published in July, 1905.¹³⁸

The timing was excellent: it appeared at the high tide of interest in the war. Just two months earlier, the Japanese navy had won a crucial battle with the Russian Baltic Fleet in the Tsushima straits, and Theodore Roosevelt had become the mediator for the Peace negotiations at Portsmouth New Hampshire. Bushido was distributed by Putnam's offices in New York and London and so attracted readership on both sides of the Atlantic. Major journals and magazines reviewed the book, and nearly all lauded it. Nitobe already had admirers who had written highly of the early edition of his book. Alfred Sned in his Great Japan, had praised Nitobe as "a Great scholar." Julian Hawthorne, Nathaniel's son, paid Nitobe the highest compliments in a glittering review that appeared in the Bookman:

Doctor or Professor Inazo Nitobe has edited an essay, a little more than a hundred pages long, which must be studied as well as read; and since it is as fascinating as it is important, that is no hardship. The English which the professor writes is so singularly pure, easy and effective that no one would imagine it to be the work of a foreigner--and of a foreigner so very foreign as a Japanese. . But that is little; the author seems to be the master of all the knowledge proper to a learned man of the West, as well as of that Oriental lore of which Westerners know not much....It is foolish to pretend to review an essay of this depth and scope in a paragraph. The professor shows not only learning, but insight, judgement, magnanimity; his arguments are cogently reasoned; he touches his subject with satire here and there; he is always patriotic, but never bigoted or narrow. He gives us a better knowledge of the spirit of his nation than any foreign observers have done, not excepting even Lafcadio Hearn, to whom Professor Nitobe pays several compliments. You may read the book through in a couple of hours,¹³⁹ but you may return to it profitably for years.

The word "Bushido," which was formerly unknown abroad, became a recognized term that was even listed, after 1904, in the index of the Poole's Guide to Literature. Even in Japan, it was a term that was not in current use. Though it was later revealed that the word had been treated in a learned discourse many decades earlier, it was only in retrospect that this fact came to light. The Bushido boom of the twentieth century was a direct result of Nitobe's book.¹⁴⁰

Bushido presented a rationale for the Japanese military successes by seeking out and illuminating the sources of its martial valor. The book made Nitobe a spokesman for the "new Japan." Though he did not expect the laurels and acclaim that

the book received, he welcomed them wholeheartedly. And he did not refrain from publicizing the book, and make frequent references to it. The journal that he edited, the Eibun shinshi, carried regular serialized excerpts from the book, with detailed notes in Japanese. Book reviews that appeared in newspapers and journals were reprinted in the Eibun shinshi, and Nitobe used the journal to run lavish one-page advertisements of Bushido.¹⁴¹

Nitobe by 1905 had established a solid reputation in Japan and abroad. He was recognized as a leading authority on Japanese religions and morals and an author in the English language of first rank. On April 12, 1905, he and Mary were invited to the Imperial palace for an audience with the Emperor Meiji. In Nitobe's eyes, this was probably the pinnacle of worldly honors: to his royal majesty, Nitobe presented a copy of his Bushido. Only forty-three, he had risen swiftly to world recognition. His career as an internationalist had only begun.¹⁴²

PART TWO

EDUCATOR EAST AND WEST

Oh, East is East, and West is West, and never the twain shall
meet,
Till Earth and Sky stand presently at God's great Judgment
Seat:
But there is neither East nor West, Border nor Breed, nor
Birth,
When two strong men stand face to face, though they come
from the ends of the earth!

Rudyard Kipling, The Ballad of East and West

C.2

Without haste, but without rest.

Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, Motto

CHAPTER V

Internationalist at Home and Abroad; 1906-1912

Nitobe became kōchō (headmaster) of the prestigious ichikō (First Higher School) in October, 1906. It was a crucial time. Earlier that year the Russo-Japanese War, through the mediation of U.S. President Theodore Roosevelt, had been settled at the Peace Conference at Portsmouth, New Hampshire. Though Japan won many concessions, including the prized foothold on the continent, many Japanese felt they deserved more. Rioting broke out in Tokyo after provisions of the settlement were announced. Angry mobs, feeling that the Katsura government had sold them out, attacked and burned many police boxes and newspapers which supported the government, including Tokutomi Sohō's Kokumin shimbun (Commoner's Newspaper). Unable to control the situation, the harassed government resigned, and the mandate to rule was given to the opposition party. Saionji Kinmochi, the fifty-seven year old president of the Seiyūkai, was appointed Prime Minister. As he assembled his twenty-member cabinet, he selected Makino Nobuaki, second son of Ōkubo Toshimichi and a career diplomat who had recently returned from an ambassadorial post in St. Petersburg, as Education Minister.

Makino turned his attention to the problem of contemporary youth that was the subject of vigorous discussion in newspapers and magazines throughout the country. Members of the elite were particularly worried about what they perceived as a lack of morality among young people. Even before the war, the mass media had highlighted the phenomenon of hanmon seinen (anguished youth). The most famous example of these tormented youth was Fujimura Misao, a sixteen-year old ichikō student who plunged to his death from the Kegon Falls in Nikkō.²

Many complex historical factors underlay the appearance of large numbers of troubled young people. But the views of contemporary opinion leaders were generally uniform: youth had grown soft and lacked the pluck to endure difficult trials and hardships. Moreover, they had no sense of patriotism; personal security and comforts occupied their thoughts. Anxious adults, Ōmachi Keigetsu, Inoue Tetsujirō, Kuroiwa Ruikō, among others, saw it their duty to give moral guidance to this wayward generation who had lost the traditional moral values implicit in work, loyalty and personal effort.³

Minister of Education Makino agreed. Firm ethical leadership, he felt, especially by men in high educational positions, was indispensable to remedy this gravesituation.⁴ Youth needed advice and counseling by older, more experienced men. Aware of Nitobe's wide popularity among young people who read his Eibun shinshi articles and other frequent contributions to youth magazines such as Chūgaku Sekai, Shinkō-

ron, Jitsugyō no Nihon and Taiyō, Makino perceived in Nitobe the ideal model for youth to emulate.⁵ Having spent several years in the United States himself as a student, Makino was sympathetic to Anglo-American influences. The urbane polished image that Nitobe projected accorded well with his own view of the "New Japan." Makino considered it imperative for Japan to develop international men like Nitobe, who was comfortable in the presence of foreigners and who could mingle among them as an equal. He persuaded Nitobe, whom he had met while serving as Ambassador to Austria a few years before, to take over as the Headmaster of the First Higher School.⁶

Nitobe's stature in the academic world was already solidly established. In September of 1906, Kinoshita Hiroji, President of Kyoto Imperial University, had recommended him for a Doctorate in Jurisprudence (hōgaku hakushi), which the Ministry of Education subsequently approved, making him the rare possessor of two prestigious degrees.⁷ Nitobe at forty-four was at the prime of his powers. He had attained the burning ambition of his youth: to stand prominently among the leaders of Japan. But what was Nitobe Inazō's private lifestyle like? Did his home differ from that of other Meiji elite? What influence did his American wife have on his personal values and tastes? These considerations to which we turn provide revealing insights into the internationalism that Nitobe represented.⁸

The Inner Circle: Life at Kobinatadai Machi

Openness to visitors and hospitality always distinguished the Nitobe's home. Though book lovers who valued quiet and contemplation, Nitobe and Mary prized human companionship even more. While still employed in Formosa, in July 1903, Nitobe purchased a house in Tokyo in Koishikawa ward at Kobinatadai machi. But it proved too small for their needs. Retaining only the front entrance and tearoom, they rebuilt the entire house. In the interval, they rented another house in Hara machi closeby. Sometime around 1905 or 1906, their new mansion was completed.⁹

It stood atop a small but steep hill, called Hattori-zaka, that overlooked the surrounding Koishikawa community. On clear days one could see Mount Fuji in the distance. Among the immediate neighbors were the Shibatas, whose father was a renown botanist; the Shōdas (the uncle of the present Princess Michiko), the Onos (Yoko Lennon's uncle), and the Onodera and Tanaka families. Behind the Nitobe home was a Buddhist temple and a little cemetery.¹⁰

The large two-story house of over thirty rooms had a floor space that covered some 10,000 square feet. Its design, both outside and within, combined Western and Japanese features in a blend that reflected the occupants' cosmopolitan tastes. Most striking to the onlooker were the huge glass windows superimposed upon a Japanese façade. These window panes, which completely surrounded the second-floor rooms, gave the house a light and airy appearance.¹¹

Approaching the huge mansion, one climbed five stone stairs and entered through the central entrance of four adjoining doors, two of which were regularly used. Servants had a smaller side door near the road. Within the structure, syncretic combinations of Occidental and Oriental aesthetics design were evident throughout. Katō Takeko, Nitobe's granddaughter who lived in the home as a child, recollects the atmosphere as one of "quiet nobility." The high ceilings were made of Japanese cypress and the polished floor of maple-colored wood. With the exception of the tea room, servants' quarters, and the shosei (boarding student) room, all the rooms were laid out in Western-style. Furniture in the living room was of seventeenth-century design, with an interior color scheme of brown and light brown. The parlor was decorated with blending patterns of green. Alcoves were constructed in one corner of the dining and living rooms where scrolls hung. Mary, a meticulous woman, saw to it that the servants and shosei dusted and polish frequently.¹²

Outside, on an estate of about 40,000 square feet, the Nitobes planted many flowering trees--cherry, plum and wisteria--which bloomed in season. In one section of the grounds, Mary laid out a rose garden; and in another area, visible from his second story study, Nitobe built a miniature Japanese-style garden with a pond which on moonlit nights reflected the moon.¹³ Perhaps while gazing out upon his garden at night, deep in meditation, Nitobe composed his oft quoted Japanese poems as paeans to his beloved moonlight.¹⁴

The elegant Nitobe home was so unique in its blend of East and West that it received a reputation as "a place to see" among foreigners visiting Tokyo.¹⁵ John Dewey, who lectured in Japan for three months in 1919 from February until April, along with Mrs. Dewey, were guests at the Kobinata home. He and his wife were impressed with the house which had all the amenities of Western living. Nitobe's enormous library, which covered several rooms, especially caught Dewey's eye. "We are surrounded," he wrote daughter Evelyn, "by all the books on Japan that modern learning has produced."¹⁶ The Nitobes lived in this magnificent home until 1919 when he left for Europe and employment with the League of Nations. After retirement in 1927 he resumed his Kobinata residence until his death in 1933. Eleven years later, in the great Tokyo air raids of May 1945, the home was destroyed.¹⁷ While it stood, it remained a monument that symbolized the internationalism of Nitobe Inazō.

In addition to the Kobinata home the Nitobes, like many other members of the Meiji elite, had summer homes elsewhere. Nitobe had two, one in Kamakura and other at Karuizawa.¹⁸ Maintaining this conspicuous lifestyle with a large household must have been incredibly expensive. Nitobe's teenage son, Yoshio, moreover, had been sent off to the United States, to attend Westtown, a Quaker boarding school in Pennsylvania, before enrolling at Haverford College.¹⁹ And in 1905, Nitobe adopted his second child, Kotoko, a fifteen year old grand-

daughter of his eldest sister, Mine. He enrolled her at the Aoyama jogakuin (women's school) and later Tsuda Umeko's school.²⁰ The household also included four maid servants who did the cooking and cleaning and one man servant who was responsible for the utility work around the mansion. And for three and a half years, from about 1905, Inazō and Mary were guardians of the three sons of the Shimazu family, the former lords of Satsuma, and supervised their English education.²¹ Boarding at the Nitobe home too as a shosei was Tajima Michiji, later director of the Imperial Household Agency who was then a student at the Imperial University.²²

Despite the heavy financial burdens of his household, Nitobe apparently managed quite well. His salary as Headmaster of the First Higher School and Professor at the Imperial University provided more than enough to live modestly, but not in the stately manner to which they were accustomed.²³ Other sources, fees from lecturing, income from the Teibi company, which published the Eibun shinshi for which he served as general editor and advisor, and royalties from his books and hundreds of magazine articles, brought in the bulk of his earnings. And after 1909, his special relationship with the Jitsugyō no Nihon sha probably added substantially to his revenues.²⁴

Though one of his disciples tells us that Nitobe showed little concern with money matters, it is hard to accept that statement at face value.²⁵ His expensive lifestyle required a huge income. That his family lived comfortably, even

luxuriously, seemed natural to him, as an important personage, and he did not hide the fact, nor apologize for it. Nor did criticism distract him, even when it accused him of hypocrisy for living so ornately off the royalties of his works which preached an ethic of forbearance and frugality.²⁶ Paying the bills and keeping the budget were not things he nor Mary had time for nor, it seems, inclination. These duties were entrusted to a housekeeper, who served as household accountant. But the Nitobes, despite their comfortable Western-standard lifestyles, did not squander Inazo's wealth for their own sakes. They always had more than enough to give away. Available are many testimonies which attest to the generosity with which Inazō and Mary gave to social causes and to needy persons. Many touching personal anecdotes testify to Nitobe's sensitivities to the plight and sufferings of individuals and the creative ways in which he provided help.²⁷

The Nitobes were one of a handful of international couples living in Tokyo in late Meiji. Their daughter Kotoko recalls only four or five others, among them Ozaki Yukio, the long-time member of the House of Representatives and former Mayor of Tokyo, whose wife was American.²⁸ These couples comprised a network of upper society that gathered when foreign notables, such as David Starr Jordan, William Faunce, Charles Eliot, and Hamilton Mabie, came to Japan.²⁹ Western etiquette and practices, such as the sending out of invitation cards, governed social functions.³⁰

Early in her marriage, Mary expressed concern about her role as hostess. Kotoko recalls her mother telling her that "since I have become the wife of a Japanese, I felt I should learn the language, habits and customs of the country."³¹ But she did not succeed; the rules of nineteenth-century middle-class Philadelphia urban society were too hard to rub off. In her thirty-odd years of residence in Japan, Mary Nitobe never in the slightest acquired the ways of the Japanese. She did not learn to speak Japanese aside from a few words. In Hokkaido, Nitobe had tried to teach her but she "got headaches," and he soon gave up. After moving to Tokyo, Tsuda Umeko's younger sister, Yonako, who taught English at the Seisoku college, gave Mary Japanese lessons, but also quit, and retorted that "she was hopeless."³² Mary tearfully explained to Kotoko that "even though I am unable to learn, the time is coming when young people of Japan will have to learn English. These youth can practice English conversation with me."³³

Inazō did not insist that Mary change her ways. Rather, he accommodated himself to the customs of his wife. In food and living conditions, the Nitobes adopted Western ways. Their dining table sat a maximum of twelve, and "once or twice a month" they would invite guests over for dinner. Among the first lessons that Kotoko received from her father after she came to live with them in Tokyo was the art of eating with a knife and fork and other appropriate table manners. "In our house," he told her, "we only eat western meals."³⁴ But

exceptions, apparently, were allowed. On special occasions the family had traditional Japanese dishes. They included New Years and preparations for guests, such as the monthly meeting of Yanagida Kunio's study group. At that gathering, Kotoko recalls, eel was invariably served.³⁵

Though Nitobe had many contacts with government officials and politicians, they were not often invited as social guests to the home. He seems to have been most comfortable with liberal academics at Tokyo University such as Anezaki Masaharu, Professor of Religion who, like himself, had extensive contacts abroad, and Onozuka Kiheiji, who later served as President of the University.³⁶ Nitobe's friendship with the old Sapporo group had waned. Miyabe Kingo and Satō Shōsuke were in far off Hokkaido, and relations with them became limited to their visits in Tokyo. And his contacts with former Sapporo classmates living in the capital were rare. Though Hiroi Isamu was now Professor of Engineering at Tōdai, he apparently had his own circle. So too with his college confidant, Uchimura Kanzō. Though both lived in metropolitan Tokyo, they did not socialize with each other. Uchimura had retreated from public life after 1903 and became a full-time Christian evangelist. He seemed to share little of Nitobe's public concerns. Only once, Kotoko recalls, did Uchimura come over to the home for dinner with other Sapporo classmates.³⁷ But their relationship, significantly, continued in their students who drew inspiration from them both, and who visited

each in turn.³⁸

Closest to Nitobe were a handful of ichikō graduates studying at the Imperial University. Older than his own First Higher School students, they came regularly to the Komaba campus to see him. And at the weekly consultation sessions which Nitobe held for ichikō students, these young men invariably appeared to take charge of affairs.³⁹ Nitobe formed intimate teacher-disciple bonds with them during these years. It was a relationship that would carry on for the rest of his life. Members of this group included Tsurumi Yūsuke, Maeda Tamon, Tajima Michiji, Kasama Akio, Iwanaga Yūkichi and Kanai Kiyoshi.⁴⁰ Of this group, three deserve special mention, as they later became particular favorites of his.

Tsurumi Yūsuke was born in Okayama in 1885. After finishing middle school there, he entered the First Higher School in 1902.⁴¹ He first saw Nitobe, he recollected, at the opening address that Nitobe gave at the First Higher School in October 1906. From that point on, "[Nitobe] became my spiritual advisor," and for the next four years of university life "I never left his side."⁴² Because of his ability in English, Tsurumi also became very close to Mary. A letter he wrote to a niece in the summer of 1908 pictures his relations with the Nitobes. "[Mary] is a good woman who takes very, very good care of a worthless fellow like me, and advises me on various matters." Of Nitobe, "sensei trusts me and looks after me very well. I am overjoyed and feel like bursting into tears of happiness."⁴³ After Tsurumi's graduation from Tōdai, Nitobe

helped him get a job and served as the go-between in his marriage to Gotō Shinpei's daughter.⁴⁴

The other half of the pair who became Nitobe's most trusted disciple was Maeda Tamon. He was from Osaka and a year older than Tsurumi.⁴⁵ In the dormitory at the First Higher School, the two had become fast friends. Sharing similar interests and aspirations, they both found in Nitobe an ideal model to emulate. Maeda encountered Nitobe first while a second-year student at the First Higher School. He was in the audience at a lecture in Hongō where Nitobe spoke. The talk so impressed Maeda, he recalled thirty years later, that "he wished he could study with such a vibrant and attractive teacher."⁴⁶ After Nitobe came to the First Higher School, he and Tsurumi "went to the [Komaba] campus frequently to be close to sensei and to pester him with questions of all sorts." After Maeda graduated from Tōdai with a speciality in German Law, Nitobe helped him get a job by "taking me to the Home Ministry and introducing me to the Vice Minister."⁴⁷ Maeda Yōichi, Tamon's son and Professor Emeritus of Tokyo University, humorously commented that "I would not be here had it not been for Nitobe sensei." As with Tsurumi, Nitobe helped marry Maeda to Yōichi's mother, a graduate of the Mita Friends Girls' School.⁴⁸

A close friend of the pair and also a Nitobe worshipper was Tajima Michiji, who came from a wealthy Nagoya family. The Tajimas, it seems, had a family tradition where, when a son

reached age twenty, he was sent out to become a shosei at the home of his favorite teacher.⁴⁹ Most likely, through influential family connections, which probably involved a tidy financial settlement, Tajima managed to become the shosei at the Nitobe home. Tajima was assigned a room beside the entrance and from there screened visitors and greeted guests. Tsurumi, Maeda, and other friends, Kasama Akio, Kanai Kiyoshi and Iwanaga Yūkichi visited Tajima often and ended up guests at the Nitobe dining table. Kotoko, who was then a student at the Tsuda school, when she returned home on weekends from her dorm, would often find them there. "[T]hat group came so frequently to our house, I wondered when they did their studying."⁵⁰

They were probably attracted to Nitobe because of his wide reputation; they all appear to have been highly ambitious and already set on career courses that portended important future roles in government service. To their impressionable eyes, Nitobe typified a successful cosmopolitan, widely travelled and cultured, who had all the bearings of a successful gentleman. He was a living model of their own aspirations. They liked, furthermore, his approachability and his even-handed way of dealing with them. And, recalls Iwanaga, "he had a good sense of humor." As they left the university to find jobs in the bureaucracy, Nitobe always helped. And when they faced important career decisions, they frequently turned to him for advice and counseling.⁵¹

But Nitobe's intimate style made him a spiritual mentor

beyond his closely knit student group. Many people attracted to him knew him only via his magazine articles. Even his printed word radiated the personalism that he valued in his human relations. Strangers, attracted by his warmth and appeal, came to see him at his home uninvited, to seek his advice on their personal problems. From early morning, even before he arose, they lined up to see him. Nitobe did not turn them away. Rather, he went through his daily routine--shaving, bathing, and eating a voracious breakfast--without any sense of hurry. Then, getting up slowly, he went out to see his intrusive visitors. Methodically, "like a physician," his daughter recalls, "he directed each to a different room, and consulted with each one in turn." When leaving, she says, they were in good spirits. Nitobe, apparently, succeeded equally as a personal advisor to strangers and to intimates.⁵² But his greatest fame came from his work as the urbane and attractive Headmaster at the First Higher School.

The Public Figure: Educator for Modern Japan

Nitobe came to the ichikō as its seventh headmaster.⁵³ It already had a long and venerable history that stretched back to the Tokyo eigo gakkō which Nitobe had attended in the early 1870s.⁵⁴ His appointment brought comments from observers. Sasagawa Rinpū contrasted Nitobe's reputation as a well-known internationalist with that of his predecessor, Kano Kōkichi, a recluse bachelor scholar who had served over

seven years as the institution's head. Shimada Saburō, editor of the Tokyo Mainichi and later a parliamentarian, saw in Nitobe a gentlemanly scholar, "much like Mori Ōgai," who had "common sense" as well as "semmon sense" (specialized knowledge). Many expected drastic reforms with his tenure. They did not wait long; Nitobe began immediately to instill a new school spirit.⁵⁵

He left routine day-to-day administrative matters with his subordinates and directed his attentions to, firstly, problems of moral development in the students, and secondly, public relations at the First Higher School. With respect to the former, he utilized many innovative ideas that he had employed earlier with success at Sapporo; and on the latter, he sought to promote a new public image of the First Higher School as a institution to prepare the cream of the country's youth for future roles as leaders in an international community.⁵⁶

His educational philosophy derived in large measure from the English public school system, whose aim was to make gentlemen out of school boys. Years earlier, while still a student at the Johns Hopkins University, one of Nitobe's favorite books was Tom Brown's Schooldays. He later serialized it with notes in the Eibun shinshi. Thomas Arnold's Rugby College was Nitobe's model. In his own mind, perhaps, he was acting out a fanciful wish to "be like Arnold." Nitobe emphasized the virtues of "sociality" and "cheerfulness" which, he was careful to point out, were not ends in

themselves, but only reflected the individual's inner life. The two dimensions of his thought, the horizontal (yoko no kankei) and vertical (tate no kankei), pointed to, firstly, one's social obligations to humanity; and secondly, interconnections with a spiritual realm that transcended the material world.⁵⁷

Nitobe's ideas on education, which have been analyzed with great acuity by Satō Masahiro, were sustained by his Christianity beliefs.⁵⁸ Though he did not talk about religion as such, his more sensitive students detected in his instructions a definite religious viewpoint.⁵⁹ On explicit matters of Christianity and theology, he directed his inquisitive pupils to seek guidance from Uchimura Kanzō, whom he felt better qualified to teach on the subject than he. When asked the difference between his own faith and that of Uchimura, Nitobe answered simply that while he "entered [Christianity] through a side gate," Uchimura entered "through the front gate."⁶⁰

In his weekly ethics lectures, Nitobe skillfully wove his religious ideas into the subject matter and avoided categorical statements. He did the same with his occasional talks on Carlyle's Sartor Resartus and Goethe's Faust, which proved highly popular with the students.⁶¹ And to build a closer rapport with students, he even rented a building near the school to meet weekly with them, a counseling technique that he had used fifteen years earlier at the Hokumei gakkō.

While sipping green tea and munching on rice cakes, students barraged him with queries of all sorts. Many years later, Yanaihara Tadao, Nambara Shigeru and Ishii Mitsuru, among others, recollected fondly these talks and wrote nostalgic accounts of them.⁶²

As he had also done at the nōgakkō, Nitobe stressed the importance of clean living quarters.⁶³ And to drive home this lesson in a dramatic way, he arranged for Nogi Marusuke to pay them a visit without forewarning. In his spit and polish military mannerisms, the General strode to the school on horseback and made a quick inspection of the grounds and buildings. At the sight of the filthy rooms, he uttered under his breath, but in a voice loud enough to be heard by the embarrassed students, "genki desu na" (how full of vigor!).⁶⁴

A major part of Nitobe's renovation was to enliven the drab physical environment of the campus. Feeling that flowers and trees would help to divert students from morbid introspection to more healthier concerns, Nitobe planted, at his own personal expense, over a hundred clover bushes on the north side of the dormitories.⁶⁵

Though popular with most students, Nitobe irritated a certain segment of the school's population. The Athletic Club students saw his activities as a challenge to the rōjōshūgi (monasticism) which characterized their lifestyle. Its members esteemed physical prowess and strode around with airs of gōketsu (a rugged and heroic male). In their eyes, the ichikō ideal should continue to be the tough unkept student

rough in manners and dress, who clod around in wooden clogs, a dirty kimono and tattered hat. Nitobe's gentleman image, they felt, was effeminate and stank of Western values.⁶⁶ Threatened by Nitobe's philosophy, which was attracting so many of the younger students, the traditionalists went on the attack. They called Nitobe a happō bijin (one who tries to please everyone) who lacked backbone. At a dorm meeting on March 1, 1909, prior to the traditional dorm festival, older alumni, Suehiro Izutarō and Ishimoto Eikichi, gave speeches denouncing the kōchō. But Nitobe had his supporters, such as Maeda Tamon, who pleaded his case. Finally Nitobe himself took the podium and read from a crumpled sheet of paper which he had pulled from his pocket. He offered to resign as headmaster, he said in an emotional speech, if the students felt his work unnecessary. So effectively did he make his appeal that sobbing could be heard throughout the room. His supporters ultimately won the day, and he was even more idolized.⁶⁷

Nitobe had an uncanny skill to grasp the wholehearted attention of his listeners and dazzle them with his wide-ranging knowledge of different subjects. Though some students, such as Akutagawa Ryūnosuke, were disenchanted by his moralizing, Nitobe's lectures were generally welcomed by the majority. A few enthusiastic ones even scrambled to get front-row seats in the auditorium whenever he spoke.⁶⁸

He used his full oratorical talents in a memorable

lecture at the Peers' Middle School (Gakushūin) in 1907. Its principal, the venerable General Nogi, who appears to have shared many of Nitobe's ideas on the proper guidance of youth, had invited him over to speak. Nitobe's words were so overpowering that he brought tears to many students eyes. In the audience were Takagi Yasaka, later one of Nitobe's closest disciples and Konoe Fumimaro, twice Prime Minister before the outbreak of World War II. Each wrote of the incident. The highlight of the occasion came when Nogi climbed the rostrum to embrace Nitobe and clasp his hand in appreciation. "I have never been so emotionally moved," recalled Konoe, who was then a third-year student.⁶⁹

In dealing with his own ichikō students, Nitobe was diplomatic and was careful not to exert dictatorial authority. From the very first months of his tenure, when the school was in turmoil over a problem that his predecessor had mishandled, Nitobe left matters in the students' hands without interference. But when it became apparent that they were unable to control the expanding controversy, he democratically asked for their approval to intervene and disposed of the problem with little damage.⁷⁰

A major crisis in Nitobe's tenure at ichikō came after the Taigyaku jiken (Great Conspiracy Incident) in which Kōtoku Shūsui and eleven other anarchists were convicted and executed in a plot to assassinate the Meiji Emperor. The Debating Club, at the insistence of Yanaihara Tadao and Kawai Eijirō, invited the iconoclast writer and estranged brother

of Sohō, Tokutomi Roka, to speak at the school. Roka gave a blistering attack on the government and the methods it had used in the above trial.⁷¹ When news of Roka's speech was made public, Nitobe was harshly criticized as irresponsible and exercising poor judgment in allowing such a dangerous man speak to young and impressionable minds. The incident brought a reprimand from the Ministry of Education and a black mark in Nitobe's record.⁷²

But this was just a minor blemish in a highly-laudatory performance as administrator of the school. His most lasting success at ichikō, it appears now in retrospect, was the profound influence that Nitobe exerted upon students, who, in later years, became high officials in government, business, and educational circles. Several postwar Ministers of Education and two Tokyo University Presidents numbered among his former pupils. They were teenagers sixteen to eighteen years old when they came under his tutelage. Of this group, the most noteworthy are Yanaihara Tadao, Nambara Shigeru, Morito Tatsuo, Kawai Eijirō, Gotō Ryūnosuke, Ishii Mitsuru, Mitani Takamasa, Kawanishi Jitsuzō and Takagi Yasaka.⁷³

These men have eulogized Nitobe and have created a near legend of his tenure at the ichikō.⁷⁴ To posterity they bequeathed his image as a great educator second only to Fukuzawa Yukichi in modern times--a "spiritual prophet who guided educated youth out of the doldrums of closed-minded and primitive nationalism to a loftier vision of the personal

self."⁷⁵

A recent work by Donald Roden shows Nitobe in a slightly more modest light. The acclaims that his students and admirers have credited him with, such as an emphasis on individuality and bildung, Roden demonstrates, were already present within ichikō's climate even before Nitobe arrived. But Nitobe's overwhelming influence, even Roden concedes, is undeniable. Among his major accomplishments, he redefined the traditional idea of manliness as understood by the Japanese, to a more universal concept that had international validity.⁷⁶ Japanese, he had felt, needed to outgrow her provincialism.

Nitobe did not confine his public activities to the First Higher School. Moral education for youth outside regular educational channels, particularly for those too poor to attend school, he saw as imperative. This conviction had led him while in Hokkaido to found the Enyū yagakkō. In his third year at the First Higher School, an opportunity presented itself to make his influence reach to a wider audience. Masuda Giichi, owner of the Jitsugyō no Nihon sha, a highly successful publishing firm, invited Nitobe to join the company as an editorial advisor. Masuda's offer came at an opportune moment, since only a few months earlier, Nitobe's own English journal, the Eigaku shinshi had ceased publication, after Sakurai Ōson, the managing editor, departed.⁷⁷

Masuda was seven years Nitobe's junior. True to the self-help philosophy that he advocated in his magazine, Masuda was a self-made man. Born in Niigata prefecture, he came to

Tokyo at age twenty-one and entered the Tokyo semmon gakkō, the present Waseda University, where he studied politics and Japanese language. He graduated with honors, even while taking part in Kaishintō (Progressive Party) political activities. After a short stint as a reporter with the Yomiuri newspaper, he took over in 1900 the publishing of the magazine, Jitsugyō no Nihon. In less than a decade, he built it up into a front runner in the publishing world. Using astute business sense--which included the pioneering of mass-advertising practices in Japan--he expanded the number of his publications.⁷⁸

Despite its name, the Jitsugyō no Nihon was not a technical journal. Its biweekly issues carried articles on popular philosophy with special emphasis on attitudes and values--particularly those that related to employment and career selection. It also gave hints and techniques on how to attain one's goals.⁷⁹

Nitobe invited Masuda over to his home late in 1908 to meet the publisher and inquire further into the unique offer. Masuda explained "the company's philosophy that underlay our publishing policy and our magazine's mission." He continued: "I especially emphasized the importance of spiritual and self guidance for industrial youth." In this effort, he concluded, Nitobe could help immensely by the respect he commanded among young people throughout Japan. "[T]here is no more suitable person than you." he told Nitobe.⁸⁰

Nitobe found Masuda's ideas on the importance of ethical development congenial. But he was also attracted to Masuda for another reason. He sensed in the publisher a genuine concern for the future welfare of the country. To help young people gain direction in life and become usefully employed, regardless of their social status, meant, in the long run, a stronger nation. Japan, despite her progress, was still behind the Western powers; every little contribution would bring the goal that much closer.⁸¹

But joining the Jitsugyō no Nihon venture entailed great risks. How would the public react when they heard that Nitobe, the Headmaster of the First Higher School, was writing commercially for a popular audience? His earlier association with the Eibun shinshi differed fundamentally from this proposal. It was an educational magazine for students of English, and the tone and content of the articles made that self-evident. But with the Jitsugyō no Nihon, the distinction between education and commercialism was not so obvious. Criticism would surely come from many quarters. But Nitobe, aware of the tremendous power of his message and his successes with youth, determined to spread his influence through this popular magazine. In December he accepted Masuda's offer.⁸²

Nitobe's debut as a celebrated member of the Jitsugyō no Nihon staff appeared in the 1909 New Year's issue. In a carefully worded article, he listed five reasons why he had joined the company. He came straight to the point. "Money is not the primary reason" he stated explicitly. No doubt his

idealism and altruism lay at the base of his decision to write commercially. But as Nitobe himself so well knew, men are seldom moved by pure motives. One suspects that pecuniary reasons too, played its part in influencing his decision. It would be naive to ignore this aspect of the partnership, as so many of Nitobe's biographers have done.

For the next four years, concurrent with his work at ichikō, Nitobe served as Editorial Adviser for the magazine and wrote regularly, mainly about self-cultivation (shūyō). These articles immediately made a hit. The Jitsugyō no Nihon's circulation rose sharply because of them, as avid readers sought his sagely advice on dealing with life's problems.⁸³

The reception to these popular morality articles was so overwhelming that Masuda decided to compile and publish them in a separate volume.⁸⁴ While the work was in progress, in the summer of 1911, a request came from the Foreign Ministry asking Nitobe to be the first lecturer to the United States under a new program sponsored by the Carnegie Foundation.

Carnegie Endowment for Peace Exchange Professor

American interest in international relations had grown enormously since the turn of the century. More people than ever before knew about the country's role in world affairs, and many feared that involvement overseas would lead to conflict. Peace movements flourished. Though differing in political views and philosophies, they all sought to

banish war.⁸⁵

Andrew Carnegie, the steel magnate and philanthropist, liked the idealism of these groups. In 1908, he announced his intention to use some of his wealth to promote peace. President Nicholas Murray Butler of Columbia University, an advocate of international understanding and co-founder of the International Conciliation, a journal devoted to issues of peace, discussed with Hamilton Holt, editor of the Independent magazine, the possible uses of Carnegie's money.⁸⁶ Holt, who had been involved with the peace movement since 1903, brought together other influential leaders Edward Everett Hale, Albert Smiley, Samuel Dutton, and Edwin Mead, who drew up a concrete program for the Foundation.⁸⁷

After several conferences at Lake Mohonk, New York, where final plans were thoroughly discussed, Butler presented the program to Carnegie. Using some persuasion, Butler writes in his memoirs, he convinced the philanthropist that the idea was workable. In December 1910, the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace was established with a trust fund of ten million dollars.⁸⁸

Elihu Root, a powerful conservative Republican Senator and former Secretary of State, became President of the new Foundation. A twenty-six member Board of Trustees was also formed. It included Wall Street financiers, prominent businessmen, university presidents, and four congressmen.⁸⁹ Though they were mainly from the East, a few came from the South and West. On the working level, three administrative

divisions were created: (1) the Division of International Law; (2) the Division of Economics and History; and (3) the Division of Intercourse and Education. James B. Scott, a specialist in International Law, headed the first division; John Bates Clark, another academic, the second; and Nicholas Butler, the third.⁹⁰

The Peace Foundation's mandate extended beyond the production of specialized monographs on the nature of international conflict and other scholarly topics. Although the studies in the first two sections were primarily academic, an active, well-coordinated public awareness program, mostly through lectures and speeches and copious quantities of written materials, constituted an important part of the Foundation's activities.⁹¹

The Division of Intercourse and Education, headed by Butler, undertook this propaganda work. It prepared, among its first tasks, an international exchange of scholars with Japan. Butler began correspondence with universities across the country to interest them in the program. By the summer of 1911, he had obtained the cooperation of six: Brown University, Columbia University, The Johns Hopkins University, the University of Virginia, the University of Illinois, and the University of Minnesota. And, to complete the arrangements, he contacted the Japanese Embassy in Washington, which referred the matter back to the Katsura government in Tokyo.⁹²

Nitobe's past experiences in the United States and his wide contacts there made him an excellent candidate for this irenic mission of mutual understanding.⁹³ When the invitation came to him in June, Nitobe readily accepted. A great honor, it provided opportunities for "an enjoyable trip, meeting with congenial people, renewing old acquaintance, [and] taking my wife to her native home."⁹⁴ And for the first time, he related the anecdote which has become synonymous with his name: that he wanted to be a 'bridge across the Pacific.'⁹⁵

He gave his assignment much thought. What was his American audience like? How much did they know about Japan? What subjects would interest them? After much deliberation, he decided that the safest approach was to assume that his intended listeners knew next to nothing about Japan and to give a series of broad and comprehensive lectures. He chose the following eight topics:⁹⁶

- (1) The East and the West
- (2) Geographical Features of Japan
- (3) History and its Relation to the Present
- (4) Race and National Characteristics
- (5) Religious Beliefs
- (6) Moral and Moral Ideals
- (7) Economic Conditions
- (8) The Relations Between the United States and Japan

Nitobe spent the summer months of 1911 working on his lectures and polishing them for delivery. For reference, he also packed a travelling bag and suitcase with books relating to Japan. Even on board ship, he continued to prepare. Mary went with him, back on her first visit to her native country

after an absence of more than a decade. Nitobe also took along Tsurumi Yūsuke, his devoted disciple, to serve as secretary. Tsurumi had recently entered the Railways Bureau (Tetsudōin), and Nitobe probably arranged with Gotō Shinpei, Tsurumi's father-in-law and director of the bureau, to secure a year's leave of absence for Tsurumi and permit him to make the trip.⁹⁷ They left Yokohama on September 1st on the Shunyō Maru, which was making its maiden voyage. Travelling on the same ship was Shimada Saburō, who had been invited by the Japanese immigrant association in California to investigate their grievances against the local government.⁹⁸

While steaming towards California, Nitobe received word that Stanford University wanted him to give a lecture at their Palo Alto campus. This sudden request may have resulted from his meeting with David Starr Jordan, President of the institution, who had visited Japan that autumn and whom Nitobe had entertained at his home a few days before his departure for the United States. Jordan, though a specialist in Botany, had a deep interest in Japan and stressed peaceful relations with her. He probably felt that Nitobe's appearance at his university would help alleviate the growing xenophobic agitation against Japanese in the state.⁹⁹

Two days after his arrival in San Francisco, on Monday, September 18th, Nitobe stood on the podium at Stanford to address the university's first assembly for the school year 1911-1912. In his speech, "Peace Over the Pacific," which the university's paper, the Daily Palo Alto described as a

"remarkably impartial view of Japanese-American situation," Nitobe dismissed as "mischievous rumors" the recent talk of war. "[N]ot a grain of reason," he said "is left among the air bubbles of the scare-mongers that can be given as a just ground of war, whereas there is every reason to believe that the two nations which fringe the Pacific are tied by the bonds of friendship, stronger than any bond which binds any other two nations." This speech set the tone of his other talks on peaceful relations, and the underlying thrust was the same: it was a mission of good will, and the message of mutual understanding was the keyword throughout.¹⁰⁰

He spent the next ten days inspecting the agricultural holdings of the Japanese immigrants in California. And he gave speeches, in Japanese, to local groups.¹⁰¹ Next, in late September, they headed east to Philadelphia, where Nitobe spent two weeks putting the final touches on his lectures. Then he went north to Providence, Rhode Island to begin his official duties as exchange professor.¹⁰²

The Carnegie Exchange Professorship Lectures had been publicized well ahead of time. The local Providence Journal and the university paper, the Brown Herald carried schedules of Nitobe's Brown University lectures and others elsewhere around the city. He was given a high billing as a "distinguished Japanese [who] possesses the titles of Nōgaku hakushi and Hōgaku hakushi," and "speaks English fluently."¹⁰³

Nitobe had previous connections with the city founded by

the rebel puritan, Roger Williams. Twelve years earlier, in the winter of 1899, before he published Bushido, he and Mary had spent a few days at Anna Chalce's home. Anna was a girlhood friend of Mary and the daughter of Jonathan Chalce, an influential Quaker who had established a cotton-manufacturing firm in the city. Chalce had spent a number of years in the U.S. Congress, first as a representative and later as senator.¹⁰⁴

Arriving in Providence on October 15th, Nitobe gave his first lecture at Brown University a few days later. For the next four weeks, Nitobe gave his series of eight talks twice a week on Mondays and Thursday afternoons at 5 p.m. And on Monday evenings, he held a weekly seminar for students in the John Hay Library. He also spoke to several commercial and social organizations of the city and the Providence Board of Trade."¹⁰⁵

After a successful month in Rhode Island, Nitobe moved to New York City and Columbia University. Nitobe began his Columbia lectures in mid-November for another four weeks until mid-December.¹⁰⁶ He also lectured at Teachers College on "Education in Japan."¹⁰⁷ Among the members of his audience was John Dewey, Professor of Philosophy at Columbia and a leading theorist in the progressive movement in American schools. Dewey, like Nitobe, had studied at the Johns Hopkins University and received his Ph.D. there a few months before Nitobe arrived in 1884. Dewey's younger brother, Davis, knew Nitobe since both had been members of Herbert Adam's

Historical Seminary.¹⁰⁸ Dewey expressed great interest in Nitobe's talk and commented on Nitobe's point that "education and politics are kept separate in Japan." Eight years later, as pointed out above, Dewey got a first-hand look at Japan and its system of education during his lectures at Tōdai.¹⁰⁹

At Columbia, Nitobe also met the theologian Hugh Black, Professor of Practical Theology at the Union Theological Seminary.¹¹⁰ Black had achieved a reputation as a fiery speaker and author of many popular books on ethical behavior. Black's character made a strong impression on Nitobe. After returning to Japan, he had his disciple, Maeda Tamon, translate Black's book on Culture and Restraint into Japanese.¹¹¹

After completing his lectures at Columbia, Nitobe set out for the University of Chicago. He arrived there in time for the graduation reception on the evening of December 18th and stood in line with President Harry Judson and other dignitaries to welcome the graduates of the class of 1911. And at the ceremonies held at the Leon Mandel Assembly Hall the following day, Nitobe gave the Convocation Address. His speech "American Influence in the Far East," acclaimed as "one of the most striking of recent convocations", was printed in full in the University Record. After his short Chicago appearance, Nitobe went back East to resume his exchange professor duties at his old alma mater, the Johns Hopkins University.¹¹²

He began his Johns Hopkins lectures on January 11th. They

continued for the next four weeks on the same schedule as at Brown.¹¹³ The first three lectures, given at McCoy Hall, proved immensely popular. The News Letter reported that the room "was filled, [with] people even standing up in the rear...." The remaining lectures were subsequently moved to the Concert Hall of the Academy of Music to accommodate a larger audience.¹¹⁴ Back at his old alma mater, Tsurumi recollected, Nitobe was a sought after guest and received many private invitations from Baltimore residents to tea or dinner at their homes.¹¹⁵

While the Nitobes stayed at the Plaza Hotel in downtown Baltimore, executives of the Carnegie Endowment were busy arranging Nitobe's speaking engagements in Washington, D.C. On the evening of January 26th, at the Seventh Annual Meeting of the National Geographical Association, Nitobe was honored as one of three special guests.¹¹⁶ Among the more than five hundred people who attended were a dozen diplomats, 49 members of the House of Representatives, 12 senators, and numerous other dignitaries, including Robert Bryce, British Ambassador to the United States, who afterwards told Nitobe that his Bushido was "a gem" among the works of English literature.¹¹⁷ Nitobe was introduced to the distinguished crowd by Alexander Graham Bell, inventor of the telephone, and spoke for about ten minutes on the importance of mutual understanding and good will. A week later on Friday evening, February 2nd, Nitobe addressed a select group of men at the Carnegie Institution who had been invited by the Carnegie Endowment officials

because their work dealt "specifically with education." Afterwards a reception was held in his honor.¹¹⁸ While visiting the nation's capital at this time, Nitobe paid a courtesy call on U.S. President William Howard Taft, who was a firm supporter of the peace movement in America.¹¹⁹

After completing his Johns Hopkins lectures on February 5th, Nitobe decided to take a mid-year rest. Leaving Mary with her family in Philadelphia, he and Tsurumi went to New York where they took a German steamer for a four-week vacation to Central and South America. The aim of the trip was to view the construction of the Panama canal, which was almost finished. At the University of Chicago Convocation, Nitobe had alluded to the "mixing of the waters of the Atlantic and the Pacific," and was anxious to see the digging of the "path between the oceans." He and Tsurumi spent a few weeks touring major islands in the West Indies. They visited Cuba and met the President of the island country with whom Nitobe chatted about Japan's Formosan colonization. Then he and Tsurumi crossed over to the Panama isthmus. And after a quick tour of the Central American region, they went to Venezuela, and spent a few days in Caracas. On their return voyage, they did some island hopping, going to Trinidad and Barbados, on the way back to New York.¹²⁰

In the second week in March, well-rested after his month's vacation, Nitobe resumed the second half of his exchange professorship duties. Next in line was the University

of Virginia at Charlottesville, where he repeated the same series of lectures. He also gave a talk at Lexington, Virginia at Washington and Lee University. Since Nitobe had already mastered his materials by so many repetitions, he apparently decided to use the opportunity to explore the old South, a region of the United States that he had never before visited, despite his three years' residence in Baltimore.¹²¹

Throughout his graduate-school years, he looked north to Quaker Pennsylvania and Puritan New England. But now in Virginia, in the heartland of the Confederate States of America during the Civil War, Nitobe experienced another tradition in the heritage of America. He visited the areas devastated by the war five decades before, the scars of which, Tsurumi recalled, were still evident all around. After a successful lecture tour at Virginia, the next region to cover was the Midwest. They took the train to Urbana and the University of Illinois, where Nitobe stayed in residence for four weeks.¹²²

While in Illinois, Nitobe visited Springfield, seventy miles to West of the Urbana campus and the home of Abraham Lincoln. Though recent histories have revised earlier evaluations of the Sixteenth President and destroyed much of the legend that surrounds his name, Nitobe knew Lincoln only in the Great Man's light that he was reverently bathed in.¹²³ In his lectures and writings, Nitobe often mentioned Lincoln and highly praised his moral qualities. His 1912 visit to Lincoln's birthplace must have made a powerful impression upon

him. Seven years later, while travelling again in the United States, this time with Gotō Shimpei and his four disciples, he probably suggested their visit to Springfield on their way across the country¹²⁴

In May, Nitobe moved on to the last station in his exchange assignment: the University of Minnesota at Minneapolis. This campus, the furthest away from the centers of culture on the East Coast, had been informed well ahead of time of Nitobe's visit. An alumnus, G.H. Phelps, a member of the class of '97 and a missionary teacher in Kyoto, had written the school paper, the Minnesota Daily in October, a year before Nitobe's projected visit. Phelps had highly praised Nitobe's accomplishments, and raised high expectations of the Japanese internationalist who was bringing a message of peace across the Pacific. Let's show him, Phelps had said--probably thinking of Nitobe's Bushido and his explication of the Japanese spirit (Nippon damashi)--our "Minnesota damashii." Unfortunately, the university paper, which carried a brief summary of Nitobe's talk, does not mention the audience reaction to his lectures or give attendance figures.¹²⁵

After his last lecture in Minnesota on June 3rd, Nitobe hastened for the East coast. Dropping off his lecture manuscripts for publication with the George Putnams and Sons, he went again to Providence, Rhode Island. On June 19th, at the Brown University's Commencement Exercises, Chancellor

Arnold Faunce presented him with a Honorary Doctorate of Law "[for] his felicitous speech, courteous bearing, and penetrating insight [which] has helped two diverse nations into closer understanding and abiding friendship."¹²⁶

His arduous 166 lectures and nine months work behind him, Nitobe decided to spend the remaining summer months in Europe before returning to Japan to resume his ichikō duties. But while in Europe, their tour was cut short when they received word of the Emperor Meiji's critical illness. They sped home on the Trans-Siberian railway and arrived in Tokyo on September 10th, 1912.¹²⁷

I claim not to have controlled events, but confess plainly that events have controlled me.

Abraham Lincoln, Letter to A. G. Hodges [April 4, 1864]

CHAPTER VI

Taishō Liberal: 1913-1919

When Nitobe received his ichikō appointment in 1906 from the Ministry of Education, he was also given a concurrent professor's post at the Tokyo Imperial University. Throughout his six years at the ichikō, except for the school year 1911-1912 when he served as Carnegie Exchange Professor to America, Nitobe gave a two-hour weekly lecture course there. In April 1913, when he resigned his ichikō Headmaster's post, he assumed a full-time professor's status at Tōdai. After an interval of nearly ten years, he turned his primary attention to his academic specialty.¹

Colonial Policy Professor

Established in 1909, the Chair in Colonial Policy was the first of its kind in Japan. It was the brainchild of Nitobe's mentor at Formosa, Gotō Shinpei, president of the recently created South Manchurian Railway Company, a semi-governmental agency created after the Russo-Japanese War to guide Japanese developments on the continent.² As a tribute to his old

superior, Kodama Gentarō, who had died in 1906 while laying the groundwork of the Railway, Gotō, with the aid of a Kyoto University professor, Matsuoka Santarō, raised some 21,000 yen to establish the chair for research into what he considered of strategic importance for the future.³

Gotō himself was one of the best read men in Japan on the subject. While serving in the sōtokufu, he had at his official residence "amassed a collection of works ... which represented the best of contemporary European commentary on colonial affairs." In 1900, Gotō had been instrumental in granting Nitobe a one-year leave to study tropical colonization in Europe before he assumed his duties with the sōtokufu.⁴

In setting up the Colonial Policy Chair, Gotō appears to have had Nitobe in mind for the job. At a faculty meeting to confirm his appointment, there was resistance by certain professors who did not like him.⁵ But Nitobe's influential friends helped swing the decision in his favor. Kanai Noburu, with whom he had studied in Germany, and Yasaku Eizō supported the move. Both exerted much influence, and their backing allowed Nitobe to penetrate the elite circle at the Law Faculty that was the pinnacle of Japanese academics.⁶

But connections aside, Nitobe's background made him an ideal candidate for the position. His old alma mater, the Sapporo nōgakkō, had been the first institution in Japan to offer a course in colonial policy. In 1891, the year that Nitobe returned from his studies abroad, Satō Shōsuke had started the course and taught it yearly thereafter. But

administrative duties in the school year 1894-95 led him to assigned the class to Nitobe. The course was taught as a branch of economic theory with materials on European theorists, such as J.S. Mill, and other classical liberal thinkers. In substance, this differed considerably from the later discipline of colonial policy.⁷

Nitobe also had much practical background to add to his qualifications for the post. In Sapporo, he had worked as an advisor to the Hokkaido chō on various colonization projects. And in Formosa, Nitobe had impressed his superiors, Kodama and Gotō, with his technical adroitness; his major accomplishment, it will be remembered, was a blueprint for the island's sugar industry.⁸ During this period, Nitobe had cultivated a strong friendship with Gotō who helped to propel his academic career. After learning of Nitobe's desire to return to academics, Gotō spoke to Kinoshita Hiroji, President of Kyoto University, to get Nitobe on the faculty there. And, according to Tanaka Shin'ichi, Gotō even got the president's promise that Nitobe be recommended for a Doctorate of Jurisprudence.⁹

But while Nitobe's academic career progressed rapidly, he had made a crucial break with his earlier plans. His aim at Sapporo was a massive agricultural history of the world that spanned many countries and several thousand years. His work in Taiwan deflected his interests unto a different orbit: one much less concerned with research and theory and more involved

with solving practical problems that arose from Japan's new imperialist role among her Asian neighbors.¹⁰

Even after his return to academics in 1903, Nitobe kept his ties as an government official. He continued to serve the sōtokufu as consultant until 1914; between 1903 and 1908, at least once a year, but more often in the earlier period, he travelled to Taihoku to report in person to the Governor-General.¹¹ And after the establishment of the South Manchurian Railway, he was given field assignments under its auspices. Soon after his appointment to the Headmastership of the First Higher School, Nitobe was dispatched to Korea and Manchuria. His duties there involved land surveys, investigation of local economic conditions, and advice to the Manchu government on the development of an agricultural research station. In 1913, he was again sent on another assignment to the continent.¹²

His connection with government bureaus continued throughout his Professorship in Colonial Policy. From time to time, he was sent on field trips to different parts of rural Japan.¹³ And in 1916 he went abroad for six months to investigate agricultural conditions in Australia, the Philippines, Java, Celebes, and Hong Kong. Just prior to this trip, he had published a major paper on Australia, "Gōshū tochi mondai no yurai" (The origins of the land problem in Australia) in the Kokka gakkai zasshi (Journal of the National Academic Society). And immediately after his return to Japan, he published, using data gathered on the trip, his second

major paper in the same journal "Nanyō no keizaiteki kachi" (The economic potential of the southern oceans). A few years before, he had published articles on the sugar industry in Formosa and the Philippines. These papers are burdened with factual data which demonstrate his wide command of source materials. But they are not integrated or connected in any systematic fashion. Moreover, a theoretical framework in colonial studies is noticeably missing.¹⁴ Lack of time and other pressing commitments precluded his producing any lasting and significant work; his academic output would be short-lived at best, and he himself appears to have accepted that fact.¹⁵

But in the Taishō period, Nitobe stood among the Japanese leaders in the discipline of colonial policy. Though it had started late in Japan in comparison to Europe, the field was, by 1915, solidly established in academic circles. Talented men such as Takekoshi Yosaburō, Nagai Ryūtarō, and Mochiji Rokusaburō wrote extensively on the topic.¹⁶ Nitobe attempted to provide readers with a perspective on it in an article in the Hōgaku kyōkai zasshi (Law Society Review), "Shokumin naru meiji ni tsukite" (Concerning the definition of colonies). It traced the origins of the word shokumin in the Japanese lexicon, discoursed on its present usage by scholars, and noted its widespread coverage in newspapers and journals.¹⁷

As a group, the Japanese scholars of colonial policy shared certain common views on the nature of their subject matter. With Japan's ever widening imperialism, Mark Peattie

writes, "[t]heir outlook on the issues of colonial rule mixed hard national interest, [with] cautious complacent assumptions about the status quo in almost equal proportions."¹⁸ But on these points, Peattie comments, they were not unlike contemporary European writers on the subject. In some respects, particularly in regards to the welfare of the native peoples, they even surpassed their European counterparts.¹⁹

Nitobe, as mentioned in an earlier chapter, believed in the nineteenth century idea of progress. Like most scholars of that period, he was captive to Social Darwinism with its simplistic concepts of "biological laws" of civilization that guided the evolution of societies. The moral duty of the advanced cultures was to lead primitive peoples to the charmed circle of enlightenment which was the ultimate goal of mankind. This process could not to be rushed: it was a gradual, almost imperceptible movement that would take many generations to accomplish. Nearly all of Nitobe's writings reflect this fundamental view.²⁰ But he was too much of a realist to harp only on the ideals of what colonialism in its ideal state should be; he clearly saw the unpleasant issues involved in ruling foreign peoples and did not conceal the national interests that were intricately involved.

What is vital in any colonial scheme seems to me to be the right answer to this question: Do we govern an unwilling people for their sake or for our own? As to the general unwillingness of any colony ... to be governed by a power alien to it, there is little doubt. A colonial government has received no consent of the governed. Nor is there much reason to believe that a colonial

power, white or brown, bears the sacrifice simply to better the lot of the people placed in its charge. The history of colonization is the history of national egotism. But even egotism can attain its end by following the simple law of human intercourse -- "give and take." Mutual advantage must be the rule."²¹

Still, Nitobe wholeheartedly believed that the positive benefits of colonialism outweighed the negative. Skirting the moral question, he propounded the tangible, material results that colonial rule brought.²² He was proud of the accomplishments of Japan in Formosa and saw it as an initial stage of Japan's civilization extending southward to bring enlightenment to the savages of the south seas. In a 1912 speech to the National Geographic Society in Washington, he spoke grandly of the "principles" that underlay the colonization of the Formosa:

- (1) Defending the island
- (2) Developing laws to protect life and property
- (3) Starting Health and Sanitary measures
- (4) Encouraging industries and communication facilities
- (5) Providing education for the natives.²³

When Nitobe delivered this lecture, the Formosan colonization effort was widely acknowledged at home and abroad as a success. But the venture in Japan's newest colony was still in doubt. Though not associated with the colonization of Korea directly, Nitobe apparently had deep ties with people who were. In 1906, immediately after Japan took over the country as a protectorate, Nitobe was sent there to persuade Itō Hirobumi to accept a colonization plan thought up by his

superiors. "My mission was to induce him to accept a plan of settling Japanese farmers in Korean villages as demonstrators of better systems of cultivation." Itō, however, had refused and insisted that "Korea was for Koreans."²⁴ On his first visit to the country, Nitobe viewed Korean society as decaying and morally bankrupt. Rejuvenation of a new spirit by the Japanese, he felt, could alone save the country.²⁵ Thirteen years later, he retained similar opinions. But he was careful to distinguish his personal feelings from what seemed a politically necessity.

I count myself among the best and truest friends of Koreans. I like them. I do not share such un-favourable views as were expressed by Captain Bostwick, Achibald Little, George Kennan, or Professor Ladd, and other writers of Korean character.²⁶

Though favorably disposed towards the people, Nitobe was unshakeable in his beliefs. The Koreans, despite an inner capacity, were not yet mature enough to control their own affairs. And this internal weakness threatened the political stability in East Asia. They needed, he felt, tutelage from the Japanese.

In all humility, but with a firm conviction that Japan is a steward on whom devolves the gigantic task of the uplifting of the Far East, I cannot think that young Korea is yet capable of governing itself.²⁷ Let them study, I repeat, what we are doing.

Nitobe was optimistic of Japanese activities in Korea,

and predicted that "assimilation will be found easier ... for the reason that the Korean race is very much allied to our own." He remained firm in his belief that the Japanese were bringing order to a chaotic and lawless country.²⁸

Japan's seizure of the Micronesian islands from Germany after the outbreak of World War I vastly increased the size of the Empire. Nitobe in his popular writings urged youth to set their eyes southward on these "golden lands." In the Jitsugyō no Nihon and other youth-orientated magazines, he repeated this message. Much work needed to be done there, and since the white man and the Chinese were not adequate for the tasks, it left the Japanese to carry the burden. And in an academic article "Nanyō no keizaiteki kachi," he reiterated the benefits Japan would gain from possessions of these islands.²⁹

As a university teacher, Nitobe's reputation appears mixed. He gave his lectures on colonial policy, an elective for fourth-year students, in an informal, conversational style that contrasted sharply with the "stiff and formal" presentation of the other professors.³⁰ Though his class attracted many students--a few who even skipped their regular classes to attend--who loved his meandering "stories," there appear to have been dissatisfied students too. His lectures, they found, did not seem to have a center; they could not follow his reasoning or line of argument; and there was no solid body of ideas around which the talks were organized. The best they could make out was that Nitobe was urging a "humanism" upon them: that colonialization dealt, in

short, with "people." Elaborate theories of the economics or politics of colonialism appeared of secondary concern to him in the classroom.³¹

The reputation of the colonial policy lectures and his continued writings in mass-circulated magazines on a diversity of seemingly mundane topics prompted criticism among some faculty "that Nitobe abandoned agriculture." Nasu Shiroshi, a student of Nitobe's and later Professor of Agriculture at Tōdai, brought this to his attention. Nitobe was unperturbed. After carefully explaining to Nasu that an important function of agriculture is pasturage (bokuchiku), he added that his ultimate aim was "not raising ordinary chattel but human beings."³² His compromising of scholarship for debatable ideals, unthinkable for a younger scholar, agreed with his life's philosophy. Specialism, in his view, had to take a back seat to what he termed "common sense."³³ Moreover, he was in a position to resist pressure from others who looked upon his activities as unbecoming an Imperial University Professor. His own post at Tōdai was invulnerable. And among his many friends in the Faculty of Law, Kanai, Onozuka Kiheiji, and a promising colleague, Yoshino Sakuzō, all either supported him or at least condoned his unusual activities in extending, to as wide an audience as he could reach, his ideas on morality and personal development.³⁴

Heimindō: the Way of the Commoner

Nitobe expended much energies to promote and instill in the general populace a new ethic of individuality in the Taishō years. He had been involved in such work since his Sapporo days. But his discourse now took a new and dramatic form. In his early writings for youth, he had relied almost exclusively on materials drawn from Western sources, particularly English literature, to teach what he felt were universal moral values; and the whole tenor of his teachings was tainted with Christian influences.³⁵

But from 1909 onward, after his entry into the Jitsugyō no Nihon sha, he began to expand his message to encompass a wider audience; and to do so, he employed more frequently the terminology of traditional Japanese spirituality.³⁶ In a writing style that even a "rickshaw puller, or a woodchopper could understand," he incorporated ideas and text from Shinto, Confucianism, Taoism, Buddhism, and even classical Japanese poetry.³⁷ And to illustrate his ethical points, he colored his writings with anecdotes and vignettes from the better known Oriental sages and scholars. Nitobe's fundamental aim, however, remained constant throughout: to awaken his readers' spiritual life and to develop individual ethical consciousness.

Treading unfamiliar grounds to write on Asian moral philosophy, Nitobe consulted often with authorities, such as Sasaki Nobutsuna, an acquaintance who specialized in Oriental literature at the Peers College to ask assistance in clarifying topics that he found difficult.³⁸

Nitobe's activities in this period should be seen, says Takeda Kiyoko, against the wider backdrop of Taishō intellectual history. His individual efforts were but one man's attempts to cope with the dislocations wrought by social changes.³⁹ As Kenneth Pyle has shown, the Home Ministry with much foresight had taken the lead in preventive measures.⁴⁰ And the Ministry of Education too, had its own battery of reforms. Increasingly, proposals for a state-centered education and Emperor worship with its stress on traditional Japanese values made its way into the school's curriculum. Even religious groups were approached to co-operate with the government in promoting unity of thought with respect to the national polity (kokutai).⁴¹

Nitobe, however, did not advocate, in theory or practice, kokutai ideas as did his own colleague at Tōdai and Dean of the Law Faculty until 1911, Hozumi Yatsuka, who was its leading spokesman.⁴² Nitobe watched as those on the left of the political spectrum, the anarchists and socialists, were increasingly harried by the police as the government became less tolerant of unorthodox thought and behavior. Especially after the Great Conspiracy Incident (Taigyaku jiken), the Home Ministry's special police engaged in an intensive drive to crush all opponents. Political meetings were broken-up, publications censored and anti-government activists, such as Katayama Sen and Ōsugi Sakae, tailed, in what scholars have termed the "the winter of socialism."⁴³

In 1902 Nitobe had written an article for Katayama Sen's Rōdō Sekai in which he highly praised the socialist movement.⁴⁴ His views changed over the years. Now in the hostile climate, he ceased to mention socialism as a means to social reform. In his "Shokumin no saishū mokuteki" (The final goals of colonialization), however, he wrote of "a personal desire to see all private property abolished and world socialism become ascendant."⁴⁵ But Nitobe did not spell out the conditions of how such a goal could be realized and nothing in his writings suggests that he seriously believed this ideal possible. Like typical liberals everywhere, he would not stake his reputation or comfortable position on causes, such as socialism, that he clearly saw as unrealizable.⁴⁶

He looked upon other radical movements with the same gradualist views. Though sensitive to the activities of "the new women" (shin fujin) such as the famous Blue Stockings (seitō), he did not lend them his support. Their actions, though "self-sacrificing" and worthy in their fundamental aims, he added with characteristic frankness, "were little more than a shrill gesture of protest."⁴⁷

But contrary to what some scholars have claimed, Nitobe was not a reactionary in his social thought. His feelings for the downtrodden and poor were genuine. However, like all of his liberal contemporaries, he held an unquestioned loyalty to the Emperor system (Tennō sei), and does not appear to have recognized the social evils that sprang from vested interests

and embedded power.⁴⁸ He was willing to work within the the establishment and await gradual and ameliorative changes in society which he hoped would come through a transformation in the hearts of individual men and women.

Though the above may seem to compromise moral principles, Nitobe, as shown more fully in the next section, believed firmly in democracy and committed himself to the liberal values of an open society. A prime example of this commitment was Nitobe's support for Kawakami Yotarō and Kawai Eijirō after the Tokutomi Roka furor at the First Higher School. Nitobe took full responsibility for the incident to his own detriment.⁴⁹ This incident pointedly reveals the sensitive political climate and the constraints placed upon him as a liberal.⁵⁰

In spite of the above incident, Nitobe was not uncomfortable with his leadership role in the class-ridden society of Imperial Japan. He apparently reveled in all the medals and honors he received, and wore them with pride at formal occasions. Though his daughter has stated that he rarely invited politicians to his home, he apparently had many contacts with important decision-makers, particularly those in the bureaucracy.⁵¹ And on a personal level, he retained strong ties with Gotō Shinpei, who had risen from his post as President of the South Manchurian Railway to a portfolio in the second Katsura government and was one of the most powerful politicians in the Taishō period.⁵² But Nitobe's own influence

in the policy-making sphere appears negligible; his own role in government was limited to advising on colonial affairs and serving as a member of several minor governmental commissions.⁵³

In the pages of the Jitsugyō no Nihon, however, he loomed large and appeared as one with notable elite. He himself contributed to this perception. He wrote freely of his conversations with men such as Itō Hirobumi and Nogi Marusuke; and his name and photograph commonly appeared alongside that of conspicuous political and military figures.⁵⁴ Articles such as "Ōkuma haku to Nitobe hakase wa konna ten ga niteiru" (Points which Count Ōkuma and Doctor Nitobe have in common) further reinforced this image.⁵⁵ And in some quarters, it was rumored that he stood in line for a cabinet post as Minister of Education.⁵⁶ It was this kind of public exposure that made one commentator, Sasagawa Rinpū say that "Nitobe was a politician-like educator" (seijiteki kyōikusha).⁵⁷

This fame had its drawbacks. It brought him many detractors; one such critic was Noyori Hideichi, publisher of the Jitsugyō no Sekai, a publishing rival of the Jitsugyō no Nihon. Noyori, in his vitriolic articles, viciously denounced Nitobe as a "seinen no teki" (enemy of youth) and "gusha" (fool).⁵⁸

Nitobe did not strike back. He kept free from controversy and did not engage in polemics, regardless of what others said

about him. On matters regarding contemporary political issues, he made it his rule not to comment in print.⁵⁹ Though he disliked public attacks, this decision appears to reflect more his genuine lack of interest in politics than from a fear of repercussion. Only in his latter years, after he gained fame as a diplomat, would he make public comments on political questions.

As a specialist in colonial policy, his knowledge and accomplishments were widely respected; and as an educator and journalist, he commanded a nation-wide audience who thirsted for his homely wisdom and looked to him for advice and guidance on dealing with the complexities of modern life. His numerous articles and books published in these years made him one of the widest-read authors on the genre of popular morality.⁶⁰

The first of his seven successful books published between 1911 and 1919 was Shūyō (self cultivation). Published in September 1911, it was a collection of his bi-weekly articles that he had contributed to the Jitsugyō no Nihon since his entry into the company as editorial advisor. Published as a book, it immediately became a best-seller; by the end of the first year, it had run through six printings; and by February 1914, 29 printings. It continued to sell throughout the Taishō years. In March 1924, it had reached its 100th reprinting; by the early years of Shōwa, it had gone to over 140 reprintings.⁶¹

A companion volume to Shūyō, Yo watari no michi (Passage

through life) was published a month after his return from his exchange professor assignment. It too received a tremendous readership. Like Shūyō, it was composed of materials that Nitobe had contributed to the Jitsugyō no Nihon. But whereas the former "dealt with personal ethics and one's duties to oneself," Yo watari no michi dealt with interpersonal relations. The book, after its initial appearance in October, had, by the end of 1912, run through five printings. For the next fourteen years, even during the six years that Nitobe was out of the country, it continued to sell. By August 1926, a few months before Nitobe returned to Japan from Geneva, the book had gone through its 72nd printing; and by 1929, its 86th reprinting.⁶²

Jinsei zakkan (Life's miscellanies), published in 1914, illustrates Nitobe's skill in discussions of how to live, and the saleability of his words. Between 1906 and 1913, Nitobe gave occasional lectures at the Friends Meeting Group at Mita, whose audience consisted mainly of women and girls. He spoke on spiritual matters and religion, but in a loose and easy fashion. In the audience was a Nitobe worshipper, one Kunii Michitarō, who jotted down the lectures in shorthand. After adding a few essays that Nitobe had published recently in magazines, he took the manuscript to Nitobe and proposed to publish the work. Busy, but willing, Nitobe added a few more comments, helped edit the work, and found a publisher. It appeared in 1914. Though publication figures are not available,

it had gone through at least three printings soon after its release. But probably because it was not issued by a major publisher, and consequently lacked advertising, it did not share the tremendous sales of Shūyō and Yo watari no michi. Recently, it has been resuscitated for a new generation of readers in paperback from Kōdansha publisher along with Jikeiroku (Self-admonition), with a forward by Satō Masahiro.⁶³

Within a year after Jinsei zakkan appeared, Nitobe published still yet another book on popular ethics and self-help, and again without exactly planning to do so. While visiting Morioka in the summer of 1914, Nitobe's car was struck by a bus.⁶⁴ He suffered hip injuries and was hospitalized for a week. Lying in bed, he conceived of the book Ichi nichi ichi gen (A collection of daily thoughts) to utilize the idle hours. The idea underlying the volume was simple but ingenious. Nitobe collected 365 fragments of his favorite writings of morality and arranged one for each day of the year, one per page. The print was in easy-to-read large type, complete with furigana, for the busy workman and laborer who did not have time to learn difficult Chinese characters. It was brought out in February 1915 by the Jitsugyō no Nihon. By the end of the year, it had run to 24 printings; by July 1920, to 50 printings; and by August 1926, it had reached 84 printings.⁶⁵

Nitobe continued to write bi-weekly articles in the Jitsugyō no Nihon and, in May 1916, the company again

collected his most recent works and published them in a volume Jikei, a sister-volume to Shūyō. Though its success was not as great as the latter, it too, had run into its fifteenth printing by 1924. And as mentioned above, it has been reprinted recently in paperback edition by Kōdansha in its gakujutsu series.⁶⁶

From the late Meiji to early Taishō, when articulate feminine activists began to bring the problems of women into the public arena, Nitobe too specifically addressed his messages to them. But as Aoyama Nao, in a well researched article shows, this was not a new activity for him.⁶⁷ From his graduate-school days in the United States and Germany, Nitobe had been involved with the welfare of women in Japan. From Germany, he had contributed several articles to the Jogaku zasshi (Women's magazine), edited by Iwamoto Zenji. Iwamoto, a Christian, pioneered the modern development of women's education and had founded the Meiji Jogakkō (Meiji women's school), an early forerunner of women's higher education in Japan. In the pages of the magazine, Iwamoto espoused a new role for women in society, based upon principles of individuality and personality.⁶⁸ In the 1890s, Nitobe contributed several articles to the Jogaku zasshi while at Hokkaido and at Taiwan. After the magazine's demise, he continued to write for women in other publications. Despite his myriad commitments, Nitobe found time to contribute, for a period of over ten years, little pieces for women in the

magazine Fujin gahō (Women's reporter).⁶⁹ In 1917, 46 of these articles were selected in a volume Fujin ni susumete (Advice to women) published by the Tokyo sha in May 1917. Publication figures for the book are not available, but evidence show that one year later, in June 1918, it reached its fourth reprinting.⁷⁰

In July 1919, while Nitobe was touring the United States and Europe with Gotō Shinpei, his old publishing firm, the Jitsugyō no Nihon published Hitori no onna (Stories of women in distress). The material for the book came from articles that Nitobe had contributed to the magazine since 1916. It too sold well in its first year; by Spring of 1920, it was in its sixth printing.⁷¹

But Nitobe's labors in these years on behalf of the socially disadvantaged were not limited to the above. Much of his thoughts were directed to the countryside and the economic problems of agricultural workers. He expressed great concern with the plight of small farming families. What would happen to them, he worried, in the rush toward modernization? What would happen to the traditional rural lifestyle in the face of an encroaching industrial society?

Regarding these questions, Nitobe did not take the position of the pure agrarians (nōhonshūgisha) who advocated a return to the old values of community and group solidarity.⁷² Agriculture, albeit the foundation, was but one of "three legs" which upheld the modern economy. The other two were commerce and industry. All three were necessary. To have the

latter two develop at the expense of the former could spell disaster, not only for the individuals involved, but for the nation as well.⁷³ Agriculture had to be integrated wisely into a scheme for the benefit of the country as a whole and should not be the sacrificial lamb to the God of Progress. To this end, Nitobe called for an enlightened rural administration.

With Yanagida Kunio, a thirty-five-year-old government official interested in rural affairs, Nitobe organized an informal study group, the Gōdokai, in the Fall of 1910.⁷⁴ Nitobe himself called the group's study "jikata," an old term that linked the study to the activities of Tokugawa period scholars. Their study, Haga Noburu shows, was not a disinterested pursuit of knowledge.⁷⁵ A concern with material improvement for farmers was its explicit aim. Yanagida writes in the Gōdokai kiroku that though the group's original plans were to study concrete problems of agricultural economics, their concerns gradually shifted over the years toward ethnological studies (minzokugaku) of local groups in various parts of Japan. Yanagida carried on the work begun here and later won lasting fame as Japan's pioneer in the field of social anthropology.⁷⁶

The Gōdokai met regularly, once a month, usually at Nitobe's mansion. In the calm, stately atmosphere of the Kobinata home, the members gave individual reports followed by discussions and a sumptuous meal.⁷⁷ To make members feel that

they were not imposing on his hospitality, Nitobe collected a nominal "membership fee" (kaihi) to "cover" the cost of the dinners. The Nitobes' gracious hospitality, Yanagida recollected, was such that "members could not wait for the next meeting."⁷⁸ Nitobe himself took his turn in giving reports. Ishiguro Tadaatsu, later Minister of Agriculture and a member of the group, recalls that Nitobe spoke on the Sanbongi accomplishments of his grandfather Tsutō. And on another occasion, he reported on the new villages that sprang up after the volcanic eruption in Kagoshima bay. Nitobe's departure for Europe in 1919 was a primary reason for the group's dissolution.⁷⁹

World War I form the backdrop of many of Nitobe's writings in this period. Though Japan, as an ally of Great Britain, participated in the fighting from the outset, the United States had remained neutral. But as the war dragged into its third year, she too entered the conflict against Germany. These developments gladdened Nitobe. German militarism, he wrote, reflecting the attitudes of contemporary Japanese liberals, was the prime villain in initiating the bloodshed.⁸⁰ Recalling this pleasant three-and-a-half years of study in the country some three decades earlier, he now viewed Germany's problem as a failure of its leaders. Pointing to the cultural achievements that had produced the likes of Kant, Hegel and Goethe, he saw in the Kaiser's ambition a corruption of the German Enlightenment. "If only they had good leadership, they could lead the world to new heights of

civilization," he remorsefully added.⁸¹ The alternative to Prussian militarism, in his eyes, was democracy with its noble ethical precepts.

The Spirit of Democracy

Nitobe was captivated by the moral idealism of Woodrow Wilson, the champion of democracy, who had been his classmate at the Johns Hopkins University in 1884-85.⁸² When Wilson was elected President in 1912, Nitobe was elated. Though long an admirer of Theodore Roosevelt, whose forceful personality and theatrical style had earlier captivated him, he became disillusioned with Roosevelt's recent behavior, particularly as it related to Japan. For the sake of improved U.S.-Japan relations, Nitobe felt, the election of Wilson was a boon. While rooming with Satō Shōsuke in Baltimore as a graduate student, Nitobe had lived just a few houses away from Wilson and had frequently met him on walks. Though he did not build a personal relationship with Wilson as did Satō, Nitobe admired him from a distance. Even while at the Johns Hopkins, Wilson exuded the air of a genteel "Southern aristocrat," and this greatly impressed Nitobe who saw "a great future for him" though he "could not imagine that he would one day be the future president of the United States."⁸³

Wilson was an ethical idealist who believed in a transcendent moral law that could be grasped through intellect and a predisposed heart. Men and nations could find guidance

in this law and avoid the follies that have plagued human history. This rationality was embodied in the idea of democracy. When he led the United States into war, Wilson made it a crusade: it was a war "to make the world safe for democracy." Moreover, it was to be "a war to end all wars." Wilson became the Pied Piper of this new and powerful secular religion, and his following was worldwide.⁸⁴

Wilsonian democracy along with its twin ideology, Marxism, entered Japan together and shaped the intellectual climate of the times.⁸⁵ Along with fired-up journalists and intellectuals, such as Yoshino Sakuzō and Minobe Tatsukichi, his colleagues at the Law Faculty, Nitobe joined in the cause for democracy and wrote a series of essays on the subject for the Jitsugyō no Nihon between January and May 1919.⁸⁶ He had long held a deep interest in the philosophical and historical origins of the democratic movement:

I have from my youth loved history; especially Western history. And whenever I had time, I indulged in it. As a result I have come to believe that democracy is not a thing that can be avoided, but is a force that is universal (sekai no taisei). According to time and place, the speed of its development varies. But it will soon encompass the whole world. From my student days twenty⁸⁷-five years ago, I have firmly believed this.

Nitobe had broached the subject of democracy earlier, he said, in his speeches and writings, but was "misunderstood because of insufficient explanation." Feeling that it was too still too early for the idea, Nitobe had not pursued the

topic further. He was afraid that he would encourage zealots who, without fully grasping his meaning, might create havoc that "could even reach the Imperial house." Nitobe's reading of history, particularly Thomas Carlyle's The French Revolution, had taught him the dangers of aroused passions and the excesses--the bloodbath in the streets of Paris--that had been carried out in democracy's name.⁸⁸

But after the Great War, Nitobe felt that the time was ripe. Using his characteristic conversational writing style that avoided abstraction and technical terminology, he sought again to explain democracy to his readers. Unlike Yoshino, Minobe or Ōyama Ikuo, his discourse on democracy did not stress political arrangements and constitutional measures to assure liberty and individual rights.⁸⁹ Rather his viewpoint was glued on the idea's most elemental aspects. In its essentials, he stressed, democracy "is not a political phenomenon, nor is it changing laws or institutions." It is simply "respecting each other's humanity."⁹⁰

To Nitobe, the most weighty and the most misunderstood element of the slogan, Freedom, Equality and Fraternity, which had been the rallying cry of the French Revolution, was the concept of freedom. Freedom implied, in Nitobe's eyes, a highly developed individualized conscience that judged matters of right and wrong. Internal sanctions, not external prohibitions, constituted the core of freedom. But Nitobe was aware that individuality as a concept was absent from the Oriental tradition.⁹¹ He pointed to Nakamura Keiū's problem

to find appropriate words to translate Mill's On Liberty into Japanese and doubted that most readers of the book could grasp the abstractions involved. Because individuality was most highly developed in the West, particularly in Britain, Nitobe praised these countries and exhorted his readers to emulate their accomplishments.⁹²

The Anglo-Saxon peoples were the most advanced in the practice of democracy. Even the French, though they carried out the Revolution in its name, had imported the idea from the British.⁹³ To illustrate how ingrained the democratic habit was in England Nitobe related the following story from his own experience. When in Liverpool in 1887, he was strolling along the water front at dusk and spotted some laborers walking home after a day's work. He was close enough to overhear their conversation. They were debating the Gladstone government's Irish Home Rule Bill that was being debated in parliament. Their lively conversation soon attracted a small group. Listening to the arguments, Nitobe, was amazed at their political consciousness. After a while, a policeman came by and, Nitobe says admiringly, with one word, "gentlemen!," peacefully dismissed the crowd. In Japan, Nitobe ruefully acknowledged, policemen relied on force and coercion to disband political meetings, which were usually highly-pitched, emotional affairs. Such were the democratic sensibilities of the English. Japanese, he felt, would have to attain this level of political sophistication and behavior to make

democracy work.⁹⁴

To explain the concept of equality which is as frequently misunderstood as freedom, Nitobe made the crucial distinction between equality of abilities and equality of rights. Though democracy postulated equality as a fundamental axiom, men were not endowed equally by nature. In his down-to-earth manner Nitobe drove home his point in the following passage:

On riding a jinrikisha, the thought always occurs to me that my arms do not have the strength to pull the vehicle; my legs do not have the power to tread over a long road. The puller who gives me a ride has many times the strength of my arms and legs. He does work for which I gladly pay him. Each one with his abilities make up for the shortcomings of the other... However, on matter of personality (jinkaku), he too, like myself is a person. We are in that respect equal. I respect his beliefs and his feelings ... This condition does not change even if he be a king or other royal personage.⁹⁵

Taishō democracy, as explained by Nitobe and other publicists for the new movement did not go unchallenged. Many felt that the tenets contained in the new doctrine contradicted, indeed threatened, the national polity that legitimized as the core of a family state the Emperor and the Imperial family.⁹⁶ Nitobe, despite his Anglo-American biases, explained that democracy need not always accompany a republican form of government. Democracy is compatible with a monarchy too, as in Britain. And even in the United States, he says, the roots of democracy were already present prior to colonial independence. Opponents of the democratic idea, he

urged, should first understand the doctrine before they pass judgment. How can they understand its shortcomings if they do not give it a hearing? Though Nitobe did not criticize the government's censorship, he pointed to the pressing need to allow ideas in general, not only democratic ones, to be openly discussed and given a chance to win adherents on their own merits.⁹⁷

Nitobe's advocacy of democracy and his active role in propagating its message can be seen as an extension of his work on self-cultivation described above. He himself, in a key essay "Heimindō," written on board ship headed for America and published in the April 1st 1919 issue of the Jitsugyō no Nihon, describes his formulation of democracy, which he prefers to call "heimindō" rather than "minponshūgi" or "minshushūgi." Bushido was an ethical code limited to a narrow stratum of warriors in a class-ridden society. But, as he carefully pointed out in his final chapter of the book, a passage which many commentators on the book have missed, Bushido is an ethic that belonged to a bygone age. It would be replaced by the more inclusive ethic, "heimindō," that would encompass the whole population. Though shorn of its political manifestations in institutions, this ethic, at the core, would imbue the sentiments and feelings based on respect for persons which is the essence of democratic life and practice.⁹⁸

Nitobe carefully watched the rise of America in world affairs after her entry into World War I. United States' power and influence did not surprise him; he had long foreseen her

emergence as the world leader in industry and commerce. On his Carnegie Exchange Professorship in 1912, he had marvelled at the rapid developments all over the country. Even in the midwest, in Illinois and Minnesota, where he had lectured for one month each, the burgeoning industries had caught his eye.⁹⁹ The Japanese, he stated in print, probably to exhort his readers to greater diligence "worked with only 1/10 the output of the American." J.P. Morgan's honorary degree from Harvard, contrary to the snickers of Japanese intellectuals that this symbolized the commercialism to which academia had bowed in the U.S., was to Nitobe a sign of the creative imagination of the American nation.¹⁰⁰ Practical yet visionary men, full of energy, were honored for their contribution to society. Here was democracy in its ripest bloom. If Britain had given birth to the idea of democracy, it was in America that the idea had been realized. "Her people are living specimens of democracy," he exclaimed. "Without knowing democracy, one cannot explain American history, social problems, and even literature and art."¹⁰¹

In February 1917, as the United States prepared to enter the conflict in Europe, Nitobe called for specialized Japanese research on American studies. He himself had, for the past twenty years, frequently commented on the United States in his speeches and articles. But in the academics, there were no specialized disciplines or researchers who focused exclusively on America. Nitobe felt that the time to develop such

specialists had arrived.¹⁰²

This concern was not unique to Nitobe alone. In the United States, Alonzo Barton Hepburn, chairman of the board of the Chase Manhattan Bank and a supporter of international understanding, proposed in a letter to Shibusawa Eiichi, the influential industrialist, that an Endowed Chair be created at Tokyo University for the study of American diplomacy. Funds for the project, Hepburn had said, would be donated by the Americans. The matter was referred to President Yamakawa of Tō dai, and after some adjustments, a chair in American Constitution, History and Diplomacy was created.¹⁰³

To initiate the program, a series of lectures was undertaken by Minobe Tatsukichi, Yoshino Sakuzō and Nitobe. Minobe lectured on the U.S. Constitution; Yoshino on American Diplomacy; and Nitobe on the early history of the country. Saitō Makoto, who had glimpsed parts of Nitobe's diary for this period, writes that Nitobe felt a "nervousness" about the lectures which reflected his lack of confidence in the subject matter.¹⁰⁴ The five lectures, which he gave in a series between February and April 1918, were later published by Yūhikaku under the title Beikoku kenkoku yōshi.¹⁰⁵

In setting up the Hepburn Chair in American Studies, the the faculty council had determined that it be filled by a junior scholar, "a young and promising man" who possessed language skills and sufficient flexibility to endure several years of study abroad. Selected for the post was Takagi Yasaka, second son of the well-known scholar of English, Kanda

Naibu.¹⁰⁶ According to Takagi, who was then working as a minor official in the Ministry of Treasury after a year of Graduate work at Tōdai, he was first approached by Nitobe. Though the actual selection procedure is not known, Nitobe, who had powerful friends in key posts throughout the Law Faculty, probably exerted great influence to have Takagi selected. After three years of study abroad, Takagi returned to fill the chair in 1923. He remained a close disciple of Nitobe and continued to speak highly of his teacher until the end of his life in 1984.¹⁰⁷

In May 1919, Nitobe took a leave of absence from the university to accompany Gotō Shinpei to the United States and Europe to view the aftermath of what Gotō had called "the great drama that had cost 600,000,000,000 yen." (rokusen okuen kakatta ōshibai).¹⁰⁸ Gotō was curious to see the reconstruction of the postwar world and stand by at the creation of a new world order. Accompanied by Mary and a few of his closest disciples, Nitobe began his seventh voyage across the Pacific. Little did he know that a new challenge awaited him which would add to his reputation as an international figure: service with the newly conceived League of Nations.

PART THREE

DIPLOMAT IN INTERNATIONAL LIMELIGHT

Sunset and evening star,
And one clear call for me!
And may there be no moaning of the bar,
When I put out to sea,

But such a tide as moving seems asleep,
Too full for sound and foam,
When that which drew from out the boundless deep
Turns again home.

Twilight and evening bell,
And after that the dark!
And may there be no sadness of farewell,
When I embark;

For though from out our bourne of Time and Place
The flood may bear me far,
I hope to see my Pilot face to face,
When I have crossed the bar.

Alfred (Lord) Tennyson, Crossing the Bar

A man to be internationally minded must first have his feet planted firmly on the ground of his native soil. He then lifts his head and looks round upon the wide world, and finds where he is standing and whither he must go.

Nitobe Inazō, Editorial
Jottings [June 7, 1930]

CHAPTER SEVEN

At the League of Nations: 1919-1926

On January 25, 1919, representatives of the victorious allies gathered at Paris agreed that "a League of Nations be created to promote international cooperation, to insure the fulfillment of accepted international obligations and to provide safeguards against war."¹ They appointed a commission, chaired by Woodrow Wilson, with members from fourteen nations, including Japan, to work on the project. After several months of deliberations involving many meetings and compromises, the text of the Covenant was formally adopted at a plenary session of the Peace Conference, on April 28, 1919.²

The Japanese delegates, though conspicuous among the five great powers for their silence at the Peace Conference, were more outspoken on the League of Nations Commission. Her representatives, Makino Nobuaki, chief delegate, and Viscount Chinda, the Ambassador to London, participated actively in

discussions dealing with disarmament, arbitration and racial equality.³ Though the racial equality clause that Japan urged be inserted into the League's Covenant was rejected by the commission, Japan did not leave the Peace Conference empty-handed. She had won significant concessions. At the expense of the Chinese, Japan was allowed to stay in Shantung, as well as hold trusteeship over the Micronesian islands. Satisfied with her gains, Japan agreed to work with the European powers to build a new framework for conducting diplomacy which was based on the League of Nations with its concept of collective security to maintain peace.⁴

The League was officially created on 26 January 1920 when the Versailles accords were deposited at the French Foreign Office in Paris. In its quest to achieve its idealistic goal, the League developed many new institutions and adopted novel measures. Its activities were all encompassing and dealt with politics, economics, health, labor, culture, and education.⁵

But from its very beginning the League suffered under serious constraints. First and foremost, it was a creature of the national states which viewed it with ambivalence. Jealous of their sovereignty, they never gave the League the effective powers to carry out its mission. Moreover, the responsibilities of member nations were never fully spelt out. Eventually, this weakness would prove to be the League's undoing. A second obvious weakness was the aloofness of the United States. Without its participation, the League was hindered from the very outset. Notwithstanding the pessimism

held by many on the prospects of success, and in spite of these serious handicaps, the League survived its birth and, after a few stormy years, managed to expand and prosper.⁶

The leaders of Great Britain and France, Ramsay MacDonald and Edouard Herriot, attended the Assembly in 1924, thus setting a diplomatic precedent of great importance: legitimizing the League as an international forum for debating and resolving the chief political issues of the day. Since then, foreign ministers of the major powers gathered regularly in Geneva for Council and Assembly meetings.⁷

In the mid-twenties, the League achieved several noteworthy successes, using conciliatory measures, which heightened its prestige. In the Spring of 1926, Germany was admitted as a member. Even the United States, which was cool to the organization in the first years, began to cooperate in non-political activities. By 1929, the League had reached the zenith of its influence. Only after the outbreak of the Manchurian Crisis in 1931 would the League's limitations be starkly revealed.⁸

The Path to the League: Travels with Gotō Shinpei

The press in Japan was filled with news of the latest developments in Paris after the opening of the Peace Conference in January, 1919.⁹ Nitobe, who was busy writing his articles on democracy for the Jitsugyō no Nihon, took a keen interest in latest news from abroad. When Gotō Shinpei

asked him to come along on a trip to view the postwar changes in America and Europe, Nitobe agreed. Taking a leave of absence from the Imperial University, he and Mary and several disciples joined the Baron. They left Yokohama and arrived in San Francisco on May 21th, 1919.¹⁰ In the next seventy-two days, they toured the country and met leading public figures.¹¹

In California, they met the world renowned botanist Luther Burbank and were interviewed by the Chief Editor of the Los Angeles Express. In Chicago, they were honored guests at a luncheon hosted by the University Club of the University of Chicago whose members Nitobe had addressed eight years before. At another luncheon a few days later in Springfield Illinois, the birthplace of Abraham Lincoln, Gotō delivered a keynote speech in Japanese which Nitobe interpreted into English. Passing through Detroit, they met Henry Ford and toured the burgeoning automobile plant. They then made New York their home base, but took frequent excursions down to Washington and Philadelphia. Nearly every day, they met with a great variety of business, academic, media and political leaders, among them the publisher Frank Doubleday, Thomas Edison, Sidney Gulick, William McAdoo, Alonzo Hepburn and the chief editors of the New York Times, the New Republic and The Nation. On May 7th, they visited Charles Evan Hughes, the future Secretary of State, and spoke about America's attitude toward the League of Nations.¹²

After a grueling forty days on the East Coast, Gotō,

Nitobe, and his four disciples, Tsurumi Yūsuke, Kasama Akio, Tajima Michiji, and Iwanaga Yūkichi travelled to Halifax, Nova Scotia, where they embarked for England on May 31st.¹³ Six days later, the group arrived at Southampton and entrained for London. They spent June in London sightseeing and visiting such luminaries as James Bryce, whom Nitobe had met in 1912, and Robert Cecil, the leading spokesman for the League of Nations Union. Gotō's impression of Cecil was that "he was like General Nogi." Three days before they left England, they had an audience at Buckingham Palace with King George V.¹⁴

They embarked for Paris on June 30th. And the day after they arrived, they went to see the Japanese Peace Conference delegates, headed by Saionji Kinmochi, at the Hotel Bristol.¹⁵ From this meeting springs an apocryphal story about Nitobe which has now attained the status of a myth. The story goes that the delegates were wracking their brains to find a suitable candidate for the position of Under-Secretary General. Just then, Gotō and his party walked in. Makino, spying Nitobe, cried out "a, koko ni ita!" (why, here he is!)¹⁶ Dramatic though it may sound, it appears that the reality was different and a bit more complicated.

Nitobe's name had already been submitted to Eric Drummond, the Secretary-General, almost two weeks earlier.¹⁷ However, his name was submitted without prior knowledge of what the rank would be. Drummond apparently wanted the post to be on a director's level, but he succumbed to pressure to

raise it to that of Under-Secretary General, for "it would create a very unfortunate impression if Japan of the five powers was put on a grade lower than the other four powers."¹⁸

It seems that Nitobe was unaware of what was taking place. The delegates kept quiet on the selection procedure, and even Gotō was not privy to the appointment. After spending a few days in Paris, which included a meeting with Clemenceau and a tour of the famous Palace at Versailles, the group left to visit the battlefields of the War. Then they continued on to Brussels, where they paid a courtesy call on the King of Belgium. Next, after visiting Waterloo, they recrossed the channel on July 18th and returned to London.¹⁹ Two days later, Chinda visited Gotō from Paris to break the news of Nitobe's selection as Under Secretary-General and requested Goto's approval for the move. Gotō consented, and only then was Nitobe himself notified.²⁰ He reported the momentous news to Anna Chalce in Providence, Rhode Island on August 12th:

I have been most unexpectedly and unsoughtly appointed Director of a Section, and one of the four Under-Secretaries General. When I think of the change in my career, I feel afresh that there is a Guiding Hand above me. I confess I do not trust in my ability but the cause which I serve is certainly deserving of all my energy. When the offer was pressed upon me by Viscount Chinda and Baron Makino, our Peace delegates, and by Baron Goto and by younger friends Tsurumi and Tajima, they were absolute in their assertion that this is the career for which my past experiences and my domestic life have been pointing.²¹

His ichikō student, Konoe Fumimaro, travelling as

Saionji's secretary, chanced to run into Nitobe on the streets of London around this time and had lunch with him. Nitobe told him of the appointment. The prince recollected later that he had never seen Nitobe so happy.²²

Work in the International Secretariat

The Secretariat was one of the three main organs of the new League of Nations.²³ Its function was to conduct the daily administrative duties of the organization, planning and preparing the agenda for the League's Councils, collecting data, and co-ordinating the work of the Council and the Assembly. And the Secretariat served as the liaison for the League in its dealings with national and international bodies. It was headed by a Secretary-General, whose duties were primarily that of an administrator, rather than a politician or chief of state.²⁴ Sir James Eric Drummond, a career official in the British Foreign Office, was appointed the first Secretary-General. He had a staff of under-Secretaries General and Directors of Sections, each with his own personnel. Members of the Secretariat were independent from any national government; their allegiance was to the League alone from which they drew their salaries, and to which they were fully accountable.²⁵

Drummond began his work immediately. Even before the League was formally launched, he started the difficult task of laying the groundwork for the organization. Setting up his Headquarters in London, he appointed two subordinates, an

American Raymond Fosdick and a Frenchman Jean Monnet. To fill out the rest of his high-level staff, Drummond did not have complete freedom, since his appointments had to be made from the candidates recommended by the respective member national governments.²⁶ Though Drummond may not have been pleased with this system of recruitment, the men who initially gathered around him did not disappoint him. Frank Boudreau describes the sort of persons who comprised the original staff in the Secretariat:

In the first years, when no one could foresee how the League would succeed it appealed to persons imbued with the spirit of adventure. It took courage to give up good positions at home for the unknown abroad. Hence early recruits to the staff possessed the attributes which are commonly found in those of an adventurous disposition. They were devoted more greatly to the cause of the League than to their own advancement; they brought to their work the energy and enthusiasm of the pioneer, and what some of them may have lacked in training and knowledge, they made up for in zeal and devotion.²⁷

But much of the success for the League's Secretariat lay with Drummond himself. In his own plodding but meticulous way, the former private secretary to Arthur Balfour had transformed a motley group of men and women from different parts of the world into an effective working unit of over six hundred men and women--the world's first international civil service.²⁸ In the Directors Meeting, he exhorted subordinates to behave in so impeccable a way that critics of the League could find no fault with which to attack the League. "Even outside office

hours," he stressed, "we ... continue to be a corporate body, and the credit of the whole [is] affected by the act of [the] individual."²⁹

In this closely knit but protocol-conscious organization, Nitobe ranked, as Under Secretary-General, only behind Drummond and Jean Monnet, the youthful French Deputy Secretary-General. He equalled Fosdick. At fifty-seven he was much older than they--Drummond was forty-seven, Fosdick thirty-five, Monnet thirty--and he commanded a special respect.³⁰ In the Secretariat, and in Geneva at large, he was addressed as "Dr. Nitobe." Colleagues looked at him as a fatherly-figure and saw in him a wisdom garnished over many long years. Frank Walters, who served with Nitobe from the very first and later became an Under-Secretary General and Director of the Political Section, recalled Nitobe in these words:

[His] qualities as a colleague were indeed exceptional: unflinching kindness and cordiality; a devotion to duty and to the ideals of the League which knew no bounds; a wise judgment, often all the more illuminating because it seemed to come from deeper sources than those which inspire most people's opinions on political or administrative questions.... those who came to Geneva with the purpose of finding the true principles of international cooperation--writers, teachers, and thinkers, who cared less for the immediate problems of the days than for underlying truths and ideals of the League--never failed to find instruction and inspiration from Inazo Nitobe; and this was equally true whether the seeker came from his own Asiatic continent, or from Europe, or from the New World.³¹

Though esteemed and respected by many, Nitobe had his share of critics. Sugimura Yōtarō recollected that two Directors, "a certain Mr. R and Mr. H did not like him,"³² His Section within the Secretariat appears to have run very well. According to Walters, "[t]here was no office in which more visitors were received or more work done...."³³ His private secretary Irene Stafford recalled:

He was a friend of all. If at first sight he did not take to a certain person, he would go out of his way to cultivate his acquaintance in order to discover the good points of his character. 'Malice toward none, charity for all' was a maxim which he carried out in spirit and letter, and one could say of him with truth³⁴ that he loved his neighbor better than himself.

Nitobe's career background with no previous experience in politics or diplomacy relegated him at the League to work on non-sensitive projects. Unlike William Rappard, head of the Mandates section, or Fridjof Nansen, the charismatic explorer and Nobel Prize winner who directed the Refugee Section, or even his Japanese successor to the Under-Secretary General's position, Sugimura Yōtarō, who was a trained diplomat, Nitobe's work at the League was not of the first order. Dealing with culture and thought, they were seen as peripheral to the more important political and economic tasks that faced the League. But this does not seem to have disturbed him since his inclination was not politics. Political questions had never really interested him, though he kept up with the more important day-to-day developments.³⁵ From the very beginning,

along with his Under-Secretary General's status, he was entrusted with the Directorship of the International Bureau of the League whose function was outlined in Article 24 of the Covenant.

There shall be placed under the direction of the League all international bureaus already established by general treaties, if the parties to such treaties consent. All such international bureaus and all commissions for the regulation of matters of international interest hereafter constituted shall be placed under the direction of the League.³⁶

Nitobe threw himself wholeheartedly into his work upon his entry into the Secretariat. With two lieutenants, Lloyd and Koeckenbeeck, he visited the Union des Associations Nationales in Brussels to investigate how it fared the war. And on his way back, he stopped by the Hague to see the International Intermediary Institute. He spent the next year busily developing a workable umbrella organization for all international organizations. But financial problems and neglect hindered much of his efforts. On one visit to Paris to inspect the groups there, he reported that of the fifteen he had seen, "nine proved to be defunct," and "only two or three were flourishing."³⁸

With only a tiny budget and a small staff, the work that his International Bureau could do was limited.³⁹ In the first two years, Nitobe concentrated the bureau's resources on service as an information center for the various international organizations. His office sent out hundreds of letters to all

known organizations, governmental and private, and compiled the information into a volume, Handbook of International Organizations, which was published in 1922.⁴⁰ It contained data on some 312 international groups, established privately or by governments, with a summary of its history, objectives, and general activities. It served for over a decade as the standard source of information on international organizations and was revised several times; the last edition appearing in 1937.⁴¹

Nitobe's energies were also expended on those organizations wishing to come under the auspices of the League. His first major success was the establishing of the International Hydrographic Bureau, whose purpose was to coordinate the work of several nations on the study of ocean currents and other maritime phenomena.⁴²

But Nitobe's most famous accomplishment, and the source of his greatest pride in his seven years at the League, was the Committee on Intellectual Cooperation.⁴³ The germination of this project lay in a proposal by the representative from Belgium on the League of Nations Commission who proposed that "international intellectual relations" should be included within the Covenant. Though ignored at that time, the idea was discussed in the First Assembly of the League. Later, at a Council meeting, Le Bourgeois, the French representative, moved that a committee to deal with "questions of intellectual co-operation and education" be set up. The

practical working machinery was turned over to the Secretariat, and Drummond gave the project to Nitobe.⁴⁴

Nitobe worked on an agenda for the Council to deliberate, and an appointed rapporteur was selected to preside over the work. Twelve scholars of diverse national and intellectual background, including several world renown for their individual accomplishments, were appointed to the commission. They included D. N. Banerjee, Professor of Political Economy at the University of Calcutta; Henri Bergson, Honorary Professor of Philosophy at the College of France; Kristine Bonnevie, Professor of Zoology at the University of Christiania; A. de Castro, Dean of the Faculty of Medicine at the University of Rio de Janeiro; Mme. Curie-Sklodowska, Professor of Physics at the University of Paris; J. Destree, former French Minister of Sciences and Arts; A. Einstein, Professor of Physics at the University of Berlin; George Halle, Professor of Astrophysics at the University of Chicago; Gilbert Murray, Professor of Greek at Oxford University; G. de Reynolds, Professor of French Literature at the University of Bern; F. Ruffini, Professor of Ecclesiastical Law at the University of Turin; and L. de Torres Quevedo, Director to the Laboratorio Electrimecanico in Madrid.⁴⁵

To pull this diverse group together into a working unit became Nitobe's task. Between January 1922, when the Council decided to appoint the committee, until August 1922 when the committee met for the first time, he busily corresponded with these scholars. Madame Curie was reluctant to take the job,

for she feared that it "would take too much time from her work." A good deal of persuasion by Nitobe convinced her that the task was worthwhile.⁴⁶ When Einstein quit for no apparent reason, Nitobe, realizing the prestige the German physicist would lend to the committee, enlisted Gilbert Murray and Henri Bergson to use their influence to persuade the German physicist. Einstein served for a few years.⁴⁷

The Committee for Intellectual Cooperation met for the first time in July 1922. There a decision was made to support three subcommittees: (1) Intellectual Property; (2) Bibliography; (3) Universities. Over the next few years, it expanded its activities.⁴⁸ By 1930, three additional subcommittees dealing with other aspects of intellectual life were added. And the number of members on the Committee increased to fifteen. The biggest boost in the Committee's work came in 1924 when the French government allotted funds to to set up an Institute for Intellectual Cooperation in Paris, which was attached to the Committee. Also, subsequently, in different countries, national organizations for intellectual cooperation appeared.⁴⁹

Nitobe spent most of his last years with the League, until his retirement in December 1926, working with the Committee for Intellectual Cooperation. At the Directors Meetings, he reported on the progress of the various programs of the sub-committees; when travelling or busy with other matters, he sent a subordinate, either his Japanese assistant,

Harada Ken, or another member of his office, M. Orestru, to present the section's report to Drummond and the other directors.⁵⁰ From time to time, he attended conferences on Esperanto and represented the League's Secretariat at meetings pertaining to educational matters, such as the Educational Conference held in Edinburgh in summer 1925.⁵¹ Through his position at the League, he also became acquainted with many private international groups, such as the Quaker International and the International Women for Peace, to whose Executive Secretary, Emily Balch, he sent encouraging letters of support.⁵²

Spokesman for the League

In the early years, to publicize the League and its work to citizens of all member nations was deemed an indispensable task. Only by winning their support could the League be assured of its survival. She had many champions initially. In America Woodrow Wilson fought hard, without success, to persuade an obstinate Congress of the League's virtues. After much static on capitol hill, he turned to a different strategy: direct appeal to the American people. But his dramatic actions were all in vain; the country rejected his idealistic message of internationalism and peace to return to its traditional isolation.⁵³

But elsewhere other prominent leaders carried on the League's banner. Two of the most notable were a South African Boer, Jan Smuts, and an English aristocrat, Sir Robert

Cecil.⁵⁴ Smuts, as early as the summer of 1918, had penned a volume entitled "The League of Nations: A Practical Suggestion." Many of the proposals he listed here were subsequently incorporated into the Covenant. Throughout his life, he gave the organization unwavering support. Robert Cecil, a Minister in the British government, was a tireless crusader for the League. He had even quit a ministerial position to head the League of Nations Union in support of the League, and played an important role in winning Britain's ratification for the Treaty and the Covenant.⁵⁵

The League needed publicity to bolster its reputation and hence its effectiveness as a mediating body. Luckily, through the presence of strong personalities, it was able to attain its aims. Included among the notables were Leon Burgeois, the fiery radical senator from France; the above mentioned Fridjof Nansen; the Czech, Edward Benes; the Greek lawyer, Nicholas Politis; and the Swedish socialist, Branting.⁵⁶ In its heyday, the League served to catapult many diplomats into fame. They included Aristide Briand from France, and Gustave Stresemann in Germany, and Austen Chamberlain from Britain, all of whom achieved their reputations through performances at the League's Assembly.⁵⁷

The Secretariat, the body of the League most immediately concerned with the day-to-day operations, did not have anyone with the charisma of these individuals. The ranking officer, Eric Drummond, was not an effective publicist. Tall and lean

with "a small head, a long neck with a prominent Adam's apple, a long nose and pale gray eyes, Drummond, an heir to a Scottish earldom, with his wiry appearance resembled a 'Scottish terrier.'"⁵⁸ Until his appointment as Secretary-General, he had been in the British Foreign Office for nineteen years, serving successively as private secretary to Edward Grey, Herbert Asquith, and then Arthur Balfour. Though a "perfect secretary" with a genius for organization and the "rare gift for conciliating divergent positions" in controversies, he was a shy man and apparently "frightened of speechmaking."⁵⁹ So whenever occasions arose which required public appearances, Drummond entrusted the task to Nitobe.⁶⁰

Ishii Kikujirō, Japanese representative on the League's Council, had asked Drummond why he always sent Nitobe out on these publicity drives. Drummond replied that "Nitobe is the most effective speaker that we have."⁶¹ The hundreds of speeches that Nitobe had made over his long and diverse career now served him well. He had developed the knack of tuning in to the receptivity of his listeners and had polished his delivery style to become a popular lecturer. Whenever he spoke, he captured his audience with well crafted speeches that abounded with wit and humor. In the early years, he made forays into various parts of Europe to crusade for the League. The best known of these early efforts has been printed in a pamphlet, "What the League Has Done and is Doing." The original text of this publication came from a lecture delivered at the University of Brussels on September 13th and

14th, 1919.⁶²

But Nitobe was valuable to Drummond not only as a speaker. As the only Japanese of rank in the Secretariat, he served as a conduit for the Secretary-General to pass information to and from the Japanese government. His constant interactions with Foreign Ministry people, such as Ishii, moreover, provided him with inside information that was often useful to the Secretariat. Whenever visitors from Japan arrived in Geneva, Nitobe or his deputy, Harada Ken, served as hosts. The most distinguished Japanese guest that he entertained, and whom Drummond found "a friend to the League," was the Royal Prince Kitashirakawa who came in July 1922.⁶³

Japan's role in the League from the very first had been ambiguous. Only after much debate, had she decided to join the league.⁶⁴ Though she supported the League, her foreign policy did not rely much upon the League's mechanisms. Indeed, Thomas Burkman points out, Japanese diplomats such as Ishii were more favorable to regional accords, as worked out in the Locarno agreements, than the mediation of the League.⁶⁵ Throughout the 1920s, Japan avoided using Geneva as a forum for her foreign affairs problems, but she avidly participated on the technical commissions, in areas such as Health or Labor.⁶⁶ A notable example of Japan's lack of reliance upon the League is how she dealt with the United States on the Immigration issue.⁶⁷ Though there were some rumours in the Secretariat that the Japanese might bring the issue to the League for arbitration,

the Japanese skirted the League altogether. While Nitobe served in Geneva, the only major issue that Japan participated was in making a belated proposal regarding the Geneva Protocol.⁶⁸

Japan could not be active in the League for two main reasons. One was political; the other, geographical. The first was the League's preoccupation with European-centered problems which, for Japan as a Far East regional power, was of indirect concern at best; and the second problem, not unrelated to the first, was the great physical distance of Japan from Geneva.⁶⁹

These barriers, which effectively isolated Japan in the League's deliberations, were of major concern to Drummond and Nitobe alike. At the Director's Meeting on October 22, 1924, Nitobe announced that he would visit Japan on a short trip to promote the League. He called on the Directors to inform him of any matter that they would like him to discuss with members of [the] Japanese government.

Since he had assumed office five years before, he had returned home. He wanted to touch Japanese soil again and see the changes in Tokyo after the Great Earthquake the year before. Probably most of all he wanted to see his family; there had been a new addition whom he had never seen, his granddaughter, Takeko, who was born in 1920. There were also personal chores to attend to, such as the reconstruction of his Kamakura summerhouse which the earthquake had completely destroyed.⁷⁰

He sailed from Marseilles on November 2nd on board the

SS Hakusan and arrived in Japan thirty-six days later.⁷¹ He took the Indian Ocean route. Despite his relatives and many friends in the United States, he purposely avoided going there. Earlier that year, the U.S. Congress had passed the General Immigration Act which so angered him that he swore never to step foot in the country until the act was revoked.⁷² Eight years later, he would break this vow.

Nitobe began to stump for the League even before he arrived in Japan. On board ship, Nitobe gave a lecture to Japanese passengers; and on a stop-over in Shanghai, he gave several speeches to three different organizations. Arriving in Kobe on December 8th, he wasted no time: two speeches were delivered, one at the League of Union Branch in Kobe, and later that day to a general audience of about 950 in Osaka. His visit home was filled to the brim with a grueling work. Katherine Willard Eddy, a missionary and English teacher working with the YMCA in Tokyo, who lived in the Nitobe's Koishikawa home while the Nitobe's were in Geneva. She recollected Nitobe's visit with great clarity:

In the morning when he left for conferences all the helpers in the house ... assembled in the hall, one holding his cane, another his coat, another his hat, etc, and then when he was fully ready they stood under the port cochere, bowing low as he entered his car and was driven away. When he returned at night, no matter what the time, again they were there to greet him, both doors wide open and all the lights turned on, and fatigued though he was he always had some pleasant bit of the days [sic] doings to pass on to them. They and we realized day by day that we were living under the same roof with a great

Aside from about a week's break during the New Years, when he spent with his family and attended to personal affairs, Nitobe was busy with public appearances until he left Japan on February 15th. He "spoke 85 times and the audiences total[ed], at the lowest estimate, more than 50,000." He spent forty-six days lecturing and another twenty-five days giving interviews to the press. His listeners were varied and included members from all strata of society. Members of the Royal Family, including the Prince Regent Hirohito and Prince Chichibu, invited him to speak at the Emperor's residence on the January 17th and 19th respectively; and he addressed the Privy Council and four ministers of government on January 18th.⁷⁴

He also spoke to Seiyūkai Dietmen, to influential bankers and businessmen, engineers and educators, industrialists and religious leaders, pharmacists and merchants, university and college students, women's and foreigners groups, and many other organizations. Most of his speeches were delivered in or around Tokyo, though he made one long speaking tour to central and western Japan from January 10th till the 30th. It included Nagoya, Kyoto, Osaka, Nara, Wakayama, Kobe, Okayama, Fukuoka, Nagasaki, Kumamoto, Yawata, and Hiroshima. All who came heard him preach and praise the ideals of the League.

Nitobe, who soon after his appointment to the League had written in 1920 to Foreign Minister Uchida to gain support for

the League in Japan, found the government fully in support of the League. Shidehara Kijūrō, the Foreign Minister told him that "neither he -- nor his predecessor -- has ever had any difficulty in obtaining in Parliament what he asked for the expenses of the League."⁷⁵ But Nitobe found that Japanese generally were ignorant of the League, except for some youthful supporters. Though he did not encounter much active opposition, some, particularly those in military and educational circles, held grave reservations about the League's utility. In his report to Drummond, Nitobe identified and summarized into ten points the skepticism that he found many to harbour:

1. Is not the League a super-State - "a house on a roof", as we say? Does it not intrude into the sovereign rights of an independent State? [sic]
2. Can war really be avoided, when the history of every nation has shown it to be so frequent and apparently so inevitable?
3. Can man ever be so tamed as to outlive his instinct of pugnacity?
4. For the maintenance of world peace, is the League radical enough in its conception and democratic enough in its constitution, and universal enough in its composition?
5. Is it true that the League is secretly manned by the Jews, whose ultimate purpose it the disruption of all organized society?
6. Are the nations of the world, including the Members of the League, really inclined to resort to peaceful means, or is not so-called "Peace" a pretence for a veiled preparation for war? What is the meaning of the Singapore Base?
7. Is not the League an instrument of the Great Powers for the prosecution of their own selfish ends?

8. Is it not an organization convenient and profitable only to Europe? What benefit does it confer upon Asia and upon Japan in particular?
9. Is the League worth the money our country pays for its support?
10. As long as America stays outside its pale, can the League be of much use to Japan?⁷⁶

Nitobe expended much effort to dispel these doubts. To each, he countered and parried. Though not originally a diplomat, he had, in representing the League's interest in Japan, to become one. His arguments were uneven and not well developed. Regarding the first five objections, he did not spend much time; to the first he pointed to the five-year history of the League to show the charge "unfounded." To the second and third, he dismissed as too "academic." To the fourth, which he considered to come from the political left, instead of directing himself to the question, he took it as an opportunity to comment on the communists in Japan. He saw them as Russian puppets, who were too "occupied with general propaganda as to afford little time to make assault on the league." The fifth point he categorically rejected as without foundation, though he expressed surprise that anti-Semitism "should even find entrance into Japan."⁷⁷

Items six to ten were more difficult for him. On the question of whether nations were sincere in their resorting to peaceful means to solve conflict, he noted that the league was not a compulsory organization, that each member was "free to prepare itself for an emergency." On the British

fortification at Singapore, he thought that it "may be a political maneuver on the part of the Conservative Government to pander to the demands of the Pacific dominions. On item seven, he pointed that it is idle to debate the dominant influence of the Great Powers. Such things are facts. Rather, it is more important to ask whether they "have become more so since the establishment of the League?"⁷⁸

On the question of the benefits of the League to Japan, a concern that both Eric Drummond and Nitobe worried about, he pointed to Japan's position on the Council as a permanent member. He elaborated on this point:

The ordinary man must be told that this position [on the council] is not only highly honorable, but very valuable in ordinary times and priceless in extraordinary times. As far as the yearly allocation is concerned, it must be considered an insurance policy against War, and as such it must not be expected to yield immediate profit. Moreover, Japan will find in a few years that the wisest course for her to pursue in her diplomacy is to bring it in line with the world's public opinion as mirrored in the League.⁷⁹

On the last question of the League's effectiveness without America, one that even the Prince Regent put to him, Nitobe could "only express the hope that the United States may come in, and the belief that she will." He also pointed to encouraging signs in this direction, which included the United States' participation in various committees, and the many Americans who were seriously engaged in studying the League. Vis-a-vis America, "the noblest, and the wisest thing for

Japan to do," he concluded, "is to conduct herself within the League so as to prove herself above suspicion, and thus even pave the way for America's entry."⁸⁰ Little did he know that these issues that he found so vexing would again engage him fully nine years later after his return to Japan.

Most encouraging to him on his visit was the growth of the Japan League of Nations Union which had some 2,300 members in nineteen branches throughout the country.⁸¹ It was extreme active while he visited, and some ten new branches were inaugurated. Among its activities was a monthly magazine, sponsoring frequent lectures by prominent men, classes on the League, and the issuing of pamphlets.⁸²

Nitobe left Kobe to return home on February 15, 1925 on the S.S. Kamo Maru. He again took the Indian Ocean route stopovers at Shanghai and Hong Kong, where he delivered addresses to mixed groups of Japanese, Chinese and Americans. He arrived back in Geneva in late March and gave a summary report of his Japan visit at the Directors Meeting on April 8th. A month later, he formally initiated a branch office for the League's Information Section in Tokyo. This was approved by the Sixth Assembly in the autumn of 1925.⁸³

Life in Geneva: the Glorious Years

Geneva was "a third-rate European city of little international importance" when the League moved there in October 1920. It was a tourist attraction. Located on the extreme western shoreline of Lake Lemman, the city boasted a

magnificent natural setting second to none in Europe. Its blue-green lake, the snow-white peak of Mount Blanc in the distance, the little grey and green houses dotted over the hilly landscape, the gushing torrents of the Rhône, the needle-like spire of the medieval Saint Pierre cathedral, and the rose-colored hue of a cool summer evening, all added to a fairy-tale-like atmosphere, which excited the imagination of the diplomats seeking a place to build a visionary future world of peace and harmony.⁸⁴

The choice of Switzerland to locate the League was politically astute. Since its confederation in 1848, the Swiss have kept a low posture in European political affairs and maintained a strict neutrality in both the Franco-Prussian war and the recent Great war. Geneva, which was honored to host the world organization, historically had a reputation as a haven for political exiles; liberals, social revolutionaries, and anarchists had sought refuge there. Despite its harsh and intolerant Calvinist traditions, it had its periods of liberalism. There, Jean Jacques Rousseau had written his famous tract, the Social Contract; later in the nineteenth century, writers such as Byron, Shelley, and George Sand were attracted to Geneva to live and work. The city retained its tranquility until the League, with its army of diplomats, bureaucrats, technical experts, stenographers and clerks all with their families, descended upon it late in 1920.⁸⁵

In August 1920, Drummond purchased the recently

rennovated Hotel National in downtown Geneva in August 1920 for five and a half million francs to house the Secretariat. "[B]aths, wash-basins, and hot-water pipes were torn out. The bedroom furniture was removed" as the various offices of the international civil servants were set up.⁸⁶

Nitobe, one of the four highest-ranking men in the League, spent six years at his office here, commuting back and forth daily in a chaffered-driven car provided by the League. His salary, 75,000 francs per annum (about \$15,000 U.S.) plus expenses, was more than sufficient for him to pursue the conspicuous lifestyle of a high-level diplomat.⁸⁷ He and Mary rented a house in suburban Bellevue, some five miles north of the city. It was a large and spacious home with a huge immaculately kept lawn that fronted the shore of the lake. It commanded a superb view of the majestic Mount Blanc in the distance.

Ayuzawa Iwao, who represented Japan at the ILO, and who was a frequent visitor with his wife to the home, recollected with special clarity a weekend when he saw "Madame Curie, Henri Bergson, Gilbert Murray, and Albert Einstein, genially conversing while seated around white-painted tables on the lawn." Afterwards, Ayuzawa continues, the venerable Einstein, a musical as well as mathematical genius, entertained the Nitobes' guests with a violin performance.⁸⁸ Ayuzawa's wife, Fukuko, likened the Nitobes' home to the famous eighteenth-century salon of the Madame de Stael, at whose gatherings the literary and cultural elite of Europe attended. It had stood

in the village next to the Nitobes' home.⁸⁹

Guests were a regular part of the Nitobes' social life. Whenever friends and acquaintances arrived in town to see him, Nitobe invited them to his home for a luncheon or dinner. William Faunce, president of Brown University and a long-time friend of the family, visited Geneva in the first week of September 1922 to observe the second assembly's proceedings. Nitobe reserved him a room at the Hotel Bellevue and invited him for dinner at their home before he left Geneva.⁹⁰ Faunce, who had not seen them since 1912 when he visited Japan, wrote to his wife that "[they are] the same sweet unselfish spirits as when I saw them in Tokio".⁹¹ The guests that evening numbered some fourteen, many from the Health section of the League. Faunce was impressed by their varied backgrounds. Men and women of all nationalities made it hard for "general conversation across the table." He himself sat beside "a brilliant Polish woman" whose conversation "he found most instructive." Her husband was a "distinguished Austrian royalist" loyal to the Hapsburg.⁹²

Faunce shared his impressions of Nitobe's character in the same letter. He was, the Brown University President said, "an urbane, witty cosmopolitan, tender-hearted, Christian" who was the most "beautiful soul" he had met. "He will have a front seat in Heaven."⁹³ This impression was shared by many friends and acquaintances. James Shotwell, professor of International Relations at Columbia University, who got to

know Nitobe at the League and whose friendship continued until the latter's death, refers, in his autobiography, to Nitobe as a "one of the finest gentleman of any nationality I have ever met."⁹⁴ When he retired, Albert Dufour-Feronce, a German who was appointed Under-Secretary General as Nitobe's replacement, expressed concern that people would "compare him with the 'saint' Nitobe."⁹⁵

His physical appearance contributed to his sage-like image; he had aged considerably while in Geneva. The once full and dark black hair was now grey, and he was balding a bit in the back; his smartly-trimmed moustache was completely white. But his face, which during his ichikō years projected an image of a proud and even haughty patrician, had mellowed. His eyes, which had troubled him all his adult life, had now weakened to a point where he even feared blindness.⁹⁶

To Blanche Weber Shaffer, who was then a student at the University of Geneva, Nitobe was a model to emulate. In him, she saw a mature gentleman full of knowlege, a "modern Erasmus," who also possessed a deeper wisdom that held compassion for people. She recalled fondly his love for little children, whom he called "chubbikins," and his sensitivity to people's needs. "Dr. Nitobe," she wrote later, "is one of the people who has had the deepest influence on my life.... [He] has been to me the unusual combination of a great teacher, a wise and understanding friend and a fairy godfather."⁹⁷

Many other similar testimonials remain. They reveal Nitobe's profound impact upon people in Geneva. In addition,

he was one of the most popular internationalists in Geneva. F.L. Whelen, who worked for many years at the League, wrote:

In the League's early days, at a Christman party, [where] many members of the Secretariat were present, the guests were asked to write down in order 1,2,3 three names ... they regarded as the most popular people in Geneva. My recollection is that all put the same name, Inazo Nitobe, No. 1. Nansen and Cecil were the most frequent⁹⁸ No. 2 and ... a variety [of others] No. 3.

But Nitobe's gracious charm in social intercourse and his pleasant disposition in the day-to-day grind of the League's activities did not come without effort. He worked hard to win and maintain his reputation. And though he reveled in the honors and adulation, he apparently had another motive. He considered this reputation not only a personal triumph but also a victory for Japan.⁹⁹ As a Japanese internationalist, he represented Japan in the eyes of Westerners. He felt that his behavior in international circles must be impeccable. "Do not do anything to shame Japan" was his motto, and he repeatedly stressed it to his Japanese underlings. At times, this concern with "proper behavior for Japan's sake" seemed to go to extreme, and, it seems today, paranoid lengths. Kamiya Mieko, Maeda Tamon's daughter, recalled a conversation between Nitobe and her mother after they had arrived in Geneva in 1923. Paying a courtesy call on Nitobe, Mrs. Maeda received the following stern warning from Nitobe:

How many people did you say came? Four? Why its

exactly as Maeda kun told a newspaper reporter: 'Its like a zoo.' This is serious business. Four people and with children also! This place is not like Japan, where one can just raise children without doing anything else. On the contrary, you are representing the Japanese government here. Socializing with the various representatives from different countries is a back-breaking chore. Each word that you utter, each act that you perform, reflects the level of civilization in Japan. I hope that you will reflect carefully and live a lifestyle that would not bring any shame upon Japan.¹⁰⁰

In their own lifestyles, the Nitobes had to make various adjustments to the Geneva society. At their social functions, along with the delicious food prepared by their chiefs, the Nitobes served red and white wine. In Japan, they had refrained from alcohol, but in Geneva they adjusted their customs accordingly. To his daughter, Kotoko, who was concerned about the wine at their table, Nitobe retorted, "think of it as medicine; is not morally wrong to drink, as long as one does not get drunk."¹⁰¹

Since French was one of the two official languages of the League, and the dominant local language in the city, Nitobe and Mary took lessons from a private instructor.¹⁰² Although Nitobe appears to have used it when necessary, he was not comfortable in it, and did not use it in public. When French visitors from the the International Bureau came to visit the Secretariat, he asked, at a Directors meeting for "some fluent speaker" to help him guide the visitors around. Pierre Comert, head of the Information Section, volunteered.¹⁰³

Though Nitobe's behavior was gentlemanly and proper in

international society, he was a different person with his fellow Japanese. He was more relaxed and was not as careful of the niceties of courtesy and etiquette that he so carefully observed when in the company of Westerners. Kawanishi Tazuko, recalls his voracious appetite when dining among Japanese. She once served sukiyaki at a gathering of Japanese, and Nitobe "shocked her by eating six or seven bowls of rice with the sukiyaki." Seeing her surprise, she continued, "Nitobe chuckled and showed her a bottle of digestives."¹⁰⁴ He loved eating with other Japanese at the only Japanese restaurant in Geneva where he ate to his heart's content as he entertained his younger companions with humorous stories of his earlier days.

Nitobe submitted his resignation from his post at the League on December 6th, 1926, though he continued his duties until the end of the month. In January of the following year, he left Geneva with his family.

If a man in the morning hears
the right way, he may die in
the evening without regret.

Confucius, Analects

CHAPTER VIII

The Last Years, 1927-1933

Activities In Retirement

Nitobe, his family, and Jōdai Tano spent several weeks vacationing in the resort city of Cannes on the French Riviera after leaving Geneva.¹ Here he made final manuscript revisions to his Japanese Traits and Foreign Influences and wrote the preface. After sending these off to his London publisher, they took a steamer from Marseille for Japan. They reached Kobe on 16 March 1927 and relaxed for two days in Kyoto at the Miyako Hotel before departing for Tokyo.²

After arriving home, Nitobe was rewarded with a medal, Third Class Order of the Sacred Treasure, for his work abroad.³ In the summer of 1925, he had been appointed to the prestigious Imperial Academy (Gakushūin).⁴ But the highest honor bestowed him, and which he probably valued most, had come from the Wakatsuki government when it recommended him for membership in the House of Peers.⁵

This elite institution's members were categorized into six classes: (a) Princes of the Blood; (2) Peers of Prince

and Marquis rank with inherited privileges effective at age thirty; (3) Representatives of the Peers with the ranks of Counts, Viscounts and Barons, who are elected from among their respective orders; (4) Men of erudition or of distinguished services who are nominated by the Emperor; (5) Four members of the Imperial Academy who are elected from among their members and nominated by the Emperor; (6) Representatives of the highest taxpayers in the country. A breakdown of members of the 56th session, in December 1928, Nitobe's second year in the House, was as follows:⁶

Princes of the Blood.....	16
Princes.....	13
Marquises.....	30
Counts.....	18
Viscounts.....	66
Barons.....	65
Imperial Nominees.....	124
Imperial Academy Members.....	4
Highest Taxpaying Members.....	66
total.....	399

As one of the 124 Imperial nominees, Nitobe for the first time in his life came into the very center stage of national politics. Earlier as an Imperial University Professor, he had kept out of political activities and refrained from expressing his political views in public. But with his newly assigned responsibilities, he began to pay closer attention to political issues. His daughter Kotoko recalls that the dining room was "filled with open newspapers lying about."⁷

But contemporary affairs constituted only a fraction of Nitobe's diverse interests and activities in his last years.

He continued to write, lecture and read. Visitors again besieged his Kobinata home to seek his advise and counsel. And requests for support came from many groups throughout the country. By 1932, he was affiliated with over one hundred organizations.⁸

He carefully allotted his precious time to each activity. When the Central Committee for the Iwate Agricultural Cooperative (Sangumi chūō kai Iwate shikai) approached him to head their organization, he assented in characteristic fashion. But he warned that "he could give ten days a year for that work."⁹ His role, however, was symbolic and honorary. He served the group by endowing it with his prestige; he did not have administrative functions, and was not even present at his re-election ceremony in 1932.¹⁰ Shortly hereafter his name was pressed into service along with Kagawa Toyohiko's to help launch the Tokyo Medical Services Association (Tokyo iryō riyō kumiai).¹¹

Several major writing projects were in Nitobe's mind when he returned home from Geneva. The first was to present his experiences at the League, while they were still fresh in his mind, into little vignettes. This book was published in October 1928 by the Jitsugyō no Nihon sha under the title Tō-zai Ai furete (The meeting of East and West).¹² Another project was a commitment made to A.L. Fisher, editor of the Modern World Series of Ernest Benn, to write a comprehensive volume on Japan.¹³ Given several extentions on the deadline, Nitobe completing the book in 1931, though the final product

was considerably shorter than his original plans. Pressed for time, he omitted chapters on National Defence, Foreign Relations, Overseas Possessions, and contemporary Literature. It was published as Japan: Some Phases of her Problems and Developments.¹⁴

Two more books resulted from a series of two-hour lectures given every Friday afternoons in 1928, from early January until June, at Waseda University.¹⁵ Nitobe used this opportunity to express his views on a wide diversity of historical and current topics. Four years later, after returning from his speaking tour in the United States, he published ten of these lectures in a volume Naikan Gaibō (Perspectives: domestic and abroad).¹⁶ He left the remaining lectures in manuscript with Masuda Giichi for a sequel volume, before he left for Canada to attend the IPR Banff Conference in August 1933. He told Masuda that he "would forward a preface for the book soon." He never did. In January 1934, three months after Nitobe's death, Masuda published the book with the original title of the Waseda lectures, Seiyō no jijō to shisō (Western conditions and thought).¹⁷

Nitobe re-entered Masuda Giichi's Jitsugyō no Nihon sha in 1927 and took up where he had left off eight years earlier. He also resumed writing short articles on a broad range of subjects. These he contributed to various magazines, journals, and newspapers. The articles in this period number more than two hundred.¹⁸

In April 1929, Nitobe embarked on another journalistic venture: he agreed to serve the Osaka English Mainichi and Tokyo Nichi Nichi newspapers as an Editorial Advisor.¹⁹ For the former, in a special column with his photograph over it, Nitobe expressed most of his opinions and ideas in the last three years of his life. According to Satō Masahiro, approximately eighty-eight percent--730 in number--of his English Mainichi contributions are Editorial Jottings.²⁰ Almost every day, from July 1930 until his death on 16 October 1933, Nitobe composed these little articles of 150 to 300 words in length. In this compressed form, Nitobe found an ideal means to express himself. He also wrote occasional longer articles and editorials on contemporary political, economic, and social issues.²¹

His contributioned less frequently to the Tokyo Nichi Nichi. In 1929 he began a series of reminiscences of prominent European and American celebrities. They included Arthur Balfour, Lloyd George, Woodrow Wilson, Robert Cecil, Leon Bourgeois, Gilbert Murray, Roland Morris and others whom he had met abroad.²² He later added anecdotes of Itō Hirobumi, Katsura Tarō, Kodama Gentarō, Nogi Marusuke, Takeuchi Seiō, and Gotō Shinpei along with his wife, Kazuko. These pieces, which had appeared at odd intervals, were collected and published in 1931 in a volume, Ijin Gunzō (Portraits of distinguished persons). A believer in the hero, Nitobe aimed to sketch qualities of moral and spiritual greatness that he had perceived in these individuals.²³

Nitobe retained his Quaker affiliations.²⁴ After returning to Japan, he and Mary renewed their ties with the Quaker community which had flourished in their absence. Missionaries, such as the Gurney Binfords, Edith Sharpless, the Herbert Nicholsons, Hugh and Elizabeth Borton, and Gilbert and Minnie Bowles, were frequently invited to their home.²⁵ Particularly intimate were the Bowles, whom they had known since Nitobe's ichikō period. Gordon, son of Gilbert and Minnie, recalls that "My brother and sister and I visited them often in their home ... from 1909 (my first memory) until after their Geneva days." Though his busy schedule precluded him from regularly attending group meetings, he kept closely in touch with their activities. On several occasions, Edith Sharpeless writes, he addressed the Japan Yearly Meetings. And from time to time, he joined the worship, unannounced, at the Hijirizaka Meetings.²⁶

May 2, 1928 held a special spiritual meaning for Nitobe. Fifty years earlier he had been baptized, along with six other classmates, by Merriam Harris in Sapporo. Five survivors of the Sapporo group met to commemorate the occasion. Itō Kazutaka and Ōshima Masatake, members of the first class of the Sapporo nōgakkō, and his classmates Hiroi Isamu and Uchimura Kanzō met Nitobe at the graveside of Harris at the Tama Cemetery on a dark and rainy day to hold a short prayer meeting. A few days later, Nitobe invited the group, minus Hiroi, who had another engagement, to his home where they

recollected old times.²⁸ This appears to have been Nitobe's last meeting with Uchimura. Two years later, in 1930, he passed away.²⁹

Though involved in many different activities in these years, Nitobe's name seldom made newspaper headlines. But in early 1929, two events brought him conspicuously again to the public's eye. On February 11, 1929, for the first and only time, he took the podium in the House to deliver a powerful speech supporting a motion of no-confidence in the Tanaka government. This address, which denounced Tanaka Giichi for his manipulation of an Imperial message, was the crucial lever in tipping the Peers' vote to pass the censure measure.³⁰

The second event that made headlines throughout Japan was an armed robbery in the wee early morning hours of January 18th at Nitobe's Kobinata home. Nitobe had returned home late the night before after he had addressed a Korean group, and was sound asleep when the thief, armed with two stolen pistols, broke into the house. He accosted Mary, Nitobe, and their maid, Kichi, and demanded "one thousand yen." But he made off with only forty yen. While escaping, the robber shot and wounded two policemen. No one in the Nitobe home was hurt, but the incident created quite a stir.³¹

Nitobe was at work on his Japan manuscript in mid-summer of 1929 when Takagi Yasaka unexpectedly asked him to assume the Chairmanship of the Japan Council of the Institute of Pacific Relations (IPR).³² The post had become vacated when

Inoue Junnosuke, who had succeeded Sawayanagi Seitarō in 1927, resigned to become Finance Minister in the newly formed Hamaguchi government. Nitobe hesitated. His Japan manuscript was already late; furthermore, he had pressing commitments to the Osaka English Mainichi and the Tokyo Nichi Nichi. He joked with Takagi that "if they [Japan Council] would write a couple of his chapters of his Japan book, he would accept the offer." At Takagi's persistence, Nitobe finally agreed to take the job. He put the Japan manuscript aside and, to fulfill his newspaper duties, he selected pieces from Thoughts and Essays, written over twenty years earlier, to reprint in his column in the Osaka English Mainichi.³³ Nitobe then turned to the arduous preparatory tasks of hosting the Third Biennial Conference of the IPR that was to meet in Kyoto that autumn.

Nitobe, the IPR, and the Manchurian Question, 1929-1931

The IPR, like the League of Nations, was conceived in the optimistic climate of internationalism after World War I.³⁴ First proposed by a group of community-minded citizens in Hawaii, such as Frank Atherton, Charles Loomis and Edward Carter, the original idea evolved over a six-year period from a purely YMCA affair to a visionary plan for establishing a self-governing, self-directed organization which extended beyond Christian circles.³⁵ Its stated goal was to "study the conditions of the Pacific peoples with a view to the improvement of their mutual relations."³⁶

Organized as a non-governmental body, the IPR's operating budget consisted solely of contributions from individual memberships and private groups. Keeping this unofficial status free from governmental ties was seen as indispensable condition to fulfill its tasks of independent research, information sharing, and unimpeded discussion.³⁷ Three administrative bodies were created to lend structure to the organization: (1) the Pacific Council, (2) a permanent Central Secretariat, and (3) the International Research Committee.³⁸

The first conference IPR met in Honolulu in 1925 where the first steps for launching the organization was made. Over the next two years, National Councils were formed in the United States, Canada, Japan, China, Britain, Australia, and New Zealand. And at a second conference, also held at Honolulu in the Summer of 1927, a Constitution was drawn up and signed by representatives from the respective National Councils.³⁹

The Honorary Chairman for the Japan National Council was Shibusawa Eiichi; the officials were Saitō Sōichi, Secretary-General of the Tokyo YMCA (Honorary Secretary), Ishii Akira of the Pacific Life Insurance Company (Auditor), Masuda Meiroku (Auditor), and Takagi Yasaka (Research Secretary); Nitobe, before assuming the Chairmanship, filled the post of Research Director. The Board of Directors included Baron Sakatani Yoshiro, Professors Takayanagi Kenzō and Nasu Shiroshi of the Tokyo Imperial University, and two of Nitobe's closest disciples, Maeda Tamon and Tsurumi Yūsuke.⁴⁰

A few days before the Kyoto Conference convened, the Pacific Council met at the Nara Hotel and elected Nitobe Chairman for the event.⁴¹ With two hundred delegates attending, this conference was the largest among the thirteen held by the IPR.⁴² The delegations for the various National Councils included some of the most prominent men in public affairs. Several independent groups, including the League of Nations, sent its own observers. The U.S. and Japanese governments, which had remained aloof of the two earlier conferences, even sent goodwill messages of greetings.⁴³

On a bright and sunny morning of October 28, Nitobe, basking in the international limelight, opened the conference with an eloquent speech at the Kyoto Miyako Hotel. Drawing a parallel between Geneva and Kyoto, he pointed to the "spirit of the hills and lakes as conducive to fellowship and interdependence." He concluded his address with the words:

Here we meet in this ancient city, called in olden times Hei-An, the City of Peace and Ease, at the foot of the Hi-ei range and with Lake Biwa close by. Thus does Japan provide the Conference with the geographical requisites for the peaceful discussion of international relations.⁴⁴

Like the other Japan Council members, Nitobe strove to make the conference a success. Being the first of its kind ever held in Japan, with a large foreign press corps covering the daily proceedings, the Japanese were anxious that the news reports project a favorable image of their country abroad.

William Holland, Secretary-General of the IPR from 1946 until its demise in 1960, who attended the Kyoto Conference as a newly appointed research assistant attached to the Secretariat, recalls the meticulous care that the Japanese displayed to host the event:

They went out of their way to put on a very good show and to make it a major platform for presenting their case to the world ... to make it a magnificent piece of organization ... [with] magnificent entertainment as well.⁴⁵

In what appears to have been a breach of rules of strict non-government support to the IPR, the Japan Council gave each delegate to the conference a first-class rail pass that permitted unrestricted travel on national railway lines to any part of the Japanese empire. Holland mentions that he got his first glimpse of Korea and Manchuria by travelling "free all the way up to Mukden" on this pass.⁴⁶

Of the six topics on the round table agenda, the most contentious was the problem of Manchuria. Feelings of animosity between the Chinese and the Japanese delegates over this issue were so great, James Shotwell recalls, that "I have seldom, if ever, found myself in a more embittered atmosphere."⁴⁷ Both sides came to the conference well-prepared to debate their cases, which occupied three days of round table discussions. The China Council presented two recent studies from their perspective. The first by Hsu Shuhsi outlined the recent politics of Manchuria and argued for complete Chinese sovereignty of the area; the second by Chu

Hsiao was a statistical treatment of economic factors.⁴⁸ The Japanese study by Rōyama Masamichi covered both the political and economic issues involved and stressed Japanese historical rights; his study was supplemented by a strong speech by Matsuoka Yōsuke on the role of the South Manchurian railway in developing the region.⁴⁹ Walter Young, a scholar attached to the American Council, and Sir Harold Partlett of the British delegation, also presented data papers on aspects of the Manchurian question.⁵⁰

Nitobe fully supported the united Japanese position. Before the conference began, he received a message from Foreign Minister Shidehara, and a briefing by Yoshida Shigeru, Vice Minister, on the various positions that the Chinese delegates would take vis-a-vis the powers.⁵¹ But Nitobe did not play a major role in the discussions, though he followed the proceedings carefully. He later spoke admiringly of Matsuoka's oratorical skills and his superb command of English at the conference.⁵²

In addition to his ceremonial role as conference chairman, Nitobe also contributed a scholarly piece, "Two Exotic Currents in Japanese Civilization," to the twenty-one cultural-related papers that the Japanese delegation had prepared for the conference.⁵³ Two years later, these papers were published under IPR auspices by the University of Chicago Press under Nitobe's editorship as Western Influences in Modern Japan.⁵⁴

The Kyoto Conference ended well, and the delegates left Japan happy. Even the Chinese delegates who had feared attack from nationalists zealots upon arrival in Japan "thought generously of the hospitality shown them."⁵⁵ But the problems discussed at the round table on Manchuria starkly revealed the completely divergent viewpoints of the Chinese and Japanese. The intractability of their positions prefigured, to a large degree, the later outbreak of hostilities between the two countries.⁵⁶

The Fourth Biennial Conference of the IPR was scheduled to meet two years later in late October, 1931 at Hangchow.⁵⁷ But after the outbreak of the Manchurian Incident on September 18th, a wave of anti-Japanese sentiment swept throughout China and threatened to ruin the conference.⁵⁸ The tactful leadership of Jerome Greene, Chairman of the Pacific Council, however, helped to smooth things over sufficiently for the Pacific Council to meet.⁵⁹ At the October 12th meeting at the Cathay Hotel, a crucial decision was made to change the conference location from Hangchow to Shanghai, which afforded the delegates a greater peace of mind. And instead of following the regular agenda, ad-hoc plans for a "modified conference" was drawn up. Later, after the national delegations arrived and work begun, it was decided to go ahead as originally planned.⁶⁰

Nitobe, suffering from lumbago and walking on crutches, left Kobe on October 9th and arrived two days later in Shanghai leading the Japanese delegation.⁶¹ At the Pacific

Council Meetings, he represented Japan along with Maeda Tamon and Ishii Akira. But unlike the Kyoto Conference, he was less active and even missed several executive meetings.⁶² Nitobe stayed in Shanghai when the Council briefly visited Hangchow for a courtesy call. Five members of the Japan Council, Tsurumi, Maeda, Uramatsu, Iwanaga, and Matsumoto, made the one-day, two-nights trip, and met Chang Kai Shek, head of the Nationalist government, at Nanking.⁶³

The Manchurian problem, though not originally listed among the nine main items in the round table agenda, was included in the program at the last minute, over the protest of the Japan Council representative.⁶⁴ At the general conference session on the Diplomatic Machinery in the Pacific on the evening of the 27th, Takayanagi Kenzō read a paper: "Manchuria, a Case Problem." The following evening, Hsu Shuhsi and Tsurumi Yūsuke argued their country's case.⁶⁵

Though Nitobe wrote a glowing description of the conference in his Editorial Jottings article of 28 October, where "the sons of Japan and of China sit together in harmony of spirit," his words about "peace and good will" were misleading.⁶⁶ In actual fact, the atmosphere was tense and colored darkly by mutual suspicion; and stormy volleys were exchanged between the Japanese and Chinese delegates. Nitobe himself was particularly erked by a remark about Japanese militarism made by Hu Shih, Chairman of the Conference, at a 30 October round table discussion, and demanded a reprimand.⁶⁷

Hugh Keenleyside, who was serving as the First Secretary at the Canadian Legation in Tokyo, using his diary entries, writes in his memoirs of Nitobe's actions at this time.

[T]he Japanese and the Chinese delegations had attacked each other with Nitobe leading the van for the Japanese. Next morning the senior Chinese participant rose in full conference and apologized. He said that he was sorry that he had let his nationalistic feelings get the better of him, admitted that China was far from blameless in the present conflict and that he personally had sinned against the spirit that should prevail among men of good will who were seeking solutions to difficult problems. Then Nitobe rose and everyone waited for him to make an apology of a like nature. Instead, speaking for the Japanese delegation, he accepted the Chinese apology.⁶⁸

Though the accuracy of the above remark is open to question, Nitobe's views of the Chinese and the Manchurian situation at that time are clear.⁶⁹ Mary sent a letter, dated October 22, 1931 to the Elkintons in Philadelphia, while Nitobe was at the conference, which clearly stated their position on the current crises:

Japanese troops were justified in what they did and would have been justified in doing much more--except the bombing at Chinchow ... it is scarcely more criminal, if as bad as the Chinese habit of lying and procrastinating and blaming the other party for every thing untoward that happens.⁷⁰

Nitobe made public his analysis of the Manchurian problem a month before the conference in a succinct little tale in his Editorial Jottings column on September 30, 1931. Entitled a "A Far-Eastern Fable," the article reads:

There was a rich man with a long line of ancestors. He had several sons, of whom the oldest [China] inherited the estate. An avaricious neighbor [Russia] got a large slice of this by threat and flattery. Before this thug the old man [Imperial China] cowered in abject fear. But when the giant neighbor strode down and tried to clutch the small and barren plot [Manchuria] which had fallen to the youngest child [Japan], the boy arose in anger and cut off the hand of the giant [the Russo-Japanese War] and asked his elder brother to let him till the ground vacated by the giant.

The brother [Republican China], now grown old and in his dotage, far from rejoicing at the prospect of working with his own kith and kin, turned to him and said;--I am too proud to own that you, who are younger and smaller than I, are stronger. I fear all strength. I admit I am by nature timid and calculating. But if I have to be beaten by anybody I wish to be beaten by a big fellow who doesn't look like me or you." At this insult the little man [Japan] stood up and smote his own brother [China] in the face. All that the poor man could do was to raise one piteous wail [appeal to the League of Nations], hoping that someone would come and chastise his kinsman.⁷¹

For the next two years, until his death in October 1933, Nitobe's analysis of the Far Eastern situation would not vary much from this simplistic sketch. The Chinese, he would stress time and again, were the primary culprits for the problems in Manchuria. Even on the day he left for the Shanghai Conference, Nitobe wrote in his Editorial Jottings a harsh piece entitled "Premature Democracy" which condemned the Chinese Republic and its burgeoning nationalism. Critical of ability of the Chinese to govern themselves, he saw their leaders as "boys that 'lead' the nation." The "oft-repeated comparisons made by Chinese students between the American

Revolution and theirs," Nitobe saw as without substance:

The young Republic is still dominated by a crude and text-book definition of Democracy, which does not distinguish it from Demagoguery. Her college boys may discourse on republican principles in the class-room, but they identify them with mobocracy when on the street.⁷²

He declined an invitation to visit Chang Kai Shek in Nanking after the Shanghai Conference and returned directly home on November 4th.⁷³ Several weeks later, in an article "Lessons of Manchurian Incident," he complimented the Kwantung army on its decisiveness and bravery in the field and noted that they "have won the gratitude and respect of the nation."⁷⁴

But though in complete agreement with military actions in Manchuria, Nitobe was not a blind admirer of the army, nor did he condone the indiscriminate use of military force. He had warned earlier of the dangers of a "monopoly of soldiers" in the affairs of the state:

Precarious and unstable is the country whose greatest glory is military efficiency. Such a country is like a body with an arm and not a head at the top.... Armies cannot yet be safely dispensed with, but they are not the only embodiment of loyalty or patriotism.⁷⁵

The Manchurian Incident set in train events that escalated toward wider conflict. Reading of the latest actions of the Japanese army in Shanghai, Nitobe was disturbed. He felt that the Japanese had provoked the Chinese

in the latest round of bloodshed. Though he had supported the Manchurian takeover, he could not accept the government's explanation of the Shanghai Incident. But he refrained from public criticism.

The Matsuyama Incident

On February 4th Nitobe visited Shikoku at the request of a friend, Kunimatsu Toshio, Principal of the Ehime Prefectural Agricultural College to speak at the school and to other groups.⁷⁶ He immediately gave three consecutive lectures, plus an interview with local newspaper reporters. The journalists wanted to hear his opinions on the outbreak of fighting in China. Conscious of the explosive nature of the subject, Nitobe did not want his views published, so before speaking, he obtained the reporters' promise that his statements were strictly off the record.⁷⁷ They agreed. But while he spoke, a reporter from the Kainan shinbun, a local Matsuyama paper, arrived late to the interview; he was not aware of the confidentiality of Nitobe's remarks, and his paper printed them on the following day:⁷⁸

getting up every morning and reading the newspaper is depressing. Our country is being destroyed by the communists and the military clique. Asking which one of the two is more dangerous, surely the answer must be the military. Communism will probably grow in proportion as the military expands. I believe that communist ideology will gradually spread as a result.⁷⁹

Nitobe also condemned the government's explanation of its

recent actions in Shanghai and called it "sophistry." But he pointed to the military for the greater part of the blame.⁸⁰

On February 6th and 7th, the Kainan shimbun, published editorials which viciously denounced Nitobe for his statements.⁸¹ It also printed several readers' letters which bristled with patriotic indignation: Nitobe, they charged, with his misguided internationalism, was leading the country down the path of ruin. "Just what country is the Doctor from that he uses such intemperate language?" Instead of criticizing the government and military, they felt, all loyal Japanese should rally together in these hard-pressed times.⁸²

Nitobe thought it best to ignore the attacks. After the first editorial, he wrote the following in his Editorial Jottings column entitled "Canine Writers":

The worst thing you can do is to reply to an editorial attack ... If you write a defence, that is exactly what is wanted, since it will show that you have recognized its existence and thought it worthy to speak to. A more philosophical attitude [is] to neglect it completely.⁸³

Nitobe returned to Tokyo hoping that the commotion would die away. But it did not. At a local military reserve organization meeting in Matsuyama on February 20th, the matter was brought up again, and the following proclamation adopted:

Nitobe Inazō's statements to reporters on 4 February are extreme and show a lack of respect one expects from a learned man. Because he is a celebrity, his words will have far reaching influence. The result will be to mislead the public and break the united spirit of the

people. This in turn opens the way to invasion by other countries. The responsibility is great. Japan faces grave prospects and must call for the cooperation of both high and low. We are alarmed over the future of our country. As Imperial subjects, we could not stand by, so a general meeting was called and it was decided that Nitobe Inazō should not be excused. We, the reservists who serve the Emperor and work for the public, urge Nitobe to reflect upon his words. If he does not, we must inform the people of Japan. We await his decision.⁸⁴

The public furor in Matsuyama and the Local Military Reservists' censure brought the issue to national attention. Tokyo newspapers and magazines began to pick up the story.⁸⁵ On February 27th, Nitobe was visited at his home by the Vice-Minister of the Navy, Sakoji Seizō, and the chief of Military Affairs Section in the War Ministry, Nagata Tetsuzan, to inquire about the charges. Later Sakoji met with the media and said that "the Doctor made clear that the newspaper article was at complete odds with his own personal opinions and that he regretted that some members of the public misunderstood his views."⁸⁶

This statement by the Naval Vice Minister only added fuel to the fire. Feeling that stronger action was needed, the Military Reservists brought up the Matsuyama remarks again at a three-day conference at the National Headquarters in Tokyo in early March. There, a committee of censure was formed to extract from Nitobe a public apology.⁸⁷

Nitobe, in the meanwhile, had been admitted into the St. Luke's International Hospital in Tsukiji for a neuralgic condition.⁸⁸ He thought that the incident had blown over, but

on the evening of March 3rd, three representatives from the Imperial Reserve Censure Committee visited him at the hospital. There, they relentlessly pursued him about his Matsuyama statements. Nitobe "defended himself by saying that the statements about military cliques and the downfall of Japan was not meant to imply the Japanese military clique, and that he had used the military cliques of China and the world in talking about this." But his defense was in vain. Quoting records of that meetings, Uchikawa Eiichirō writes:

each member attacked with proof and Nitobe suddenly became confused and very bewildered and retorted 'the fact that my words were not reported as I said them is my own fault. I will appear tomorrow at your meeting and apologize.'⁸⁹

At 11 a.m. the following day, Nitobe, with his grandnephew at his side, appeared before the trustees at the headquarters of the Imperial Reserve Association.⁹⁰ From the central podium, he spoke to the hostile group. He related the details of his Matsuyama statements of the month before and tried to show that they were misinterpreted in the press; his talk finished, he tried to leave, but a trustee, not satisfied with Nitobe's explanation, angrily ordered him to "fulfill the promise you made yesterday." Nitobe, realizing that the group wished nothing less than to see him capitulate before them, complied without resisting:

because my words were not sufficient, I have caused much trouble to society. I sincerely

regret this. I apologize before you all.⁹¹

And with this, Nitobe bowed his head in apology to the triumphant reserve officers. He returned to St. Luke's Hospital guarded by his grandnephew, Lieutenant Commander Ōta of the Naval Reserves, where he remained for the next twelve days.⁹² His apology attracted widespread attention, and his liberal reputation suffered a major setback when newspapers at home and abroad reported the event. The Kainan shimbun, which had started the whole affair, in its issue of March 7th, ran large headlines on the front page with "Dr. Nitobe Takes Off Hat in Defeat."⁹³

Uchikawa Eiichirō, who has investigated this incident in great detail, writes that "Nitobe [apologized] for his personal safety."⁹⁴ Had Nitobe not done so, would his life have been in danger? Contemporary events suggest this. In February, a ultra-nationalist terrorist group, Ketsumeidan (Blood Brotherhood Band), made a "hit list" of twenty prominent men in government and business. Among them were Inukai Tsuyoshi, Tokonami Takejirō and Suzuki Kisaburō (Seiyū kai); Wakatsuki Reijirō, Inoue Junnosuke, Shidehara Kijūrō (Minseitō); Ikeda Shigeaki, Dan Takuma, Gō Seinosuke (Mitsui); Kimura Kusuyata (Mitsubishi); Saionji Kinmochi, Makino Nobuaki, Tokugawa Iesato and Itō Miyoji (Peers and Court advisors). Three of the above were killed.⁹⁵

On February 9th, a few days after Nitobe's Matsuyama statements were made public, Inoue Junnosuke, a close Nitobe

acquaintance was shot in the back; and on March 5th, the day after Nitobe's apology to the Imperial Reserves, Baron Dan Takuma, director of the Mitsui holding company was assassinated.⁹⁶ During the Matsuyama Incident, Nitobe's home was guarded by policemen stationed outside to ward off would-be attackers. And Ōta Tsunetoshi stayed by Nitobe's side for two whole months to protect him against violence.⁹⁷

One of the unforeseen repercussions of the Matsuyama Incident was to bring Nitobe back into an international arena again, this time as a spokesman for Japan to United States and Canada.

Emissary to North America, April 1932-March 1933

The first announcement of Nitobe's trip abroad "on behalf of the country" came after his February 28th meeting with the Navy Vice Minister Sakoji and Military Affairs Bureau Chief, Colonel Nagata. In a press statement released immediately after the meeting, Sakoji mentioned that [Nitobe] agreed "to go overseas in the future to announce his views concerning contemporary problems."⁹⁸

This was surprising news. Eight years earlier, Nitobe had stated in public that he would not step foot on American soil until the Immigration Act had been repealed. Though he had subsequently received "over a dozen invitations" from various groups in the United States requesting him to address them, Nitobe firmly kept his vow. To Nicholas Butler, who invited

him to Columbia University in May 1931 to inaugurate the newly established Institute of Japanese Studies, Nitobe wrote:

nothing will entice me to enter the country where my own kith and kin are not treated on equal terms with the rest of mankind. I shall be ashamed to be treated with special consideration,⁹⁹ as though I do not belong to the Japanese race.

But Nitobe's personal feelings on the immigration issue were now overshadowed by larger and more pressing international concerns. Through the autumn and winter months of 1931-32, the Japanese army continued to consolidate its gains on the continent, while the League of Nation's Council, to whom China had appealed, deliberated on what steps it should take to resolve the crisis.¹⁰⁰ Its slow progress in coming to a resolution was blamed on the stalling tactics of the Japanese representative. Finally on December 10th, the Council decided to send a Commission of Inquiry, headed by Lord Lytton, to make an on-the-spot investigation of the Manchurian crisis and submit a report to the League.¹⁰¹

The American government did not have a set position on the Far Eastern Crisis at this juncture. Though Secretary of State Henry Stimson wanted to take strong measures against Japan, and had issued the "Stimson Notes" in January, which called for non-recognition of areas Japan acquired by force, President Hoover and Assistant Secretary of State William Castle, his influential advisor, were opposed to actions which might antagonize Japan.¹⁰² In this fluid state of affairs,

winning American public opinion to its side was seen by the Japanese government to be of crucial importance.¹⁰³

But the American Press was hostile. Since the outbreak of the Manchurian Incident, leading newspapers and journals unceasingly carried articles that showed Japan in an unfavorable light.¹⁰⁴ "Militaristic" and "aggressive" were commonly used adjectives to explain her actions in Manchuria and Shanghai. As part of an effort to curtail this ominous anti-Japanese tide, the Foreign Ministry appealed to Nitobe, whose reputation in America as a liberal was well-known.¹⁰⁵

By the middle of March, plans to send him to the United States to explain Japan's case to the American people were taking concrete shape. In a letter to his friend Kunimatsu in Matsuyama, dated March 18th, Nitobe, after apologizing for the trouble he had caused in the Matsuyama Incident, mentions that "I have been asked to go abroad next month....I am not completely happy about it, but it will be the last service I can offer my country, so I go willingly."¹⁰⁶

Two days later, he wrote another letter to a young Buddhist nun in Yamagata Prefecture, Satō Hōryō whom he had befriended five years before, which reveals pressures upon him to undertake the "disagreeable journey":

I have been advised to leave for America soon and will probably be ordered by the Japanese government to do so.¹⁰⁷

Nitobe pondered on the chances of success for this difficult mission. The outlook was depressing: the tide of

American public opinion was running too strongly against Japan. He himself would be viewed "as an apologist of the militarists" and be accused of cowardice for seeking refuge in America from threats upon his life. Indeed "wild rumors" that he was in fact a target of ultra-nationalists appear to have been one reason for Mary's wanting to take the trip.¹⁰⁸ But whatever fears Nitobe himself may have harbored about dying at the hands of assassins, he did not reveal them. Rather his statements at this critical point suggest that he was moved by high ideals. Even if it meant destroying his international reputation as a liberal, he felt it a personal duty to explain to Americans Japan's case in Manchuria. In the Editorial Jottings, he put his private struggles into a public confession:

The country to which I was bound presented an appearance of utter darkness. I strained my eyes ... to see some light to lead and comfort me. Failing to find any, my heart sank within me and I felt like giving up the mission. Then a Voice within me said--Go on, depending on the light that is within you! I felt greatly encouraged, because within me I harboured no thought of gain or ambition. I could say to myself that 'my strength was as the strength of ten because my heart was pure.'¹⁰⁹

To guard against charges of spreading official propaganda, Nitobe chose to travel as a "private citizen" under the pretense of "studying American public opinion." Even the column that he wrote in the Osaka Mainichi changed its heading for his period from "Editorial Jottings" to "What

I am Learning in America."¹¹⁰ But it is clear that Nitobe was not acting alone: his mission from the very first was conceived by, and had the complete support of, the Japanese government. And his activities throughout were carefully monitored by the Foreign Ministry, with whom he appears to have been in full collaboration. On April 14th, when he, Mary, and her nurse left from Yokohama, among the crowd of well-wishers was the former Foreign Minister himself, Shidehara Kijūrō, who had come to the harbor to see Nitobe off, and wish him success.¹¹¹

The trip across the Pacific took thirteen days--five to Hawaii and eight to California. They reached San Francisco on February 27th. Nitobe made several quick calls around the city, including one to the Japanese Consulate-General, and left directly via transcontinental rail for the East Coast and arrived on the evening of May 6th in New York.¹¹²

Nitobe had carefully worked out a strategy in advance: he was to focus firstly on winning over Americans at the very center of the Establishment. New York City, with its concentration of influential opinion leaders, was the logical place to begin. A second major reason for starting with New York was that the major newspapers and radio broadcasting companies were headquartered here. Statements released in the city were assured of reaching a much large audience across the country through communications networks. With these considerations in mind, Nitobe began his painful campaign to help shift American public opinion to Japan's cause.¹¹³

On May 7th, the day after he arrived, Nitobe held an interview with newspaper reporters at his hotel; and the day after, he gave a radio broadcast "Japan, the League of Nations, and the Peace Pact" over the Columbia Broadcasting Company. In his interview, which was published in the New York Times, Nitobe appealed to the American's sense of "fair play" and carefully explained that "Japan does not want anything in China except stability in that country." He emphasized that Japan does not want any Chinese territory. "I am sure," Nitobe concluded, "that when all the facts are before the people of the United States, they will agree that the Japanese want world peace."¹¹⁴

Reactions to his interview were quick and harsh. In an "Open Letter to Dr. Nitobe" in the New Republic, Raymond Buell, Research Director of the Council on Foreign Relations, challenged Nitobe on the claims he had made regarding Japan in Manchuria. "It is heartbreaking for those who have followed your past career to believe that these statements accurately portray your views." After reminding Nitobe of his Quaker beliefs and his service to the League, Buell continued that "[i]n view of the present regime in Japan, we could understand a policy of silence on your part, but we cannot understand a policy which uncritically defends Japanese militarism."¹¹⁵

The Christian Century, in its June 1st editorial entitled "The Menace of Militarism," after mentioning that Nitobe's life "was imperiled" by his Matsuyama statements, continued

that "Dr. Nitobe was accordingly persuaded to disregard his previous scruples" to undertake the journey to America. The editorial concluded:

[Nitobe] made public the most sweeping and unqualified approval of everything that Japan has done in Manchuria and Shanghai. ...It is incredible that the Dr. Nitobe of the Geneva days could have taken such a position. The Dr. Nitobe who has defended the sack of Chapei is a war casualty. He is a testimony to the ruthlessness with which militarism will bludgeon anyone who dares to stand in its path.¹¹⁶

Nitobe was hurt by these remarks and he commented on both pieces in his Osaka Mainichi column. Regarding Buell's letter, he wrote that "I would not have minded it if it had been written in a fair spirit: but it was an expression of hypercritical distortion."¹¹⁷ And regarding the latter:

"The Christian Century" ... has done me the honour of an editorial comment in which were some abusive allusions without any foundation upon which to base them.... As it has always been my principle not to care what other say, I shall not make any reply.... I look upon [the editorial] as indicative of the low level to which Christianity has sunk in this country.¹¹⁸

The above two public attacks did not deter Nitobe from his assignment. He remained in New York for the month of May and addressed various organizations on the problems facing Japan. On May 20th, he made his second radio speech over CBS entitled "Japan's Hopes and Fears." In this talk, which was part of a series sponsored by the New York Japanese Chamber of Commerce, Nitobe reiterated Japan's Manchurian policy and

emphasized the treaty rights that she had won there at huge sacrifices. He also explained at length the two crucial issues underlying the present crisis from the Japanese point of view: firstly, the increasing tariffs put on by her trading partners; and secondly, the country's imperative need for a stable supply of raw materials. Peace and order in the region, he stressed, is indispensable to Japan, for Manchuria is "Japan's life-line."¹¹⁹

The Japanese Consul in New York was pleased with Nitobe's public relations work and cabled the Foreign Ministry in Tokyo to inform them that "Nitobe is doing a good job."¹²⁰ In June, Nitobe was in Washington D.C. He continued his work of speaking to different organization and meeting privately with important decision-makers. With Ambassador Debuchi, he paid a courtesy call on President Hoover; afterwards he visited Secretary of State Henry Stimson. But his activities in the nation's capital did not attract much media attention. His meeting with the President, for example, which only lasted seven minutes, was not even mentioned in the New York Times, the paper that Nitobe always read.¹²¹

He spent the rest of June and July in and around Philadelphia, his wife's hometown. Here he rested and received some private honors. Haverford College, at its June 11 June commencement, granted him an Honorary Doctorate of Law degree.¹²² And shortly thereafter, he and Mary were distinguished guests at another smaller graduation ceremony at Westtown, a Quaker boys' high school. Their seventeen year old

grandnephew, David Elkinton, was among the graduates. While in Philadelphia, Nitobe gave speeches to Friends Meetings on the situation in the Far East. Howard Elkinton, a relative, later recollected Nitobe's difficulties to explain "Japan's militarism" to the pacifist Quakers.¹²³

After concluding a pleasant visit with the Elkintons, Nitobe, Mary, Mori Futae, a "young newspaper man from Tokyo," and young David Elkinton, who served as chauffeur and general helper, drove north to Williams College for the Twelfth Institute of Politics. They arrived at Williamstown, Massachusetts on the evening of July 27th and checked in at the Williams Inn, where they spent the next four weeks while the Institute was in session.¹²⁴

The Institute of Politics at Williams College ranked first among the some half-dozen groups started after World War I in the United States to study world affairs. Among its Officers and Board members were Walter McLaren, George Blakeslee, Walter Lippman, and James Brown Scott--men known widely for their expertise in international relations.¹²⁵ For the Institute's Twelfth Session, whose agenda included six Round Table Discussions and two General Conferences, some three hundred people from many different countries attended. Nitobe, designated keynote speaker, on the opening day gave an address entitled "Development of International Cooperation."¹²⁶ Though his address was non-controversial, since it dealt mainly with the growth and development of

various international bodies and the necessity of "fostering the international mind," he did not skirt the problem of Japan and the League. Perhaps to the discomfort of some in the audience, he may have been a little too direct:

In [Japan's] foreign relations we have most to do with China, and the issues between us belong strictly to the two nations.¹²⁷ We, therefore, prefer direct negotiations; ...

Nitobe gave his second Institute talk "Basic Principles of Japanese Politics" a few days later in an evening lecture. And he participated actively in the Round Table Discussions on "Sino-Japanese Relations in Eastern Asia." Here, Nitobe freely expressed his opinions on the current crisis in Manchuria. The participants, like at the Kyoto and Shanghai IPR Conferences, divided sharply on the issues according to their respective nationalities. The Japanese, Nitobe, Roy Akagi, and Professor Obata lined-up on one side, and the Chinese participants, V. Wellington Koo and Professor Kiang on the other. The participants from the other countries generally took positions somewhere between.¹²⁸

While the Institute was in its last week of session, Nitobe made a quick visit to New York City to give, on August 20th, one more radio speech on CBS.¹²⁹ This time, he concentrated on the Stimson Notes. In his twenty-six minute address, Nitobe argued that the Non-Recognition Doctrine put forth by the American Secretary of State under the terms of the Kellogg-Briand Pact was inapplicable to Japan because of

its retroactive nature. The Pact, he noted, was signed on August 27, 1928; the Non-Recognition Doctrine was put forth three and a half years later. "Is it fair to bind," he asked rhetorically, "a signatory to a treaty by interpreting it in a way of which it was not warned and to which it may not have consented?" Though Nitobe affirmed his support of the Peace Pact, its application, he stressed, had to be considered in light of the actual conditions at hand:

I have faith in [the Pact's] ultimate triumph, but triumph cannot be forced by hair-splitting legal interpretation. Triumph can come only as a moral suasion befitting a real situation.¹³⁰

In Nitobe's eyes, the political situation in China was such that the various peace machinery--as formulated in the League's Covenant, the Nine Power Treaty, and the Peace Pact--were not yet relevant. Only after certain fundamental conditions were met could Japan realistically rely upon them. Among these, three stood out: (1) that China attain political unity and "renounce anti-foreign diplomacy as a means of national policy"; (2) Japan is allowed access to vital food and industrial supplies; (3) Russia is checked from encroachment on Chinese soil. Until the time when these conditions were met, Japan would have to take matters in her own hands, and defend her interests as she saw fit.¹³¹

In late August, Nitobe went north to Canada to study Canadian public opinion. In Ottawa, through the introduction of Ambassador Tokugawa Iesato, he met many of Canada's leading

politicians and was heartened by their generally favorable views regarding Japan and the Manchurian problem.¹³² While in Toronto, in an interview to newspaper reporters, Nitobe harshly criticized missionaries whom he had earlier described as having "a mental obsessed in favor of China and in disapproval of Japan."¹³³ Of these some "four or five hundred missionaries returned from China," who were raising money in North America for their work, he commented:

Missionaries are the last men who should take sides in international strife. Being detached in race, being free from national bias, being regardless of political issues in profession, they can well afford to keep aloof from the battle-field. War is a dirty job, and they must not be in the strife--the more so, when they bear no responsibility for its consequences.¹³⁴

After his trip to eastern Canada, Nitobe crossed the continent and was in California in early October. He had extended his original six-month trip after getting an unexpected invitation to lecture at the University of California, Berkeley.¹³⁵ He delivered nineteen lectures here over the next two months. Much like his Carnegie Exchange Professorship lectures of twenty years before, Nitobe comprehensively treated various facets of Japan and the Japanese in a popular fashion. Two of the lectures, however, were of crucial contemporary significance. One dealt with Japan and the League, in which he reiterated the points he made in his New York radio broadcast; the other on Manchuria expounded in greater detail earlier arguments made above.¹³⁶

After completing his Berkeley lectures on December 2nd, Nitobe went south to Riverside California to attend the Tenth Institute of World Affairs which was meeting from December 11th to 16th.

The Institute of World Affairs was founded seven years earlier on the model of the Institute of Politics at Williamstown. Its aim was "to give the people of the far west a first-hand acquaintance with diverse views on current international questions."¹³⁷ Nitobe was one of ten lecturers for the Special Evening Lectures Series. He gave two addresses; on December 13th, he spoke on "Japan's Place in the Family of Nations," and two days later, a talk entitled "Blending of the East and West in Japan."¹³⁸ Though the latter was irenic, the former made explicit his views of the Lytton Report, which had been announced two months before.¹³⁹ Nitobe's primary disagreement with the report was that it had failed to consider Japan's legitimate right of self-defense.

[The report] is not fair when it states that Japan exceeded her rights of self-defence when she took the course that she did in Manchuria. Common sense should convince one that drastic and speedy action be taken when a small army of 10,000 had to defend itself against an army of 200,000--and that on foreign soil. No third party can define self defense. As Mr. Kellogg remarked repeatedly, it must be left to each sovereign state. We may recall the definition of it given by Mr. Elihu Root, as 'the right of every sovereign state to protect itself by preventing a condition of affairs in which it will be too late to protect.' The American government has maintained the Monroe Doctrine under this definition of self-defence.¹⁴⁰

After the Institute of World Affairs ended, Nitobe rested for the rest of the month in California. Then, in early January 1933, he began an intensive lecture tour in the Northwest. After covering Oregon and Washington, he left Seattle on the morning of the 18th for Vancouver to complete the last leg of the tour. Along the way, he gave one lecture at noon at the Teachers College in Bellingham before crossing the border into British Columbia. His two-day visit to Vancouver involved five speaking engagements, which including speeches to the Canadian Club, to students at the University of British Columbia, local Japanese groups in Steveston, and a thirty-minute radio broadcast. The contents of his speeches, however, were in essentials, the same ones that he had repeatedly given throughout his sojourn. At 8 a.m. on January 21st, he left for Los Angeles.¹⁴¹

Nitobe spent the next two months speaking mainly to Japanese-American groups in Southern California. His last major appearance to a wider audience was an address to the Institute of International Affairs at Pasadena, where he gave an address: "A Japanese Tribute to Abraham Lincoln." For his work with the Institute, Nitobe was honored, on March 1st, 1933 with an Honorary Doctorate of Law degree--his fourth--from the University of Southern California. In early March, He made preparations to return to Japan.¹⁴²

Mary, however, had suffered a heart attack in December and was unable as yet to travel. So Nitobe, pressed with many commitments back home, left her in Pasadena in care of her

nurse to recuperate, with an understanding that he would be back in late summer.¹⁴³ The Fifth IPR Conference was meeting in Banff, Canada at that time. He had thought of not participating at first; he wanted to turn the Institute's work over to younger people. But now, with Mary in California, he changed his mind and decided that he would attend after all. Thus with firm plans to return to North America in a few short months, he left alone from Los Angeles on the Kirishima maru and arrived in Yokohama on March 24th. He had been away almost a full year.¹⁴⁴

The Final Months in Japan and Death in Canada

Ten days after returning home, Nitobe visited the Imperial Palace and spent an hour briefing the Emperor on the highlights of his completed mission.¹⁴⁵ Eight years earlier, while the latter was still Crown Prince, he had queried Nitobe on the League of Nations' effectiveness without the participation of the United States; this time, it seems, the Emperor wanted to hear Nitobe's views on the current state of Japanese-American relations.¹⁴⁶

In the eleven months that Nitobe had been away, public sentiment in Japan had shifted away from the earlier internationalism that Nitobe symbolized to an increasingly nationalistic outlook and mood. The League of Nations was now seen by many Japanese as a hostile organization. While Nitobe was lecturing in California, it had formed a Committee of

Nineteen to deliberate the findings of the Lytton Report. The Committee's recommendations, which overwhelmingly ran against Japan's interests, were accepted on February 24th by the General Assembly.¹⁴⁷

Three days after Nitobe had returned to Japan, on March 27th, the Saitō government sent the League a formal withdrawal notice. Japan was leaving the League. It was a popular decision among the majority of Japanese, who felt indignant at the League's condemnation of Japan. The country, they believed, had no other alternative now but to take its foreign affairs into its own hands.¹⁴⁸

Nitobe's views were at one with popular opinion. A week after his meeting with the Emperor, he addressed a luncheon of the Tokyo Pan-Pacific Club at the Imperial Hotel. To the over one hundred people of different nationalities who assembled to him speak, Nitobe expressed his ambivalent feelings toward the League and its recent actions:

I am one of those inconsistent and self-contradictory people who believe that while Japan is justified at the moment to leave the League, [I] still believe that [it] is the greatest hope for the future welfare of the world. I still insist upon looking at the League as the greatest achievement of the human race, and it is a pity that we have had to leave it.

The League, being a human institution, errs. To err is human. I think the League has erred in its top¹⁴⁹ rigid interpretation of the Covenant....

The small powers serving on the Committee of Nineteen, Nitobe felt, were the main villains at the League who misguided the debate on the Manchurian question by

"interpreted the Covenant not in a broad and statesman-like manner, but like lawyers, in a cheap way." But the blame should not only lie with them nor with the League as a whole. Japan too, he felt, had erred; she had failed to enlighten the League's members on the complexities of the Manchurian problem:

We have committed a grave error in being too reticent and uncommunicative, and I may also say unsociable, and the sooner we find out that error, the better for our future relations with the rest of the world.¹⁵⁰

But he ended his talk on his characteristic optimistic note. Though the present situation appeared dark, the "darkness will not last forever. The shouting and the tumult will die, and the captains and kings will depart. Then we shall regain cooler judgment."¹⁵¹ Nitobe clung to this faith that men were good-hearted and rational enough to work out peaceful means to resolve their differences.

During his last few months in Japan, Nitobe as usual was occupied with many different activities. Though his popularity as a lecturer had declined with the advent of a new political reality within the country, he was still called upon to support various groups.¹⁵² The Morioka Production Association, of which he served as President, asked him to assume yet another role--President of its Youth Association. Nitobe willingly complied. He travelled to Iwate Prefecture on May 4th to attend its ceremonies; he spent the next few days in

Morioka giving speeches, and talked with local notables. In free hours, he visited his family's cemetery at the Zen monastery outside the city and paid his respects to his deceased family members with an offering of incense and a quiet prayer. Then he made a quick tour of the prefecture's coastal areas that had been hit by a devastating tidal wave two months earlier, and which claimed over two thousand lives. Leaving Morioka on May 9th, he proceeded to the town of Sanbongi in Aomori, which his grandfather had founded shortly before his birth, for a short visit. He was back in Tokyo by the middle of the month to prepare for the upcoming IPR conference.¹⁵⁴

This conference had attracted the interest of General Mutō Nobuyoshi, overlord of Japanese operations in Manchuria. Mutō was apparently anxious that Manchukuo and the latest developments there be accurately described to the IPR delegates, perhaps for its publicity value. On July 7th, Mutō sent a telegram to the Foreign Ministry requesting that the "man in charge" of the Japanese IPR tour the the country and view the latest developments. This would, the general reasoned, "give authority to his statements."¹⁵⁵ Arrangements were made for Nitobe to fly by airplane to the continent. It was a quick inspection tour that lasted only a week, but Nitobe did get a change to view the current scene there, and he even got an opportunity to speak with the puppet ruler, Henry P'u yi.¹⁵⁶

Soon upon returning to Japan, on July 16th, Nitobe made

one more trip: this time with Shinobu Junpei, Professor of International Law at Waseda University, to the Izu peninsula and the town of Shimoda.¹⁵⁷ Here, in 1859, the American consul, Townsend Harris, had set up the first foreign consulate on Japanese soil, thus initiating Japan's entry into the international world. While in Shimoda, Nitobe visited the grave of Okichi and was deeply impressed with her story. Okichi had served as Harris's mistress; after he left Japan, she became a despised figure who lived a short and destitute life. Her life was popularized in a novel by Jūichiya Gisaburō in 1929, which won her much sympathy as a tragic heroine sacrificed for the cause of American-Japanese relations.¹⁵⁸

Nitobe made a symbolic gesture at Shimoda: he ordered a Buddhist statue (jizō) be built to honor Okichi's memory. But instead of "May 28"--the date that she had died--Nitobe requested that "July 17" be carved on the figure. Later, in a letter to Muramatsu Shunsui, his Shimoda guide, Nitobe revealed that "my mother died on July 17th, so please do as I ask."¹⁵⁹ Different interpretations are attached to his act, but Miwa Kimitada's explanation that Nitobe identified himself with Okichi, remarkable though it may sound, appears correct.¹⁶⁰

The Reaper, Nitobe intuitively suspected, was near. When, he wondered, putting the words into the mouth of Okina, his alter ego, will the "Good Angel"--his term for Death--

visit?¹⁶¹ On July 15th, he wrote on the subject:

During my life of three score and ten years, I have been three or four times on the point of dying....

While swimming in a small river in Hokkaido, I was suddenly taken ill, due to swallowing a good deal of water which was saturated with sulphur, flowing into it from hot springs on its banks. No thought of eternity or of the loved ones at home, troubled me.

I was simply annoyed at the probability of being drowned in such an insignificant stream. Whether it was from idle vanity or not, I wished my end to be in a larger river.¹⁶²

Nitobe also discussed in his newspaper column a fundamental concern that had driven him all his life: had he lived up to his mother's expectation? How would people judge his work? What was to be his place in history? An article written several months before his Shimoda visit insightfully reveals this deep concern:

I am proud of my mother as every boy and girl ... I shall never forget her saying:--"You must grow up to be a great man. If you don't, people will say that you are like your mother; but if you do, they will say you are like your father."

In the three-score years that have passed, I have often pondered upon these words--words, that show the modesty of becoming a woman and her pride in her husband and her hopes for her child.¹⁶³

At the end of this piece, Nitobe evaluated himself by writing: "her son fail[ed] to attain any measure of distinction." This is a strange remark that could be dismissed as mere false modesty. But it seems that he was expressing a deep lamentation--of venting an unhappiness of

not having accomplished more. This remark perhaps sprang from a fearful thought that his life's work had been in vain. In any case, it is clear that the jizō he had built to commemorate Okichi was, at the same time, in Nitobe's own mind, a dedication to his mother, Seki; for it was she who had given birth to Inazō, the internationalist, who was sacrificing himself, as Okichi herself had done eight decades ago, to win Japan's place among the nations of the world.¹⁶⁴

On July 31st, two days before his departure for Canada, an old friend of his student days, Saeki Riichirō, visited Nitobe at his Kobinata home. During the course of their conversation, Nitobe confessed that he was "tired of life."¹⁶⁵ The following day, after breakfast with Jōdai Tano, a disciple whom he had known for many years, he went out to a luncheon meeting with the Foreign Minister, with whom he probably discussed further public relations works.¹⁶⁶ The next day, August 2nd, accompanied by eight other Japan Council delegates, Anezaki Masaharu, Satō Yasunosuke, Shinobu Junpei, Soejima Michiaki, Mogi Sōhei, Takahashi Kamekichi, Ueda Teijirō, and Iwanaga Yūkichi, Nitobe boarded the NYK's steamship for the voyage to Canada.¹⁶⁷

They arrived in Vancouver on the 13th at 5 a.m. After giving a newspaper interview to a local Japanese language paper and attending a luncheon hosted by the Japanese Consul, Nitobe and the others took the train for the five-hundred mile journey to Banff Alberta for the Fifth Biennial IPR Conference

the following day.¹⁶⁸

Enroute, Nitobe was struck by a violent pain in his abdominal area.¹⁶⁹ But he rested well and the pain subsided after arrival at the Banff Springs Hotel; by evening he was well-enough to give his speech at the inaugural dinner to the 137 delegates in attendance.¹⁷⁰ All were curious to hear what Nitobe would say now that the country had announced its intention to withdraw from the League of Nations. But Nitobe completely skirted the issue of merits or demerits arising from the decision and instead focused his talk on the contents of an Imperial Rescript that had accompanied the announced withdrawal. "Japan's traditional policy to co-operate with the world," Nitobe emphasized, "is not affected by this [decision to withdraw] at all." Japan was still active in the "family of nations."

Japan is proud to think that she is still an inseparable part of the great world. Her eager participation in all international gatherings of this kind as the institute is ^{the} eloquent evidence of this national feeling.¹⁷¹

The Japanese delegation came hoping to avoid a repeat of the 1931 Shanghai Conference when a bitter dispute between the Chinese and their own delegates had broken out. Nitobe, though he had taken a quick tour to Manchuria in preparation for any discussions that may arise, felt that there was "no reason to deal with the Manchurian issue at the conference." He also noted that "Hu Shih [Chairman of the China delegation] is a gentleman. I do not think he will touch on the difficulties

between Japan and China"¹⁷²

As Nitobe had expected, this conference did not include the Manchurian problem in its agenda. Rather, the round tables focused on various aspects of the theme "International Economic Conflict in the Pacific Area: Its Control and Adjustment."¹⁷³ The general tone of the Conference, moreover, had taken a marked turn away from the earlier meetings which had been "too preoccupied with outstanding events of the moment." The consensus now was to throw light on "slow moving and often invisible social and economic forces" and show them in "relationships to the outstanding political issues of the day."¹⁷⁴ Indeed the Pacific Council Chairman's appeal to participants before the conference that they participate first "as individuals" and secondly as members of particular national groups helped to launch the conference off to an auspicious start. The confrontational mood of the earlier two conferences was markedly absent.¹⁷⁵

Nitobe's participation, however, unlike in the 1929 and 1931 meetings, was noticeably less conspicuous. He did not prepare a data paper for the round table discussions as he had done in the past; and his usual enthusiasm, an acquaintance later recalled, was missing.¹⁷⁶ Though he stoically refrained from informing the others of his physical condition, he was apparently suffering greatly. The group portrait, taken at the hotel on the final day of the conference, shows Nitobe seated at the center in the front row with a strained expression on his face; his body is awkwardly bent in one direction, as if

to alleviate the excruciating pain that he was feeling.¹⁷⁷ After the conference, he returned to Vancouver. Henry Angus, Economics Professor at the University of British Columbia, who traveled back with Nitobe's group, recollected in a recent interview that Nitobe had great difficulty in the descent from the Banff resort area, and that "they had to rest along the way for his sake."¹⁷⁸

He proceeded to the Oak Bay Beach Hotel in Victoria where Mary was awaiting his arrival.¹⁷⁹ She had moved there with her nurse from Pasadena in late July, after recovering sufficiently to travel, to avoid the heat of the southern California summer. Nitobe, feeling better, decided to rest a while before embarking on another public-speaking tour in the United States. He seems to have received instructions from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs to help "organize local Japanese groups," and was wired funds for this purpose.¹⁸⁰ On September 8th, he again visited Vancouver for a reception that evening hosted by the Japanese Consul. Here he gave his final speech. Back in Victoria, four days later, after attending a local fair, he collapsed in his hotel. He was admitted to the Royal Jubilee Hospital in the suburbs of the city where he spent his remaining days.¹⁸¹

His illness did not seem at first to be very serious and Nitobe's hospitalization did not attract media attention. Even while he lay in bed in Victoria, the Foreign Ministry, oblivious to his difficulties, was planning on giving him yet

another major assignment: an appointment in Geneva to the post of Japanese representative to the Committee for Intellectual Cooperation.¹⁸² Dr. Tanakadate had fulfilled his six-year term in July, and had returned to Japan, thus leaving the position vacant. Keeping Japan's cultural ties with the League, it seems, was still a high priority item for the government. But Nitobe could take no more. Mori Futae, Mary's nurse, recalls him telling Mary that "now they are asking me to go to Geneva, but I said I do not want to go."¹⁸³

In spite of a statement issued by Nitobe's physician on September 21st that Nitobe was "improving considerably," his health ebbed in the following days. In addition to the persistent abdominal pains, which made bowel movements difficult and caused severe attacks of nausea, he had contracted pneumonia. By the second week of October, his condition had so deteriorated that surgery was recommended. It was a risky attempt, considering his age and health. Mary, who had to make the painful decision, after much deliberation, gave her consent.¹⁸⁴

The operation was conducted by four doctors on the morning of October 15th. It required a deep incision on the left side of the diaphragm below the rib cage. The pus in the infected areas was drained and cleaned. The entire procedure took one hour. Nitobe regained consciousness around 4 p.m. after the general anesthesia wore off, and his condition remained steady for the next few hours; but around 7 o'clock, he weakened rapidly. Finally, at 8:34 p.m., with Mary and

several others at his side, he quietly passed away.¹⁸⁵

An autopsy conducted the following morning revealed that he had been afflicted with pancreatitis, pneumonia, and diabetes. The autopsy reported "his pancreas and half his large intestine ... bad."¹⁸⁶ A short memorial service was held in Victoria on October 16th; then Nitobe's body was taken to Vancouver by Takagi Yasaka, who had just arrived that morning from New York, to be cremated at the Mount Pleasant Crematory on the east side of the city.¹⁸⁷

Two days later a large funeral service was held in downtown Vancouver at the St. Andrews Chapel. After the service, the urn containing Nitobe's ashes, was taken to Mary in Victoria. On October 23rd, she left Victoria with her nurse Mori, and her niece, Mary Duguid, on the Santa Lucia for San Francisco, where they spent the next ten days. There, on November 4th, another memorial service was held for Nitobe. Mary, with her nurse and niece accompanying her, returned to Japan bearing Nitobe's urn on November 16th. At the harbor in Yokohama on the dark grey morning, "some 1000 [people]...came especially to meet the ashes."¹⁸⁸

Nitobe was honored with a hero's funeral. Post-humously, he was awarded the Order of the Sacred Treasure, First-Class. And a special messenger was dispatched to his home to bring the Emperor's condolences. Nearly two hundred messages of condolences from all over the world had been received upon notice of his death. At the funeral, held at the Aoyama

Funeral Pavilion, some three thousand people were present, including Prime Minister Saitō and leading officials in the government; many members of the foreign legations paid their respects; and hundreds of prominent elites whom Nitobe had known over his long and illustrious life came to bid him farewell. After the services, the urn was returned to the Kobinata home for a few days. Finally, on November 18th, 1933 Nitobe's ashes were buried beside his infant son, Thomas, in Tokyo's Tama Cemetery.¹⁸⁹

Lives of Great Men all remind us
We can make our lives sublime,
And, departing, leave behind us
Footprints on the sands of time.

Henry W. Longfellow, A Psalm of Life

Conclusion

Nitobe's reputation as an educator of first-rank is secure. Unanimously, scholars agree that his work as Headmaster at the First Higher School was important and lasting. Many of his students became postwar leaders in Japanese society, and have left reminiscences about Nitobe and his impact upon their lives.¹

His writings on popular morals, too, had an enormous influence to shape the lives and minds of thousands of youth in the early twentieth century. Miwa Kimitada's work of the mid-sixties provides a valuable insight into Nitobe's effect upon these generations--people who are now in their seventies, eighties, and nineties:

One reason for the difficulty of collecting Nitobe's works today is, according to book dealers, that those who have original copies will not part with them out of attachment to Nitobe.²

"Influence" is an intangible quality that cannot be grasped or measured in any concrete way. One has to rely upon testimonies of individuals and take their statements at face value. I mention three here as examples, although one could

collect, if he wished to, literally hundreds of these stories.³

Professor Emeritus Maeda Yōichi of Tokyo University, whose father was a close Nitobe disciple told me of the impact that Nitobe had upon his own life. Calling himself "Nitobe's last disciple," Maeda recalled how Nitobe persuaded him in Geneva to pursue the study of French.⁴ The teenage Yōichi took Nitobe's advise, and he is now regarded as one of the greatest authorities on French literature.

Another person who received much influence from Nitobe as a youth is Tanabe Sadayoshi. In the summer of 1983, he was still healthy and hale at ninety-two. Tanabe numbered among some devoted Nitobe followers who, in the Spring of 1945, formed a "Kobinata-kai" to commemorate Nitobe's memory. Every year, on the anniversary of Nitobe death on October 16th, the members come together to reminisce about their sensei. Tanabe has regularly attended for over forty years, and in 1984 continued to manage its affairs. New members are now recruited from the recipients of the Nitobe Fellowship, a prestigious award administered by the International House of Japan and given to young Japanese scholars to pursue their training abroad.⁵

Another individual who received Nitobe's moral guidance is Fujimura Masujirō, an eighty-three year old gardener who lives in Nitobe's hometown of Morioka. Nitobe told Fujimura, as a fifteen year old, to pursue the construction of Japanese

gardens and "strive to become the best."⁶

On May 19th, 1985, Fujimura, accompanied by the Mayor of Morioka and a host of local Iwate Prefecture dignitaries, visited the Nitobe Memorial Gardens at the University of British Columbia. There Fujimura unveiled a stone lantern that he had constructed and donated to the university in Nitobe's memory. Fujimura recollected that Nitobe's words, spoken to him over sixty years earlier, had become for him a "compass in life."⁷

Unscholarly and journalistic though these accounts may seem, this is precisely where Nitobe's significance lies today--in the minds and hearts of the men and women who knew him. In them, he still lives.⁸

* * *

War between the United States and Japan, and the latter's total defeat, attest to the failure, says Miwa Kimitada, of Nitobe's diplomatic work. His trans-Pacific bridge had burnt down.⁹

In hindsight, it is easy to agree with Miwa. Nitobe's diplomatic activities, from our perspective, appear foolishly naive. That is why, undoubtedly, Akira Iriye, the foremost scholar on the history of Japanese-American relations, has called Nitobe "a shallow thinker." Nitobe's advocacy of "Japan's cause in Manchuria" embarrasses his admirers today and smears his reputation as a pre-war liberal. I will comment on these charges, which I see as oversimplified, in

more detail below.¹⁰

But to call Nitobe an "Imperialist," as Iinuma Jirō, Professor Emeritus of Kyoto University and an authority on Korean agriculture, did in a Japanese newspaper after the government announced its decision to use Nitobe's portrait on the 5,000 yen note decision is the epitome of 'ahistorical thinking.¹¹

Men like Iinuma--and there are plenty of them--suggest the proverbial Monday morning quarterback. Secure in the knowledge gained in retrospect, they criticize, irresponsibly, their predecessors' mistakes. They miss (how easy it is to overlook!) the crucial fact that our political views are shaped by the assumptions and events of our own time. We cannot--to be intellectually honest--use contemporary standards and values to pass judgement upon men who lived in a different historical period.¹²

Nitobe's many disciples, supporters, and biographers, have not done him justice against his postwar critics. They have either ignored his actions of the last years or have tried to deflect blame from him onto the "militarists" (gunbatsu). By avoiding to explain his final activities, they have exacerbated misunderstandings about him. Highlighting only the positive aspects of his life, and avoiding the negative, they cast serious doubts upon the integrity of their writings. How much of it is believable, readers legitimately ask?¹³

This failure to account for Nitobe's support of government policy in Manchuria and China by those who best knew him stems from two main reasons. First, a reverence for the man. Praise rather than censure should be associated with his memory; second, their own ambivalence towards the Pacific War. This latter is connected to a key problem among Japanese historians--that of tenkō. This term defies easy definition; and it is too complex to discuss here. I only suggest that a detached person untouched by World War II guilt can disinterestedly evaluate Nitobe's work.¹⁴

In Chapter 8, I show Nitobe, though a victim of the Imperial Reserve Association, fully in support of Japan's foreign policy. When he came to America in 1932 to plead Japan's case, he expressed his own convictions. One cannot, and should not, deny these facts.¹⁵

But Nitobe's views--it cannot be overemphasized--were not his alone. Government leaders and the public alike shared his opinions. Japanese stood united on the Manchurian question. Nitobe only said what everyone else felt. To condemn him for this is to condemn an entire generation.¹⁶

North Americans in Nitobe's day like Raymond Buell, whose "Open Letter to Dr. Nitobe" I have quoted in part in Chapter 8, thought that Nitobe was serving the militarists. This error lingers even today. Hugh Keenleyside, in his recently published memoirs, writes that Nitobe was a "fake liberal." Keenleyside mistakenly believes that "militarists" dominated the "liberals," and that Nitobe succumbed to their pressure.¹⁷

But monographs of the last twenty years in Japanese history demonstrate that the blanket-like term "militarist" is not a useful concept to analyze the intricacies of the Japanese decision-making process in the 1930s. It fails to make crucial distinctions between various factions within the military itself, as well as the complicated relations between the various elite, military and civilian.¹⁸

But most people, ignorant of these new studies, still, as in the Tokyo War Crimes Trial, draw a straight line to connect events from the Manchurian Incident in 1931 to the China Incident in 1937 and Pearl Harbor in 1941. Nitobe's reputation has not fared well under such a simplistic reconstruction of history. Though he died in October 1933--much too early to foresee the subsequent turn of events--people have tended to associate him with the tragic outcome that followed.¹⁹

* * *

In a symposium held in the summer of 1984 at the Tokyo Women's College, Professor Matsuzawa Hiroaki raised some provoking questions that cast dark shadows upon Nitobe's liberalism. The professor asks rhetorically: was not Nitobe oblivious to the downtrodden and oppressed people of Asia? And in his preoccupation to emulate Americans and Europeans, did not Nitobe forget the colonized people of Korea and Taiwan?²⁰

These questions are another variation of the ahistoricity that distort the vision of men like Iinuma. It pleads a self-

righteousness ignorant of historical realities. Since I have already dealt with Nitobe's colonial thought in Chapter 6, I will only comment briefly here.²¹

Nitobe, whose world view was shaped in the Meiji period, did not apologize for colonialism. It was a given reality in that day; like his contemporaries, he did not question this fact. Marius Jansen summarizes, in a recent article, Japanese imperialism:

[N]owhere in Meiji society, except among the miniscule number of genuine social revolutionaries and critics like Kōtoku and Uchimura on the fringe of the social democratic and Christian movement, was there to be found a genuine, thoroughgoing critique of the imperialist course that Meiji Japan was following...imperialism developed virtually without challenge.²²

Though my data do not show Nitobe's connection to Korean groups, they suggests a concern for the welfare of Koreans. In Chapter 6, I have quoted Nitobe himself saying "I count myself among the best and truest friend of Koreans." And it will be remembered from Chapter 8 that Nitobe had been out speaking to a Korean meeting earlier in the evening the night a robber broke into his home. And the Minutes of the 1929 IPR Pacific Council Meeting show Nitobe sponsoring a motion by Jerome Greene to give Korea a seat on the executive Pacific Council, a move that was later dismissed in a deliberating committee. Though scanty, these facts seem to indicate that Nitobe, far from being callous or negligent about Koreans, felt a sincere interest for their welfare and betterment.²³

His writings on the Chinese, in contrast, as shown in Chapter 8, reveal great disdain. He completely ignores their nationalism in the early 1930s, and his articles during the Shanghai IPR Conference reflect scorn and anger. But one should remember, as historians like Edgar Wickberg point out, that China was not yet a country in the proper sense of the word. It was a "geographical entity" where political chaos ruled. Nitobe wrote of the situation as he saw it. To miss this point, and to sweepingly condemn him without full consideration for the circumstances behind his writings, inevitably give rise to distorted conclusions.²⁴

We are still left, however, with the question of whether Nitobe violated liberal principles. The key to this question revolves around the definition of "liberalism." If one applies the terms of the new internationalism, as embodied in the Covenant of the League, the Nine-Power Treaty and the Kellogg-Briand Pact, as the standard against which Nitobe's final acts should be judged, then it is undeniable that he transgressed such principles.²⁵

But liberalism, though based upon certain ideals, is not synonymous with those ideals. Unlike a prophet, who stands outside the establishment and criticizes his fellow men for not living like saints, the liberal has both feet firmly entrenched within his society. There he walks the middle road. He holds on to his belief in progress, in the essential goodness of man, the freedom of the individual, and supports

political and civil liberties to the limits that he thinks possible. In an imperfect world where political views collide, he takes a conciliatory stance towards conflict, and casts his vote with the more inclusive alternative. He shuns revolutionary measures.²⁶

Studying Japan's international situation in the 1930s, and considering her perception of the dangers that faced her, Nitobe's actions become clearer and understandable. He stood firmly on the tenets of the liberal political philosophy sketched above. Where he compromised--and we cannot doubt that he did--he did so because he saw it as necessary. He was inextricably tied to the limitations of his position. He did not stand above his age; he lived fully within it.²⁷

Nitobe lived his last years, to his full credit, in compliance with the moral maxim that he had taught all his life: "Doing the Duty that lies nearest." History has proved him wrong in his political views. But his personal courage to stand up for what he believed right, amidst attack and slander, and at the risk of tarnishing forever his hard-earned reputation, serves as a eloquent monument to his greatness. And that, if his story is fully and properly told, is sufficient unto itself.²⁸

* * *

I turn now to assess Nitobe's work as an interpreter of Japan abroad. I direct my comments to the ideas and attitudes of Yuzo Ota, Miwa Kimitada, and Tsurumi

Shunsuke. All three attack Nitobe's work, and look upon it disdainfully. It seems to me that these generally perceptive scholars exhibit remarkable shortsightedness in their evaluations of Nitobe.²⁹

Yuzo Ota, in a strongly-worded paper, harshly criticizes Nitobe's English writings with the charge that Nitobe did not honestly portray Japan abroad. There are, Ota claims, certain universal values, such as truthfulness, which are valid for all time and places.³⁰

Ota's polemics ignore a basic caution that one should use to study Nitobe: that his writings be studied in relation to the background in which they were composed. It is almost too easy to attack Nitobe by extracting, as Ota does, examples of contradictory statements separated by many years to prove one's point.³¹

Nowhere is Ota's ahistoricity more evident than in his flawed analysis of Bushido, where he overlooks the setting in which the book was written. To argue that Bushido told untruths, at a time when academic studies of samurai morals were non-existent--indeed the word itself was not in use--is like beating on a dead horse. Much fruitless debate has transpired over Bushido because of this failure to put the work into a proper historical perspective.³²

Miwa Kimitada, like Ota, criticizes Nitobe with a concept of "awase" (to adjust), which has been formulated by Mushanokoji Kinhide. Nitobe, Miwa claims, "adjusted" his

message to "sell an image of Japan to foreigners." Tsurumi Shunsuke agrees.³³

Tsurumi, a Harvard-trained philosopher, who influenced Ota's views, appears to suffer from a peculiar cultural blindness. Of all persons, he, better than anybody else, should understand the importance of Nitobe's work. Besides being the son of Nitobe's closest disciple, Tsurumi Yūsuke, he experienced the personal humiliation of being put into internment in America with Japanese-Americans after the outbreak of Pearl Harbor. Has he not reflected, one wonders, upon a basic psychological law of self-respect that when you are despised on account of your race, you try your utmost to "put your best foot forward?"³⁴

Nitobe's sensitivities and frequent warnings to his countrymen to "not bring shame upon Japan" were sound: the incarceration of Japanese--citizens of the United States included--has borne out starkly the fact that Nitobe was correct.³⁵

But saying this, which is appealing to the reader's emotions rather than to his intellect, have I explained away the problem that Ota, Miwa and Tsurumi point to in Nitobe? I think not. I now turn to this problem below, and attempt to answer it in the context of the internationalist theme that I have introduced in the beginning.

*

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*

Internationalism in Japan has not been a stationary idea.

It has shifted and adjusted itself to historical circumstances. In the 1920s, when Japan was a member of the League of Nations, internationalist sentiments were in vogue in many circles. But it lost popularity in the 1930s when Japan pursued an autonomous foreign policy in East Asia. In wartime it was a dangerous thought. After defeat, internationalism returned with added vigor. And today, it is part and parcel of every Japanese's world view. It is taken for granted.³⁶

The main change, of course, has been political. Rivals in prewar times, Japan and the United States are now partners in a completely different world order. This alliance dominates economic and cultural relationships between the two countries.

Technology too, has brought the two countries closer together physically. Whereas it took ten days for Nitobe to make the journey across the Pacific in 1933, it now take less than ten hours. Transportation ease has made international travellers of hundreds of thousands of ordinary Japanese who, in prewar times, could only experience vicariously the wonders of the world outside of Japan.

And in knowledge, progress has been just as spectacular. In Nitobe's day, Japanese studies abroad was the domain of talented amateurs; it was not a profession in the sense that we know it today. In universities in the United States, according to a survey by Takagi Yasaka published in 1935, only six offered courses in Japanese language; and among non-

Japanese only a tiny handful could speak and read the language.³⁷

Nitobe's work as an intercultural mediator should be seen in the above setting. He was in his day only one of few Japanese with the international stature and the ability to address foreign audiences effectively in English.³⁸

As a faculty member at the University of California in School year 1932-33, Nitobe lectured to diverse audiences. He had wanted to teach a seminar, but was told that "the number of students ready to take a seminar in Japanese is extremely small, probably not more than one or two at the most."³⁹

Because of the composition of his listeners, his lectures topics had to be wide-ranging in scope, and treated in broad strokes. His audience did not want minute detail on specialized subjects. More important than detail, Nitobe knew, were clarity and appeal. And for this, an intimate knowledge of his listeners, a sense of humor, and oratorical skill and a polished delivery were of greater importance than knowledge of particular topics. Nitobe succeeded admirably, the evidence shows, in his lectures.⁴⁰

Did Nitobe lie in these lectures? Did he "over-glamorize?" Did he, in short, attempt to spread propaganda, as Ota, Miwa and Tsurumi imply? Taking judicious account of Nitobe's political views that I have discussed above, and carefully distinguishing those articles that he wrote based on the circumstances of that time, I do not see that he distorted his message in his prepared academic lectures on

Japan. They were straight forward and frank. Although there are grievous errors and omissions which reflect clearly--and here Yuzo Ota is correct--Nitobe's limitations as a scholar, the lectures, were, on the whole, well constructed. But my purpose in this dissertation has not been to analyze Nitobe's thought; the reader should read Nitobe himself, and draw his own conclusions.⁴¹

In a very profound way, Yuzo Ota, Miwa Kimitada, and Tsurumi Shunsuke--and Japanese professors like them--who fly regularly back and forth between North America and Japan, stand upon Nitobe's shoulders: they are his postwar successors. They are the Japanese internationalists who tread today upon the path that Nitobe "pioneered" over five decades ago. Why, then, do they deride Nitobe's labors and distance themselves from his work? In addition to the propaganda charge above, I see three other reasons.⁴²

The first is the Pacific War. Trained in Western languages and thought within the "new Japan," they have divorced themselves from the stigma of their predecessors, like Nitobe, who formed Imperial Japan's old establishment. That generation, in their eyes, ignobly failed; the post-war professors want nothing to do with their work or ideals--they belong to a dead past.

Another root of their ungenerosity toward Nitobe spring from a belief that Nitobe's intercultural work "was unscholarly." This criticism is sound. But it fails to

empathize with his situation. Nitobe himself was painfully aware that he lacked the proper academic credentials. When offered a position at the University of California, he hesitated and told the Vice President of Academic Affairs, Monroe Deutsch that "I am too old" and "I am not scholarly." But that did not prevent the university to entreat him to accept, and gave him a full professor's salary to take the job. It also offered it to him again for the following year.⁴³

A third reason for the attacks on Nitobe by the new generation of Japanese internationalists arises, I think, from the hagiographic writings that is associated with Nitobe. Revulsed by the eulogies that distort the facts, these scholars, who are most familiar with the problems of intercultural relations, erred in the opposite direction. They overstate their claims and also miss the truth.

Nitobe's ideas on internationalism, though the times have changed, are still valid today. He left many writings on the subject; I will only quote one of them in part, for it contains the core of his attitude:

Internationalism is the extention of patriotism....

He is a true patriot and internationalist who has faith in the greatness and the mission of his own land and people, and believes that they can contribute to the peace and welfare of the human race....

A man to be internationally minded must first have his feet planted firmly on the ground of his native soil. He then lifts his head and looks upon the wide world, and finds where he is standing and whither he must go. He who knows not the world, knows not his own country.⁴⁴

To summarize Nitobe's internationalism today, we must employ a careful distinction between his "political internationalism" and his "cultural internationalism." The former is no longer relevant; it belongs, as Miwa points out, in a bygone age. Those ideas died in the fires of the Pacific War. But the latter, Nitobe's stress upon the ideals of international cooperation and mutual understanding--which he fully exhibited in his own person--remains still a guiding light for all those interested in the gentler pursuits of cultural interchange.⁴⁵ This is the legacy of his internationalism that is important. It still lives in the hearts of men.

Abbreviations Used in the Notes and Bibliography

<u>Bannen</u>	Uchikawa Eiichirō, <u>Bannen no Inazō</u> (Morioka: Iwate Nippo-sha, 1984).
FHLNP	Friends Historical Library, Nitobe Papers. Swarthmore College, Swarthmore, Pennsylvania.
<u>Imperial</u>	Nitobe Inazō, <u>The Imperial Agricultural College of Sapporo</u> (Sapporo: Imperial College of Agriculture, 1893).
HCERP	Haverford College, Esther Rhoades Papers.
JNN	<u>Jitsugyō no Nihon</u> (Industrial Japan).
KBKSS	"Nitobe Inazō" in <u>Kindai bungaku kenkyū sōsho</u> , ed., <u>Shōwa joshi daigaku kindai bungaku kenkyū shitsu</u> , vol. 35 (Tokyo: Shōwa joshi daigaku kindai bungaku kenkyū sho, 1972).
Kinen-I	<u>Nitobe Inazō sensei botsugo gojusshūnen kinen shi</u> (50th Year Commemoration of Dr. Inazo Nitobe's Death), ed., <u>Nitobe Inazō sensei botsugo gojusshū kinen jigyo iin kai</u> (Morioka, 1984).
Kinen-II	<u>Nitobe Inazō sensei botsugo gojusshūnen kinen jigyo hokoku sho</u> (Report on the Work of the 50th Year Commemoration of Dr. Inazo Nitobe's Death), ed., <u>Nitobe Inazō sensei botsugo gojusshūnen kinen jigyo iin kai</u> , (Morioka, 1984).
LHA	Nitobe's letters to Herbert B. Adams.
LJE	Nitobe's letters to Joseph Elkinton.
LMK	Nitobe's letters to Miyabe Kingo.
LWG	Nitobe's letters to William Griffis.
MNLF	Mary Nitobe's letters to Family in Philadelphia.
NIKK	<u>Nitobe Inazō kenkyū</u> (Research on Nitobe Inazō), ed., <u>Tokyo joshi daigaku Nitobe Inazō kenkyū kai</u> (Tokyo: Shunju-sha, 1969).
NHTS	<u>Nitobe hakushi tsuioku shū</u> , ed., Takagi Yasaka and Maeda Tamon (Tokyo: Nitobe hakushi kinen

jigyō jikkō iin, 1936)

- Rirekisho-I Nitobe Inazō, Curriculum Vitae, Tokyo University, Dept. of Economics copy.
- Rirekisho-II Nitobe Inazō, Curriculum Vitae, Tokyo Women's College copy.
- Satō Satō Masahiro, Nitobe Inazō: shōgai to shisō (The Life and Thought of Inazo Nitobe) (Tokyo: Kirisutokyō Shuppan-sha, 1980).
- Zenshū Nitobe Inazō Zenshū

NOTES

Introduction

¹ The Japanese Ministry of Treasury made public the new currency announcement on July 7, 1981. A decision to use "cultural figures" (bunkajin) rather than "political figures" (seiijika) on the new notes was based on a survey done earlier. See "Osatsu no dezain o isshin," Sankei shinbun, Evening Ed., 7 Jul. 1981, p. 1; also, "Shotoku taishi otsukaresama," Asahi shinbun, Evening Ed., 7 Jul. 1981, p. 3.

² An investigation of six junior high school social studies texts (World History) fails to turn up a mention of Nitobe. Textbooks checked are listed by publishers: (1) Kyoiku shuppan, (2) Nihon shoseki, (3) Osaka shoseki, (4) Gakko tosho, (5) Chukyō shuppan, (6) Shimizu shoin; eight high school Japanese history textbooks were also checked with the same negative results: (1) Tokyo shoseki, (2) Daiichi gakushū sha, (3) Sanseido, (4) Gakko tosho, (5) Jiyū shōbo, (6) Yamakawa shuppan, (7) Shimizu shoin, (8) Jikkyō. I am grateful to Kikuchi Takeshi, Principal of the Fukuoka jogakuin chugakko, for carrying out the above investigation in Oct. 1983. See Sato (p. 1) for the misreading of Nitobe's name.

³ For a description of the Nitobe Garden, see John W. Neill, "Nitobe Memorial Garden--History and Development" in Davidsonia, 1:2 (Summer 1970), pp. 10-15; also, Richard E. Copley, "The Nitobe Memorial Garden" unpublished conference paper, Nitobe-Ohira International Conference on Japanese Studies, University of British Columbia, Vancouver, Canada, 23-26 May 1984; for Nitobe's relationship to Canada and UBC respectively, see George M. Oshiro, "Inazo Nitobe and Canada: Retrospect and Prospect" in Global Sapporo (Winter 1984), pp. 16-17; also, his "Nitobe Inazo: the UBC Connection" in Wesbrook Quarterly, 2:4 (Winter, 1984), pp. 2,4.

⁴ Most historians associate the term "internationalist" with the socialist movement in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Among scholars today, there is little consensus on what the term really encompasses. See "internationalism" in Encyclopedia of Social Sciences (1937), VII, pp. 214-8; also, Sondra Herman, Eleven Against War: Studies in American Internationalist Thought (Stanford: Hoover Institution Press 1969), pp. 282-5.

⁵ G. & C. Merriam Co., Webster's New Collegiate Dictionary 1979 ed., p. 598.

⁶ For a cogent discussion of Japanese and internationalism today, see Ronald Dore, "The Internationalisation of Japan" in Pacific Affairs, 52:4 (Winter 1979), pp. 595-611.

⁷ Ivan Hall, Mori Arinori (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1973), p. 1.

⁸ See pp. 137-149 for Nitobe's work as Carnegie-Exchange Professor and his initial connection with men in the American Peace Movement; Chapter 7 relates his subsequent work in international organizations at the League of Nations.

⁹ See pp. 277-81.

¹⁰ These scholars work on Nitobe are cited in various places in this study; see the bibliography for a list; Hirakawa Sukehiro's comments on Nitobe are from personal conversations that I had with him in school-year 1981-82 while he was a visiting scholar at UBC.

¹¹ See pp. 87-89 for a background on the writing of Bushido.

¹² Japanese scholars today do not consider Nitobe as a shisōka (thinker) of first-rank, but rather an educator. The reason for this will become clear in the text. Nitobe's "busyness" and his concern with the immediate precluded him from producing any lasting works, with the exception of Bushido.

¹³ Since the 5,000 yen currency announcement, however, interest in Nitobe has picked up, and two of his long-forgotten books have been reissued. See the bibliography for a list his writings.

¹⁴ For a discussion of the advantages of narrative in writing history, see Barbara Tuchman, Practicing History.

¹⁵ This work, which I cite in the notes simply as Satō, is mainly concerned with Nitobe's thought, which takes up more than one-half of the book. This work is the most comprehensive treatment of Nitobe thus far.

¹⁶ Zenshū, XIII, p. 311.

Chapter One

¹ The Shogun Yoritomo gave this early forerunner of the Nitobe family a fief in the Northeastern part of Honshu as a reward for his services in fighting the Taira. See Zenshū,

XV, 555, 567.

² Matsukuma Toshiko, Nitobe Inazō (Tokyo: Misuzu Shobō, 1969), p.1. Details of the land reclamation project are found in John F. Howes, "Inazō and his Roots," unpublished paper, Nitobe-Ōhira International Conference on Japanese Studies, UBC, Vancouver, Canada, 23-26 May 1984; see also Horiguchi Masami, Towada monogatari (Tokyo: Kokusho Kankōkai, 1974).

³ Zenshū, XV, 500; Matsukuma, p. 4,6.

⁴ Zenshū, XV, 560.

⁵ Satō, p. 15.

⁶ Zenshū, XV, 499-501.

⁷ Zenshū, XV, 501.

⁸ Zenshū, XV, 514.

⁹ Zenshū, XV, 515.

¹⁰ Zenshū, XV, 515.

¹¹ See Chapter Six for background information on Nitobe's publications pertaining to popular ethical thought couched in traditional Eastern philosophical terms.

¹² Zenshū, XV, 508.

¹³ Zenshū, XV, 510.

¹⁴ See Chapter Four, "Rise to Prominence" for the circumstances behind the composing of Bushido.

¹⁵ Zenshū, XV, 517-18; Satō, p. 16; Matsukuma, p. 12.

¹⁶ Fukuzawa Yukichi, Gakumon no susume, (An Encouragement of Learning) trans. Donald Dilworth (Tokyo: Sophia University, 1974) p. 3.

¹⁷ Zenshū, XV, 524.

¹⁸ Zenshū, XV, 522.

¹⁹ Zenshū, XV, 531.

²⁰ Zenshū, XV, 534-5.

²¹ Zenshū, XV, 540.

²² Zenshū, XV, 542.

- 23 Zenshū, XV, 549.
- 24 Zenshū, XV, 546-548.
- 25 Imperial, pp. 2-7.
- 26 Imperial, pp. 7-8.
- 27 Imperial, pp. 10-12.
- 28 Yuzo Ota, Eigo to Nihon jin (Tokyo: TBS Buritanika, 1981), pp. 61-99.
- 29 Uchimura Kanzō, How I Became a Christian in The Complete Works of Kanzō Uchimura, I, (Tokyo: Kyobunkan, 1971), 25.
- 30 Uchimura, pp. 34-69.
- 31 Matsukuma, pp. 77-82.
- 32 Matsukuma, pp. 57-72; Zenshū, XV, 550-1.
- 33 Zenshū, XV, 554.
- 34 Matsukuma, p. 77-80.
- 35 Uchimura, p. 36.
- 36 Matsukuma, pp. 78, 81.
- 37 Miwa Kimitada, "Crossroads of Patriotism in Imperial Japan: Shiga Shigetaka (1863-1927), Uchimura Kanzō (1861-1930), and Nitobe Inazō (1862-1933)," Diss. Princeton University 1967, p. 71.
- 38 Matsukuma, p. 90.
- 39 Matsukuma, p. 91.
- 40 Zenshū, XV, 486-7.
- 41 Uchikawa Eiichirō, Nitobe Inazō: the Twilight Years, trans. Michael Newton (Tokyo: Kyobunkan, 1985), p. 3; Zenshu, XV, 534.
- 42 Matsukuma, p. 106; John Harrison, Japan's Northern Frontier (Jacksonville: University of Florida Press, 1953), pp. 121-42.
- 43 Matsukuma, p. 114.

Chapter Two

¹ LMK, 29 March 1884; reprinted in Torii Kiyoharu, Nitobe Inazō no tegami (Sapporo: Hokkaido Daigaku Toshō Kankō-kai, 1976), p. 10.

² Many books and articles have appeared on Nitobe and his fellow Sapporo group members. Miyabe Kingo has written his autobiography; Hiroi and Satō both have biographies; and numerous biographies and biographical studies have appeared on Uchimura Kanzō.

³ LMK, 22 January 1884; Torii, p. 5.

⁴ LMK, 22 January 1884; Torii, p. 5; LMK, 20 April 1885; Torii, pp. 11-12

⁵ This anecdote is found in "Yōkō no dōki" in Kigan no ashi, reprinted in Zenshū, VI, 20.

⁶ For a capsule view of Toyama Shōichi's career, see Kudanaka Mizō, ed., Dai jinmei jiten, 3-4, (Tokyo: Heibonsha, 1957), p. 466. Also, Miwa Kimitada, "Crossroads of Patriotism," p. 74.

⁷ Miwa, p. 79.

⁸ LMK, 4 August 1884; Torii, pp. 15-16.

⁹ In Kigan no ashi, Nitobe mentions in several places his intention to study economics. See Zenshū, VI, 23, 29.

¹⁰ LMK, 29 March 1884; Torii, p. 7.

¹¹ See 1920 Official Minutes of the Pittsburgh Annual Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, Memoirs of Bishop Merriman C. Harris (Johnstown, Penn.: Franklin Street Church, 6-11 October, 1920), p. 213. This record is in the archives of the Crawford County Historical Society, Meadville, Pennsylvania.

¹² LMK, 5 October 1884; Torii, p. 18.

¹³ Personal interview with Mrs. S.K. Edwards, Special Collections Librarian, Pellitier Library, Allegheny College, Meadville, Pennsylvania, 2 May 1983.

¹⁴ "Japanese Students," Crawford Journal, 3 October 1884, p. 24.

¹⁵ LMK, 5 October 1884; Torii, p. 18. Nitobe is listed as "Inajo Ota" in Allegheny College, Catalogue and Announcement of Allegheny College for the Academic Year 1884-85 (Meadville:

Allegheny College, 1884), p. 47.

¹⁶ Satō Shōsuke, "Koyū Nitobe hakase o omou" in NHTS, p. 7.

¹⁷ For Satō's work at Hokkaido University, see Imamura Narikazu ed., Hokkaido daigaku hyakunen shi (Sapporo: Hokkaido University Press, 1976).

¹⁸ Satō, "Koyū Nitobe hakushi," pp. 3-13.

¹⁹ Satō Shōsuke, Letter to H.B. Adams, 11 June 1883, Adams Collection, the Milton S. Eisenhower Library, The Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Maryland.

²⁰ Johns Hopkins University Circulars, 48, (1886-1887), 78.

²¹ Application form of Inazo Ota dated 17 October 1884. This document is in the University Archives, Milton S. Eisenhower Library, The Johns Hopkins University.

²² Johns Hopkins University Circulars, 48, pp. 76-7; Stanley Hall mentions Motora in his Life and Confessions of a Psychologist (New York: Appleton, 1923), p. 232.

²³ I have relied on Hugh Hawkins, Pioneer, A History of the Johns Hopkins University, 1874-1889 (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1960) for much of the description in this section.

²⁴ Hawkins, pp. 323-25. Daniel Gilman has written of his work at the Johns Hopkins in The Launching of a University (New York: Dodd, Mead & Co., 1906). For the place of Johns Hopkins in the history of American higher education, see Lawrence Veysey, The Emergence of the American University (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1965).

²⁵ Hawkins, p. 99.

²⁶ Inazo Ota, Letter to Daniel Gilman, 10 August 1889 in Gilman Collection, Milton S. Eisenhower Library, The Johns Hopkins University.

²⁷ See Chapter Six, "The Public Figure," for an account of Nitobe's work as Headmaster of the First Higher School in Tokyo.

²⁸ Letter from Ms. Lisa Minklei, Special Collections, Milton S. Eisenhower Library, 6 May 1983. I am grateful to Ms. Minklei for going through the Johns Hopkins University Circulars for the years 1884-1887 to compile a list of courses Nitobe took.

29 Hawkins, pp. 172-73. For Adams' work at the Johns Hopkins, see: Howard Odum, American Masters of Social Science (New York: Henry Holt & Co., 1927); Hale Bellot, American History and American Historians (Norman, Oklahoma: University of Oklahoma Press, 1952); Department of History, Politics and Economics of the Johns Hopkins University, Herbert B. Adams: Tribute of Friends (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1902). A portion of Adam's vast correspondence has been published by W. Stull Holt, ed., Historical Scholarship in the United States, 1876-1901: As Revealed in the Correspondence of Herbert B. Adams. (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1938).

30 A list of his Graduate Students and their accomplishments is included in Department of History, Politics and Economics, Herbert B. Adams: Tribute of Friends pp. 71-160.

31 Woodrow Wilson, quoted in John Vincent, "Herbert Adams" in Howard W. Odum, American Masters of Social Science, p. 150.

32 Hawkins, pp. 178-79. For an account of Ely's life and career, see his autobiography, Ground under Our Feet (New York, 1938).

33 Hawkins, p. 178.

34 Minklei, 6 May 1983.

35 For Nitobe's recollections of Ely, see "Kyōkasho no sentaku" in Kigan no ashi, reprinted in Zenshū, VI, pp. 83-4; see also Miwa, pp. 86-7. Ely frequently wrote for the Baltimore Sun and made his views on Socialism widely known among citizens in the community; Nitobe's popularization in mass-circulated magazines as the Jitsugyō no Nihon are treated in Chapters Six and Seven.

36 For an account of Jameson's work as a historian, see Elizabeth Donnan and Leo F. Stock, eds., An Historian's World: Selections from the Correspondence of John Franklin Jameson (Philadelphia: 1956).

37 In his letter of 13 November 1885 to Miyabe in NILMK, Nitobe mentions that he is hard at work on research in Agricultural Economics. But in late June or early July, when Miyabe came to the United States to study at Harvard, Nitobe was already at work on the U.S.-Japan thesis. The decision to switch topics probably occurred between January and March 1886. In his letter of 22 June 1886 to Adams, Nitobe says "the thesis I find very interesting and instructive. I am glad that you have suggested the topic."

38 Saeki Riichirō, "Yonjyū gonenkan kawaranu yūjō" in NHTS (pp. 34-44), describes the activities of Nitobe in Baltimore and mentions his concern with attempts to revise the unequal

treaties. Nitobe devotes one section of Chapter Three in the Intercourse Between the United States and Japan (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1891), to this topic.

39 Typical of this type of error is Matsumoto Shigeharu's "kaisetsu" in Zenshū, VI, 650. He writes that Nitobe "finished his Graduate Studies with an MA degree" at the Johns Hopkins.

40 LHA, 22 June 1886; see also preface to Intercourse Between the United States and Japan, reprinted in Zenshū, VI, 305.

41 LWG, 9 November 1886; reprinted in NIKK, pp. 532-33. For an account of Griffis' work in Japan, see Edward Beauchamp, An American Teacher in Early Meiji Japan (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1976).

42 For Nitobe's relationship to Lanman, see LMK, 7 August 1887; Torii, p. 27. On Charles Lanman, see Ivan Hall, Mori Arinori (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1971), pp. 169-222.

43 Inazo Ota, "Why I Became a Friend" in Interchange, 3, No. 3, (21 March 1887), 3-4.

44 Letters from Uchimura Kanzō to Ōta Inazō, 1 March, 19 April 1885 in Suzuki Toshiro, ed., Uchimura Kanzō Zenshū XX, (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1933), 145. From these letters, we can extrapolate that Nitobe was in Philadelphia sometime in May or June 1885. See also, Saeki Riichiro in NHTS (pp. 34-44) for a description of the meetings at the Morrises home.

45 Matsukuma, p. 142.

46 LHB, 23 April, 21 May, 22 June 1886.

47 Satō, "Koyū" in NHTS, pp. 3-14.

48 LMK, 29 March 1884, 5 October 1884, 5 April 1887.

49 Department of History, Politics and Economics, Herbert B. Adams: Tribute of Friends pp. 104-105; Herber B. Adams, Letter to Gilman, 17 July 1886 in Gilman Collection, Milton S. Eisenhower Library, The Johns Hopkins University; The Imperial College of Agriculture, pp. 16-19.

50 Iwamura Mizō, ed., Hokkaido daigaku hyakunen (Sapporo, Hokkaido University Press, 1976).

51 Henry C. Taylor and Anne D. Taylor, The Story of Agricultural Economics in the United States, 1840-1932 (Ames, Iowa: Iowa State College Press, 1952), p. 53; for a background of American students studying in Germany, see Herbst, The

German Historical School in American Scholarship

- 52 NILMK, 20 May, 24 June 1887.
- 53 LHA, 6 January 1888 in JHUAC. Nitobe in Germany studied the processing of flax and its feasibility for production in Hokkaido. See Torii, p. 127.
- 54 LHA, 6 January 1888.
- 55 LHA, 13 November 1888, 25 April 1889. Nitobe published Nōgyō honron and Nōgyō Hattatsu shi in 1898. Both of these works reflect Schmoller's influence. Nitobe mentions his work at the Statistics Bureau in Kigan no ashi, Zenshū, VI, 90-91. See also LHA, 13 November 1888.
- 56 Ringer, pp. 144-149; Joseph Schumpeter, History of Economic Analysis, ed. E.B. Schumpeter, New York: Oxford University Press, 1954), pp. 800-20.
- 57 Nitobe met Kanai in Heidelberg in August 1887, which he mentions to Miyabe in LMK, 18 September 1887. For an account of Kanai's career, see Torii, pp. 108-111; Kudanaka, ed., "Kanai Noburu" in Dai jinmei jiten 1-2, p. 110; also Kenneth Pyle, "Advantages of Followership: German Economics and Japanese Bureaucrats, 1890-1925" in Journal of Asian Studies, 33: 1 (Autumn 1974), pp. 127-64; Byron Marshall, "Professors and Politics: The Meiji Academic Elite" in Journal of Japanese Studies, 3:1, (Winter 1977), p. 85.
- 58 LMK, 1 January, 25 April 1889.
- 59 Ringer, pp. 16-17; LMK, 23 April 1889; LHA, 25 April 1889, another with no date and a few pages missing, but around late September or early October, in JHUAC.
- 60 LHA, 5 January 1890, 15 May 1890; LMK, 26 July 1888.
- 61 LHA, 15 May 1890.
- 62 LMK, 10 March, 15 July 1888; LHB, 15 May 1890.
- 63 Memorandum, Adams to Gilman, 5 May 1887, Gilman Collection, Milton S. Eisenhower Library, The Johns Hopkins University; on Gilman's views on granting honorary degrees, see Hawkins, p. 124.
- 64 LMK, 27 October 1889.
- 65 LHA, 21 July, 18 August 1890.
- 66 Herbert B. Adams, Letter to Inazo Nitobe, 23 December 1890, Adams Collection, Milton S. Eisenhower Library, The

Johns Hopkins University.

67 David C. Elkinton, "Inazo and Mary Nitobe: Roots, Romance and Recollections," pp. 1-2. This paper was presented as a public lecture at the Department of Asian Studies, University of British Columbia, Vancouver, B.C., 7 October 1983. The author is the great grandnephew of Mary Elkinton Nitobe. Much of the detail here is based upon family research done by Mr. Elkinton.

68 An account of the courtship of Nitobe and Mary is found in Dorothy Gilbert, Inazo and Mary Nitobe (printed for private circulation by Passmore Elkinton, 1957).

69 Elkinton, pp. 3-4.

70 Elkinton, p. 4; for an account of Nitobe's connection to the Jogaku zasshi, see Aoyama Nao, "Kindai Nihon joshi kyo iku to Nitobe Inazo" in NIKK, pp. 205-42.

71 Elkinton, p. 4; a perspective on the relationship can be found in Saeki Riichiro, "Yonjunen kan kawaranu yujo" in NHTS, pp. 34-43.

72 Saeki, pp. 39-40.

73 Elkinton, p. 6.

74 Elkinton, p. 6.

75 Article in the Philadelphia Inquirer, 28 November 1890, and quoted in Elkinton, p. 6.

76 This diary extract is quoted in Elkinton, p. 8.

77 Matsukuma, pp. 168, 170.

78 For a comparative population of American cities, see Allan Davis, "Introduction" in The Peoples of Philadelphia (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1973), p. 8.

79 Newspaper clipping of the Philadelphia Inquirer, 2 January 1891 (no pag.) found in the files of FHLNP.

Chapter Three

1 MNLF, 24 October 1892.

2 See Nitobe's letter to Miyabe (LMK, 4 Dec. 1887) which expressses his altruistic aims in Sapporo.

³ Statistics of Hokkaido, 1949, as listed in F.C. Jones, Hokkaido: Its Present State of Development and Future Prospects (London: Oxford University Press, 1958), p. 22. For table of immigration into Hokkaido between years 1869 to 1881, see John Harrison, Japan's Northern Frontier (Jacksonville, University of Florida Press, 1954), p. 73; also, Jones, p. 22. A description of the Ishikari plain is found in Jones, p. 34.

⁴ "Hokkaido chō" in Hokkaido dai hyakka jiten, II, (Sapporo: Hokkaido Shimbun-sha, 1981), 644.

⁵ LMK, 13 November 1885.

⁶ LMK, 17 February 1889.

⁷ Torii, p. 120. Strictly speaking, only David Hume lived and worked in Scotland; J.S. Mill was Scottish, but he himself did not acquire a reputation there; Carlyle was born and raised in Scotland, but his fame was acquired in London.

⁸ LMK, 24 June 1887.

⁹ The original oath is on display at the William S. Clark Memorial Hall at Hokkaido University.

¹⁰ (unsigned article), Harper's New Monthly Magazine, 65:390 (November, 1882), 811-29. Nitobe mentioned this article and the influence it had on him in "Why I Became a Friend" in the Baltimore Quaker's newsletter, Interchange (Baltimore: Society of Friends, Mar. 1887), p. 254.

¹¹ For an account of the biographies on William Penn, see Harry Emerson Wildes' Appendix I: "Penn Biographies" in William Penn (New York: Macmillan Publishing Company, Inc., 1974), pp. 447-451. Of the forty or so biographies that have been written on Penn, by far the most trustworthy ones have appeared in the twentieth century. The three best are Wildes (the latest); John W. Graham, William Penn (London: The Swarthmore Press Ltd., 1917); and William I. Hull, William Penn: A Topical Biography (1937; rpt. Freeport, New York, Books for Libraries Press, 1971).

¹² Works to date on Nitobe's colonization have not mentioned this religious outlook behind his concept of spiritual progress and the spreading of enlightenment. See Miwa Kimitada, "Nitobe and Japanese Colonial Policy," conference paper delivered at the Nitobe-Ohira International Conference on Japanese Studies, UBC, Vancouver, Canada, 25 May, 1984. Nitobe's work is also mentioned in Mark Peattie, "Attitudes Toward Colonialism," ed. Ramon Myers and Mark Peattie, The Japanese Colonial Empire: 1895-1945 (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1984), pp. 86, 88, 91, 93-5, 99, 114.

¹³ LJE, 22 August 1891; 3 January 1892. Nitobe's William Penn volumes have been republished in volume four of the Zenshu. In the kaisetsu to this work, Takagi Yasaka mentions that the circumstances which underlie this publication are unknown. But he accepts Nitobe as the author. Since Nitobe himself did not write a preface for this work, and since he does not mentioned it elsewhere, the full story of how and why it was compiled will remain a mystery. A curious question lingers. Why didn't Nitobe credit the authorship of the work to the Hokumon's editor?

¹⁴ This translation appears to be one of three projects on Quakerism and William Penn that Nitobe was then engaged in. The publication of this work is mentioned in the 10 February 1895 issue of Keirin (page 516). Cope's work, "Passages from Life and Writings" (Philadelphia, 1882) is cited in the bibliography of John Graham's William Penn (see note 11 above) on page 315. On Nitobe's acquaintance with Cope, see Mary's letter to family, 29 November 1891. Also, letter to Joseph, 26 January 1896.

¹⁵ LJE, 26 January 1896. This Robert's manuscript that Hartshorne gave Nitobe is well-known among Nitobe's biographers, and mentioned by Takagi in his "Kaisetsu" on Kenkoku bidan, p. 676. This work of Lucy Roberts appear to have been a work meant for juvenile readers. Later, in 1909, she published the manuscript as a volume in "Quaker Biographies," vol. 1. The work is cited by Graham in his bibliography on page 316.

¹⁶ LJE, 26 January 1896.

¹⁷ LJE, 26 January 1896. Publication of this work is mentioned in Keirin, vol. 17, (5 September 1895) p. 63. It is reprinted in volume three of the Zenshu. In writing it, Nitobe mentioned that he "consulted half a dozen sources" (LJE, 26 January 1896).

¹⁸ LJE, 26 January 1896.

¹⁹ For an account of the Elkinton family, see David Cope Elkinton, Family Footprints: The Families of Joseph Elkinton and Sarah West Passmore, 2 vols. (printed for private circulation, Philadelphia, 1983).

²⁰ For the Elkintons' work with the Doukhobors, see George Woodcock and Ivan Avakumovic, The Doukhobors (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1968), pp. 136, 141, 163, 213, 268, 365, 374; also, Pierre Berton, The Promised Land (Toronto: McClellan and Stewart, 1984), pp. 75-6.

²¹ See Sarah West Elkinton, Joseph Elkinton: 1859-1920 (edited by J. Russell Elkinton and David C. Elkinton and

printed for private circulation, Philadelphia, 1981) for an account of Joseph Elkinton.

22 For a list of the staff at the college, see Imperial, pp. 26-27.

23 LJE, 22 August 1891.

24 LJE, 21 April 1892.

25 The classes that Nitobe taught at the nōgakkō for school years 1893-94 and 1895-96 have been compiled for me by Mr. Akizuki of the Hokkaido University archives from the Sapporo nōgakkō ichiran. For the years 1891, 1892, I have relied on letters (LJE, 23 April, 22 August 1891) in which Nitobe mentions his schedule of courses.

26 LJE, 23 April 1891; letter to sisters, MNLf, 10 July 1891.

27 LJE, 21 April 1892.

28 LJE, 19 February 1893.

29 LJE, 19 February 1893.

30 LJE, 23 April 1891.

31 LJE, 23 April 1891; MNLf, 22 August 1891.

32 LJE, 23 April 1891.

33 Satō Shōsuke, Letter to Herbert B. Adams, 5 November 1892, Adams Collection, Milton S. Eisenhower Library, The Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Maryland; Keirin, 1 (1 May 1892), pp. 11-5. On the background of the organization, see Akizuki Toshiyuki, "Koyukaishi kara mita Sapporo nōgakkō no kōfū ron" in Hokudai hyakunen shi (tsusetsu nukizuri), pp. 605-06.

34 Nitobe's most prominent contributions in the Keirin include: Seito shokun ni tsugu, Wasurenu kusa, Dai Nihon gaiko shi, No no teigi, ryugaku dan. These articles were serialized in issues of the Keirin throughout the years Nitobe spent in Sapporo. Ryugaku dan has been collected and published later as Kigan no ashi.

35 Takakura Shin'ichirō, "Nitobe sensei to Sapporo" in Global Sapporo, 1:2, (Winter, 1984), 19.

36 Takakura, p. 19. For a short biographical sketch of Hori, see "Hori Motoi" in Hokkaido dai hyakka jiten (Sapporo, Hokkaido shinbun, 1981), pp. 680-81; MNLf, 25 June 1891.

37 For an account of the Hokumei gakkō, see the Hokumei gakkō kiji (n.p. : n.p., 1895). This volume was published at the closing of the school and preserves contemporary records and students' recollections of its short history. Takakura (p. 20) mentions that the school stood across from the present main gate of Hokkaido University.

38 LJE, 22 August 1891; 23 November 1894; 21 April 1892.

39 LJE, 21 April 1892.

40 LJE, 22 March 1895. Takakura, p. 20. Hokumei students mention Nitobe's influence in "Seito no shōgen" in Hokumei gakkō kiji, pp. 31-90.

41 LMK, 13 November 1885.

42 LMK, 13 November 1885, 7 August 1887; LJE, 21 April 1892.

43 Nitobe "Gakumon yori jikkō" in Enyū yagakkō, (Sapporo: Hokkaido Shimbun-sha, 1981), p. 274. (see note 50) This was a speech that Nitobe gave at the school when he visited it in 1931. Text of the speech was printed in the school report, Enyū, 18 May 1931. Also, Ishizaka Kiyooki, "Nitobe Inazō to Mariko fujin" in Enyū yagakkō, pp.134-5.

44 LJE, 4 July 1894. Takakura Shin'ichirō, "Nitobe Inazō to Sapporo: sono setten toshite no Sapporo Enyū yagakkō" in Enyū yagakkō, p. 22.

45 Nitobe, "Gakumon yori jikkō," p. 275; Takakura, Enyū yagakkō, p. 24; for an in depth description of one student volunteer who later gained prominence as a writer, see Yamada Masao, "Arishima Takeo to Enyū yagakkō" in Enyū yagakkō, pp. 153-76. See also, Koshio Shinsaku, "Shiron: Enyū yagakkō" in Enyū yagakkō, pp. 107-8; LJE, 25 November 1894; 22 March 1895.

46 LJE, 12 January 1896.

47 LJE, 12 January 1896.

48 See "Enyū yagakkō enkaku" in Enyū yagakkō, p. 306.

49 LJE, 12 January 1896.

50 Volume 18 in the Sapporo bunko series entitled Enyū yagakkō is the best source for materials on the school. Included are photographs, recollections of students and teachers, personality sketches of persons connected with the school's development.

51 Imperial, p. 28; Takakura, "Nitobe Inazō to Sapporo" in Enyū yagakko, p. 16.

52 Imperial, p. 22.

53 Takakura, p. 16.

54 For a comparison of the curriculum of the nōgakkō in 1876 and 1892, see Imperial, pp. 35-7.

55 Minami Takejirō, "Bokō zaikin chū no tsuisō" in NHTS, p. 46; Akizuki, p. 611-12; Imperial, p. 33.

56 For work on Inoue, see Joseph Pittau, "Inoue Kowashi (1843-1895) and the Meiji Educational System," Monumenta Nipponica, 20 (1965), 270-82.

57 Nōgyō hattatsu shi was published in the autumn of 1897 while Nitobe recuperated in Kamakura; Nōgyō honron was published a year later in August 1898. These two works have been reprinted in the Zenshū, vol. 2.

58 Takakura, "Nitobe Inazō to Sapporo" in Enyū yagakko, pp. 17-8; Takaoka Kumao, "Nitobe sensei no tsuioku" in NHTS, pp. 49-59.

59 "Three Japanese scholars and their works" in the Japan Weekly Mail, 23 January 1892.

60 LJE, 23 April 1896.

61 LJE, 23 November 1894.

62 Nitobe, "Nōmin no kenkō" (part 1 and 2) in Tōkei shū shi, 25 March 1895; 25 May 1895; also, "Nōkan joshi no kenkō" in Jogaku Zasshi, 25 June 1895.

63 See Rirekisho I, II.

64 LJE, 23 November 1894.

65 Glenn T. Trewartha, Japan: A Geography (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1965), p. 320; Jones, p. 58; Takakura, "Nitobe Inazō to Sapporo" in Global Sapporo, p. 20.

66 Takakura, p. 20.

67 See Rirekisho I, II for the variety of work Nitobe did in his period.

68 Interview with Akizuki Toshiyuki, Sapporo, 3 June 1983.

69 Mary's letter to her father in MNLF, 19 August 1894 and

reprinted in NIKK, pp. 519-20.

⁷⁰ Matsukuma, p. 179-80.

⁷¹ It is not known for certain how long Mary was away from Sapporo. But it appears that she left for Philadelphia in either late 1892 or early 1893 and spent most of 1893 there.

⁷² See LMK, 4 December 1887, which expresses his altruistic aims. His biographers have taken his words at face value without question.

⁷³ LHA, 21 October 1891.

⁷⁴ LJE, 12 April 1892.

⁷⁵ Nitobe, "Ryūgakudan" in Keirin, 16 (5 June 1895), p. 61. This statement was pointed out to me by Professor Izumi Kurashiro by correspondence, 1 May 1984.

⁷⁶ See LHA (11 February 1899) for Nitobe's expression of moral obligation to the Hokkaido cho.

Chapter Four

¹ Rirekisho I, entry for 2 October 1897.

² Gakugeikai zasshi, 24 (15 December 1897), p. 41.

³ Mary's letter to father in MNLF, 3 December 1897, reprinted in NIKK, p. 15; the date of the letter is misprinted and should read 1897, not 1895.

⁴ Gakugeikai zasshi, 23 (10 September 1897), p. 56.

⁵ See Rachel Read, letter to J. Passmore Elkinton, 29 March 1932 in FHLNP.

⁶ Webster's Seventh New Collegiate Dictionary, 1979 Edition, p. 597.

⁷ Mary Nitobe, letter to Anna Hartshorne, 26 November 1897; Rachel Read, letter to Anna Hartshorne, 19 November 1897 (both in HCERP).

⁸ Nitobe Inazō, letter to Lucy Roberts, 19 October 1899 in HCERP.

⁹ Nitobe Inazō, "Shinkei suiijaku chiryō ni kansuru Berutsu hakase no meigen" in JNN, 15 (15 July 1909), 73. Nitobe repeats the meeting with the two doctors in "Goto

Shinpei haku" in Ijin gunzō, reprinted in Zenshū, II, 608.

¹⁰ Nitobe, "Shinkei suijaku," p. 72. This point has been constantly overlooked by Nitobe's biographers. Nearly all have attributed his breakdown to "overwork." Miwa Kimitada is the only one who has mentioned Nitobe's meeting with Baeltz. See his "Crossroads of Patriotism," p. 260.

¹¹ Nitobe, "Shinkei suijaku," p. 73.

¹² Rachel Read, letter to Anna Hartshorne, 21 November 1897 in HCERP; Mary Nitobe to her father in MNLF, 3 December 1897; this letter is reprinted in NIKK, p. 520.

¹³ Rachel Read, letter to Anna Hartshorne, 21 November 1897 in HCERP; see also preface to Nōgyō hattatsu shi, in Zenshū, II, 548.

¹⁴ Zenshū, II, 548.

¹⁵ LHA, 11 February 1899.

¹⁶ LHA, 11 February 1899.

¹⁷ Gakugeikai zasshi, 27 (20 November 1898), 73; for discussion of the Sapporo sōsho, see Akizuki Toshiyuki, "Koyu kai shi kara mita," pp. 605-6.

¹⁸ Gakugeikai zasshi, 27 (20 November 1898), 73; Kawai Michi, My Lantern (Tokyo: n.p., 1938), p. 66; Rirekisho I.

¹⁹ Kawai, My Lantern, p. 66. See also her "Onshi Nitobe hakushi" in NHTS, pp. 80-9.

²⁰ Tsuda Umeko was one of five girls who were sent to the United States with the Iwakura mission. She graduated from Bryn Mawr in 1892. For a summary of her life, see Kudanaka Mizō, ed., Dai jinmei jiten, 3-4, (Tokyo: Heibonsha, 1957), 304-5.

²¹ Kawai, My Lantern, p. 66.

²² Ibid; LWG, 21 January 1899.

²³ David C. Elkinton, Family Footprints (printed for private circulation, Philadelphia, 1983), p. 8.

²⁴ Mary to her father, MNLF, 28 May 1899.

²⁵ Kawai, My Lantern, p. 66; LHA, 11, February 1899; LWG, 21 January 1899 in WGP.

²⁶ For a short discussion of the historical geography of

California, see Crane S. Miller and Richard Hyslop, California: The Geography of Diversity (Palo Alto: Mayfield Publishing Co., 1983), pp. 143-53.

27 Rexford Newcomb, "The Old Houses of Monterey" in The Old Mission Churches and Historic Houses of California (Philadelphia: J.P. Lippencott Company, 1925), p. 342.

28 Roy Nickerson, Robert Louis Stevenson in California: A Remarkable Courtship (San Francisco: Chronicle Books, 1982), p. 29.

29 Nickerson, p. 29.

30 Tokyo Women's College Library, Classified Catalogue of Nitobe Library, (Tokyo: unpublished catalogue compiled by library staff, October 1949), p. 65; I am grateful to Professor Masahiro Sato for providing me with a copy of this catalogue.

31 Nickerson, p. 29.

32 The records are not completely clear as to exactly when the Nitobes moved to California from Canada. Extrapolating from letters written to Adams and Griffis, it appears to have been September or October 1898.

33 LWG, 21 January 1899.

34 English-language articles that Nitobe wrote for the Far East while in Sapporo include: "Our Recent Chauvinism" (1895); "On Japanese Exclusivism" (1897); and "The Genesis of American-Japanese Intercourse." All three of these articles are included in the Zenshu, volume 5.

35 For a discussion of Uchimura's English-language works of this period, see John F. Howes's chapter ten, "Justification of Self and of Nation" in his biography on Uchimura Kanzo (publication forthcoming); Uchimura's letter to Mary and Inazo Nitobe, 18 Oct. 1895 printed in Uchimura Kanzo Zenshu, 36 (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1983), 424-5.

36 LWG, 21 January 1899.

37 LWG, 21 January 1899.

38 LWG, 21 January 1899.

39 The University of the Pacific moved to College Park in 1866. By 1899, when Nitobe was there, it was a well established University with assets totaling over \$200,000. For a background summary of the university, see William Warren Ferrier, Ninety Years of Education in California: 1846-1936

(Berkeley: Sather Gate Book Shop, 1937), pp. 187-99.

40 Sukeo Kitazawa, The Life of Dr. Nitobe (Tokyo: Hokuseidō, 1953), p. 41.

41 LHA, 11 February 1899.

42 Gakugeikai zasshi, 31 (20 December 1899), 49.

43 LHA, 11 February 1899.

44 LHA, 11 February 1899.

45 Nitobe was one of 101 scholars named as shin hakase (new Ph.Ds). The list is printed in Sekai no Nihon (1 April 1899), p. 217. His nōgaku hakushi (Doctor of Agriculture) is entered into his Rirekisho I on 27 March 1899.

46 LHA, 11 February 1899.

47 Gakugeikai zasshi, 31 (20 December 1899), 49; see also Rirekisho II, entry for 14 June 1899.

48 LWG, 17 December 1899.

49 Book reviews of Bushido are appended to the Shōkabō edition. My thanks to Yuzo Ota for pointing this out to me.

50 "Gotō Shinpei haku" in Ijin gunzō, reprinted in Zenshū, V, 608.

51 Uchikawa, Bannen no Inazō (Morioka: Iwate Nippō, 1984), p. 71.

52 "Gotō Shinpei haku" in Zenshū, V, 610.

53 Gakugeikai zasshi, 32 (15 June 1900), 55.

54 See entry in Rirekisho I for May 1900. On news of the Paris World Exposition, see news items in Chugai Eiji Shimbun, 7:8 (30 April 1900); 7:11 (15 July 1900); 7:19 (15 November 1900).

55 LHA, 5 January 1890.

56 Suga Kikutarō, "Nitobe sensei no omoide no ki" in NHTS p. 93-4.

57 Rirekisho II. The entry in Rirekisho I states 20 February 1901.

58 Marius Jansen, Japan and China: from War to Peace (Chicago: Rand McNally, 1975), p. 25.

59 E. Patricia Tsurumi, "Taiwan under Kodama Gentarō and Gotō Shimpei," ed. Albert Craig, Papers on Japan, 4 (Cambridge, Mass.: East Asian Research Center, 1967), 96. I appreciate Professor Tsurumi's kindness in sending me a copy of this article.

60 "Gotō Shinpei haku," in Zenshū, p. 610.

61 E.P. Tsurumi, pp. 105-6.

62 Gotō Shimpei, "The Administration of Formosa (Taiwan)," ed. Okuma Shigenobu, Fifty Years of New Japan. The first three governor generals of Formosa were Admiral Kabayama, General Katsura and General Nogi, respectively.

63 E.P. Tsurumi, p. 99.

64 E.P. Tsurumi, p. 100.

65 E.P. Tsurumi, p. 100.

66 E.P. Tsurumi, p. 101.

67 Gotō, p. 532.

68 E.P. Tsurumi, p. 103.

69 E.P. Tsurumi, p. 103.

70 E.P. Tsurumi, p. 120.

71 Tsurumi Yūsuke, Gotō Shinpei den, II, 51, and quoted in E.P. Tsurumi, p. 116.

72 Gotō, pp. 540-1.

73 For Nitobe's work in Taiwan, see Yamane Yukio, "Taiwan tōgyō seisaku to Nitobe Inazō" in NIKK, pp. 259-301.

74 Samuel P. Ho, "Colonialism and Development: Korea, Kwantung, Taiwan, and the Japanese Empire," ed. Mark Peattie and Ramon Myer, Japanese Colonial Empire (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1984), p. 348.

75 "Kodama haku no omoide" in Ijin gunzō reprinted in Zenshū, V, 568.

76 Nitobe, "Kodama haku no omoide," p. 569; Analysis of this of this plan is found in Yamane, pp. 272-8.

77 Yamane, p. 279.

78 Yamane, pp. 284-8.

79 Gotō, "The Administration of Formosa," pp. 543-6; E.P. Tsurumi, p. 124.

80 Gotō, pp. 548-52; E.P. Tsurumi, pp. 135-7. The point that benefits were conferred by the colony to the Japanese and Taiwanese is undeniable, but the record is undoubtedly a mixed one, especially in the case of the natives. But this issue lies beyond the scope of this chapter. For some cogent discussion on this from the perspective of an economist, see Ho, p. 84.

81 Nitobe was appointed concurrently to a post at Kyoto to lecture on Economics. He retained his regular job with the sotokufu. See, entry in Rirekisho I for 16 October 1903.

82 Nitobe, "Gotō Shinpei haku" in Zenshū, V, 609.

83 Ibid.

84 Ibid, pp. 610-12.

85 Ibid, p. 612; Rirekisho I, entry for 20 February 1901; E.P. Tsurumi, p. 121.

86 Hayase Yukiko, "The Career of Gotō Shimpei: Japan's Statesman of Research, 1857-1929," Diss. University of Florida 1974, p. 1; E.P. Tsurumi, p. 103;

87 Hayase, pp. 17-20.

88 Hayase pp. 20-2; E.P. Tsurumi, p. 103.

89 Hayase pp. 37, 39.

90 "Kodama Gentarō," Dai jinmei jiten, 1-2, 565; E.P. Tsurumi, p.102.

91 Nitobe, "Kodama Gentaro haku no omoide," Zenshū, V, 564.

92 Ibid, pp. 565-6.

93 Dai jinmei jiten, 1-2, 565.

94 Ibid.

95 Hayase, p. 102.

96 Oda Yorozu, "Chonmage ni yōfuku o kiseta yo na otoko," in NHTS, pp. 149-54.

97 Mary's letter to Joseph Elkinton in MNLF, 4 December

1903.

98 LWG, 12 September 1903.

99 On the beginnings of the Tsuda jogakkō, see Tsuda juku daigaku, Tsuda juku rokujūnen shi (Tokyo: Chuō koron jigyo shuppan, 1960).

100 Tsuda juku daigaku, p. 84.

101 Tsuda juku daigaku, p. 84.

102 Ibid. Kanda Naibu, one of the leading figures in English language education at that period, wrote Sakurai to congratulate the staff on its continuation of the journal. See Kanda's letter to Sakurai, dated 10 June 1903, in Memorials of Naibu Kanda, ed. the Kanda Memorial Committee (Tokyo: Japan Advertiser Press, 1927), p. 308.

103 Akizuki, p. 50.

104 Thoughts and Essays, reprinted in Zenshū, XII, present a collection of Nitobe's English-language writings in this period.

105 See preface to Thoughts and Essays, in Zenshū, XII, 157.

106 See appendix to the Shōkabō edition of Bushido for a collection of book reviews on the book.

107 The Leeds and Biddle edition sold in two different hardcover formats for 75 cents and one dollar respectively. The Shōkabō Japanese edition, too, was brought out in two sets; one with a cloth binding that sold for 60 sen, and an ordinary binding which sold for 40 sen.

108 Advertisements for Bushido found in the Eibun shinshi give data on the number of reprintings.

109 See "Nihon kogakuha no tetsugaku," in Dokuritsu hyōron, 1 (1 January 1903), 72-9.

110 Uemura Masahisa, "Bushidō" in Fukuin shinpō, 297 (6 Mar. 1901), p. 586; also cited by Ota Yuzō, "Nitobe Inazō as a Cultural Mediator," conference paper presented at the Nitobe-Ohira Conference for Japanese Studies, UBC, 23-25 May 1984, p. 22.

111 "Introduction" to Reminiscences of Childhood, reprinted in Zenshū, XV, 488-9.

112 Chūgai Eiji Shinbun (supplement), 7: 19 (15 November

1900), 232.

113 Mary Nitobe, letter to William Griffis, 16 Mar. 1905, in the Griffis Collection, Rutgers University Library, New Brunswick, N.J.

114 Ibid.

115 Nitobe Kotoko, "chichi o kataru" in Bungei Hiroba, p. 116 For a list of Nitobe's articles in this period, see KBKSS, pp. 378-81.

117 Mary's letter to Joseph Elkinton in MNLF, 27 July 1905.

118 On the Nitobe's views on the "war clouds," see Mary's letter to Joseph Elkinton in MNLF, 30 July 1903.

119 LJE, 25 November 1894; also cited in Sharlie Conroy, "An Inquiry into the Value System of a Japanese Internationalist, Nitobe Inazo (1862-1933)," unpublished seminar paper, Social Relations 268, Harvard University, 21 Nov. 1967, p. 15.

120 LJE, 23 November 1894.

121 After the Nitobe's infant son Thomas died a week after birth in January, 1891, they apparently set aside a saving fund, which they called "baby fund" to use for social service projects. See LJE, 25 November 1895.

122 Nitobe's essay "Prepare in Peace for War and in War for Peace" in the Eibun shinshi in April 1904 gives us an indication of his attitude towards the war; when circumstances justify it, it may be engaged in. "There is no doubt that peace is our ideal of existence. War is not an end; it may be a means, a road, to peace." (reprinted in Zenshū, XII, 212)

123 Kodama's position during the Russo-Japanese War was Vice-Chief of Army General Staff and Chief of Staff, Manchurian Forces. See Shumpei Okamoto, The Japanese Oligarchy and the Russo-Japanese War (New York: Columbia University Press, 1970), p. 38.

124 Mary's letter to Joseph Elkinton in MNLF, 27 February 1904.

125 Ibid, 6 April 1904.

126 Ibid, 30 June 1904.

127 For a discussion of Japanese aims in Korea, see Han-

Kyo Kim, "Japanese Colonialism in Korea" in Hilary Conroy and Harry Wray, ed. Japan Examined (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1983), pp. 222-8.

128 See the following articles in Zenshū, volume 12, which reflect Nitobe's views on catching up to the west: "Beware of National Conceit" (p. 232), "Slav Peril versus Yellow Peril" (p. 224), and "Americanism in the East" (p. 216).

129 For Nitobe's view of the Chinese, see his two short contributions to the Eibun shinshi: "Ruins of Empire" (May 1906) and "Is China an Answer to Confucius" (May 1906).

130 For Nitobe's dismal view of the Korean people at that time, see "A Decaying Nation" and "Primitive Life and Presiding Death in Korea." Both of these articles are reprinted in Zenshū, XII, 324-328. For an interesting evaluation of Nitobe as a colonial theorist, which relies on these writings, see: Tanaka Shin'ichi, "Nitobe Inazo to Chosen" in Kikan sanzenri, 34, (Summer, 1983), 88-96.

131 Mark Peattie, "Attitudes towards Colonization" in The Japanese Colonial Empire (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1984), pp. 87, 93, 99-100.

132 For Uchimura's life in this period and his attitude towards the war, see John F. Howes, chapter 14, "In Enemy Territory," especially pp. 289-90.

133 Uchimura Kanzō, postcard to Mary Nitobe, 18 April 1904, in FHLNP.

134 Mary's letter to Joseph Elkinton in MNLF, 12 December 1904; also cited by Sharlie Conroy, "An Inquiry into the Value System of a Japanese Internationalist," p. 17.

135 See Okamoto, (pp. 105-149) for the highlights of the war.

136 See Robert Valliant, "The Selling of Japan: Japanese Manipulation of Western Opinion, 1900-1905" in Monumenta Nipponica 29, (Winter, 1974), 415-38.

137 George Putnam, letter to William Griffis, 28 December 1904, Griffis Papers, Rutgers University Library.

138 George Putnam, letter to Griffis, 25 March, 31 May, 2 June 1905; William Elkinton, letter to Griffis, 25 March 1905. See also Griffis' "Introduction" to Bushido, the Soul of Japan, reprinted in Zenshū, XII, 15-9.

139 Cited in Kimura Ki, trans. Philip Yampolsky, Japanese

Literature; Manners and Customs in the Meiji-Taishō Era (Tokyo: Obunsha, 1957), pp. 59-61.

140 See "Bushido" in Poole's Guide to Literature, (1904 edition).

141 See for example the advertisement in the 15 March 1908 issue of Eibun shinshi (p. 48).

142 Joseph Elkinton, letter to Elizabeth Dunn in FHLNP, 13 April 1905.

Chapter Five

¹ On Roosevelt's role in the peace settlement, see Raymond Estes, Theodore Roosevelt and the Japanese (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1967), pp. 56-96; also, Shumpei Okamoto, The Japanese Oligarchy & the Russo-Japanese War (New York: Columbia University Press, 1970), pp. 167-223; for an account of the riots after the Portsmouth Treaty and the burning of the Kokumin shinbun, see John Pierson, Tokutomi Soho, 1863-1957: A Journalist for Modern Japan (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1980), pp. 281-284. For Makino's career background, see Thomas Burkman, "Japan, The League of Nations, and the New World Order: 1918-1920," Diss. University of Michigan 1975, p. 111-4.

² See article by Oka Yoshitake, "Generational Conflict After the Russo-Japanese War" in Conflict in Modern Japanese History: The Neglected Tradition, ed. Tetsuo Najita and Victor Koschmann (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1982), pp. 197-225; on "anguished youths," see, Earl Kinmouth, The Self-Made Man in Meiji Japanese Thought, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1981), pp. 206-40; for a perceptive analysis of the Fujimura suicide, see Donald Roden, Schooldays in Imperial Japan, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1980), pp. 165-73.

³ For a revision of the views put forth by Japanese scholars on the explanation of the hanmon seinen phenomenon, see Kinmouth, p. 212. Ōmachi was editor-in-chief of the popular magazine for youth Seinen, and wrote several works on this genre of guidance. These are found in Keigetsu zenshū (Tokyo: Kyōbunsha, 1923), vols. 9-11. Inoue Tetsujiro expressed views on hanmon seinen in "Seishinteki kiken ni taisuru seinen no keikāi" in Chūgaku sekai, 6:9 (10 July 1903). On Kuroiwa's views on the subject, see Kuroiwa Ruiko shū, vol. 47 in Meiji bungaku zenshū, (Tokyo: Chikumā shōbo, 1971).

⁴ Makino's concerns as education minister, see Oka, p.

215-16; also, Kinmouth, p. 243.

⁵ For a list of Nitobe's publications in different magazines in this period, see KBKSS, pp. 381-9.

⁶ Burkman, p. 111; Nitobe's first meeting with Makino is mentioned in a letter received from Satō Masahiro, 2 November 1984. For an account of Makino's negotiations with Nitobe on the First Higher School appointment, see Ishii Mitsuru, Nitobe Inazo (Tokyo: Sekiya, 1935), pp. 234-6.

⁷ Rirekisho I, entry for 19 September 1906.

⁸ Primary source materials used in the following section include two interviews with Nitobe Kotoko, Nitobe's adopted daughter, published in "Musume kara mita Nitobe Inazo fusai" in Bungei Hiroba, 30:8 (Sept. 1982), (henceforth interview 1); and "taidan: chichi Inazo o kataru" in Kinen-I, pp. 86-96 (henceforth interview 2); details of the Kobinata home were obtained from Kato Takeko, Nitobe's granddaughter, in conversation on 6 June 1983, and 26 May 1984. Also, letters received on 15 October and 1 November 1984; the latter with an diagram of the home.

⁹ Takeko was unable to find information on exactly when the Nitobe's moved into the Kobinata home. 1905 or 1906 is therefore an extrapolated guess. Letter from Kato Takeko, 15 October 1984 (henceforth LKT).

¹⁰ LKT, 15 October 1984.

¹¹ LKT, 15 October, 1 November 1984.

¹² LKT, 1 November 1984. A photograph of the home is found in Kinen I, p. 89. For a humorous anecdote of the duties of a shosei, see Kasama Akio, "Shikarareta tsui oku" in NHTS, pp.201-203.

¹³ LKT, 1 November 1984.

¹⁴ Nitobe's poems about the moon have been often mentioned by his disciples and his biographers.

¹⁵ LKT, 1 November 1984.

¹⁶ John Dewey, Letters from China and Japan, ed. Evelyn Dewey, (New York: E.P. Dutton, 1920).

¹⁷ In their absence, the Nitobes had a YMCA English instructor live in the home. See p. 203.

¹⁸ Nitobe Kotoko, interview 1, mentions the destruction of

the Kamakura summer home during the Great Kanto Earthquake of 1923, p. 87; The Karuizawa summer home is mentioned by Konoe Fumimaro in his "Nitobe sensei" in NHTS, p. 173; also in Iwanaga Yūkichi, "Nitobe sensei to boku" in same collection, p. 204.

¹⁹ Interview with David Elkinton, Nitobe's grandnephew living in Philadelphia, at Friends Historical Library, Swarthmore College, 30 May 1983.

²⁰ Kotoko was born 22 November 1890. She was the eldest of three children. While still a child her mother died. At the suggestion of her grandmother Mine, Inazo's sister, she was adopted into the Nitobe family. See interview 1, p. 11.

²¹ The three Shimazu boys are mentioned in Maeda Tamon, "Kiseichū toshite no kansō" in NHTS, p. 189; also letter from Tsurumi to his niece, 7 August 1908, reprinted in Kinen I, pp. 111-3.

²² Tajima's own account of his shosei life with the Nitobe's is "Hara machi jidai" in NHTS; also interview 1, p. 10; see also "Tajima Michiji" in Japan Biographical Encyclopedia & Who's Who, 3rd ed. (The Rengo Press, 1964-65) [henceforth JBE], p. 1545.

²³ Nitobe's rank in the bureaucracy at this time as kōtō kan ni to (2nd rank) with a ikkyū (first level) salary of 3000 yen per year; see Rirekisho I, entry for 28, 29 September 1906.

²⁴ See section on "Public Figure"; Nitobe's publications in JNN is treated in detail in Chapter Six, "Heimindō."

²⁵ Tajima Michiji, p. 194. For a comment by his daughter on his expenditures, see Kotoko, interview 2, p. 112.

²⁶ For criticism of this kind, see Kinmouth, p. 255.

²⁷ Anecdotes of Nitobe's deeds abound and are too numerous to list here. See Maeda, p. 189-190, Matsukuma Toshiko, "Futatsu no omoide" in Nitobe Inazo Zenshu, "Geppō," No.10, p. 5-6, and Satō, pp. 104, for examples of different expressions of Nitobe's sympathy and the clever ways in which he extended his generosity to those in dire straits.

²⁸ Interview 1, p. 8.

²⁹ Ibid. Starr, Faunce and Eliot were academics and president of Stanford, Brown, and Harvard respectively. For Nitobe's meeting with Starr, see "California has Orientophobia, says Dr. Nitobe," Daily Palo Alto, 18 Sept. 1911, p. 1; Faunce's visit to Japan is mentioned by Takagi Yasaka,

"Takagi Yasaka sensei ni kiku" in American Studies in Japan Oral Series, 6:1 (Tokyo: Tokyo University American Studies Research Institute, 1979), 35; on Hamilton Mabie's visit to Japan, see Edwin W. Morse's chapter IX, "Ambassador of Peace to Japan" in The Life and Letters of Hamilton W. Mabie, (New York: Dodd, Mead and Co., 1920), pp. 232-65.

30 Interview 2, p. 92.

31 Ibid.

32 Ibid.

33 Ibid.

34 Ibid, pp. 86-7.

35 Ibid, pp. 91. For Nitobe's relationship with Yanagida, see Haga Noboru, Chihoshi no shiso (Tokyo: NHK Books, 1972), pp. 65-74; also, Ishiguro Tadaatsu, "Nitobe sensei to Godokai" in NHTS, pp. 371-8.

36 Interview 2, p. 91. Both Anesaki and Onozuka had their graduate training abroad. The former, like Nitobe, later became a renowned Japanese internationalist and lectured for two years at Harvard and also in France on Japanese culture. See Suzuki Norihisa, "Anesaki Masaharu" in Kodansha Encyclopedia of Japan, (Tokyo: Kodansha Ltd., 1981), I, 56. Onozuka was seven years younger than Nitobe and was a political scientist. He became Dean of the Law Faculty and later President of Tokyo Imperial University. See "Onozuka Kiheiji," in JBE, p. 1207.

37 Interview 1, p. 12.

38 For an insight into the relationship between Nitobe and Uchimura through their students, see Takagi, "Takagi Yasaka sensei ni kiku," pp. 19-29; Nambara Shigeru, Rekishi o tsukuru mono, (Tokyo: Tokyo Daigaku shuppan-kai, 1969), pp. 195-6; Yanaihara Tadao, Yo no sonkei suru jimbutsu (Tokyo: Iwanami, 1940), p. 179; for a secondary account, see Sato, pp. 102-4.

39 Maeda, p.186.

40 Each of these these men have left a recollection of Nitobe in NHTS: Tsurumi, "Nichibei kōkan kyōju jidai no Nitobe sensei," pp. 215-28, Maeda (see note 21), Tajima (see note 22), Kasama (see note 12), Iwanaga Yukichi (see note 18), Kanai, "Nitobe sensei no tsuisō," pp. 229-40. JBE has capsule biographies of Tsurumi (p. 1760), Maeda (p. 772), Tajima (p. 1545).

- 41 JBE, p. 1760.
- 42 Tsurumi, NHTS, p. 216; see also, Tsurumi Kazuko, "Sawayakana shōgeki" in Zenshū's "Geppō" no. 6, pp. 1-3.
- 43 Letter from Tsurumi to his niece, 7 August 1908, reprinted in Kinen I, pp. 111-113.
- 44 Tsurumi in NHTS, p. 216.
- 45 JBE, p.772.
- 46 Maeda, NHTS, p. 186.
- 47 Ibid, p. 185; JEB, p. 772.
- 48 Interview with Maeda Yōichi, 26 May 1983; for an insight into the intimate relationship between the Maeda family and Nitobe, see Matsumoto Shigeharu, Maeda Yōichi, Tanabe Sadayoshi, "Nitobe sensei o kataru" in Kinen I, p. 69-85.
- 49 Interview 1, p. 10 ; also see note 22.
- 50 Interview 1, p. 10.
- 51 See for example, Iwanaga's recollection "Nitobe sensei to boku" in NHTS, pp. 204-214. The deep affection that he felt for sensei was evident at Nitobe's funeral when, "large drops of tears fell from his eyes," thirteen year old Takeko recalled. The sight of Iwanaga, a big, burly man crying made such a strong impression upon her that she could clearly recall the incident fifty years later. See: interview with Katō Takeko in Kinen I, p. 99.
- 52 Interview 1, p. 10.
- 53 See Dai ichi kōtō gakkō kishukuryō, ed., Kōryōshi, (Tokyo: n.p., 1925), pp. 4-8.
- 54 On the development of the higher schools, see Ivan Hall, Mori Arinori (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1973), pp. 417-8.
- 55 Both evaluations of Nitobe are found in the article "Meishi no mitaru meishi" in Shinkōron, (Feb. 1, 1909), pp. 4-6.
- 56 Ishii, p. 238. For Nitobe's educational work at Hokkaido, see Chapter Three "Building Edinburgh."
- 57 See LMK, 13 November 1885; reprinted in Torii, p. 21.

58 Satō, pp. 251-90; see also Yanaihara, "Nitobe hakushi no kyōiku seishin" in Yo no sonkei suru jinbutsu, pp. 189-97.

59 The only writings dealing with religion that Nitobe has left is found in the volume Jinsei zakkan in Zenshū, volume 10. See Chapter Six on "Heimindō."

60 "Now that you have gone over the shūyō (self-cultivation) stage, you will come to the faith stage. Go and see Uchimura," he told his students. See Takagi, "Takagi Yasaka sensei ni kiku," p. 30; also, Yanaihara, Yo no sonkei suru jinbutsu, p. 179.

61 Both of these series of lectures are included in the Zenshū, vol. 9. See also Ishii, pp. 259-70.

62 All have written their recollections of Nitobe; see note 58 for Yanaihara; for Nanbara, note 38; Morito, "Kyōiku sha to shite no Nitobe sensei" in NHTS, pp. 318-55; Kawai Eijirō, "Nitobe sensei no omoide" in NHTS, pp. 356-63; also his "gakusei no jidai" in Kawai Eijirō Zenshū; Goto Ryunosuke, "Onshi Nitobe sensei" in NHTS, pp. 261-8; Tanaka Kōtarō, "Nitobe sensei no shiso to hito" in NHTS, pp. 311-7; Ishii Mitsuru, "Nitobe sensei to watakushi" in NHTS, pp. 269-74; Mitani Takamasa, "Somuki no omoide" in NHTS, pp. 280-4; Kawanishi Jitsuzo, "Nitobe sensei ni kansuru tsuioku" in NHTS, pp. 253-5.

63 See chapter on "Building Edinburgh."

64 Maeda in NHTS, p.187.

65 Ishii, pp. 277-8.

66 Ishii, pp. 245-7; Nanbara, p. 186. On the origins of the school's tradition of monasticism, see Hall, pp. 416-418; For an interesting analysis of the function that monasticism served as a "rites of passage" in socializing students to the Ichikō tradition, see Donald Roden, "Monasticism and the Paradox of the Meiji Higher Schools" in Journal of Asian Studies, 37:3 (May 1979), pp. 407-25.

67 This incident is related in Donald Roden, Schooldays in Imperial Japan (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1980), pp. 206-7.

68 Nanbara, p. 185.

69 Takagi, p. 13; Konoe Fumimaro "Nitobe sensei" in NHTS, p. 170.

70 For an account of this incident by one of his disciples, see Kanai Kiyoshi, "Nitobe sensei no tsuiso" in

NHTS, pp. 229-33.

71 For an analysis of the "Great Conspiracy Incident" and of Kōtoku's role in it, see Fred Notehelfer, Kōtoku Shūsui (London: Oxford University Press, 1971).

72 An entry in his Rirekisho I dated 7 February 1911 states that "Minister of Education Komatsubara Eitarō reprimanded [Nitobe] for his inability to control the Debate Club's lecture of 1 February."

73 Maeda Tamon served as Minister of Education in the Higashikuni cabinet in 1945 and the following Shidehara cabinet; Tanaka Kōtarō succeeded Maeda as Education Minister in 1946 (JBE, p. 1642). Morito Tatsuo was Minister of Education in the short-lived Katayama socialist government in 1947 (JBE, p. 919); Nanbara Shigeru served two terms as President of Tokyo University after the war (JBE, p. 1023); Yanaihara Tadao succeeded Nanbara to the post in 1951 (JBE, p. 1900).

74 This eulogy appears to have been passed down, from generation to generation, among Christian educators in Japan. This writer has heard of the "golden age of ichikō during Nitobe's reign" from the late Hidaka Daishirō, in classes at the International Christian University in the winter of 1975. Hidaka, who was vice-Minister of the Ministry of Education in 1946-1947 and later Dean of the Faculty of Education at ICU, never studied under Nitobe, but apparently was imbued by the same idealism. See Hidaka Daishirō, "Kyōiku kihon hō to sono Nihonteki haikai," in Zenshū, "Geppō no. 1, pp. 3-7.

75 Roden, Schooldays, p. 208.

76 Roden, "Nitobe Inazō and the Problem of Manliness," conference paper, Nitobe-Ōhara International Conference on Japanese Studies, UBC, 26 May 1984.

77 See Masuda Giichi, "Nitobe hakase no omoide" in NHTS, pp. 175-84.

78 See "Masuda Giichi" in JBE, p. 790; Among Masuda's other publications were Fujin no sekai, Nihon seinen, Shōjo no tomo, and Daikan. On the advertising techniques of the Jitsugyo no Nihon, see Kinmouth, p. 256.

79 For a short account on the founding of the company and its early successes, see Kinmouth, pp. 158-9.

80 Masuda, p. 176.

81 For Nitobe's own justification of why he joined the

company, see "Yo wa ika ni shite Jitsugyō no Nihonsha no henshu komon to naritaru ka" in JNN, (1 Jan. 1909), pp. 5-11.

82 For contemporary attacks on Nitobe, see Noyori

Hideichi Seinen no teki. Earl Kinmouth criticizes Nitobe's association with the Jitsugyō no Nihon severely in his Self-Made Man, pp. 255-7.

83 Masuda, p. 176.

84 Though Nitobe formally terminated his association with the Jitsugyō no Nihon sha after leaving the First Higher School, he continued to write for the magazine. In subsequent years, he published several more books on the same genre, many of which sold well. See Chapter six on "Heimindō."

85 For a background into peace movements in the United States in this period, see C. Roland Marchand, The American Peace Movement and Social Reform, 1898-1918 (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1972); included in this monograph (pp. 395-422) is a comprehensive bibliographic essay on scholarly works on the subject. See also, Merle Curti, Peace or War (New York: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1972); and Sondra Herman, Eleven Against War: Studies in American Internationalist Thought, 1898-1921 (Stanford: Hoover Institution Press, 1969).

86 Marchand, p. 100; Nicholas Murray Butler, Across the Busy Years: Recollections and Reflections, II (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1935), p. 90.

87 See Marchand, pp. 117-9, for a detailed account of the beginnings of the Foundation; see also, Warren Kuehl, Hamilton Holt: Journalist, Internationalist, Educator (Gainesville, Fla.: University of Florida Press, 1960).

88 Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, Year Book for 1911 (Washington, D.C., 1912), pp. 1-3.

89 Marchand, pp. 120-1.

90 Ibid, p. 123-8; Butler, p. 92.

91 Marchand in his chapter "Peace through Research" argues that the whole thrust of the Foundation's work, including the Division of Intercourse and Education, was orientated toward scholarship and "scientific expertise." See pp. 128-9.

92 For the conditions of the international exchange program, see "A Japanese Professor at Brown" in Brown Alumni Monthly, 12 (1911-1912), 58.

93 Tsurumi, "Nichibei kōkan kyōju jidai no Nitobe sensei" in NHTS, p. 216. For Nitobe's own statements on his appointment, see "Preface" to The Japanese Nation: Its Land, Its People, and its Life, reprinted in Zenshu, XIII, 8.

94 Zenshū, XIII, 8.

95 This anecdote is by far the most famous of all Nitobe "stories." It has been repeated over and over until it has become a legend associated with his name.

96 "Preface" to The Japanese Nation, reprinted in Zenshū, XIII, 9-10.

97 Tsurumi, "Nichibei kōkan kyōju", p. 217.

98 Tsurumi, "Nichibei," p. 217.

99 See Roger Matthews, The Politics of Prejudice (New York: Athenum, 1972) for a historical account of the anti-Japanese movement in California.

100 "California has Oriento-phobia, says Dr. Nitobe" in the Daily Palo Alto, no. 16 (18 September 1911), p. 1; text of the speech "Peace Over the Pacific" is reprinted in Zenshu, XIII, 280-293. Nitobe's postcard to Masuda on his arrival in San Francisco is printed in JNN, 14 (15 October 1911), 1.

101 See Nitobe's postcards to Masuda, dated 27 and 29 Sept. 1911, and reprinted in the JNN, 14 (1 November 1911), 1.

102 Tsurumi, "Nichibei," p. 218.

103 See articles "Japanese Educator to Lecture Here" (3 September 1911) and "Japanese Educator Coming to Brown" (7 September 1911) in Providence Journal; also "Exchange Professor" in Brown Herald (7 October 1911), p. 1.

104 Tsurumi, "Nichibei," p. 218; letter received from Mrs. Martha Mitchell, University Archivist, Brown University, 15 December 1983.

105 All of Nitobe's lectures at Brown are reported in detail in articles in the Brown Herald between 19 October and 14 November.

106 Tsurumi, "Nichibei," p. 220; see letter from Nitobe to Masuda, dated 7 December 1912, reprinted in JNN, 15, (1 January 1913), p. 1.

107 Zenshū, XIII, 10; Tsurumi, "Nichibei," 220.

108 Tsurumi, "Nichibei," 220-1; George Dykhuizen, The Life

and Mind of John Dewey, (Carbondale, Illinois: Southern Illinois University Press, 1973), pp. 202; on Davis Dewey, later professor at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, see Department of History, Politics and Economics of the Johns Hopkins University, 1876-1901, Herbert B. Adams: Tributes of Friends (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1902), p. 45.

109 See Victor N. Kobayashi, John Dewey in Japan (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1965) for an account of Dewey's lectures in Japan.

110 Tsurumi, "Nichibei," p. 221.

111 Maeda Tamon, Sekkyoku shūyō to shōkyoku shūyō (Tokyo: Naigai Shuppan Kyokai, 1926). See Nitobe's preface to this work on his meeting with Black and the importance he attributed to the work, pp. 1-12.

112 See "The University Record" in The University of Chicago Magazine, (1912), pp. 103-109. Text of Nitobe's convocation speech "American Influence in the Far East" is printed here; it is also reprinted in Zenshū, XIII, 266-279.

113 "Dr. Nitobe to Lecture" in The News Letter 16:14, (8 January 1912), 3.

114 Nitobe's lectures are reported in the university's paper, The News Letter from 15 January until 5 February. Quote is from article "McCoy Hall is Inaequate" in 29 January issue, p. 1.

115 Tsurumi, "Nichibei," p. 222.

116 "The National Geographic Society" in The National Geographic Magazine (March 1912), pp. 272-98.

117 Ibid; Tsurumi, "Nichibei," p. 223.

118 Letters pertaining to the scheduling and arranging of this lecture as well as the following reception are found in the archives of the Division of Intercourse and Education, Carnegie Endowment for Peace, Columbia University.

119 Tsurumi, "Nichibei," p. 222.

120 Ibid, pp. 223-5.

121 Ibid, pp. 225-6.

122 Ibid.

123 Nitobe in later life delivered a talk "A Japanese Tribute to Abraham Lincoln." See Zenshū, XV, 322-331.

124 Tsurumi, Gotō Shinpei, pp. 23-4.

125 Letter from G. Sidney Phelps, dated 16 October 1911, "Introducing Dr. Nitobe" reprinted in Minnesota Alumni Weekly, 11:8 (13 Nov. 1911), 4-5; Some of Nitobe's lectures are mentioned in articles in the university's Minnesota Daily between 3 May and 15 May.

126 See William Faunce, Citations ... for honorary degrees granted by Brown University, 1900-1924, John Hay Library, Brown University Archives, Providence, Rhode Island.

127 Tsurumi, "Nichibei," p. 227.

Chapter Six

¹ Nitobe's position at Tōdai's Agricultural College from 28 September 1906 until 18 December 1909 was that of kennin kyoju (affiliate professor). He continued as kennin kyoju in the Law Faculty until 22 April 1913, when, upon his release from the Headmastership of the First Higher School, he was given regular status. For an account of the Law College's curriculum and faculty during this period, see, Tokyo daigaku keizaigakubu, ed., Tokyo daigaku keizaigakubu gojunen shi (Tokyo: Tokyo Daigaku Shuppan-kai, 1971), pp. 10-18. Rirekisho I, II entries provide a detailed register of his career at the university.

² Tanaka Shin'ichi, "Nitobe Inazō to Chōsen" in Kikan sanzenri, No. 34, (Summer 1983), p. 91.

³ Tanaka, p. 91.

⁴ Mark Peattie, "Japanese Attitudes Toward Colonization, 1895-1945" in Mark Peattie and Ramon Myers, eds., The Japanese Colonial Empire, 1895-1945 (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1984), p. 84. On Goto's granting leave to Nitobe, see Chapter Four.

⁵ Certain professors at Tōdai disliked Nitobe apparently because of his hiring practices while in Formosa. To fill jobs, he hired mostly graduates from the Sapporo nogakko and discriminated against students from the Komaba Agricultural Faculty. Consequently, when Nitobe was appointed to the latter faculty in 1906, he met with resistance among the professors who did not want him. But pressure, according to Tanaka Shin'ichi, from Minister of Education Makino forced through the appointment. Tanaka goes on to say that though the professors relented to Makino's pressure, "they apparently did not let Nitobe teach any courses." But an examination of Nitobe's Rirekisho I reveals that Nitobe indeed did teach in the

Agriculture Faculty before transferring to the Law Faculty as Colonial Policy professor. See Tanaka, "Nitobe Inazō to Chōsen," p. 90; also Anna Hartshorne, "Doctor Nitobe in Formosa" in Eibun shinshi, 5:9, (February 1, 1908), for an insightful glimpse on the hiring of Sapporo Agricultural College graduates in Formosa.

⁶ Tanaka, p. 90. For an analysis of the power arrangement in the university, see Byron Marshall, "Professors and Politics: The Meiji Academic Elite" in The Journal of Japanese Studies, 3:1 (Winter 1977), pp. 71-97; also his "Conflict in Higher Education" in Tetsuo Najita and Victor Koschmann, eds., Conflict in Modern Japanese History (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1983), pp. 178-200. The latter article focuses on change at Tōdai in the Taishō years, whereas the former deal with the academic's confrontation with government. Both provide illuminating light on the environment in which Nitobe lived and worked as a Tōdai professor.

⁷ Tanaka, p. 90.

⁸ See Chapter Four, pp. 93-4.

⁹ Tanaka, p. 91. For the standard account of Nitobe's appointment at Kyoto, see Oda Yorozu, "Chonmage ni yōfuku o kiseta yō na otoko" in NHTS, pp. 149-54. On Nitobe's Doctor of Jurisprudence degree and the circumstances behind its granting, see Tanaka Shin'ichi, "Nitobe Inazō ni tsuite" in Hokudai hyakunen shi henshu nyusu, No. 9 (June 1979), pp. 7-8.

¹⁰ For a description of Nitobe's work on the History of Agriculture, see Chapter Four.

¹¹ Entries in Rirekisho I, II give dates for Nitobe's visits to Taiwan during these years.

¹² Rirekisho I, 9 October 1906, 17 March 1913; see also Tanaka, "Nitobe Inazō to Chosen," p. 92.

¹³ Rirekisho I, II give dates and places visited on these assignments.

¹⁴ His six-month assignment is recorded in Rirekisho II for 13 April. "Goshū tochi mondai no yurai" appeared in three installments in the January, February and March issues. "Nan'yo no keizaiteki kachi" was published in three installments in the Kokka gakkai zasshi, 30: 10, 11, 12 (October, November and December 1916); "Taiwan ni okeru togyo shorei no seiseki to shorai (The sugar industry in Taiwan: its promotion and future outlook) was published in the Kokka gakkai zasshi, 24:4 (April 1910), 517-40; "Huiripin gunto no togyo ichiran" (Overview of the sugar industry in the Philippines) in Kokka gakkai zasshi, 27:12 (December 1913),

1737-1750. These articles are reprinted in vol. 4 of the Zenshu.

15 Nitobe himself admitted at times that he had no original cast of mind and that his contribution to scholarship would not be profound. For glimpses of his self-evaluation, see "Nitobe komon no tobei sobetsukai (Farewell party to send-off our editor Nitobe to America) in JNN, 14:8 (August 1911), 52-53; also preface to The Japanese Nation, in Zenshū, XIII, 9.

16 Peattie, "Attitudes toward Colonization," pp. 86-96.

17 Nitobe, "Shokumin naru meiji ni tsukite" in Hōgaku kyōkai zasshi, 29:2 (February 1911), 171-181. This article is reprinted in Zenshu, IV, 346-53.

18 Peattie, "Attitudes toward Colonization," p. 87.

19 Peattie, "Attitudes toward Colonization," pp. 93-94; also see note 31.

20 See Chapter Three "Building Edingburgh," for an earlier treatment of this idea. Nitobe himself makes an explicit statement on biological laws guiding the development of societies, see his paper "Japanese Colonization" delivered at the Japan Society in New York and printed in Asian Review, 4th ser., 16 (January 1920), 113-21.

21 Nitobe, "Japanese Colonization," pp. 120-21; also quoted in Peattie, "Attitudes towards Colonization, p. 93.

22 Nitobe, "Japan as Colonizer," in Zenshū, XIII, 209.

23 Ibid, pp. 228-30.

24 Nitobe, "Japanese Colonization," p. 119. For the standard English language interpretation of the annexation, see Hilary Conroy, The Japanese Seizure of Korea, 1868-1910: A Study of Realism and Idealism in International Relations (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1960). Han-Kyo Kim, "Japanese Colonialism in Korea" gives a recent summary overview in Harry Wray and Hilary Conroy, ed., Japan Examined (Honolulu, University of Hawaii Press, 1983), pp. 222-228; For Nitobe's contemporary reaction to the annexation, see his article, "Waga kuni tochi saikin no sontoku" in Chuo Koron, (October 1910).

25 See his articles "A Decaying Nation" and "Primitive Life and Presiding Death in Korea," written for the Eibun shinshi, and reprinted in Zenshu, XII, 324-8; see also Tanaka, "Nitobe Inazō to Chōsen," pp. 94-7.

- 26 Nitobe, "Japanese Colonization," p. 118.
- 27 Ibid.
- 28 Zenshū, XIII, 209.
- 29 See his articles "Bunmei kokumin nanka no taisei," "Igaku no shinpō to shokumin hattatsu," "Nanyō no keizaiteki katchi" for illustrations of this idea. These articles are found in volume 4 of Zenshū.
- 30 Ōuchi Hyōe, "Kaisetsu," Zenshū, IV, 646.
- 31 Ibid; Morito Tatsuo, "Kyōikusha toshite no Nitobe sensei," in NHTS, pp. 331-2; Maeda Tamon, "Kiseichū toshite no kansō" in NITS, p.188.
- 32 Nasu Shiroshi, "Nitobe sensei no omoide" in NHTS, p. 366.
- 33 Satō, p. 284.
- 34 Yoshino quoted by Saitō Makoto, "Sōsōki america kenkyū" (p. 590) in Washinton taisei to Nichibei kankei, eds. Hosoya Chihiro and Saitō Makoto (Tokyo: Tokyo Daigaku Shuppan-kai, 1972).
- 35 See Chapter Three, pp. 64-6.
- 36 On this topic of Japanese spirituality from an anthropological viewpoint, see Thomas P. Rohlen, "Sponsorship of Cultural Continuity in Japan: A Company Training Program" in Journal of Asian and African Studies, 5:3, pp. 184-92.
- 37 Preface to Shūyō, reprinted in Zenshū, VII, 8.
- 38 Sasaki Nobutsuna, "Nitobe hakase no omoide no nisan" in NHTS, p. 168.
- 39 Takeda Kiyoko, "Kaisetsu" in Zenshū, VII, 694; see also her excellent essay, "Nitobe Inazō to heimindo no keisei" in Chūō kōron, 80:2 (Special Issue: Kindai Nihon o tsukutta hyakunin, 1965), pp. 408-14.
- 40 Kenneth Pyle, "The Technology of Japanese Nationalism: The Local Improvement Movement, 1900-1918" in The Journal of Asian Studies, 32:1 (November 1973), 51-65.
- 41 Takeda, "Kaisetsu," Zenshū, VII, 695.
- 42 On Hozumi influence on the reforms of this period, see Richard Minear, Japanese Tradition and Western Law: Emperor State and Law in the Thought of Hozumi Yatsuka (Cambridge:

Harvard University Press, 1970).

43 Government repression in this period has been well-described by Western historians of Japan. See Richard Mitchell, Censorship in Imperial Japan (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1983); Fred Notehelfer, Kotoku Shūsui: Portrait of a Japanese Radical (London: Cambridge University Press, 1971); Hyman Kublin, Asian Revolutionary: the Life of Katayama Sen (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1964); Thomas Stanley, Osugi Sakae (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1982).

44 Nitobe Inazō, "Shakai shugi dan" in Rōdō Sekai, No. 6, 9 (23 June 1902), 338-339.

45 Nitobe Inazō, "Shokumin no saishū mokuteki" in Hōgaku kyōkai zasshi, 31:12 (December 1913), 94-118; this article is reprinted in Zenshu, IV, 354-372.

46 For an analysis of the liberal's position, see Benjamin Ward, "What is Liberalism" in The Liberal Economic World View (New York: Basic Books Inc., 1979), pp. 7-11.

47 Nitobe Inazō, "Shinfujin" in Fujin ni susumete, reprinted in Zenshu, XI, 190. On the "Blue Stockings" see Nancy Andrew, "The Seitōsha: An Early Japanese Women's Organization, 1911-1916" in Albert Craig, ed., Papers on Japan (1972), pp. 45-69; also, K. Miyamoto, "Ito Noe and the Bluestockings," Japan Intelligencer (Autumn, 1975), pp. 190-204.

48 One should keep in mind that social criticism in Japan, particularly by established scholars, became fashionable only after the World War I with the spread of Marxist ideas. Scholars trained in classical economics, as was Nitobe, did not have the theoretical conception of class structure or economic exploitation. Kawakami Hajime, an economist at Kyoto University, in his Binbō monogatari (Tales of Poverty) which appeared in 1916, began to understand the roots of poverty clearly around this time. See Gail Bernstein, "The Road to Marxism" in Japanese Marxist: A Portrait of Kawakami Hajime, 1879-1946 (Cambridge: Harvard University Press), pp. 87-113; also, Henry D. Smith II, Japan's First Student Radicals (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1972), pp. 29-33.

49 See pages 130-1.

50 Rirekisho I, II, entry for 7 February 1911.

51 See p. 121 on Nitobe's friends and acquaintances of this period.

52 On Gotō's work, see Yukiko Hayase, "The Career of Gotō Shimpei: Japan's Statesman of Research, 1857-1929," Diss. University of Florida 1974.

53 Between 1913 and 1919, Nitobe served on two governmental commissions: (1) rinji hakurankai hyōgi in (Exhibition Fair councillor) [1914]; (2) takushoku chōsa-iinkai no iin (Colonization investigation committee member) [1917].

54 See his articles "Mitabi Itō kōshaku to katarishi tōji no tsukai" (Recollections of my three conversations with Prince Itō) in JNN (15 November 1909) and "Yo ga Nogi taishō to no kaiken yori uketaru fukaki inshō" (Deep impressions I receive from my recollections of General Nogi) in JNN (1 October 1912).

55 Article by Yoshiuye Shōryō in Yūben (1 January 1911), pp. 244-6.

56 See G. Sidney Phelps, "Introducing Dr. Nitobe" in Minnesota Alumni Weekly, 11:8 (13 November 1911), pp. 4-5.

57 Sasagawa Rinpū, "Meishi no mitaru meishi--Nitobe Inazō" in Shinkoron (1 February 1909), p. 6.

58 Noyori Hidenori, Seinen no teki. My thanks to Yuzo Ota for sending me a photocopy of this book.

59 Nitobe, "Demokurashi no kontei" in JNN, reprinted in Zenshū, IV, 504.

60 See KBKSS (pp. 390-6) for a list of Nitobe's publications in this period.

61 Shūyō is reprinted in vol. 7 of Zenshū; for sales of book, see the "Kaidai," p. 691; see also, Masuda Giichi, "Nitobe hakushi no omoide" in NHTS, p. 176.

62 Yo watari no michi is reprinted in vol. 8 of Zenshū; for circulation figures, see the "Kaidai," p. 593.

63 Jinsei zakkan is reprinted in vol. 10 of Zenshū. It has been republished in the Kodansha gakujutsu bunko series in 1983. See the forward by Satō Masahiro, which gives the background of the volume. See note 66 on Jikeiroku.

64 For details on this accident, see Matsumoto Kōzō, "Sensei kika no omoide" in NHTS, pp. 406-9.

65 Ichi nichī ichi gen is reprinted in vol. 8 of Zenshū; publication figures are given in the "Kaidai," p. 593.

66 Jikei is reprinted vol. 7 of Zenshū. Until its 15th printing in 1929, it was published in its original format. After 1929, it was condensed and given a new title, Jikeiroku. The Kodansha gakujutsu bunko edition, also with a foreward by Satō Masahiro, uses the latter title. Kodansha has also added a third Nitobe book, Seiyō no jijō to shisō, with a foreward by Hirakawa Sukehiro, into its gakujutsu bunko series.

67 Aoyama Nao, "Kindai Nihon joshi kyōiku to Nitobe Inazō" in NIKK, pp. 205-42.

68 Ibid, pp. 238-9.

69 See preface to Fujin ni susumete, reprinted in zenshū, XI, 7.

70 Publication figures for Fujin ni susumete is given in "kaidai," Zenshū, XI, 447.

71 Hitori no onna is reprinted in vol. 11 of Zenshū; for publication figures, see the "Kaidai," p. 447.

72 See Thomas Havens, Farm and Nation in Modern Japan (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1974) for a discussion of nōhonshūgi (pp.7-14).

73 Nitobe Inazō, Nōgyōhonron, reprinted in vol. 2 of Zenshū; see also, Ito Zen, "Nitobe hakase no keizai shisō" in Tokyo joshi daigaku, NIKK, pp. 255-257.

74 Haga Noboru, "Jikata no shisō" in Chihō shi no shisō (Tokyo: NHK Shuppan Kyōkai, 1972), p. 72; Ishiguro Tadaatsu, "Nitobe sensei to godokai" in NHTS, pp. 371-8.

75 Haga, p. 72.

76 Ibid, pp. 68-9. See also Ronald Morse, Kindaika e no chōsen: Yanagida Kunio no isan (Tokyo: Nippon Hoso Shuppan Kyōkai, 1977). For a summary of the recent interest in the pioneering ethological work of Yanagida, see Takayanagi Shun'ichi, "Yanagida Kunio" in Monumenta Nipponica, 29:3 (1974), 329-35.

77 Haga, p. 69. See Kinen I (p. 91) for a photograph of a dinner meeting of the Godokai at Nitobe's home.

78 Haga, p. 69.

79 Ishiguro, p. 372.

80 Nitobe Inazō, "Senji wagakuni no nidai kiken," in JNN (1 May 1917) and reprinted in Zenshū, IV, 481.

- 81 Ibid.
- 82 See Chapter Two on the Johns Hopkins University.
- 83 See the following two articles on Wilson by Nitobe: "Yo to dōsō kankei aru shindaitōryō uiruson shi" in JNN, 15:24 (15 November 1912), pp. 2-5; "Gakusei jidai no uiruson" in Chūō kōron, (March 1917), pp. 86-7.
- 84 John Morton Blum, Woodrow Wilson and the Politics of Morality (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1956), pp. 110-31.
- 85 See Mitani Taiichirō, Taishō demokurashī (Tokyo: Chūō kōron sha, 1974), pp. 7-42; also, Henry D. Smith II, "The Roots of the Modern Student Movement" in Japan's First Student Radicals, pp. 21-51.
- 86 "Demokurashī no konteiteki igi" (1 January 1919); "Demokurashī no yoso" (1 February 1919); "Jiyū kokumin no sokojikara" (15 February 1919); "Jiyū no shinzui" (1 March 1919); "Demokurashī no shūchō suru byodoron no honshi" (15 March 1919); "Heimindō" (1 May 1919). All six articles are reprinted in vol. 4 of Zenshū.
- 87 Zenshū, IV, 497-8.
- 88 Zenshū, IV, 509.
- 89 For the democratic ideas of Yoshino Sakuzō, see Mitani, pp. 155-212.
- 90 Zenshū, IV, 504.
- 91 Ibid, p. 504, 508, 515.
- 92 Ibid, p. 509.
- 93 Ibid.
- 94 "Demokurashī no konteiteki igi," in Zenshū, IV, 499-500.
- 95 Ibid, p. 505.
- 96 "Heimindō," in Zenshū, IV, 542.
- 97 See Saitō Makoto, "Sosōki America kenkyū" (p. 590) on Nitobe's constant stress on the need to understand America before passing judgment on her institutions and lifestyles.
- 98 Zenshū, IV, 540.

⁹⁹ See his comments on his impression of American industrial growth in the midwest in "yūbei zakkan" in Kokka gakkai zasshi, 27:2 (February 1913), 79-80.

¹⁰⁰ Nitobe Inazō, "Dai America to Rōma teikoku" in JNN (1 July 1912), pp. 8-10.

¹⁰¹ Nitobe Inazō "Beikokujin no tokuchō," quoted by Saitō Makoto, "Sōsoki America kenkyū," p. 582.

¹⁰² Saitō, p. 578.

¹⁰³ Ibid.

¹⁰⁴ Ibid.

¹⁰⁵ Reprinted in vol. 3 of Zenshū.

¹⁰⁶ American Studies in Japan Oral History Series, Takagi Yasaka sensei ni kiku 6:1 (Tokyo: Tokyo Daigaku America kenkyū shiryō sentā, 1979), p. 39. I am grateful to Professor Ōhara Yuko who sent me a copy of this volume.

¹⁰⁷ Ibid. Takagi has left many recollections on Nitobe, a few of which can be found in his five-volume collected works, Takagi Yasaka Chosakushū (Tokyo: Tokyo Daigaku Shuppan Kai, 1971).

¹⁰⁸ Tsurumi Yūsuke, Gotō Shinpei (Tokyo: Keisō Shobō, 1965), p. 3.

Chapter Seven

¹ The League of Nations Society in Canada, A Handbook on the League of Nations (Ottawa: The League of Nations Society in Canada, n.d.), p. 101.

² Denys P. Myers, Handbook of the League of Nations, p. 3. On the drafting of the Covenant, see Frank P. Walters, A History of the League of Nations, (1952; rpt. London: Oxford University Press, 1967), pp. 30-9; John Bassett, The League of Nations (New York, Longmans, Green and Co., 1928), pp. 1-4; Elmer Bendiner, A Time for Angels (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1975), pp. 78-103; George Slocombe, A Mirror to Geneva: Its Growth, Grandeur and Decay (1938; rpt. Freeport, New York: Books for Libraries Press, 1970), pp. 32-6.

³ On Japan's role in the deliberations in Paris, see Masatoshi Matsushita (New York: Columbia University Press, 1929), pp. 15-35; also Thomas Burkman, "Japan, the League of Nations, and the New World Order," Diss. University of

Michigan 1975, pp. 227-76.

⁴ For Japan's strategy at the Peace Conference and a background into the Shantung issue and the Western Pacific islands in a wider context of great power rivalry, see Richard Storry, Japan and the Decline of the West in Asia, 1894-1943 (London: MacMillan Press, Ltd., 1979), pp. 111-14. Published works and reference materials relating to the League of Nations and collective security abound. See George W. Baer, International Organizations, 1918-1945: A Guide to Research and Research Materials (Wilmington, Delaware: Scholarly Resources Inc., 1981) for an excellent bibliography of primary and secondary sources on all aspects of the League of Nations. I am indebted to Professor George Egerton for pointing out to me this guidebook, which proved invaluable in writing this chapter.

⁵ For an account of the publishing activities of the League in its heyday, see Secretariat of the League of Nations, Ten Years of World-Co-operation (London: Hazell, Watson and Viney, Ltd., 1930). Also Myers, Handbook. Though it is standard opinion today that "the League has failed" in its peace-keeping tasks, when one considers the range of activities that the League engaged in, many of which are forerunners of those that exist today, the difficulties of condemning the League in a blanket statement becomes immediately apparent. For an objective judgment on the League's work, see Gerhard Niemeyer, "The Balance-Sheet of the League Experiment" in International Organization, 6 (1952), 537-58.

⁶ For a detailed analysis of the weaknesses of the League, with a particular focus on the office of Secretary-General, see James Barros, Office Without Power: Secretary-General Sir Eric Drummond, 1919-1933 (New York: Oxford University Press, 1979); also his Betrayal from Within: Joseph Avenol, Secretary General of the League of Nations, 1933-1940 (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1969).

⁷ E.H. Carr, International Relations Between the Two World Wars (1937; rpt. London: MacMillan and Co., Ltd., 1965), pp. 98-130; Walters, p. 295.

⁸ The most detailed account of the League listed above (note 2) is Frank Walters, a former high official in the Secretariat; for an opposite and highly critical view see Elmer Bendiner, A Time For Angels.

⁹ For an quantitative analysis of the coverage of news of the League in the Tokyo Asahi, see Burkman, pp. 298-9.

¹⁰ Rirekisho I, entry for 4 March 1919; Tsurumi Yūsuke,

Gotō Shinpei (Tokyo: Keisō Shobō, 1965), IV, 3.

¹¹ See "Roosevelt of Far East Here," San Francisco Chronicle, 22 Mar. 1919, p. 17. A clipping of this article is reproduced in Kinen I, p. 147. Nitobe in this article is referred to as the "Burbank" of Japan.

¹² Details of the trip with Gotō are from Tsurumi, pp. 7-100.

¹³ Ibid, pp. 7-46. Gotō's party when they left Tokyo consisted of Nitobe, Kasama Akio, Tajima Michiji, Washio Shogorō and Goto's son, Ichizō, who enrolled at Columbia University in New York. Mary Nitobe apparently joined them on the West Coast. In Chicago, the party was joined by Kawakami Kaoru (Karl), a foreign correspondent for the Tokyo Nichi Nichi who accompanied the party to New York.

¹⁴ Ibid, pp. 50-66. Nitobe's anecdote about Robert Cecil is found in his Ijin gunzō, reprinted in Zenshū, V, 367-9.

¹⁵ Tsurumi, Gotō Shinpei, p. 72.

¹⁶ Satō, p. 123.

¹⁷ Nitobe's appointment is briefly mentioned in Barros, Office Without Power, p. 68.

¹⁸ Lewis Auchincloss, Letter to Eric Drummond, 21 June 1919, Edward M. House Papers, Sterling Memorial Library, Yale University, New Haven, Conn., and quoted in Barros, Office Without Power, p. 68.

¹⁹ Tsurumi, Gotō Shinpei, pp. 82-8.

²⁰ Ibid, p. 88. Tsurumi points out that one condition that Gotō put to Chinda was that Nitobe also be appointed to the House of Peers along with appointment to the League. Peerage came to Nitobe after his retirement from the League.

²¹ Nitobe Inazō, Letter to Anna Chalce, 12 August 1919, in FHLNP.

²² Konoe Fumimaro "Nitobe sensei" in NHTS, p. 173. For Konoe's work with Saionji at the Peace Conference, see Oka Yoshitake's excellent biography, Konoe Fumimaro: A Political Biography (Tokyo: Tokyo University Press, 1983).

²³ The other two major bodies were the Assembly and the Council. The powers of each are defined in the Covenant. See Myers, Handbook of the League of Nations, pp. 24-52, for a concise organizational summary of the League; see also Walters, pp 40-61.

24 During the planning stages of the League, some representatives wanted the position of Secretary-General to be politically eminent. Robert Cecil proposed the title "Chancellor," which suggests greater powers, but in subsequent debate, a less influential position was created. See Barros, Office Without Power, pp. 1-19.

25 Walters, pp. 76-7; see also, Frank G. Boudreau, "International Civil Service" in Pioneers In World Order, ed. Harriet Eager Davis (New York: Columbia University Press, 1944), pp. 76-86.

26 For the selection of the Secretariat's high-level personnel and the problems associated with it, see Barros, Office Without Power, pp. 60-8; The League of Nations Society in Canada, A Handbook on The League of Nations, pp. 120-21, gives a list of the ranking members of the Secretariat in 1924.

27 Boudreau, p. 80.

28 Slocombe, p. 70; Boudreau points out other factors which helped to make a successful Secretariat, see p. 81-3.

29 League of Nations Documents and Publications, "Minutes of the Directors Meetings." 27 April 1921. On microfilm from Research Publications, Inc., New Haven, Conn., reel 1 (Henceforth Directors Meeting Minutes).

30 Bendiner, p. 134. Both Fosdick and Monnet did not remain at their post for long; after America's rejection of the League, Fosdick resigned. Monnet departed in 1923, and his position was filled by Joseph Avenol. Italy, as a middle power, was represented on the Secretariat from January 1920 by Bernardo Attolico, who held the other Under Secretary-General's rank.

31 Frank Walters, "The Late Dr. Nitobe" in NHTS, pp. 432-3.

32 Sugimura Yōtarō, "Renmei jidai no sensei," p. 429.

33 Walters, "The Late Dr. Nitobe," p. 435.

34 Irene Stafford, "Dr. Nitobe," in NHTS, p. 461.

35 William Faunce, President of Brown who visited Nitobe in September 1922, commented about Nitobe's views on the postwar reconstruction work in a letter to his wife: "I have talked with him [Nitobe] again about Europe and get no light, save that the need is spiritual, not political." See William Faunce, Letter to Sadie Faunce, 23 August 1922, Faunce Papers, The John Hay Library, Brown University, Providence, Rhode Island (henceforth FPRU).

- 36 Myers, Handbook, p. 379.
- 37 Directors Meeting Minutes, 20 Aug. 1919.
- 38 Ibid, 7 July 1920.
- 39 The International Bureaux's budget allocation in 1925 amounted to 18,000 Swiss francs. See Confidential Circulars, "Memorandum by Financial Director," 13 May 1925. Appended to Directors Meeting Minutes, reel 2.
- 40 Directors Meeting Minutes, 3 March 1922; "International Organisations," Monthly Summary of the League of Nations, 2 (1922), 50 (hereafter cited as Monthly Summary).
- 41 Secretariat of the League of Nations, Ten Years of World Co-operation, p. 442.
- 42 Directors Meeting Minutes, 3 March 1922; Monthly Summary, 2, (1922), 50, 97.
- 43 For a summary of the work of the Committee for Intellectual Cooperation, see Secretariat of the League of Nations, Ten Years, pp. 313-29; Walters, History, pp. 191-4.
- 44 Directors Meeting Minutes, 31 Dec. 1920
- 45 Monthly Summary, 2, (1922), 96, 118.
- 46 Directors Meeting Minutes, 1 June 1922; 14 June 1922.
- 47 Ronald Steele, A Biography of Albert Einstein (New York: Penguin Books, 1975), p. 308; for a summary view of the Committee's accomplishments and failures, see Walters, p. 193.
- 48 For some of the difficulties facing the Committee in the initial years, see Secretariat of League of Nations, Ten Years, p. 314-17.
- 49 Ibid, pp. 318-29.
- 50 Directors Meeting Minutes, 21 December 1922; 8 May 1924; 18 March 1925; 8 April 1925. Harada joined Nitobe early in 1920 and remained a close deputy throughout the latter's stay in Geneva. On Harada's appointment, see Nitobe Inazō, Letter to Foreign Minister Uchida, 20 February 1919, Goto Shinpei Papers, Goto Shinpei Memorial Hall, Mizusawa City, Iwate Prefecture. Reprinted in Kinen II, p. 168.
- 51 Directors Meeting Minutes, 10 August 1921; 12 August 1925.

52 For Nitobe's relationship to the Quaker International Center, see Betram Pickard, "Inazo Nitobe" in NIKK, pp 332-4; for Nitobe's relationship with the International Women's League, see Mercedes Randall, Improper Bostonian: Emily Greene Balch (New York: Twayne Publishers, Inc., 1965), pp. 286.

53 John Morton Blum, Woodrow Wilson and the Politics of Morality (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1956), pp. 181-99.

54 Slocombe, pp. 78-95.

55 George W. Egerton, Great Britain and the Creation of the League of Nations: Strategy, Politics, and International Organization: 1914-1919. (Chapel Hill, N.C.: North Carolina University Press, 1978).

56 Slocombe, p. 74.

57 Slocombe, pp. 82-3.

58 Slocombe, pp. 5-6.

59 Slocombe, p. 70; Barros, Office Without Power, p. 25.

60 Bendiner points out (page 134) that Nitobe and Anzilotti "never worked as closely with Drummond as did Fosdick and Monnet in those early months." A reading of the Directors Minutes from 13 August 1919 onwards reveals, in contrast, that until his retirement, Nitobe was privy to all confidential information and reports, and made frequent suggestions on cultural and educational activities outside his responsibilities.

61 Ishii Kikujirō, "Nitobe Inazō hakase o omou" in NHTS, pp. 419-20.

62 Reprinted in Zenshū, XV, 371-400.

63 Directors Meeting Minutes, 1 October 1919, 2 June 1920, 2 April 1922, 28 March 1923, 5 April 1923, 16 May 1923, 31 October 1923, 5 June 1924, 20 June 1924, 8 October 1924, 22 October 1924, 18 March 1925, 8 April 1925, 20 May 1925.

64 For a discussion of the benefits to Japan of a League membership, see Matsushita, pp. 155-69.

65 See Burkman, "Japan, the League" p. 289.

66 For Japan's participation at the League on the issues of health and other related matters, see "Mission of Dr. Rajchman in the Far East," report to the Secretary-General, Confidential Circular #1, appended to Directors Meeting

Minutes, reel 2. See Matsushita (pp. 121-54) for an account of Japan's work on the various League commissions.

67 Directors Meeting Minutes, 5 June 1924, 20 June 1924.

68 Reported in "Mission of Dr. Rajchman."

69 Another barrier which Matsushita points out (p. 158) is the linguistic and cultural one.

70 Nitobe Kotoko, "Taidan: chichi Inazō o kataru" in Kinen I, p. 87.

71 The details mentioned here on Nitobe's trip to Japan come from a report dated 4 April 1925 entitled "The League of Nations Movement in Japan" which Nitobe submitted in to Secretary-General Eric Drummond. This unpublished report at the League of Nations Archives in Geneva (Box R1573). I am grateful to Professor Thomas Burkman for providing me with a copy of this precious document.

72 Nitobe Inazō, Letter to Nicholas Murray Butler, 25 May 1931, Butler Library, Columbia University, New York.

73 Katherine Willard Eddy, Letter to Passmore Elkinton, n.d., in FHLNP.

74 Nitobe, "League of Nations Movement." Appended to this report is a "Programme of Lectures" that include the date, the place, the character of the audience, and the estimated number of listeners.

75 Nitobe, "League of Nations Movement," p. 1; for a printed version of Nitobe's letter to Uchida, see Kinen I, p. 168. Japan's share of the League's budget, as a middle power, was 60 units in 1928, or \$291,000. This was equal to Italy's share, and next to Great Britain, France and Germany. See Matsushita, p. 157.

76 Nitobe, "League of Nations Movement," pp. 2-3.

77 Nitobe, "League of Nations Movement," pp. 3-4.

78 Nitobe, "League of Nations Movement," p. 4.

79 Nitobe, "League of Nations Movement," p. 5.

80 Nitobe, "League of Nations Movement," p. 6.

81 Nitobe, "League of Nations Movement," p. 6.

82 Nitobe, "League of Nations Movement," p. 6.

83 Directors Meeting Minutes, 18 March 1925, 8 April 1925; Burkman, "Nitobe, the League of Nations, and the Geneva Spirit," conference paper, Nitobe-Ōhira International Conference on Japanese Studies, UBC, Vancouver, Canada, 23-26 May 1984), p. 27. See note 50 of Burkman's paper for a good account of the relationship between the Japan League of Nations Association and the League's Tokyo information office.

84 For an excellent description of Geneva, see Slocombe's Chapter Four, "The City of Calvin," pp. 37-45.

85 Belgium had fought to have the League established at Brussels, but Wilson, whose decision apparently carried the most weight, after originally voting against Geneva, changed his mind to have the headquarters there. See Bendener, p. 121, 136; also Slocombe, p. 37.

86 Slocombe, p. 63.

87 Confidential Circulars, "Memorandum by Financial Director," 13 May 1925. Appended to Directors Meeting Minutes, reel 2.

88 Ayuzawa Iwao, "Nitobe sensei no kokusai teki kōken" in NIKK, pp. 329-30.

89 Ayuzawa Fukuko, "Arigataki Nitobe sensei" in NHTS, pp. 466-470.

90 Nitobe Inazō, Letter to William Faunce, 15 May 1922, in FPBU.

91 William Faunce, Letter to Sadie Faunce, 23 August 1922, in FPBU.

92 William Faunce, Letter to Sadie Faunce, 25 August 1922, in FPBU.

93 William Faunce, Letter to Sadie Faunce, 23 August 1922, in FPBU.

94 Shotwell, The Autobiography of James Shotwell (New York: Bobbs and Merrill, 1960), pp. 133, 282.

95 Sugimura, p.430.

96 Nitobe Inazō, Letter to Kawano Kisa, 7 January 1920, reprinted in Kinen II, p. 86. In this letter to his sister, Nitobe describes his physical appearance and his failing eyesight.

97 Blanche Weber Shaffer, Letter to Passmore Elkinton, 18

January 1942, in FHLNP.

⁹⁸ F.L. Whelen, Letter to Passmore Elkinton, 5 January 1940, in FHLNP.

⁹⁹ Harada Ken, "Junēbu nite" in NHTS, p. 457.

¹⁰⁰ Kamiya Mieko, Henreki, in Chosakushū, 9 (Tokyo: Misuzu Shobō, 1980), p. 19.

¹⁰¹ Nitobe Kotoko, "Taidan," in Kinen I, p. 93; also Yasutomi Shōzō, "Nitobe sensei no omoide" in NHTS, p. 447. Yasutomi sees the Nitobe's use of alcohol as "a spiritual sacrifice."

¹⁰² Kamiya, Henreki, pp. 21-2.

¹⁰³ Directors Meeting Minutes, 28 July 1923.

¹⁰⁴ Kawanishi Tazuko, "Omoide" in NHTS, p. 463.

Chapter Eight

¹ Jōdai Tano, "Nitobe sensei" in NHTS, p. 402.

² Japanese Traits and Foreign Influences was published by Kegan, Paul, Trench, Trubner Publishers (1927), and reprinted in Zenshū, XIV, pp. 437-633. This book consists of nine independent essays and lectures which Nitobe did in Europe between 1921 and 1926. See his preface for the circumstances underlying each piece; for his arrival in Kobe, see Bannen, p. 12.

³ Rirekisho entry for 5 February, 1927; The Third Class Order of the Sacred Treasure decoration was not a particularly outstanding honor. By 1929, some 5363 had been conferred. See "Decorations" in The Japan Yearbook (1930), p. 57.

⁴ "Nenpu," NIKK, entry for 27 Jun. 1925, p. 549. The Imperial Academy corresponded to the Royal Society of Great Britain. The Academy consisted of two sections: (1) members in Literature and Social Science, and (2) those in pure or applied Science. Nitobe belonged to the former. Its members, not exceeding one hundred, were selected from senior scholars and appointed by the Emperor. See "Societies and Councils" in The Japan Yearbook (1930), p. 173.

⁵ "Nenpu," NIKK, entry for 7 Dec. 1926, p. 549.

⁶ "The House of Peers" in The Japan Year Book (1930), p. 79.

- 7 Kinen I, p. 90.
- 8 Article from the Japan Times (no date) in FHLNP.
- 9 Bannen, p. 86.
- 10 Nitobe's association with the Agricultural Cooperative Movement, particularly with the Iwate branch office, is covered in great detail in Bannen. Nitobe's primary contribution to the organization as depicted here seems to be that of a "spiritual leader" who boosts morale rather than as an administrator. See Bannen, esp. pp. 76-116.
- 11 Bannen, p. 100.
- 12 Tōzai aifurete is reprinted in vol. 1 of Zenshū.
- 13 Zenshū, XIV, pp. 7-8.
- 14 Reprinted in Zenshū, XIV, pp. 1-425.
- 15 Matsumoto Shigeharu, "Kaisetsu," Zenshū, VI, p. 658.
- 16 Reprinted in Zenshū, VI, pp. 179-465.
- 17 Masuda Giichi, in Preface to Seiyō no jijō to shisō; this volume is reprinted in Zenshū, VI, pp. 467-646.
- 18 Masuda, Zenshū, VI, p. 470; See list of articles published by Nitobe in KBKSS, pp. There are more articles that are not listed here.
- 19 Satō Masahiro, "Nitobe as a Journalist" Conference Paper delivered at the Nitobe-Ohira International Conference on Japanese Studies, held at UBC, 23-26 May 1984, p. 1. (henceforth "Journalist")
- 20 Satō, "Journalist," p. 17.
- 21 The Editorial Jottings have been collected and printed in two volumes by Hokuseido in 1938. Thirty-nine jottings were excluded for various reasons (discussed by Satō, "Journalist," pp. 20-25); this two-volume Hokuseido edition is reprinted in volume 16 of the Zenshū. For a description of Nitobe's editorials and longer articles, see Satō, "Journalist," pp. 7-8.
- 22 Ijin Gunzō was printed first in Japanese and later translated into English and published in the Osaka Mainichi under the heading "Great Men I Have Met." (See Satō, "Journalist," p. 8.) The 1931 edition published by the

Jitsugyō no Nihon sha is reprinted in Zenshū, 5, pp. 325-625.

23 Ibid.

24 See Chapter Two (p. 41) on Nitobe's entry into the group.

25 Gurney Binford, As I Remember It: 43 Years in Japan (n.p.: printed privately, 1950), pp. 130-140; Gilbert Bowles, "The Foundation of Dr. Nitobe's Character," 5 pp. typewritten copy in Nitobe Papers.

26 Letter received from Gordon Bowles, 14 May 1984.

27 Edith Sharpeless, Quakerism in Japan (Haverford, Pa.: n.p., 1944), p. 37.

28 Satō, p. 138.

29 Ibid, p. 150.

30 Ibid, p. 142-143.

31 Ibid, pp. 141; for a detailed description of the incident see Mary's letter of 19 January to the Elkintons, reprinted in NIKK, p. 511-14.

32 Takagi Yasaka, "Nitobe sensei to Taiheiyō mondai chōsa kai" in NHTS, pp. 483-92. The full details of the Japan Council's activities cannot be known since its files were destroyed during the war. (Conversation with Ōkubo Genji, 26 July 1984.)

33 The essays that he reprinted from Thoughts and Essays appeared in the Osaka English Mainichi from 10 July to 11 September 1929, and issued under three topical headings: (a) Drift and Mastery; (b) Life and Opinion; and (3) Faith and Truth. See Satō, "Journalist," p. 7.

34 In spite of the pioneering role of the IPR in initiating and supporting a whole range of academic studies dealing with the Pacific and Asia, and whose publications and other title listings number more than 1200, surprisingly little has been published on the organization itself. A good recent summary of the IPR is Paul Hooper, Elusive Destiny (Honolulu, University of Hawaii Press, 1980), pp. 105-136. Another study of the organization which focus on the post-war period is John N. Thomas, The Institute of Pacific Relations: Asian Scholars and American Politics (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1974). Also, Katagiri Nobuo, "Taiheiyō mondai chōsa kai no kiseki" in Gunma kenritsu joshi daigaku kiyō, no. 3, (Mar., 1983), p. 92-110.

35 Hooper, pp. 107-25.

36 Handbook of the Institute of Pacific Relations," in Bruno Lasker, ed., Problems of the Pacific, 1931: Proceedings of the Fourth Conference of the Institute of Pacific Relations, Hangchow and Shanghai China, October 21-November 2 (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1932), p. 522. (henceforth, Handbook).

37 Handbook, pp. 524-25.

38 The Chairmen of the various National Councils formed the controlling body of the IPR; the Central Secretariat acted as the administrative link and clearing house for the various groups; and the International Research Committee was made up of representatives from each National Council which met regularly to decide on topics to study. See Handbook, p. 525, 531.

39 Both Proceedings of both Honolulu Conferences have been published. See Institute of Pacific Relations: Honolulu Session, June 30-July 15, 1925 (Honolulu, 1925); and J.B. Condliffe, ed., Problems of the Pacific: Proceedings of the Second Conference of the Institute of Pacific Relations, Honolulu, Hawaii, July 15 to 29, 1927 (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1928).

40 Institute of Pacific Relations, The Third Biennial Conference of the Institute of Pacific Relations, Kyoto Japan (pamphlet prepared for the conference, Second Announcement, Jul. 1929), p. 18. The members of the Conference Preparation Committee as well as the officials of the various National Councils are also listed here; see also J.B. Condliffe, ed., Problems of the Pacific: Proceedings of the Third Conference of the Institute of Pacific Relations, Nara and Kyoto, Japan, October 23 to November 9, 1929 (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1930), pp. 626-27 [henceforth Kyoto proceedings].

41 Pacific Council Minutes, Nara, Japan, 23 Oct. 1929. (unpublished Minutes in private possession of William Holland).

42 Kyoto proceedings, pp. viii-ix. Appendix I of this volume lists the conference members, observers, and staff.

43 James Shotwell, The Autobiography of James Shotwell (New York: Bobbs-Merrill, 1962), p. 248.

44 Zenshū, XV, p. 359. Nitobe's opening speech at Kyoto was printed as "Japan's Preparedness for International Co-operation" in Pacific Affairs, 2.1: (January, 1930).

45 Transcription of a two-hour taped interview with William Holland conducted by Professor John F. Howes, Vancouver, B.C., July 1980. (in private possession of William Holland).

46 Ibid.

47 James Shotwell, Autobiography, p. 250.

48 Hsu Shuhsi, "The Manchurian Question"; Chu Hsiao, "Manchuria: A Statistical Survey of its Resources, Trade, Railways and Immigration." See Kyoto proceedings, pp. 466-523, 380-422.

49 Rōyama Masamichi, "Japan's Position in Manchuria"; Matsuoka Yōsuke, "An Address on Manchuria". See Kyoto proceedings, pp. 524-93, 594-607.

50 C. Walter Young, "Chinese Colonization and the Development of Northern Manchuria" (in Kyoto proceedings, pp. 423-65); Sir Harold Parlett, A Brief Account of Diplomatic Events in Manchuria (London: Oxford University Press, 1929).

51 Bannen, p. 55.

52 Bannen, p. 60.

53 Kyoto proceedings, p. 634. This paper is not included in the Zenshū.

54 Inazo Nitobe et al., Western Influences In Modern Japan (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1931).

55 Shotwell, Autobiography, p. 250.

56 See Katagiri Nobuo, "Taiheiyō mondai chōsa kai (IPR) to Manshū mondai" in Hōgaku kenkyū, 52:9, 49-81.

57 See Bruno Lakser, ed., Problems of the Pacific, 1931: Proceedings of the Fourth Conference of the Institute of Pacific Relations, Hangchow and Shanghai China, October 21-November 2 (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1932), p. v. [henceforth Shanghai proceedings].

58 Many studies are available on various facets of the Manchurian Incident. For a standard monograph on the subject from the standpoint of the Japanese army, see Ogata Sadako, Defiance in Manchuria: the Making of Japanese Foreign Policy, 1931-1932 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1964). Other works include Yoshihashi Takehiko, Conspiracy at Mukden (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1963); Sara Smith, The Manchurian Crisis (New York: Columbia University Press, 1946).

59 Matsumoto, Shanghai jidai, p. 44.

60 "Place and form of conference" in Pacific Council Minutes, Monday, 12 Oct. 1931 -- 9:30-11:55 p.m.; Shanghai proceedings, p. v; see also Matsumoto Shigeharu, Shanghai jidai, vol. 1 (Chuo shinsho, 1974), pp. 44-45.

61 Those accompanying Nitobe included Maeda Tamon, Nasu Hiroshi, Saitō Sōichi, Takayanagi Kenzō, and Tsurumi Yusuke. See Matsumoto, p. 45; also, Bannen, p. 116. The latter mentions that Nitobe needed a nurse to help him onto the ship.

62 Pacific Council Minutes, 15 Oct., 16 Oct. -- 10:30-11:00 a.m., 16 Oct. -- 2:00-3:30 p.m.

63 Matsumoto, Shanghai jidai, p. 52. The Pacific Council held one session on 26 Oct. at Hangchow; see "The Conference Program" in Shanghai proceedings, p. 513.

64 Matsumoto, p. 47.

65 See Shanghai proceedings for Takayanagi's address (pp. 230-6); Hsu Shuhsi's rebuttal to the above, as well as a summary of the round table discussions are also printed in the same volume (pp. 236-42).

66 Zenshū, XVI, p. 278.

67 See Bannen, pp. 126-7.

68 Hugh Keenleyside, Hammer Out the Golden Day (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Ltd., 1981), p. 406.

69 Other statements made by Keenleyside about Nitobe in his book are exaggerated or false. An interview with Mr. Keenleyside at his home in Victoria B.C. on 28 March 1984 has revealed that his information is based on second-hand sources or on hearsay.

70 Mary Nitobe, Letter to Passmore and Anna Elkinton, 22 Oct. 1931, FHLNP and reprinted in NIKK, p. 509-11.

71 Zenshū, XVI, p. 269-70.

72 Zenshū, XVI, p. 272-3.

73 Bannen, p. 128.

74 Zenshū, XVI, p. 299.

75 Zenshū, XVI, p. 269.

76 Bannen, p. 141. In this section, I rely almost wholly

on the research done by Uchikawa Eiichirō, chief editorial writer for the Iwate Nippō. His book, compiled from a series of newspaper articles written between 1981 and 1983, is based on painstaking archival work, and is the most trustworthy study on Nitobe's last years. Translations used in my text are by Michael Newton, who has translated this book into English. [page citations are to the Japanese original]

77 Bannen, p. 149.

78 Uchikawa's research shows that the Kainan shinbun was not merely a patriotic newspaper, but also a rival of the local branch of the Osaka Mainichi with which Nitobe had affiliations. The attacks on him, therefore, may also have had strategic business motives. (see pp. 147-9, 152-4)

79 Bannen, p. 141-2.

80 Bannen, p. 142.

81 Bannen, p. 143.

82 Bannen, p. 144.

83 Zenshū, 16, pp. 312-3.

84 Bannen, pp. 146-7.

85 Bannen, p. 150.

86 Bannen, p. 151.

87 Bannen, pp. 154-6.

88 Bannen, p. 156.

89 Bannen, pp. 158-9.

90 Bannen, p. 159.

91 Bannen, p. 160.

92 Bannen, p. 163.

93 Bannen, p. 161.

94 Bannen, p. 162.

95 For a description of the Ketsumeidan, see Richard Storry, The Double Patriots (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1957), pp. 100-7.

96 Ibid. Japanese historians refer to the assassinations

of Inoue and Dan as the "Ketsumeidan jiken" and the Inukai murder as the "Go ju-ichi jiken." But Storry sees them as two stages of the same terrorist plot. See Storry, Double Patriots, p. 101.

97 Bannen, p. 159; see also Nitobe Kotoko, Kinen I, pp. 95-6.

98 Bannen, p. 151.

99 Nitobe Inazō, Letter to Nicolas M. Butler, 6 July 1931, in the Central Administration files, Columbia University, New York City.

100 Henry K. Norton, "Sino-Japanese Relations in Eastern Asia" in Institute of Politics: Twelfth Session (Williamstown, Mass., 1932), p. 136. This volume contains the Proceedings of the Institute that was held at Williams College, on 28 July-25 August 1932 [henceforth Institute of Politics].

101 Ibid, p. 161.

102 James Hollingsworth, "William R. Castle and Japanese-American Relations, 1929-1933," Diss. Texas Christian University 1971, pp. 150-76

103 Talk of replacing Ambassador Debuchi in Washington because "he failed to dispel American misunderstandings about Shanghai" circulated in Tokyo just before Nitobe arrived in the United States. See 4 May 1932 New York Times, p. 3.

104 For a detailed study of anti-Japanese articles in American Christian press, see Alden Pearson, "The American Christian Press and the Sino-Japanese Crisis of 1931-1933: An Aspect of Public Response to the Breakdown of World Peace," Diss. Duke University 1968.

105 Documents that directly link Nitobe to the Foreign Ministry are not available. Two recent researchers, Uchikawa Eiichiro and Sasaki Takamura have searched the Foreign Ministry Archives for related materials to no avail. But, as will be shown in this section, circumstantial evidence quite clearly show that Nitobe was indeed working on their behalf.

106 Bannen, pp. 163-4.

107 Ibid.

108 Rachel Read, Letter to Passmore Elkinton, 29 March 1932, in FHLNP.

109 "Cheering Advice to a Traveller" (May 1, 1932) in

Zenshū, XVI, p. 350.

110 I am grateful to Professor Satō Masahiro for giving me photocopies of back-issues of the Osaka Mainichi that contain the original articles Nitobe contributed to the paper.

111 Matsumoto, Shanghai jidai, vol. 2, p. 64; see also Jō dai Tano, "Nitobe sensei" in NHTS, p. 405. Although Jōdai is referring to a luncheon that Nitobe had with the Foreign Minister in 1933, before his departure for Canada, this is one more example of Nitobe's intricate ties with the ministry.

112 "Dr. Nitobe Arrives; pleads for Japan," New York Times, 7 May 1932, p. 4.

113 A week before Nitobe arrived in New York, a letter from the Mayor of Tokyo was printed in the New York Times (1 May 1932) outlining Japan's case in East Asia. Although no study of this kind has yet been attempted, evidence seem to indicate that Nitobe's efforts were part of a wider, more encompassing plan, perhaps under the auspices of the Foreign Ministry, to swing American public opinion to Japan's favor.

114 New York Times, 7 May 1932.

115 Raymond Buell, "An Open Letter to Dr. Inazo Nitobe," New Republic, 71:912 (25 May 1932), 42.

116 "Editorial," The Christian Century, 49:1 (1 June 1931), p. 670-1.

117 "A Curious Letter" in his column What I am Learning in America, Osaka Mainichi, 19 June 1932. This article has been deleted from vol. 16 of the Zenshu. See Sato, "Journalist," pp. 20-25 for reasons behind this omission.

118 "A Christian" in his column What I am Learning in America, Osaka Mainichi, 9 July 1932. This article is also deleted from vol. 16 of Zenshu.

119 Manuscript of address "Japan's Hopes and Fears" is in FHLNP.

120 Telegram from Counsul Horiuchi to Foreign Minister Uchida, quoted in part in Sasaki Takamura Amerika no Nitobe Inazo (Morioka: Kumaya isatsu shuppan-bu, 1985), pp. 169-70 [hereafter Sasaki]. This valuable book, full of rich material, was published after I had written all of my chapters; it illuminates many obscure points of detail in Nitobe's travels in the United States. I will incorporate some of his data into my notes.

121 Nitobe's meeting with the United States' President is described by himself in "Japan's Savant Meets President Hoover" in Osaka Mainichi, 4 June 1932.

122 Details of Nitobe's visit to Philadelphia are from an interview with David C. Elkinton, 29 April 1983; for Nitobe's Honorary Doctorate from Haverford, see "Announce Hon. Degrees" in The News, (11 June 1932), Haverford College, p. 1; on Nitobe's speech before Quakers, see Howard W. Elkinton, Inazo Nitobe in NHTS, pp. 512-3.

123 David Elkinton, interview.

124 David Elkinton, interview; "Institute of Politics Opens Today; Japanese Statesman Initial Speaker," North Adams Transcript, 28 July 1932). Many newspaper clippings of this session of the Institute of Politics are on deposit in the Williamsiana Collection, Williams College. I express my thanks to David Elkinton for making copies available to me. The "young newspaper man" probably is Ishikawa Kin'ichi, a newspaper man with the Tokyo Nichi Nichi who travelled with the Nitobes to America. See Sasaki, p. 164.

125 Institute of Politics, p. 1.

126 Reprinted in Zenshū, XV, pp. 305-321.

127 Ibid, p 308.

128 Norton, "Sino-Japanese Relations," pp. 129-70.

129 "Japan and the Peace Pact," reprinted in Zenshū, XV, pp. 240-52.

130 Ibid, p. 245.

131 Ibid, pp. 246-52.

132 Interview Nitobe by with the Tairiku Nippō, Vancouver, Canada, 18 January 1932.

133 "The Missionary Mind" in column What I am Learning in America, Osaka Mainichi, 8 July 1932. This article, too, has been deleted from the Zenshū.

134 Ibid.

135 The offer to lecture at the university came in mid-July; Nitobe, after checking with the Osaka Mainichi to see if he could extend his stay in North America, wired the Vice-President of Academic Affairs, Monroe Deutsch, accepting the offer on 27 July. The documents concerning his appointment are in the President's Files, University Archives, Bancroft

Library, University of California, Berkeley.

136 The lectures are reprinted in volume 15 of Zenshū; for Nitobe's views on Manchuria, see pp. 221-33; for his views on the League, pp. 234-52. These two lectures are the most controversial ones of the series.

137 Institute of World Affairs, Proceedings of the Tenth Session, Mission Inn, Riverside, California, December 11 to 16, 1932 (Los Angeles: University of Southern California, 1933), p. vii.

138 Ibid, p. xii.

139 Ibid, "Japan's Place in the Family of Nations," p. 112.

140 Ibid.

141 Tairiku Nippō, 19, 20, 21 January 1933.

142 Letter received from Paul Christopher, University Archivist, University of Southern California, 19 March 1985; "A Japanese Tribute to Abraham Lincoln" is in Zenshū, XV, pp. 322-31.

143 "Dr. Nitobe Back Here After Year's Absence" in Osaka Mainichi, 25 March 1933.

144 Ibid; "Interview with Dr. Nitobe," Tairiku Nippō, 19 January 1932, p. 3.

145 Satō, p.161.

146 See p. 204 for Nitobe's first meeting with the Emperor. Nitobe met the Emperor for a second time in 1931 when he lectured to the Emperor on his experiences at the League and the men he had met there.

147 Bannen, pp.201-2; Pao-chin Chu, V. K. Wellington Koo: A Case Study of China's Diplomat and Diplomacy of Nationalism, 1912-1966 (Hong Kong: The Chinese University Press, 1981), p. 140.

148 Bannen, p. 201.

149 "How Geneva Erred," Osaka Mainichi, 12-13 May 1933.

150 Ibid.

151 Ibid.

152 Saeki, "Yonjūgonenkan kawaranu yūjō," (p. 42) mentions that Nitobe did so much because Mary was not there to temper

his work habits.

153 Bannen, pp. 203-210.

154 Bannen, p. 210.

155 Bannen, p. 224. Uchikawa is in error here. He seems to think that Nitobe "made up" the story about going to Manchuria in an interview with the Tairiku Nippo. Uchikawa's reasoning for this is that Nitobe did not have "enough time" to make the trip to the continent and back. (Conversation with Uchikawa Eiichirō, 21 May 1985).

156 On Nitobe's trip to Manchuria, see his Editorial Jottings for 7,8 15 July 1933 in Zenshū, XVI, 489-90, 492.

157 Bannen, pp. 216-221; also Miwa, "Crossroads," pp. 422-423.

158 Bannen, p. 220.

159 Bannen, p. 217.

160 Miwa, "Crossroads," p. 423.

161 Editorial Jottings, 9 September 1933 in Zenshū, XVI, 521-2. Nitobe introduces his alter ego, the Okina, into his daily Osaka Mainichi column first on 7 February 1931 (Zenshū, XVI, 162); thence regularly for the next two year-and-a-half years, the Okina makes his appearance. See Editorial Jotting of 29 December 1931 (Zenshū, XVI, 291) for an insightful description of this alter ego to whom Nitobe "visits" for advice and counsel.

162 Editorial Jottings, 15 July 1933 [emphasis mine], in Zenshū, XVI, p. 492.

163 "A Mother's Humility and Pride" in Zenshū, XVI, 452.

164 Ibid; Miwa, "Crossroads," p. 423.

165 Saeki, "Yonjūgonen," p. 41.

166 Jōdai, "Nitobe sensei," p. 403.

167 "Taiheiyō kaigi ni oite Nihon wa shomen kara osen," Tairiku Nippo, 14 August 1933, p. 3.

168 Ibid.

169 Takagi, "Nitobe sensei to Taiheiyō mondai chōsa kai" in NHTS, p. 490.

170 See Appendix III (p. 464) in Problems of the Pacific

1933: Proceedings of the Fifth Conference, Institute of Pacific Relations, Banff, Canada, 14-26 August 1933 (London: Oxford University Press, 1934). [henceforth Problems of the Pacific-1933].

171 "Address at Banff Conference," reprinted in Zenshū, XV, p. 303.

172 Tairiku Nippō, 15 August 1933; quoted in Bannen, p. 223.

173 Problems of the Pacific-1933, p. v.

174 Problems of the Pacific-1933, p. 1

175 Ibid.

176 Takagi, "Nitobe sensei to Taiheiyō mondai chōsa kai," p. 490. Nitobe, however, carried out his all of his duties and, according to a rival, Count Soejima, attained a "perfect mark" at Banff; see his "Ko Nitobe Inazō hakushi o shinobite" in NHTS, p. 506.

177 See frontispiece to Zenshū, XVI.

178 Interview with Henry F. Angus, 2 May 1984, Vancouver, Canada.

179 Bannen, p. 222.

180 Mary Duguid, Letter to Passmore Elkinton, 18 October 1933, in FHLNP.

181 Bannen, p. 230.

182 Tairiku Nippō, 22 October 1933; also Bannen, p. 232.

183 Bannen, p. 232.

184 "Nitobe hakushi tsui ni seikyo," Tairiku Nippō, 16 October 1933.

185 Ibid.

186 Bannen, p. 235.

187 "Dr. Nitobe's Funeral Will Be Held Here," Daily Province, 17 October 1933. Nitobe's obituary was carried by such prominent newspapers across North America as the New York Times, New York Herald Tribune, and the Philadelphia Inquirer. The local Victoria Daily Times carried an editorial entitled "A Great Japanese" on 16 October.

188 "Santa Lucia Sails Today," Victoria Daily Times, 23 October 1933; "Nitobe Eulogized as Wise Prophet," Japanese-American Courier (Seattle, Washington), 4 November 1933; "Mrs. Nitobe Finishes Long Journey Home," Osaka Mainichi, 16 November 1933.

189 Nitobe Yoshio and Mary Duguid, Letter to the Elkinton Family, 19 November 1933, in FHLNP; also reprinted in NIKK, pp. 503-9. This letter contains detailed information on Nitobe's funeral.

Conclusion

¹ See page 131 for a list of his more illustrious students.

² Miwa, "Crossroads," p. 443.

³ On January 28, 1984, at the suggestion of Professor Satō Masahiro, a "Morioka Nitobe Kai" was established to continue, among citizens at large, the study of Nitobe's life and influence.

⁴ Personal interview with Maeda Yōichi, Managing Director, International House of Japan, 29 June 1983.

⁵ Telephone interview with Tanabe Sadayoshi, Tokyo Japan, 8 July 1983. For information on the Nitobe Fellowship, see "Nitobe Fellowships for Japanese Social Scientists" (June 1978); "List of Nitobe Fellows, 1976-1983." Both of these are in the administrative files of the International House of Japan. I thank Kato Mikio for copies.

⁶ Speech given at the Nitobe Memorial Garden's Twenty-fifth anniversary celebration, 19 May 1985.

⁷ Ibid.

⁸ Since 1981, a "Nitobe boom" has been generated. Morioka, his home town, honoring themselves by honoring him, has taken the lead in these activities. A committee was formed to commemorate the 50th year of Nitobe's death and a huge celebration was held in the city on 16 October 1984. Hundreds of items relating to Nitobe were put on display. A banquet, entitled "Nitobe Inazo sensei o kataru yube" (A night to talk about our teacher Nitobe) with many speeches ensued. Spinoffs from renewed interest in Nitobe have crossed the Pacific to British Columbia. In addition to the ceremony held at the Nitobe Memorial Garden on 19 May, on 22 May, the Morioka delegation travelled to Victoria City, to bind a sister-city relation with Morioka. All these activities, of course, lend

itself better to a journalistic, rather than academic, treatment. But these two spheres should not be separated, if we wish to understand Nitobe's legacy.

⁹ Miwa, "Crossroads," p. 423.

¹⁰ Iriye, apparently, has not studied Nitobe's life very carefully. He mistakenly thinks that Nitobe studied in the United States in the 1890s. See his "1922-1931" in American-East Asian Relations: A Survey, ed. Ernest May and James Thompson (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1972), p. 239.

¹¹ Mainichi shinbun, 27 August 1981.

¹² For an illuminating discussion of ahistoricity and other pitfalls that beset historians, see Jacques Barzun and Henry Graff, The Modern Researcher, 3rd ed. (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, Inc., 1977), pp. 125-46; also, E.H. Carr, What is History (New York: Vintage Books, 1961), p. 28.

¹³ See Matsukuma Toshiko, whose biography of Nitobe is probably best known, as an example of the scanty treatment of Nitobe's final years. She devotes one page to the Matsuyama Incident.

¹⁴ "Tenkō" as used by Japanese intellectual historians, to characterize "ideological transformation in the 1930s, is a tainted word that connotes "apostasy or 'moral backsliding'." See William Wray, "Asō Hisashi and the Search for Renovation in the 1930s" in Albert Craig, ed., Papers on Japan (Cambridge, Mass.: East Asian Research Center, Harvard University, 1970), (p. 56) for a brief background discussion of the term.

¹⁵ See especially pp. 249-52.

¹⁶ For a cogent view of the reigning Japanese opinion vis-a-vis Manchuria in the early 1930s, see H.B. Benninghoff, "Manchuria: The Japanese Point of View" in Institute of World Affairs: Proceedings of the Ninth (Columbia Basin) Session, Portland, Oregon 11-15 July 1932 (Eugene, Ore.: University of Oregon Press, 1935), pp. 8-10.

¹⁷ Keenleyside, Hammer out the Golden Day, p. 406. This book has been translated into Japanese: Tokyo no sora ni kanada no hata o, trans. Iwasaki Tsutomu (Tokyo: Simul Press, 1984). Keenleyside's remarks about Nitobe are found on pages 271-2.

¹⁸ Two examples are Gordon M. Berger, Parties Out of Power in Japan: 1931-1941 (Princeton: Princeton University Press,

1977) and Mark R. Peattie, Ishiwara Kanji and Japan's Confrontation with the West (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1975).

¹⁹ For a trenchant criticism of the war crimes trial, see Richard Minear, Victor's Justice: the Tokyo War Crimes Trial (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1971).

²⁰ Tokyo joshi daigaku hikaku bunka kenkyūsho, "Fukuzawa Yukichi to Nitobe Inazo" in Hikaku bunka (October 1984), pp. 7-8.

²¹ See pp.151-9.

²² Marius Jansen, "Japanese Imperialism: Late Meiji Perspectives" in Ramon Myers and Mark Peattie, eds., The Japanese Colonial Empire (Princeton: Princeton University Press), p. 75.

²³ See pp. 157, 223; also, Pacific Council Minutes, 4 November 1929, p. 3. The Greene-Nitobe proposal was an attempt to revise Article III, section 2 of the IPR Constitution to "confer the status of a fully autonomous group upon distinct racial groups existing within the territory of a sovereign power...." (Pacific Council Minutes, 25 October 1929).

²⁴ Discussion with Edgar Wickberg, UBC, Winter-semester, 1983.

²⁵ Articles 10, 11, and 12 of the Covenant are especially pertinent to discussion of Japan in Manchuria. Article 10 called for the respect and preservation "against external aggression the territorial integrity and existing political independence of all Members of the League." The Pact of Paris or Briand-Kellogg Pact (1928) called for the renunciation of war "as an instrument of national policy in their relations with one another." The Nine Power Treaty (1922) bound its signatories "to respect the sovereignty, the independence, and the territorial and the administrative integrity of China."

²⁶ For a discussion of liberalism, see Benjamin Ward, "What is liberalism" in The Liberal Point of View (New York: Basic Books, Inc., 1979), pp. 7-11.

²⁷ Nitobe's Editorial Jotting of 29 March 1933, "Liberalism in a Democracy" reflects his view of the Liberal's difficulties "in these days of violent extremes." This is in Zenshu, XVI, 451.

²⁸ Takagi Yasaka has made this point of Nitobe's courage in his "Nitobe sensei to Taiheiyo mondai chosa kai," pp. 488-9. But Takagi has avoided mention in postwar times Nitobe's

advocacy of Japan's position in Manchuria. See also Takagi's "Dr. Inazo Nitobe and Christianity" in Takagi Yasaka Chosakushū, V (Tokyo: University of Tokyo Press, 1971), 272-9.

29 I have discussed Nitobe with both Yuzo Ota and Miwa Kimitada at the Nitobe-Ohira Conference on Japanese Studies held at UBC on 23-26 May 1984. Though our evaluations differ, I am in considerable debt to both of them; they have forced me, by their low evaluations of Nitobe as an internationalist, to clarify my own thoughts, and to re-think my own position. My criticism of their ideas here in no way reflect the high regards that I hold for both of them. I have not met Tsurumi Shunsuke; I know him only through his reputation and his writings.

30 Informal discussion at UBC, 27 May 1984.

31 Yuzo Ota, "Nitobe As a Cultural Mediator," conference paper read at the Nitobe-Ohira Conference.

32 Ibid.

33 Conversation with Miwa Kimitada, UBC, 24 May 1984.

34 See Ota, "Nitobe as a Cultural Mediator," p. 1.

35 For a touching story of the internment, see Yoshiko Uchida, Desert Exile: The Uprooting of a Japanese-American Family (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1983).

36 For a revisionist view of the Pacific War--as a return to the internationalism of the 1920s, see Akira Iriye, Power and Culture (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1982); Edwin O. Reischauer, Nihon e no jijoden (Tokyo: NHK Shuppan Kyokai, 1982) gives a good sense of the shifting moods of internationalism within Japan as seen through the eyes of an American internationalist, in the course of his illustrious career.

37 Takagi Yasaka, "A Survey of Japanese Studies in the Universities and Colleges of the United States" in Takagi Yasaka Chosakushu, V, 283-355.

38 Two others who come to mind immediately are Okakura Tenshin and Anezaki Masaharu. Study of these men's ideas and their interpretation of Japan abroad is still an untouched subject.

39 Monroe Deutsch, Letter to Nitobe Inazō, 16 July 1932. In President's File, University Archives, Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley [henceforth President's File].

40 Monroe Deutsch, Memorandum to the President, 15 December, 1932. In President's File.

41 Lectures on Japan was published posthumously in 1936 by Kenkyusha. It is reprinted in Vol. 16 of Zenshu. For a contemporary book review, which has high praise for the book and the man, see H. Vere Redman, "Lectures About Japan by Late Inazo Nitobe" in Japan Advertiser.

42 See pp. 2-3 for a characterization of these men.

43 Monroe Deutsch, "Memorandum to the President," 15 December 1932, in President's File.

44 Editorial Jotting, 7 June 1930 in Zenshū, XVI, 35.

45 One recent study which deals with this aspect of Nitobe's thought is Kato Tsuneyoshi, "Nitobe Inazō no heiwa shiso to katsudō" in Rikkyō joshi gakuin tanki daigaku kiyo, no. 15 (1983), pp. 141-255.

ANNOTATED LIST OF WORKS CITED

A Note on the Nitobe Biographies

There are four major biographies of Nitobe. The first is Ishii Mitsuru's Nitobe Inazo (Tokyo: Sekiya shoten, 1934), which appeared a year after Nitobe's death. This work, along with a shorter biographical sketch by Nitobe's close friend Miyabe Kingo, remained the only biographies of Nitobe until postwar times. In 1969, Matsukuma Toshiko published her Nitobe Inazo, (Tokyo: Misuzu Shobo, 1969). Her work is thoroughly researched for only one period in Nitobe's life: his schooldays in Sapporo. Two years later, Isonokami Gen'ichiro published Taiheiyo no hashi (Tokyo: Kodansha, 1971). In 1980, Sato Masahiro published his Nitobe Inazo: shogai to shiso (Tokyo: Kirisutokyo tosho shuppan-sha, 1980).

In English, three biographical studies have been done. Sukeo Kitazawa's The Life of Dr. Nitobe (Tokyo: Hokuseido, 1953) is short and well-written. But it suffers, as all of the biographies in Japanese do, from a lack of critical treatment. In 1957, commissioned by Passmore Elkinton, Dorothy Gilbert, Professor of English at Guilford College, wrote, based on materials at the FHLNP, Inazo and Mary Nitobe. This work, however, is not an academic study and was printed for private circulation among friends and family of the Philadelphia Elkintons. Miwa Kimitada did, in 1967, a doctoral dissertation at Princeton University entitled: "Crossroads of Patriotism in Imperial Japan: Shiga Shigetaka (1863-1927), Uchimura Kanzo (1861-1930), and Nitobe Inazo (1862-1933)." This work sketches the life of three Sapporo nogakkō graduates, with the patriotism theme as the central focus of the work. Though Miwa makes some insightful comments about Nitobe, his work is limited by the extent of his research. But Miwa, it should be noted, did his work on this project before the flood of materials on Nitobe, including the Zenshu, became available.

Since the announcement of the 5,000 yen note, a number of new and interesting studies on Nitobe's life have appeared. Two full-length books, one published in the last year, and the other early this summer are particularly rich with biographical data. The first is by an Iwate journalist, Uchikawa Eiichiro Bannen no Inazo (Morioka: Iwate Nippo sha, 1984). This volume has been invaluable to my study. It has subsequently been translated into English by Michael Newton, with a foreword by John F. Howes Nitobe Inazo: The Twilight Years (Tokyo: Kyobunkan, 1985). Another valuable book is

Sasaki Takamura, Amerika no Nitobe Inazō (Morioka: Iwate Broadcasting Company, 1985). This book is based on a television producer's trip across North America in a quest to recapture on film Nitobe's life and career.

Two Japanese professors have recently completed shorter but important studies on Nitobe. Professor Izumi Kurashirō of Tottori University has published a study of Nitobe's graduate training at the Johns Hopkins University, which is based on an exhaustive search of archival material. Another study on the same subject that is yet unpublished is Professor Furuya Jun's "Nitobe Inazo in Baltimore: A Graduate Student and Quaker," Seminar Paper, (Baltimore: the Johns Hopkins University, May 1984). My Chapter 2 had already been written when these works came to my attention. They reflect the high quality of recent biographical work on Nitobe.

Nitobe's Writings

A large portion of Nitobe's writings have been collected and printed in 16 volumes: Nitobe Inazo Zenshu (Tokyo: Kyo bunkan, 1969). At present, the same publisher is reissuing an expanded version of the Zenshu under the general editorship of Professor Sato Masahiro. 22 volumes are projected. The volumes are appearing now, and recently vols. 17 and 18 were released. Below is a guide to contents of the present Zenshu.

Zenshū, vol. 1

Bushidō (Japanese translation)
Tozai aifurete
Short Biography: Miyabe Kingo

Zenshū vol. 2

Nōgyō honron
Nogyō hatatsu shi
Über den Japanischen Grundbestz

Zenshū, vol. 3

Beikoku kenkoku shi yō
Kenkoku bidan
Uiruriamu pen den

Zenshū, vol. 4

Shokumin seisaku kōgi no ronbunshū
Shoronbun : Jihyō nado
Supplement I: Ko nōgakushi Fujita Kyūsaburō kun shoden
Supplement II: Nitobe hakushi shoronbun

Zenshū, vol. 5

Zuisō roku
Zuikan roku
Ijin gunzō

Zenshū, vol. 6

Kigan no ashi
Naikan gaibo
Seiyō no jijō to shisō

Zenshū, vol. 7

Shūyō
Jikeiroku

Zenshū, vol. 8

Yo watari no michi
Ichi nichi ichi gen

Zenshū, vol. 9

Fausuto monogatari
Ifuku tetsugaku kogi

Zenshū, vol. 10

Jinseizakkan
Jinseidokuhon

Zenshū, vol. 11

Fujin ni susumete
Hitori no onna
Dokusho to Jinsei

Zenshū, vol. 12

Bushido, The Soul of Japan
Thoughts and Essays

Zenshū, vol. 13

The Japanese Nation
The Intercourse Between the U.S. and Japan: An Historical
Sketch

Zenshū, vol. 14

Japan: Some Phases of her problems and development

Japanese Traits and Foreign Influences

Zenshū, vol. 15

Lectures on Japan

What the League of Nations Has Done and Is Doing

The Use and Study of Foreign Languages in Japan

Reminiscences of Childhood

Two Exotic Currents in Japanese Civilization

An Unfinished Translation of Lao-Tzu and English Abstract
of the Kojiki

Zenshū, vol. 16

Editorial Jottings

Zenshū, vol. 17

Nihon kokumin (translation of the Japanese Nation)

Nichibei kankei shi (translation of the Intercourse Between
the United States and Japan)

Other Nitobe Writings

The most exhaustive list of Nitobe's writings, arranged chronologically, is found in Kindai bungaku kenkyū soshō [KBKSS], ed. Showa joshi daigaku kindai bungaku kenkyū shitsu, vol. 35 (Tokyo: Showa joshi daigaku kindai bungaku kenkyū sho, 1972), pp. 378-403. This valuable compilation, which lists almost a thousand items, is not, however, complete. There are more Nitobe writings scattered in various places and yet unaccounted for.

Works by Nitobe used in this study and not included in the Zenshū are listed in order of publication.

"Why I Became a Friend." Interchange, 3, No. 3 (21 March 1887), 3-4.

The Imperial Agricultural College of Sapporo. Sapporo, Imperial College of Agriculture, 1893.

"Seito shokun ni tsugu," "Wasurenu kusa," "Dai Nihon gaikō shi," "Nō no teigi," "Ryūgaku dan." Keirin. volumes 10-18 (1894-1895). In archives at the Hoppo shiryō shitsu, Hokkaido University.

"Nōmin no kenkō" (part 1 and 2). Tōkei shūshi. (March, May 1895).

"Nōkan joshi no kenkō." Jogaku zasshi. (25 June 1895).

"Shakai shugi dan." Rōdō Sekai. (23 June 1902), pp. 338-339.

"Yo wa ika ni shite Jitsugyō no Nihonsha no henshū komon to naritaru ka." JNN. (1 Jan. 1909).

"Shinkei suiijaku chiryō ni kansuru Berutsu hakase no meigen." JNN. 15, (15 July 1909).

"Mitabi Itō kōshaku to katarishi tōji no tsuikai" JNN (15 November 1909).

"Waga kuni tochi saikin no sontoku." Chūō Kōron. (October 1910).

"Dai America to Rōma teikoku." JNN. (1 July 1912), pp. 8-10.

"Yo to dōsō kankei aru shindaitōryō uiruson shi." JNN. (15 November 1912), pp. 2-5;

"Yo ga Nogi taishō to no kaiken yori uketaru fukaki inshō." JNN. (1 October 1912).

"Yūbei zakkan." Kokka gakkai zasshi. 27:2 (February 1913), 79-80.

"Gakusei jidai no uiruson." Chūō kōron. (March 1917), pp. 86-7.

"Japanese Colonization." Asian Review. 4th ser., 16 (January 1920).

"The League of Nations Movement in Japan." Dated 1 April 1925. Nitobe submitted this report to Eric Drummond after his trip to Japan. This unpublished report is in the League of Nations archives (Box R1573) in Geneva, Switzerland. Professor Thomas Burkman provided me with a copy of this document.

Preface to Maeda Tamon, Sekkyoku shūyō to shōkyoku shūyō. Tokyo: Naigai Shuppan Kyokai, 1926.

"Japan's Hopes and Fears." Radio Address over CBS. 20 May 1932. Manuscript in FHLNP.

"A Curious Letter." What I am Learning in America, Osaka Mainichi. 19 June 1932.

"The Missionary Mind." What I am Learning in America, Osaka Mainichi. 8 July 1932.

"A Christian." What I am Learning in America, Osaka Mainichi. 9 July 1932.

"Japan's Place in the Family of Nations." Proceedings of the Institute of World Affairs, Tenth Session, Mission Inn, Riverside, California, 11-16 December 1932, pp. 109-14.

"Blending of East and West." Proceedings of the Institute of World Affairs, Tenth Session, pp. 125-9.

"How Geneva erred." Osaka Mainichi. 12-13 April 1933.

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Personal Recollections

Numerous anecdotes are written about Nitobe. His family, closest friends, and disciples reminisced about him after his death. The standard, and by far the most valuable collection, is Nitobe Hakushi Tsuioku shū [NHTS]. ed. Takagi Yasaka and Maeda Tamon. (Tokyo: ko Nitobe hakushi kinen jigyo jikkō iin, 1936). A total of 76 recollections are in this collection. Listed below, in the order that they appear in NHTS, are those I have used:

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Hayakawa Tetsuji. "Kyūyū Nitobe kun."

Saeki Riichirō. "Yonjūgonenkan kawaranu yūjō."

Takaoka Kumao. "Nitobe sensei no tsuioku."

Kotani Takeji. "Nitobe sensei no Sapporo jidai."

Hanzawa Makoto. "Nitobe hakase to Sapporo Enyū yagakkō."

Kawai Michiko. "Onshi Nitobe hakase."

Suga Kikutarō. "Nitobe sensei no omoide no ki."

Oda Yorozu. "Chonmage ni yōfuku o kiseta yo na otoko."

Sasaki Nobutsuna. "Nitobe hakushi no omoide no ni san."

Konoe Fumimaro. "Nitobe sensei."

Masuda Giichi. "Nitobe hakase no omoide."
Maeda Tamon. "Kiseichū toshite no kansō."
Tajima Michiji. "Haramachi jidai."
Kasama Akio. "Shikarareta tsuioku."
Iwanaga Yūkichi. "Nitobe sensei to boku."
Tsurumi Yūsuke. "Nichibei kōkan kyōju jidai no Nitobe sensei."
Kanai Kiyoshi. "Nitobe Sensei no tsuisō."
Kawanishi Jitsuzō. "Nitobe Sensei ni kansuru tsuioku."
Gotō Ryūnosuke. "Onshi Nitobe sensei."
Ishii Mitsuru. "Nitobe sensei to watakushi."
Mitani Takamasa. "Somuki no omoide."
Yanaihara Tadao. "Ikkō kōchō o yamerareta toki."
Tanaka Kōtarō. "Nitobe sensei no shisō to hito."
Morito Tatsuo. "Kyōiku sha to shite no Nitobe sensei."
Kawai Eijirō. "Nitobe sensei no omoide."
Nasu Shiroshi. "Nitobe sensei no omoide."
Ishiguro Tadaatsu. "Nitobe sensei to gōdokai."
Ayuzawa Iwao. "Nijūgonen mae no Nitobe sensei o shinobite."
Jōdai Tano. "Nitobe sensei."
Matsumoto Kōzō. "Sensei kika no omoide."
Ishii Kikujirō. "Nitobe Inazō hakushi o shinobu."
Sugimura Yōtarō. "Renmei jidai no sensei."
Walters, Frank P. "The Late Doctor Nitobe."
Sweetser Arthur. "Doctor Nitobe."
Yasutomi Shozō. "Nitobe sensei no omoide."
Abraham, Gerald. "Inazō Nitobe."

Harada Ken. "Genēbu nite."

Stafford, K.I. "Doctor Nitobe."

Kawanishi Kazuko. "Omoide."

Ayuzawa Fukuko. "Arigataki Nitobe sensei."

Takagi Yasaka. "Nitobe sensei to Taiheiyo mondai chōsakai."

Soejima Michimasa. "Ko Nitobe Inazō hakushi o shinobite."

Elkinton, Howard W. "Inazo Nitobe."

Bowles, Gilbert. "Some Memories of Doctor Inazo Nitobe's Life."

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(arranged in alphabetical order by author)

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Katō Takeko. "Taidan: sofū Inazō o kataru." Kinen-I, pp. 97-104.

Kawai Eijirō. "Gakusei no jidai." Kawai Eijirō shū. Vol. 7 of Gendai zuisō zenshū, 1953, pp. 198-214.

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Nanbara Shigeru. Rekishi o tsukuru mono. Tokyo: Tokyo daigaku shuppan-kai, 1969.

Nitobe Kotoko. "Musume kara mita Nitobe Inazō fusai." Bungei Hiroba. 30:8 (Sept. 1982).

Nitobe Kotoko. "Taidan: chichi Inazō o kataru." Kinen-I, pp. 86-96.

Ōuchi Hyōe. "Kaisetsu." Zenshū, IV, 646.

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Rirekisho

I have used entries from two rirekisho (curriculum vitae) for biographical data on Nitobe's work:

Nitobe Inazō Rirekisho. Located in administrative files of the Keizaigaku-bu (Economics Faculty), Tokyo University, Hongo Campus.

Nitobe Inazō Rirekisho. In files at Tokyo Joshi Daigaku. My copy was given me by Professor Satō Masahiro.

Interviews and Correspondence

People who knew Nitobe in person are still alive in Japan and North America. I have contacted some of them and have used information gathered from their conversation and letters.

Angus, Henry. Personal interview. 2 May 1984.

Bowles, Gordon. Letter received. 14 May 1984.

Elkinton, David. Personal interview. 30 May 1983; 7 Oct. 1983.

Katō Takeko. Personal interviews. 6 June 1983; 26 May 1984. Also, letters received. 15 October and 1 November 1984, the latter with a diagram of the Kobinatadai machi home.

Maeda Yōichi. Personal interview. 26 May 1983.

Tanabe Sadayoshi. Telephone interview. 8 July 1983.

Fujimura Masuji. Speech at UBC. 19 May 1985.

Nitobe's letters and others about him

"There is hardly a better way to get to know a man than to read his letters" says Gilbert Highet (The Power of Poetry, p. 68). I agree. Nitobe's letters, and those by people close to him, have been indispensable to write Chapters 2, 3, and 4. From 1906 onwards, most of the letters relate to his public activities. Intimate letters that provide glimpses into his inner life are almost wholly absent. Some letters by others concerning Nitobe, are available. I list both types here in alphabetical order by author's last name.

Butler, Nicholas Murray. Nitobe and Butler corresponded infrequently between 1911-1931. There are a few letters between them in the Butler's files at the Butler Library, Columbia University, New York. There are also some 100 items in the Carnegie Endowment Papers at the same library. They refer to Nitobe's 1911-12 exchange-professor lectures.

Deutsch, Monroe. Correspondence between Nitobe and Deutsch concerning Nitobe's lectures at the University of California can be found in the President's File, Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley.

Faunce, William. Faunce visited the Nitobes in Geneva in 1922 and wrote to his wife two letters about Nitobe and their household. These are in the Faunce Papers, John Hay Library, Brown University, Providence, R.I.

HCERP-Haverford College, Esther Rhoades Papers. In this collection are 34 letters to Anna Hartshorne from Friends in Japan, mainly the Nitobes and Rachel Read.

Holt, Hamilton. Letter to Nicholas M. Butler, 21 May 1911. In the Butler Papers, Butler Library, Columbia University. This letter concerns the suggestion of Nitobe as Exchange-Professor.

LHA-Letters from Nitobe to Herbert B. Adams. They are 23 in number and date from 1886 until 1899. These are in the Adams Collection at the Milton S. Eisenhower Library, The Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Maryland.

LJE-Letters from Nitobe to Joseph Elkinton. There are seven letters, dated between 1891 and 1896--Nitobe's Sapporo period--which give much personal data. These are in FHLNP. A few of these letters have been printed in NIKK.

LMK-Letters from Nitobe to Miyabe Kingo. These date between 1883-1890. There are over 20 letters in this collection; 11 of these have been translated with annotated notes by Torii

Kiyoharu in Nitobe Inazō no tegami. Sapporo: Hokkaido daigaku tosho kankō-kai, 1976. I am indebted to Professor Sato Masahiro for giving me photocopies of all of these letters.

LWG-Letters from Nitobe to William Griffis. There are 11 letters in this collection, which date between 1886 and 1905. These are in the Griffis Papers, Rutgers University Library, New Brunswick, New Jersey.

MNLF-Mary Nitobe's letters to her family. There are nearly a 100 of these letters in FHLNP. An overwhelming majority of these are dated between 1891 and 1903. Only a very few are dated after 1920. Some of these letters have been reprinted in NIKK.

Nitobe Inazō. Letter to Uchida Yasuya, 2 February 1920, is reprinted in Kinen I, pp. 168-9. This gives some data on Nitobe's early work at the League.

..... Letter to his sister, Kawano Kisa. 7 January 1920, reprinted in Kinen II, p. 86. Dates from the same period as the letter above, but gives intimate personal data.

Ota, Inazo. Letter to Daniel Gilman, 10 August 1889 in Gilman Collection, Milton S. Eisenhower Library, The Johns Hopkins University.

Satō Shōsuke. Letter to Herbert B. Adams. 5 November 1892. In Adams Collection, Milton S. Eisenhower Library, The Johns Hopkins University.

Tsurumi Yūsuke. Letter to his niece, 7 August 1908. Provides a revealing glimpse into the operation of the Nitobe household and Tsurumi's relationship to the Nitobes. This is printed in Kinen I, pp. 111-3.

Contemporary Articles About Nitobe (In chronological order)

Nitobe was a conspicuous public figure in his time, and his name frequently turned up in newspaper columns or in magazines and journals. The best comprehensive list of writings about Nitobe is in KBKSS, pp. 418-44. Listed here are sources that I have used in this work:

"Japanese Students," Crawford Journal, 3 October 1884, p. 24.

"Quakeress Weds Japanese." Philadelphia Inquirer, 2 January 1891 (no pag.) found in the files of FHLNP.

"Three Japanese scholars and their works." Japan Weekly Mail,

23 January 1892. My thanks to Higuchi Jirō of Yokohama who provided me with a copy of this article during the Nitobe-Ōhira Conference held at UBC.

"Zappō." Keirin zasshi. Vols. 1-18 (1 May 1892 to 28 December 1895).

"Zappō." Gakugeikai zasshi. Vols. 19-34 (15 February 1898 to 29 December 1900).

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Chūgai eiji shinbun. (supplement), 7: 19 (15 November 1900), 232.

Sasagawa Rinpū. "Meishi no mitaru meishi--Nitobe Inazō." Shinkōron (1 February 1909), p. 6.

Yoshiue Shōryō. "Ōkuma haku to Nitobe hakushi wa konna ten ga niteiru." Yūben (1 January 1911), pp. 244-6.

Hartshorne, Anna. "Dr. Nitobe in Formosa" in Eibun shinshi, 5:9, (February 1, 1908).

"Meishi no mitaru meishi." Shinkōron, (Feb. 1, 1909). 6.

"Nitobe komon no tobei sōbetsukai." JNN, 14:8 (August 1911).

"California has Oriento-phobia, says Dr. Nitobe," Daily Palo, Stanford University paper. (Sept. 1911).

"Japanese Educator to Lecture Here." Providence Journal (3 September 1911).

"Japanese Educator Coming to Brown" Providence Journal (7 September 1911).

"Exchange Professor" in Brown Herald (7 October 1911), p. 1.

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1912).

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"Japan's Savant Meets President Hoover." Osaka Mainichi, (4 June 1932).

"Announce Hon. Degrees." The News, Haverford College, (11 June 1932), p. 1

"Dr. Nitobe Back Here After Year's Absence." Osaka Mainichi, (25 March 1933).

"How Geneva Erred," Osaka Mainichi, (12-13 May 1933).

"Taiheiyō kaigi ni oite Nihon wa." Tairiku Nippō (14 August 1933).

"Nitobe hakushi o renmei no iin ni." Tairiku Nippō (22 September 1933).

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