

Touring Japan-as-Museum: *NIPPON* and Other Japanese Imperialist Travelogues

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JAPAN is indeed a “Land of Color, Culture and Charm.” It is the land where East and West meet in perfect accord, where the modern culture of the Occident harmonizes with Oriental civilization. Available throughout Japan are the latest travel facilities from automobile to airplane, plus home comfort and snug hotel accommodation, which assure the tourist a delightful trip at minimum expense of time and money. —Board of Tourist Industry, Japanese Government Railways, advertisement, 1939

Okakura Tenshin, the prominent turn-of-the-century cultural ideologue, envisioned Japan as a museum, both the repository of Asian culture and a living exhibit of this legacy functioning in the contemporary world.¹ The illustrated, Western-language, promotional quarterly *NIPPON* (1934–1944) was an invitation to tour this museum. Touting the magazine as a representation of “actual life and events in modern Japan and the Far East,” *NIPPON*’s

designers used a host of sophisticated modernist visual techniques, including an array of stunning photomontages, as a means of enticing the Western tourist to authenticate Japan by experiencing “the world-as-exhibition,” about which Timothy Mitchell has so eloquently written.² This “world-as-exhibition,” explains Mitchell, was “not an exhibition of the world but the world organized and grasped as though it were an exhibition.” Like the dioramas and live exhibits at the Parisian world’s fair in Mitchell’s analysis, *NIPPON*’s Japan was a world set up as a picture. It was “ordered up as an object on display to be investigated and experienced by the dominating European [Western] gaze.”³

As an instantiation of Japan-as-museum, *NIPPON* deserves consideration as “a privileged arena for presenting self and ‘other.’”⁴ Jeanne Cannizzo has argued that the museum is a “cultural text, one that may be read to understand the underlying cultural or ideological assumptions that have informed its creation, selection and display.”⁵ In keeping with the museum metaphor, I will consider the magazine layout as an analogue to gallery installation and the designers as curators of the exhibition experience, the magazine text becoming a kind of expanded wall label that explains the cultural practices and artifacts being presented. Yet the question of who controls the means of representation still remains. Everything in a museum is put under the pressure of a “way of seeing,” according to Svetlana Alpers, and it is the purpose of this essay to elucidate the mechanisms by which *NIPPON*’s director Natori Yōnosuke (1910–1962) and his stable of skilled commercial designers and photographers at the publishing firm/design studio Nippon Kōbō (Japan studio) constructed a way of seeing Japan.⁶

The Nippon Kōbō members were already individually well known for their work in photojournalism (*hōdō shashin*) and advertising (*kōkoku*) before they launched the journal. Their integrative techniques effectively blurred the line between avant-garde art, reportage, advertising practice, and national propaganda (*koku* or *kokusaku senden*). As I will discuss below, the blurring of boundaries extended to the line between metropole (*naichi*) and colonies (*gaichi*), between essays and advertisements, and between culture and industry, visually simulating the literal annexation of Japan’s colonial subjects into the empire and establishing industrial and

commercial interests as fundamental components of Japanese modern cultural identity.

What should not be forgotten in the analysis of this periodical is the intended audience: the Western viewer. Implicit in *NIPPON* is the display of one culture by its self-appointed representatives to another culture (or in this case many other cultures, to disaggregate “the West”). Michael Baxandall reminds us to consider the “status of the viewer as an agent in the field of exhibition,” pointing to the relationship between presenter and presentee as an integral factor in the configuration of the means and mode of representation.⁷ It can be said that since its forced opening to Commodore Matthew Perry in 1853, Japan has maintained an ambivalent relationship to the West in terms of its status in the world imperialist theater. Although never a formal colony of any Western nation, Japan still figured prominently in Orientalist and primitivist representations of Asia. Many foreign travelers, such as American Howell Reeves, who visited Japan in 1926, expressed their expectations of an exotic Orient while writing disparaging accounts of their experiences that expressed only patronizing contempt for the country’s backwardness:

I wonder if it will be all that our imagination has created? The land of sunshine and flowers—of romantic rain—of oriental mists—of rumbling volcanoes—of thrilling earthquakes—of gardens and bamboo—of rice and silk—of swiftly moving rickshaws—of queer slant eyed people, courteous and quiet. . . .

If you consider Japan as a nation emerging from barbarian, or a semi-civilized condition then you are filled with enthusiasm and admiration for the progress that has been made. If, however, you view Japan as the Japanese insist upon your viewing it—as a first class civilized nation—then the picture presents an entirely different aspect. . . . It may be a “long, long way to Tipperary” but the distance is short indeed compared to that which the Japanese must travel, mentally, morally, and materially to stand abreast of “western civilization.”⁸

Japanese intellectuals and state officials internalized many aspects of Western imperialist culture in the process of negotiating a modern national identity. *NIPPON* was a part of Japan’s ongoing dialogic response to this Western

Orientalizing and primitivizing perception, as it launched an unceasing campaign to gain cultural legitimacy in the eyes of the West. The magazine's imploring tone was often filled with a certain degree of melodrama and genuine anxiety over increasing world political tensions concerning Japan's economic practices and aggressive expansion into Asia in the 1930s that were leading to rising anti-Japanese sentiment abroad.⁹ The prominent cultural critic Hasegawa Nyozeikan, previously a champion of socialism but later a convert to the nationalist cause in the 1930s, wrote an essay for the magazine titled "What Do the Japanese Want?" beseeching Western countries to appreciate Japan.

What do we Japanese ask of the people of the world? Those who know Japan well, fully understand that we are not all anaemic in any sense of the word, and that we are full of life. . . . We would like to be "respected" by good people, men and women, of the world. . . . Some psychopaths living in an illusory world of extreme egoism or suffering from a superiority complex, would greatly exaggerate their own importance. Worse than that, what can be so ridiculous as to see a little monkey with a silk hat on his head wanting to be saluted by the onlookers! Those, who look upon our case as anything analogous to these above instances, may laugh at us to their heart's content, and reap their own benefit. To those friends who show their friendly attitude toward us without hesitation, how shall we repay their gentleman-like action? The least we can say is that we are prepared to return to them tenfold of what we receive.¹⁰

In *NIPPON* the invitation to understand Japan was offered on both a diplomatic and a touristic level. Or perhaps it is more accurate to say that tourism was seen as an integral component of international relations, designed to facilitate cross-cultural understanding by acclimating the Western viewer to the foreign context of Japan, at the same time adjusting Japan to suit the comfort level of the visitor. Thus, in this paper I will argue that by offering a means of "specular dominance" over Japan, *NIPPON* was both an attempt by state-sanctioned representatives of the Japanese empire at self-representation *and* an invocation to the Western viewer to colonize the country through a kind of touristic gaze.¹¹

Natori Yōnosuke, Photojournalism, and the Origins of NIPPON

Inaugurated in 1934, *NIPPON* published thirty-six issues over the course of a decade, only folding in 1944 at the end of the Asia Pacific War. It was available in at least eight countries and was published regularly in four and sometimes as many as six languages; most articles were translated multilingually in each issue.¹² The editor-in-chief of the magazine, Natori Yōnosuke, graduated from the regular division of Keio Gijyuku Daigaku (forerunner of Keio University middle school) and then went to Germany, where he studied applied crafts, commercial art, and photojournalism from 1928 until 1932. In Berlin he met designer Erna Mecklenburg (1901–1979), who soon became his wife, mentor, and collaborative partner in design activities. Natori and Mecklenburg's work was quickly recognized by Herman Ullstein, owner of the Ullstein Verlag, a publishing house that produced a variety of photojournalistic publications, including the *Berliner Illustrierte Zeitung* [Berlin illustrated news]. Natori was hired as a contract photographer for the press in late 1931.¹³ Among his various assignments for Ullstein, Natori covered the Manchurian Incident and its subsequent military skirmishes, for which he stayed in China for three months in 1933. Unable to return to Germany afterward due to restrictions on foreign immigration imposed by the Hitler government in the interim, he instead returned to Japan, where he acted as Ullstein's Japan correspondent.¹⁴

After his return to Japan, Natori founded *Nippon Kōbō* in August 1933 with designers Hara Hiromu (1903–1986) and Okada Sōzō (1903–1983), photographer Kimura Ihee (1901–1974), and photography critic Ina Nobuo (1898–1978). Natori regarded photography more as “a visual language” than as an art form. He soon established himself as a pioneer in the functional use of photography and photojournalism in Japan, zealously advocating the “educational” possibilities of these modes and establishing strong links to propaganda production.¹⁵ This period marked a significant shift in the perceived role of photography among practitioners in Japan, reflecting similar changes occurring around the world. Ina Nobuo's now-famous manifesto in the first issue of the modernist photography journal *Kōga* [Shining picture], titled “Return to Photography,” concluded with the statement, “Those who hold the camera must never forget that they are social beings.” This

declaration represented a radical departure from the art photography (*geijutsu shashin*), art-for-art's-sake mentality of certain Japanese photographers, such as Fukuhara Shinzō and Fuchigami Hakuyō, to a more documentary, socially engaged role for the photographer.¹⁶

The translation of the term *photojournalism* (encompassing the implications of reportage and documentary photography) into Japanese as *hōdō shashin* was actually done by Natori himself. This new term marked a distinction from the more generic category of press photography, as it implied a more active and journalistic role for the photographer, whose work was seen as paralleling written copy but with the narrative constructed of images—in essence a photoessay.¹⁷ Photojournalism was, therefore, a construction of multiple photographs (*kumi shashin*), either a series of related photographs, a photocollage, or a photomontage.

Concerning the important truth-telling power ascribed to photography at the time and how this was capitalized on in *hōdō shashin*, Ina wrote in 1935, “It has generally become common perception that what is expressed through the eye of the camera actually exists. Due to this attitude, ‘hōdō shashin,’ which made possible mass communication by being printed, is the greatest weapon for ideology formation.”¹⁸ Photojournalism’s claims to reportorial accuracy, however, belied the extent to which the photographs were actually manipulated to produce the sensation of “unmediated reality.” At the very minimum, we know that Natori did extensive shooting to find the perfect image for any one particular feature, as amply demonstrated by archival evidence of his photo shoots.¹⁹ Moreover, many of the Nippon Kōbō photographers were concurrently affiliated with modernist photography associations, showing an allegiance to avant-gardist manipulation of the photographic medium and fostering what photography historian John Roberts has called the “dialectical permeation” or the “shared cultural space of the photographic document and the avant-garde.”²⁰

The work and theories of photography discussed among these artists reflected two powerful trends emerging in German photography in the 1930s: New Objectivity (*Neue Sachlichkeit*) and Bauhaus photography, represented most iconically by photographers Albert Renger-Patzsch and Laszlo Moholy-Nagy, respectively. The Japanese photography community had exceptionally strong ties to Germany both theoretically and in terms of

actual practice, as many Japanese photographers as well as Natori studied there during this period. The debates between these two groups hinged on the definition of realism. Renger-Patzsch argued for photography as fact (commonly known as “factography”), and Moholy-Nagy championed a modernist version of realism that took into account a transformation in visual perception. The issues debated by these two groups of photographers were generated originally by the photography of the Russian Revolution, exemplified by the work of Gustav Klutsis, El Lissitzky, and Alexander Rodchenko, who according to Roberts, saw photography as a “source of cognitive transformation.”²¹ This attitude was most clearly evident in the incorporation of the everyday as a subject with socially transformative potential and in the shift to montage aesthetics, which both simulated a revolution in perception to incorporate the multiperspectival viewpoint and served as a synecdoche of collective experience.²²

While photographers themselves may have seriously doubted the transparent truthfulness of documentary photography, they still acknowledged that it was received by the general public in such a manner. Nippon Kōbō took its commitment to the promotion of documentary photography very seriously, mounting a groundbreaking exhibition in this area during its first year and publishing a pamphlet titled *Concerning Photojournalism* [*Hōdō shashin ni tsuite*]. However, due to internal conflicts among the members (principally between Natori and the others), the first incarnation of the studio folded in early 1934.²³ Natori soon reestablished it with a new group of associates and began publishing *NIPPON* in October (the studio changed names in mid-1939 to become the International News Company, or Kokusai Hōdō Kōgei Kabushikigaisha).

The main purpose of the journal was to publicize Japanese culture to the rest of the world; thus it served as a quasi-governmental organ of national propaganda. In this capacity Nippon Kōbō received support from state agencies such as the Japan National Board of Tourist Industry and the Society for International Cultural Relations (Kokusai Bunka Shinkōkai, forerunner of the Japan Foundation), a nonprofit organization established under the auspices of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in 1934. The self-described main objective of the society was “the international exchange of culture and in particular the enhancement of Japanese and Oriental culture abroad, thereby

to contribute toward the advancement of civilization and the promotion of human welfare.”²⁴ It was joined in supporting the studio by representatives of industrial capital, in particular the textile company Kanegafuchi Bōseki (Kanegafuchi spinning company), known as Kanebo, whose new president Tsuda Shingo provided a substantial loan to bankroll the launching of *NIPPON*. In light of the magazine’s state and private support, its integrated vision of Japanese politics, culture, and industry is no coincidence.

The publication was a total collaboration between photographers and designers, not to mention important textual contributions by well-known ideologues and intellectuals, cultural figures, politicians, and high-ranking military officials. The visual and the textual mutually amplified each other in *NIPPON* to form a single, symphonic, orchestrated expression of identity. The magazine’s effectiveness as a means of persuasion was due in large part to the extraordinary talent of its contributors, including some of the foremost Japanese photographers and designers of the twentieth century. Most prominently the roster included photographers Domon Ken (1909–1990), Horino Masao (b. 1907), Kimura Ihee, Watanabe Yoshio (b. 1907), Fujimoto Shihachi (also known as Yonpachi; b. 1911), Matsuda Masashi (b. 1916), Numano Ken (b. 1912), and Furukawa Narutoshi (b. 1900). The chief designers were Yamana Ayao (1897–1980), Kōno Takashi (b. 1906), and Kamekura Yūsaku (b. 1915).

Each designer alternated as art director, a job that involved determining the overall layout of the magazine. Each was also responsible for designing several of the eye-catching array of cover designs. The designer’s overall vision unified each issue, transforming the publication into a visual tour de force.

After studying in Osaka at the Akamatsu Rinsaku Institute of Western Painting, Yamana began working for the publishing company Platon-sha, where he did detailed line-drawing illustrations reminiscent of the work of Aubrey Beardsley for the popular magazines *Kuraku* [Pleasure and pain] and *Josei* [Women], while producing illustrations for numerous small literary magazines. Yamana is undoubtedly best known for his work as the principal designer for the Shiseidō cosmetics company where he worked from 1929 to 1932, 1936 to 1943, and 1948 to 1980. Yamana’s design activities were so widespread that they connected to almost every major area

of publishing during this period.²⁵ As a pioneer of commercial design, he was also instrumental in the establishment of the earliest professional organizations for commercial designers in Japan, beginning with the Tokyo Association of Advertising Art (Tōkyō Kōkoku Bijutsu Kyōkai) in 1931. He is credited with being the first in Japan to employ the professional title “art director,” which appeared on the masthead of the third issue of *NIPPON*. With powerful connections throughout the prewar design world, Yamana brought considerable expertise to Nippon Kōbō endeavors. He was in charge of graphic design layouts and advertising design for *NIPPON* and worked with the magazine through its entire run despite his resignation from Nippon Kōbō in 1936. The following year he began lecturing on design at the Tama Imperial Art University (Tama Teikoku Bijutsu Daigaku, now Tama Art University). In 1940 he was appointed chairman of the Society for the Study of Media Techniques (Hōdō Gijutsu Kenkyūkai).²⁶

Kōno Takashi had a similarly illustrious career in design after graduating in 1930 from the Tokyo School of Fine Arts (Tōkyō Bijutsu Gakkō), where he studied crafts and illustration. He soon went to work producing advertising and set designs for the Shochiku Motion Picture Company. Kōno initially served as a freelance graphic designer on *NIPPON* and was eventually hired to work as principal art director on a number of Nippon Kōbō publications. Like many Nippon Kōbō members, Kōno was convinced by Natori in the late 1930s to take up work in China in the studio’s Shanghai-based press operation, which functioned under a variety of different organizational designations as it expanded into the Japanese colonies and onto the war front to serve as the official press union for the imperial army propaganda department.²⁷

Considered one of the most influential designers of the postwar era, Kamekura’s prewar and wartime work has been less studied. As a young designer Kamekura came under the guidance of Ōta Hideshige. As former director of the advertising division of the Kao Soap Company, Ōta had distinguished the company’s advertising with his highly experimental techniques, such as using Kimura Ihee’s gritty photographs of Tokyo daily life in Kao newspaper advertising. Kamekura joined Ōta’s newly established Kyōdō Kōkoku (Collaborative advertising) design firm while he pursued his design education at the New Academy of Architecture and Industrial

Arts (Shin Kenchiku Kōgei Gakuin) in Tokyo, established in 1931 on the model of the Bauhaus by Kawakita Renshichirō.²⁸ Kamekura worked in the art department of Nippon Kōbō from 1938, taking over for Natori as chief art director of *NIPPON* in 1940 after the latter left for Shanghai to establish the studio's sister organization.

On 28 September 1940 Japan signed the Tripartite Alliance with Germany and Italy that formed the Axis powers of World War II, which was heralded in *NIPPON* as leading "Toward a New World Order" (*shintaisei*).²⁹ Not surprisingly, *NIPPON* added Italian to the languages of the magazine. Soon after the alliance was formed, and with the bombing of Pearl Harbor in 1941, subscriptions to *NIPPON* in the United States dropped off dramatically. The magazine's tone shifted to one of more overt wartime propaganda, and the journal published several issues on daily life on the home front and in the colonies. The magazine was published less often and more erratically thereafter, averaging only about three issues per year. This is understandable in light of the additional projects in which the members became involved on the continent. The majority of the material I analyzed for this essay appeared prior to the beginning of the Pacific War in 1941, when the use of propaganda to ameliorate world political tensions was still considered a possibility and tourists from non-Axis countries could still visit Japan.³⁰

Staged Authenticity

NIPPON was certainly not the only Japanese photojournalistic promotional magazine that emerged at this time. There was a range of similar periodicals, including the national policy journal *Shashin shūhō* [Photographic weekly], published weekly by the Cabinet Information Office from 1938 until 1944 and which utilized evocative photographs by Nippon Kōbō associates Domon Ken and Kimura Ihee, among others. Concerning the function of *Shashin shūhō* in the context of photojournalism, Izumi Reijirō commented,

Of course, *Shashin-Shūhō* is, at least for the present, an instrument of national propaganda, and thus, its contents are more than pure photojournalism. They play a major role as publicity photographs. While in principle news photographs naturally contribute to the objective of

presenting powerful publicity, unlike photojournalism, which reports events which actually occurred, publicity photographs must be published in advance (using models for instance) in order to facilitate public relations and convey the message, “It should be like this. We wish it were like this.”³¹

Despite positioning itself as a news source reporting on events that actually occurred rather than as a publicity organ, *NIPPON* displayed a modus operandi strikingly similar to that of *Shashin shūhō*. As Dean MacCannell has noted in his pioneering study *The Tourist*, sightseers are often “motivated by a desire to see life as it is really lived,” to have an “authentic, demystified experience.”³² But the very act of representing culture (as in *NIPPON*) inserts a mediating presence between the tourist and the sight. Ironically, the representations of a sight are usually the initial enticement spurring the tourist’s desire for contact. Touristic representations are coded with “markers,” that is, any information about a specific sight that defines it. Some of these markers take on a particularly symbolic status; in the case of Japan, Mount Fuji is the example par excellence. Recalling his expectations prior to visiting Japan in the mid-1910s, Englishman Frank Lee wrote,

I had, of course, read quite a number of books about Japan and had, as I confidently thought, a most complete knowledge of the country and of its people. From picture post-cards, N.Y.K. [Nippon Yusen Kaisha, Japan’s largest shipping company] and Tourist Bureau posters, etc., I was thoroughly conversant with Mount Fuji from every aspect, with *geisha*, cherry-blossoms, snow scenes, planting rice, paper lanterns, paper umbrellas, *geta*, temple gates, *torii*, and all the other things which make people in Europe and America believe Japan to be a veritable fairyland, without trams or trains or taxis, but only magic carpets wafting the traveller to spots of beauty where, on alighting, he will be served by fair women with the choicest tea in the most dainty little cups.³³

According to MacCannell, the tourist attraction is generated in the relationship between the sight, its markers, and the tourist. Attempts are made to obscure any glimpse of the mediation of markers by the offering of “truth markers”—markers that set themselves in opposition to other

markers deemed somehow less authentic. But an anecdote recounted by American Carol Bache about her trip to Rinnoji Temple soon after she arrived in Japan in the early 1930s pithily expresses the elusiveness of the so-called authentic experience of Japan:

There was the sound of water falling over rocks, and we could hear the monks' voices in the temple chanting sutras. The lower garden lay in darkness, but the shadows sparkled with tiny points of light as the fireflies wove their way in and out of an elaborate ballet. It was so warm that the lattices had been pushed back, and in one of the rooms I saw a young monk seated at a low table, bending over his work. Light from a standing lantern fell upon his shaven head and intent face, and I could imagine the miracle of calligraphy—the Lotus Sutra perhaps—that was taking shape under his writing brush. The scene was perfect; it was natural; not staged for eager tourists, as we had come upon it quite by chance; and I had a strong intuitive feeling that what I had been seeking since my arrival lay close at hand—a glimpse of “the real Japan.” At that instant the temple bell boomed. . . . It filled the night, drowning my footsteps and another sound as well, the rapid click-clack of the typewriter on which the monk was writing, using all of his fingers in the touch system. It was a bitter blow, but what a paradox! . . . For years now, I have been diligently collecting [these paradoxes], spurred on, I suspect, by the secret hope that if enough paradoxes could be laid out end to end, the sum total of them all might be that ephemeral thing we are all still seeking—the real Japan.³⁴

Well aware of this pervasive touristic desire to share “the life behind the scenes,” *NIPPON* offered itself as a view of “*actual* life and events” in order to satisfy the tourist’s search for demystified experience—a factographic representation of the everyday. Once again, however, I must return to Mitchell’s assertion that since the world itself is a form of exhibition, the positing of authentic versus mystified experience is necessarily an artificial bifurcation. But in this case it sets off the purported authenticity of one view by positing the existence of false views. *NIPPON*, then, sets the record straight.

To quote Spencer Crew and James Sims, “Authenticity is not about factuality or reality. It is about authority”—an authority that *NIPPON* possessed as both a seemingly unmediated news source and a government-sanctioned

publication.³⁵ It should be mentioned, however, that perhaps as significant as what was included was what was omitted. In sections where *NIPPON* extols the virtues of the countryside, the ongoing domestic agrarian crises are never mentioned. The topic is only raised in the context of the promotion of modern industry and colonialism, which are posited as solutions to the state of chronic agricultural depression, Japan's overpopulation, and the enforced restriction on foreign immigration. While rising international tensions are not absent from the pages of the magazine and form an important backdrop to the entire production, the tensions between Japan and its colonies, which included continuous raids on Japanese settlers in Manchuria, never appear. The omissions speak volumes.

Resonance in the Land of Color, Culture, and Charm

NIPPON's kaleidoscopic view of the Japanese empire promoted a timeless land with verdant peaks, typified by the national symbol of Mount Fuji; friendly natives (the idealized "happy" people of the countryside and the colonies); and refined cultural sensibilities. At the same time, it presented an urban, industrialized, expansionist imperial power that had rapidly annexed Taiwan, Korea, and Manchuria and was setting its sights on the rest of China. Articulated just when Japanese military and colonial bureaucracies were becoming literal custodians of land and people on the continent, the magazine's presentation of Japan-as-museum assimilated images of Asianness derived from imperial colonial acquisitions. The visual language for metropole and colonies was skillfully blended to obscure internal boundaries and mute the cultural violence implicit in Japanese imperialism.

The *NIPPON* designers provided an ethnographic presentation of Japan and its imperial subjects constructed to produce a sense of "resonance" in the viewer, an effect defined by Stephen Greenblatt as "the power of the displayed object to reach out beyond its formal boundaries to a larger world, to evoke in the viewer the complex, dynamic cultural forces from which it has emerged and for which it may be taken by a viewer to stand."³⁶ This was, of course, a deliberately cultivated sense of resonance that was channeled into particular areas. The topics covered in the magazine ranged widely,

often oscillating between the contemporary and the traditional, or preservation of the latter in the former as evidenced, for example, in the lifestyles and activities of people on the periphery of metropolitan Japan, such as the agrarian countryside. A careful symmetry was maintained between the rural and the urban, the folkish and the cosmopolitan, and the historical and the contemporary. Each element was portrayed as a symbiotically linked part of a larger whole, a notion pithily expressed by Yamana Ayao's montage cover design for the first issue of the magazine (fig. 1). The image of a bright red, kimono-clad Japanese female folk doll is superimposed on Watanabe Yoshio's black-and-white photograph of a modern steel-reinforced concrete building, an emblem of the Japanese modernist architecture that was transforming the urban landscape. The images are balanced in a curious manner, with the doll positioned on a sharp diagonal to the left, solidly anchored in the right angle of the building structure, the partial image of which is shown clearly slanted to the right. The images visually interlock and interpenetrate, the transparency of the red form revealing the building behind. The components that constitute "Japan" may be divergent, but they are inseparable.

A striking two-page spread titled "At the Foot of Mt. Fuji" (fig. 2) employs six differently sized photographs skillfully arranged in an asymmetrical composition to present country people and their majestic environment near Japan's primary spiritual symbolic marker, Mount Fuji.³⁷ The layout expresses a visual dynamism through the juxtaposition of close-ups of people's faces and rural homes and wide-angle shots of the landscape and Mount Fuji, which presides majestically in the distance. Three angelically smiling figures—two young girls and a woman—are situated in a triangular composition in the center anchoring the piece through human interest. They appear as if caught in the midst of their daily activities; the photographs capitalize on the aesthetic of the snapsnot. The accompanying text reads,

In the country surrounding the base of Fuji-san a community of farming people continues to live whose faith in life is inspired by the lovely landscape about their homes and the ancient traditions symbolized by the noble mountain. Their eyes are ever smiling for they are privileged, unlike others, always to gaze upon lofty Fuji with its unmelting snow, and



Figure 1 Yamana Ayao, cover design, *NIPPON*, no. 1 (1934).
Harvard College Library.

their laughter is ever innocent, for they are free from the cares and strife of the distant cities—distant, it may seem to them, far more than ordinary distance can measure. The spirit of the mountain is their guide in life, its mysterious influence fills their days with happiness from childhood to old age, and they are never discontented, nor forget to thank Fuji-san for the deep comfort it gives.³⁸

In addition to the metropolitan fascination with the simplicity of the countryside, it is the sheer “everydayness” of the scenes that is so inviting. Writing



Figure 2 "At the Foot of Mt. Fuji," *NIPPON*, no. 6 (1936): 22–23. Private collection.

in *NIPPON*, Kabayama Ayské explicitly identified the realm of the everyday as a space for preserving culture: "In Japan, one can find the very highly developed culture of the East preserved carefully, not only in museums, temples and shrines, but also in the home, and in the daily lives of the people."³⁹ The message of the layout is clear: people in the countryside remain spiritually connected with their auratic landscape, thus preserving essential Japanese culture, *and* they are sheltered from the oppressive cares of the modern world by a benevolent national government.

Another lively photo-essay displaying the agrarian periphery is a more direct invocation to the tourist. "Un Week End à Izu" [A weekend at Izu] is

accompanied by a series of letters written by Iijima Minoru to an unidentified Monsieur K.⁴⁰ Through this style of personal address, the author is able to speak directly to the reader as well. Iijima recounts his short vacation jaunt to the ocean. Just three hours from Tokyo, Izu provides a brief escape from the torrid heat of the metropolis and all the hectic responsibilities associated with urban life. The author is in Shizuura, on the western coast of Japan near the Izu Peninsula. He describes leaving far behind the tumultuous sounds of the capital to contemplate the radiant sky and the intense blue ocean; he arrives in an agreeable mood to view the active and peaceful life of the local fishermen and their families. The spectacle of the fishermen's labor with their catch of sardines writhing on the decks of the boats enchants him. He explains to his friend that one must go to Izu "to reclaim contact with Japan." At the same time, however, its natural beauty earns Izu the honorary title of "the Riviera of Japan"—the resort connotation is not lost on anyone. This is augmented by an enumeration of basic geographical information about the area read directly from a tourist guidebook.

The first image that greets the eye is a large, dramatic shot of two men rowing a boat photographed from below as if seen from the ocean itself.⁴¹ The figures are highly abstracted, and the overall visual impact is enhanced by the stark contrast between the bright, sunlit bodies and the dark underside of the boat. Below to the right sits a small, distant photograph of men pulling in their net while fishing in the ocean; read in series, this photo contextualizes the more fragmentary image above. On the next two pages (fig. 3), four vibrant images of young boys in loincloths (*fundoshi*) fishing and frolicking in a local river express intense visual excitement. One boy exclaims with arms raised in triumph, "Look at my big *yamame* [salmon]!" Another boy bent over and peering into the water with his friend, their nearly naked rears to the viewer, yells at the fish, "Just try and get away from me this time. . . ." The photographs are composed without sharp separation (the image to the left even extends across the binding divide); one picture bleeds quickly into the next to mirror the liveliness of the scene. The water splashes so vividly that the reader almost feels the spray. The caption comments, "Playing in the midst of their natural blessings, these children seem like the sun in their brilliant joyousness." At the end of this adventure, as he contemplates returning to his life in Tokyo, with its new tramways, buses, and the elevator



Figure 3 "Un Week End à Izu," *NIPPON*, no. 8 (1936): 20–21. Private collection.

to his office on the seventh floor, Iijima admits, "After 3 days of only staying in the countryside, I begin to feel a little nostalgia for the capital."⁴²

The crossover between urban and rural Japan is frequently expressed in the pages of *NIPPON* through the figure of the Japanese woman. Special features on all aspects of Japan's female imperial subjects abound; whether she is dressed as a geisha, a modern housewife, or a textile laborer, the Japanese woman is another significant marker for Japan as tourist site. *NIPPON* author Sugiyama Eisuke reinforced this notion in his statement that "Japanese women seem to have an instinctive capacity for hospitality."⁴³ When viewers see a Japanese woman, therefore, they should feel invited.

Issue number 10 (1937) is devoted to the topic of Japanese women, with features on the activities of young girls, the housewife, female factory workers, country women, women entertainers, female artists, women's organizations, and women's health. The panoply of subjects and their visual representation in many perspectives reflect the invocation by well-known author Yosano

Akiko in the opening essay, “A Talk on Japanese Women,” to observe Japanese women from every angle (fig. 4).⁴⁴ This also incorporates a view of Japanese women from the perspective of a foreigner. As is true throughout the magazine, the gaze of the foreigner is not only implicit in the function of the magazine but literally integrated into the content. It is always clear that the Japanese are not only evaluating themselves but are being evaluated by others.

“First Steps towards Being a Perfect Housewife,” an instantiation of the “good wife, wise mother” (*ryōsai kenbō*) ethic that was part of Meiji period nation-building ideology, tells the story of a young woman being groomed to take her rightful place in Japanese society as the title suggests, as “the perfect housewife.”⁴⁵ Text by Iijima Minoru tells the readers that Japan has “a family system strictly adhered to from ancient times . . . , and a large family generally lives together. . . . So whether the home is a soothing resting place in life or not depends much on the clever management of the housewife.” She must cultivate a variety of skills: sweeping, cooking, washing, sewing, personal grooming, caring for younger siblings (and by extension her future husband and in-laws), and maintaining good physical fitness. At the same time, the girl is a citizen of the world and must devote part of her time to reading books so that she may “keep up with the times and with modern culture.” She also occasionally eats out at a restaurant, visits the theater, and goes *alone* to a party to meet young men. The layout of the piece presents a series of photographs of various sizes scattered in different orientations across the page and depicting the woman’s activities in sequence with the textual commentary. Text and pictures are set against a partially patterned background of floral textile motifs, presumably referring to the kimono, an easily recognizable emblem of Japanese femininity and tradition. Dramatic high and low angles are juxtaposed to animate the display. The organically shaped background patterns not only visually link discrete images and draw the eye through the narrative; they are also meant to evoke the aesthetics of Japanese womanhood, particularly a close sympathy with nature.

Specific attention was given to the aesthetic aspects of Japanese culture as evidence of the nation’s overall civilization. In “Life and Art,” Hasegawa Nyozeikan asserts, “No nation is capable of producing supreme art without some refinement in the very life of her people. The artistic curves of physical

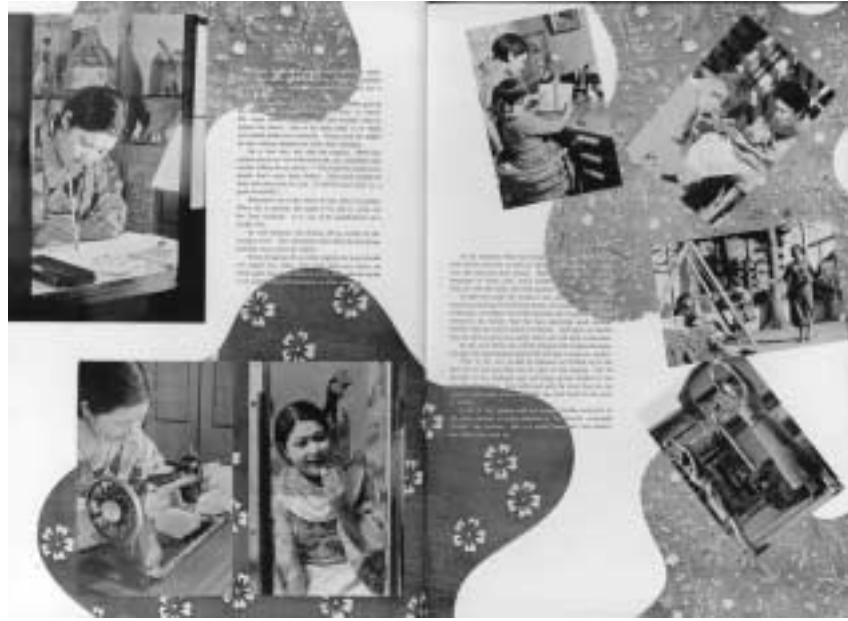


Figure 4 "First Steps towards Being a Perfect Housewife," *NIPPON*, no. 10 (1937): 14–15. Harvard College Library.

arts are defined by the curves in the movements and gestures in daily life."⁴⁶ In addition to theater, music, and the fine arts, Japanese handicrafts were specifically featured in the magazine. Crafts had served the nation-building project exceptionally well by representing Japanese culture on the prominent imperialist stage of international world's fairs, beginning with their spectacular reception in Vienna in 1873. This practice continued unabated. Of the two special issues on handicrafts (nos. 11 and 13), the former reported on the Japanese submissions to the 1937 international exposition in Paris. A montage illustrating this issue shows selected examples of Japanese handicrafts (fig. 5). Bamboo and straw baskets, lacquerware, metalwork, and ceramics are organized in a circle around their descriptive text in the center. Crafts were heralded in the pages of *NIPPON* for displaying the Japanese people's adroitness at adapting the cultural achievements of other nations (in this case, China, Korea, and Western countries). They were a testament



Figure 5 “Les Principaux Articles Japonais Envoyés à L’Exposition Internationale de Paris,” *NIPPON*, no. 11 (1937): 34–35. Private collection.

to the Japanese ability to harmonize the two opposing forces of Oriental and Occidental culture. Aesthetic but functional objects showed the strong connection between crafts and the life of the people, implying a high level of refinement in the everyday life of regular Japanese folk, a notion that came right out of the ideology of the Japanese folk craft movement (*mingei undō*) as articulated by Yanagi Sōetsu. The decorative alcove (*tokonoma*) in the Japanese house was lauded as a kind of altar to aestheticism.

Later in the same issue, the article “Pottery: How to Appreciate Its ‘Japanese’ Traits” proves the profound Japanese commitment to aesthetics by explaining that historically warriors have even been willing to give up fiefdoms or sacrifice their lives for tea ceramics. Moreover, the article states that “the Japanese have prized and appreciated ceramics with love, for they have always been objects of adoration among us. Are there any people who take delight in a flaw in porcelain? The Japanese with an eye for beauty have prized even a flaw as a sort of picturesque addition. . . . They find in a

flaw an ornament or something that speaks of the history of the pottery.”⁴⁷ Japanese aesthetic tastes are thus not only refined but unique in their high valuation of flawed wares and, by extension, show appreciation for the life of the object, whose history is reflected in its cracks and uneven glaze. Pottery, in this case, is almost reified into a living being.

At the end of the issue, a feature on a provincial “Village of Pottery” shows ceramic production as communal labor and therefore representative of common values, in some sense staging Japanese labor to prove both the inherent aesthetics of daily life and its authenticity. The repeated staging of Japanese labor in *NIPPON* reveals an acute awareness of the tourist’s desire for demystification. The magazine’s designers had struck on an effective way of seeming to reveal the inner workings of Japanese culture by staging what MacCannell calls a “back region.” Analogous to restaurants revealing the kitchen to their clientele, it is a gesture toward authenticity that is still in actuality equally mystified.

A mere experience can be mystified, but a touristic experience is always mystified. The lie contained in the touristic experience, moreover, presents itself as a truthful revelation, as the vehicle that carries the onlooker behind the false front into reality. The idea here is that a false back is more insidious and dangerous than a false front, or an inauthentic demystification of social life is not merely a lie but a superlie, the kind that drips with sincerity.⁴⁸

Examples of such a back region include extensive scenes of staged industrial or agricultural labor, whether in domestic textile factories or on peasant farms in Manchuria. This staged labor serves two purposes: it presents the “actual Japan” at work engaged in everyday activities that have a factographic function, and it promotes the integral role of industry in Japanese culture (including industries being developed in the colonies that were indistinguishable from those in the metropole). The latter purpose had a corollary objective, to assuage international fears about Japanese trade practices by presenting a wholesome image of Japanese labor.

The enlistment of representations of labor to justify state policies, even evoking a kind of wartime mobilization mentality well before Japan was engaged in the Pacific War, is pointedly indicated in a dynamic photomontage

layout on Kanebo textile production where two large close-up photographs of spinning machinery open to an interior four-page spread that reveals the company's productive female labor force and all the inner workings of the factory environment. The piece incorporates the following statement, probably penned by Natori (something that could as easily have been written in the mid-1980s as the mid-1930s):

The phenomenal rise of Japanese merchandise in world markets has affected the industrial life of so many foreign lands that this country now finds herself engaged in perhaps the bitterest trade war known to history—the weapon of which is the prohibitive tariffs, import quotas, patriotic propaganda, “anti-dumping” legislation and, in addition, every other strategic device known to commercial defense.

Meanwhile, due to an almost uncanny combination of low prices and superior quality, Japanese textiles continue to maintain their leading export position, and continue to serve as [*sic*] basic commodity in the spectacular offensive. . . .

A feature of the [Kanebo] company is its ideal management. Its staff of 41,000 workers is controlled in the manner of a huge single family, fostered in the “Kanebo spirit” of harmony and co-operation. For the benefit of employes [*sic*] an elaborate welfare organization is maintained, the special fund reserved for this amounting to more than ¥40,000,000.⁴⁹

In April 1938 Nippon Kōbō began producing for the Japanese Central Trade Organization (Boeki Kumiai Chūōkai) the multilingual promotional journal *COMMERCE JAPAN*, which reused many of the same photographs published in *NIPPON* and featured the same stories, with an added emphasis on statistical information on various sectors of Japanese production and trade. The journal placed heavy emphasis on convincing the United States that Japanese imperialism was good for U.S. export trade, as it produced an expanded market for goods. In *NIPPON* itself, the intermingling of advertisements sponsored by industry and promotional articles about industry mirror the visual blurring of publicity and photojournalism.

Images and themes from *NIPPON* spilled over into a vast array of contemporaneous cultural projects as Nippon Kōbō associates expanded their activities. As part of a series of publications put out by the Society for International

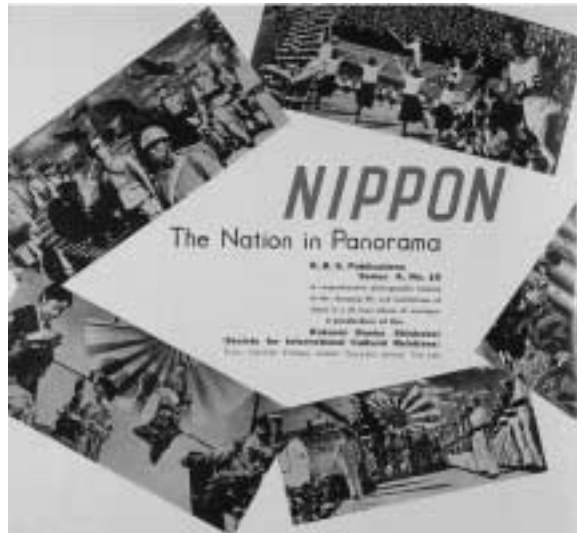


Figure 6 Advertisement for *NIPPON: The Nation in Panorama*, *NIPPON*, no. 14 (1938). Harvard College Library.

Cultural Relations, the studio issued a special book-length publication also titled *NIPPON*. Touting the book as “The Nation in Panorama” and offering “a comprehensive photographic résumé of the changing life and institutions of Japan in a *de luxe* album of montage,” the advertisement in the magazine (fig. 6) showed representative interior photomontages from the album arranged in a contiguous circular pattern surrounding the copy (uncannily similar to the layout of craft goods in fig. 5).⁵⁰ The art direction and photomontage compositions were handled by lesser-known *NIPPON* graphic designer Kumada Gorō using photographs by studio associates.⁵¹ The individual photographs would have been familiar to any regular *NIPPON* reader, as they appeared in different layouts in previous issues, but their reconfiguration took the use of montage aesthetics to a new crescendo.

The book-length collection included over thirty-three montages representing the same kaleidoscopic view of Japan as the magazine. Two examples from the album amply demonstrate the great assortment of themes and the expressive dynamism of the collection as a whole. One image represents a Shinto shrine (fig. 7); the other, the Japanese navy (fig. 8). The image of



Figure 7 Kumada Gorō, montage composition, Shinto shrine, in *Kokusai Bunka Shinkōkai, NIPPON: The Nation in Panorama* (1937). Avery Architectural and Fine Arts Library, Columbia University in the City of New York.

the shrine shows the same scene viewed from two perspectives, simulating a spatial progression through the shrine gate (*torii*) up to the inner sanctuary. Multiperspectival visual axes are constructed through the positioning of the stone lantern in the middle that both links and divides the two views. An enormous guardian stone dog (*kōma inu*) standing at the front of the gate is boldly foregrounded, accentuating its function as enunciator and protector. In the distance, people are seen bowing in prayer in front of the shrine. “As a method of cojoining and disjoining symbolic elements, of the asymmetrical disruption of the symmetrical, montage’s break with the conventional unities of time and space,” argues Roberts, “allows art to claim a verisimilitude of the synecdochal, or part *for* the whole, as well as a verisimilitude of the discontinuous, the accumulation of disparate parts into wholes which imply the unfinished/expansive/transitive nature of reality.”⁵² The skillful collage of multiple images thereby stands in for the multiperspectival viewpoint of the modern spectator.

Moreover, montage allows the designer to establish new hierarchies within the image through manipulation of scale, particularly through dramatic foregrounding, as seen in the deployment of the symbolic marker of the



Figure 8 Kumada Gorō, montage composition, Bluejackets, in Kokusai Bunka Shinkōkai, *NIPPON: The Nation in Panorama* (1937). Avery Architectural and Fine Arts Library, Columbia University in the City of New York.

Shinto *torii*.⁵³ This same visual device is employed on the graphically rendered cover of *NIPPON* number 20 (fig. 9), designed by Takamatsu Jinjirō, where a massive Shinto *torii* stands over the entire landscape of Japan expressing the all-encompassing sphere of Japan's native creed, which had become the state-sanctioned national religion of the country. Like the aesthetics of pottery, Shinto spirituality, it was claimed, deeply permeated the daily life of the people.⁵⁴

The montage of the Japanese navy, known as the "Bluejackets" (originally in *NIPPON*, no. 9 [1936]), greets the viewer with a spectacle of military fanfare. Two discrete but seamlessly woven views of the sailors at attention create a sharply receding perspectival view of the entire corps; the viewer is addressed directly as the figures stand at attention on the deck of their ship under the resplendently waving rising-sun flag. Two foregrounded, fragmented images of the same bugler from different angles echo the multiperspectival viewpoint. This is perhaps one of the most engaging images in the collection because the open deck of the ship draws the viewer into the pictorial space. Roberts notes that unlike discrete photographs, which represent completeness, montage requires the viewer's cognitive interaction



Figure 9 Takamatsu Jinjirō, cover design, *NIPPON*, no. 20 (1939). Private collection.

to complete and interpret the image. In this sense it “addresses the spectator conversationally.”⁵⁵ The use of montage in both the magazine and the album provides the sensation of touring living, interactive exhibits.

Akin to many of their colleagues abroad in the mid- to late 1930s, the Japanese became infatuated with montage aesthetics as a quintessentially modern form of expression and displayed large-scale photomurals at their world’s fair pavilions beginning in Paris in 1937 and continuing through the San Francisco Golden Gate International Exposition in 1939 and the New York World’s Fair in 1939–1940. In its coverage of the San Francisco fair, *NIPPON* presented the travel and communications section of the Japanese pavilion decorated with photomurals sponsored by the Japanese Government Railways, the Ministry of Communication, and the Japan Broadcasting Association. The murals consisted of photographs commissioned by the Society for International Cultural Relations and were edited

by *NIPPON* graphic designer Kōno Takashi. Under the title “Hallo America!” the spread presents the enormous figure of an American girl in the foreground curiously staring out at a series of disembodied photomurals surrounded by cutouts of assorted fairgoers floating through the empty space while viewing the exhibits (fig. 10).⁵⁶ By incorporating the Western viewer directly into the image, the magazine self-reflexively manifests Japan’s presentation of its “national strength, national character and national significance” for Western consumption.⁵⁷ The same year, also under the sponsorship of the Society for International Cultural Relations, Bauhaus-trained artist and *NIPPON* contributor Yamawaki Iwao (1889–1987), using stunning photographs by Domon Ken, designed five spectacular large-scale photomurals titled “Advancing Japan” [“Yakushin Nippon”] for the Japanese exhibit at the New York World’s Fair’s Hall of Nations.⁵⁸ Each montage was fourteen feet high and nine feet wide—in effect, *NIPPON* writ large. Or rather, the serial photographs and montage layouts in the magazine formed a virtual diorama that directly paralleled the exhibition environments constructed for the fairs. Yamawaki declared that the photomurals were the culmination of a Bauhaus ideal of fusing photography and space.⁵⁹

Staging the Colonies: “Up and Coming Manchoukuo”

NIPPON’s subtle interweaving of colonial subjects into the fabric of Japan went a long way in legitimizing the imperialist agenda. The cover of issue 27 from 1941, designed by Kamekura Yūsaku, exemplifies the embodiment of Japan’s expansionist vision in visual culture (fig. 11). It displays the upper torso of a healthy, smiling, young Japanese boy upon whose body has been superimposed the red outlines of a map of Japan and its surrounding territories, with a directional compass to the left of his head. Peninsular and continental lands are presented as a borderless expanse linked to the Japanese archipelago through the body of the youth. As he gazes optimistically beyond the frame of the image, the boy stands with folded arms, unambiguously conveying his readiness for the task of realizing the visionary Japanese project in the colonies.

As a metonym for the Japanese nation, eponymous *NIPPON*’s regular incorporation of colonial holdings under the overarching canopy of “Japan”



Figure 10 “Hallo America!” San Francisco Golden Gate International Exposition, 1939, *NIPPON*, no. 17 (1939): 48–49. Harvard College Library.

served as a form of cultural annexation.⁶⁰ A special issue from 1939 (no. 19) on the Japanese puppet-state of Manchukuo is one of the most visually interesting of the entire run of the magazine. It begins with an eye-catching cover design, also by Kamekura, showing a series of cut-out photographs of individual figures from the interior layouts—men and women, farmers, soldiers, and city dwellers—superimposed on a boldly colored orange map of Manchukuo (fig. 12). The figures are identifiable by costume as Japanese, Manchurian, Korean, Mongolian, and White Russian, the so-called *quinque* racial population of Manchuria.⁶¹ The mutual cooperation among diverse races in Manchukuo is quickly established as a defining feature of the region, although admittedly it was not always as easily achieved as hoped. The visible map of Manchukuo rests in a yellow frame, metonymically representing its debt to the Japanese, the people of the sun. The *NIPPON* title over the yellow frame reinforces this association. Kamekura’s cover attempts to express the utopian excitement of Japanese policies toward Manchuria. A



Figure 11 Kamekura Yūsaku, cover design, *NIPPON*, no. 27 (1941). Harvard College Library.

soldier, most likely Japanese—the only figure who stands completely outside the bounded area of the map—points to the visible map with great purpose. In the white space around the map, figures either gaze, walk, or gesture toward the mapped landscape. Two women in kimonos seen walking from behind allude to the influx of Japanese women into the colonies as part of the governmental policy of intermarriage between Japanese and native inhabitants as a strategy of colonial integration (a policy employed in all Japanese colonial regions). Two soldiers holding shovels sitting to the right are revealed inside the magazine to be assisting in the reclamation of arable land that is transforming Manchukuo's agrarian economy. To the upper left, a soldier standing in defense of the realm looks beyond the border with binoculars. To his right in the north, mounted riders lead the eye to a Manchurian woman and her small child; the mother points out toward the



Figure 12 Kamekura Yūsaku, cover design, Manchukuo special issue, *NIPPON*, no. 19 (1939). Private collection.

land, indicating to the next generation the future to come. Manchukuo is a dynamic place.

Use of the visible map to define Japanese spheres of interest is given an interesting twist in an advertisement for “Kanebo in Manchoukuo,” where the same map is shown blanketed by the company’s textiles (fig. 13). In lieu of its residents, the region is dotted with pinned pieces of paper that indicate Kanebo production facilities.

In the Manchukuo special issue, one is immediately confronted with a bold, two-page spread displaying a series of Manchurian flags with an inset of the emperor of Manchukuo. The magazine contains a series of strongly worded texts underscoring the benevolent rule in Manchukuo, careful not to assert that it is, in fact, Japanese rule.⁶² Repeated mention is made of the desire for the ruler and the ruled to be “morally united into one harmonious whole,

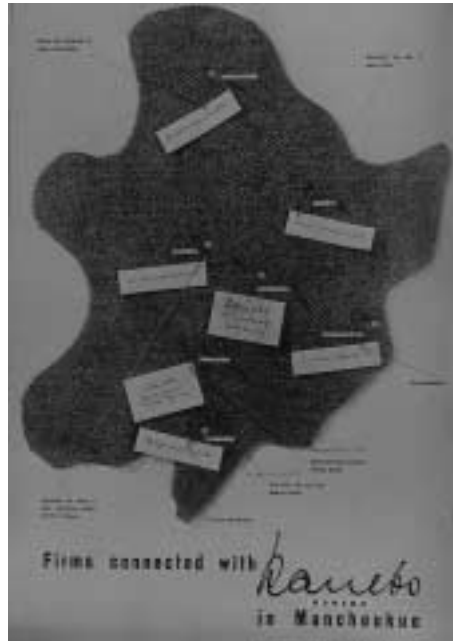


Figure 13 "Kanebo in Manchoukuo"
advertisement, *NIPPON*, no. 19 (1939): 62.
Harvard College Library.

advancing with one purpose to attain the final goal of the state"—a task achieved at least visually in *NIPPON*.⁶³ The magazine incorporates several four-page foldout spreads that present an integrated exhibition of Japan's imperialist goals. A few of the main themes represented are cooperative government, immigration work, the five-year industrial development plan, defense, resources, (land) reclamation, the past (Manchuria's history), mass communication, and standard of living. All of the special issues on Japanese colonial territories state repeatedly that if Western detractors would only visit these utopian regions of modernization, they would see the benevolence of Japanese imperialist policy.

The section on cooperative government displays two pages with five large, individual portraits of representatives of the major racial groups (fig. 14). The Japanese face in the center links them. The spread literally opens in the



Figure 14 "Cooperative Government," *NIPPON*, no. 19 (1939): 16–17. Harvard College Library.

middle of the man's face; his big smile and tilted head beckon the reader to read further. The man is presumably an immigrant settler who is part of the Japanese government's twenty-year project to resettle one million households (five million Japanese immigrants) in Manchuria, a policy established in 1936. Even though the caption describes the Manchurians as the nucleus of Manchukuo, this statement is undermined by the placement of the Japanese figure in the center of the layout to form the visual nexus of the piece. Inside is a four-page spread on land reclamation. Here the two soldiers with shovels from the cover are foregrounded to the right as they survey a series of photographs of agricultural labor and some explanatory text about the thirty thousand members of the Young Farmers' Volunteer Corps that had immigrated to the region in 1938.

Next is a photomontage display of Manchukuo's industrial resources: iron, coal, and hydroelectricity (fig. 15).⁶⁴ An oversized figure of a laborer stands grinning proudly as he grips his tool and looks out across the vista of indus-



Figure 15 "Resources," *NIPPON*, no. 19 (1939): 25–26. Harvard College Library.

trial development that is constructing a new infrastructure in Manchuria. Expanding behind him are images of different kinds of heavy machinery and busy scenes of labor, all of which stand out against the dramatic black background of the layout. Once again the dynamism of Manchukuo is reaffirmed.

The notion that Japan's relationship with Manchuria is special, not exploitative like the associations forged between Western nations and their colonies, is repeatedly asserted. Historical ties are documented as a means of certifying long-standing cultural connections between the two countries, and the archaeological evidence is displayed in a museological framework somewhat akin to the layout of a display case. The end of "The Excavation of the Ruins of P'o-Hai's Palace," quickly segues from the historical past to the concerns of the present. The last paragraph of the text reads, "Discovery of Japanese 'Wadokaichin' coins, of the Nara era, among the relics [at the palace] was held especially significant as indicating the ancient kingdom's relationship with Japan."⁶⁵ Halfway through, the article begins

to share a split page with another essay on the region, this time on contemporary Manchuria, titled “Growing Manchoukuo.” The same archaeological objects are then represented in the special issue on Manchukuo as part of a montage with the title “Past” (fig. 16). Ancient stupas, architectural details, Buddhist sculpture, and other cultural objects are exhibited in lavender frames of different sizes that simulate the relative size of wall displays as they recede in the white space. The large face of a Manchurian woman looms from the left edge of the image and surveys the artifacts on display. Mirroring the technique used in the San Francisco World’s Fair layout, cut-out figures of Asian and Western viewers are scattered about the page and appear to be wandering through the exhibits. Both the present and the past are served up as a picture, the world-as-exhibition.

Conclusion: “Japan Becomes Comfortable”

In the same manner that L’Exposition Coloniale Internationale de Paris in 1931 claimed to take you “round the world in one day,” *NIPPON* could claim to satisfy the exotic tastes and quest for adventure of the Western traveler.⁶⁶ A 1939 issue (no. 17) even provided a “One Month Tour of Japanese Culture,” aided by a series of detailed illustrated maps that, in fact, closely mirrored the tour routes taken by foreign visitors recorded in their publicly and privately published travel accounts (fig. 17). The first two-page spread suggests touring the modern and historical monuments in Tokyo—the Imperial Diet Building, the Imperial Palace, Yasukuni Shrine, and Ueno Park—before departing the city for scenic sights in Nikkō, Yokohama, Kamakura, and Utsunomiya. For trout fishing, Lake Chūzenji and Lake Towada are recommended; a foreign couple with their fishing rods are shown in the center of the image to underscore this leisure activity. The tour then veers sharply to the north, as the traveler is guided up to Hokkaido, first to Hakodate “the most up-to-date city of Northern Japan,” then to Daisetuzan National Park, which “can show the tourist everything in the way of mountain scenery; high peaks, deep forests, and mountain flowers make a nature lover’s and botanist’s Paradise.” The tourist is further informed that “in ancient days a



Figure 16 "Past," *NIPPON*, no. 19 (1939): 43–44. Private collection.

primitive race lived in Daisetuzan National Park, and archaeologists consider this district to be one of the finest sources of prehistoric flint tools." Below, another primitive race in Hokkaido is identified as the Ainu, the "curious and dwindling race" of whom there are only about fifteen hundred members left. The text explains that "the Ainu are characterized by bodies and features similar to those of the white race, and in ancient times possessed a great spiritual culture, which is now disappearing."⁶⁷ As one American visitor sarcastically noted after speaking with John Batchelor, the Christian missionary who devoted his life to protecting the Ainu, Batchelor had



successfully “preserved one of the nation’s top tourist attractions.”⁶⁸ The association between exhibiting culture and travel was undeniable. They were both impulses to explore and, most important, to chart the unknown—the desire to satisfy a persistent classificatory impulse.

Japan was hailed as the perfect synthesis of East and West. The nation was “more than herself,” according to Nitobe Inazō; “Asia and Europe in one.”⁶⁹ This harmonious synthesis profoundly affected the invocation to the Western traveler, who was assured of familiar and civilized accommodations throughout the country. After all, this was “Japan, the land of silk and also the land of RAYON!” as the *NIPPON* advertisement for Toyo Rayon Kaisha extolled.⁷⁰ Japanese modernization had transformed the country enough to



Figure 17 "One Month Tour of Japanese Culture," *NIPPON*, no. 17 (1939): 26–27. Harvard College Library.

make it a "comfortable" experience for any Western visitor, as attested to in the feature "Japan Becomes Comfortable," which ran in the Board of Tourist Industry periodical *Travel in Japan*, published from the spring of 1935.⁷¹ The magazine employed many of the same young modernist photographers as *NIPPON* to create a parallel promotional tool explicitly for encouraging tourism.⁷²

Seen in tandem with *Travel in Japan*, *NIPPON* reads as a virtual travelogue, an image reinforced by periodic features on topics concerning the Board of Tourist Industry, Japanese Government Railways. Occasional advertisements for the organization, which replicated the interior montages, were emblazoned on the inside back cover of the magazine. One particularly evocative board advertisement in *NIPPON* number 20 (1939) employs a montage of iconic symbols of Japaneseness pastiched together using the soft and inviting images of cherry blossom petals to create almost a halo around the various sights (fig. 18). Two athletes reaching energetically for a



Figure 18 Board of Tourist Industry, Japanese Government Railways, advertisement, *NIPPON*, no. 17 (1939): inside back cover. Harvard College Library.

ball are enveloped in cherry blossoms in the center roundel. To the left are the mountains; to the right, the *torii* of a Shinto shrine. Various images of a woman playing the koto, bicyclists, farmers with a horse-drawn wagon, and butterflies float in the sea of blossoms. On the upper right sits the text quoted in the epigraph to this essay.

After the nationalization of the Japanese Government Railways (Tetsudōshō) in 1906, the agency cofounded the Japan Tourist Bureau in 1912, together with other service providers in the tourism industry (private railways, steamship companies, and hotel owners) as part of its mission to

promote tourism to Japan among Europeans and Americans. The Board of Tourist Industry (Kankōkyoku) was later established in 1930 as an oversight agency for the development and management of tourism initiatives. One of its central responsibilities was the sponsorship of multilingual publications, such as *NIPPON* and *Travel in Japan*, to publicize tourism to Japan.⁷³ Japanese tourism officials also gradually expanded their emphasis in the 1920s–1930s to include the promotion of domestic tourism and Japanese tourism to the colonies.⁷⁴

In the early 1930s, when the board was establishing itself and the world economy was still feeling the effects of the depression, tourism to Japan remained stagnant and even slightly decreased, as it did elsewhere. The fiscal year 1931–1932 saw a total of 27,273 foreign visitors to Japan. Chinese accounted for 46 percent, Americans were second at 23 percent, and British tourists made up 13 percent. Yet among those who identified their travel objective as sightseeing and spent less than three months in the country, Western travelers were a much higher percentage. The money spent by foreigners on sightseeing in Japan also dipped from a high in 1929–1930 of ¥39,932,000 to ¥23,317,000 in 1931–1932.⁷⁵ From 1933 to 1935, however, the board recorded an annual 20 percent increase in foreigners visiting Japan. In 1935, according to estimates by the Ministry of Finance, ¥96,019,000 was spent by foreigners in Japan, ¥70,242,000 of which came from tourists. This amount nearly equaled the Japanese export trade in silk textiles, valued at ¥77,000,000.⁷⁶

Familiar food and comfortable transportation and accommodations were a constantly voiced concern among Western travelers, and the ability of the Japanese to provide these amenities was often the litmus test of the country's civilization. Japanese tourism authorities understood this well and concentrated on providing "first-class" facilities both within Japan and in the colonies. Frederica Walcott, an American traveling to Japan via Korea in 1915, remarked on Japan's progress:

When finally late in the evening we drew up at the South Gate Station of Seoul it seemed as if Aladdin and his lamp must have been there since my last visit, for in no other way did it seem possible to account for so many changes as had taken place in the old lazy-going capital of my 5-year-old

recollection. Instead of a dark, gloomy station we found a roomy modern building, where we were met by hotel runners in uniform, who escorted us to an American motor-car in which we drove rapidly through well paved electrically lighted streets, where formerly had been dark, muddy roads in fearful condition of filth and lack of repair, to a modern hotel. . . . The new Chosen Hotel . . . has been built by the Japanese-controlled Railway Board with the evident intent of drawing tourists to Korea and popularizing the route to Europe by way of Korea and Manchuria. It certainly deserves success, for it is most comfortable in all its appointments, the meals are excellent and the manager is most obliging.⁷⁷

A large proportion of travelers to Japan relied on national tourism authorities to plan their trips, as remarked upon by American John Patric in the account of his trip to Japan in 1934: “A number of American young women schoolteachers had their complete four-week Japanese itinerary mapped out for them by the Japan Tourist Bureau, a trip that was to take them to most of the show places of Japan. They showed it to me. It included rooms and meals in fine European hotels where, they said, ‘water will be safe and we won’t have to worry about the vegetables.’ From the way they talked, I knew they’d miss the real Japan.”⁷⁸ Patric’s travel objective was to have the true, demystified experience of Japan, in this case, not so much for cultural education but to understand the motivations of a potential enemy in war. Upon his disembarkation from the ship he noted,

Every visitor, including me, seemed to be startled by the large number of taxis and the fewness of the rickshas. This indicated a dangerous lack of information about a highly significant thing in modern Japan. I attribute it to photographers and writers, both amateur and professional. Because every travel picture, every travel story, every American home movie or travel album seems to have one *must* when it was prepared. That was: “Get a ricksha in it somewhere prominently, as something exotically symbolic—like geisha girls and blossom festivals—of a strange oriental land.” . . . The net result has been to give eye-minded American armchair travelers a wholly false impression of a “colorful Japan,” an impression pretty general in America.⁷⁹

To bring the perception of Japan into the twentieth century but still maintain the carefully cultivated image of picturesqueness, the Board of Tourist Industry sponsored a series of books, originally envisioned as having over one hundred volumes, known collectively as the Tourist Library, published by Maruzen beginning in the 1930s. The series booklets began with the following editorial note: "It is a common desire among tourists to learn something of the culture of the countries they visit, as well as to see their beautiful scenery. To see is naturally easier than to learn but flying visits merely for sightseeing furnish neither the time nor the opportunity for more than a passing acquaintance with the culture of any foreign people. This is specifically true of Japan and her people." In other words, the library, *Travel in Japan*, and by extension *NIPPON* all served as supplementary virtual guides to Japanese culture essential for the tourist to cultivate a full understanding of the country that was often more comprehensive (and certainly more controlled) than an actual visit.

Still, like countries all over the world, Japan appreciated the significant monetary benefits of the tourist trade and sought to capitalize on it in any way possible. One important plan was to host the Twelfth Olympic Games in Tokyo in 1940 (later canceled due to increased world political tensions), which coincided with the celebration of the 2,600th anniversary of the founding of the Japanese nation. *The Japan Year Book* announced in 1937, "The [Japanese] governmental authorities and the civilian organizations concerned are energetically devising ways and means to promote the tourist industry in conformity with the exceedingly favourable situation [the prospect of having increased tourism due to the Olympics]. . . . The establishment of an international sea-bathing resort has been proposed and some organizations are sponsoring the creation of better facilities for the study of Japanese culture by means of museums, art galleries, etc."⁸⁰

Representatives of Japan recognized what Alpers rightly notes, that "to be represented in a museum is to be given recognition as a culture."⁸¹ The effort and creativity that went into producing *NIPPON* is a testament to a persistent belief in the potent sociopolitical effect of displaying Japan for Western consumption. By examining the conceptual framework in which *NIPPON* functioned as an official representation of imperial Japan abroad and by analyzing its visual strategies, I have tried to elucidate how the

magazine produced the image of Japan-as-museum, waiting for the tour to begin.

Notes

- 1 Karatani Kojin, "Japan As Museum: Okakura Tenshin and Ernest Fenollosa," in *Japanese Art after 1945: Scream against the Sky*, by Alexandra Munroe (New York: Abrams, 1994), 33–39.
- 2 Statement on the cover of *NIPPON*, no. 5 (1935).
- 3 Timothy Mitchell, "Orientalism and the Exhibitionary Order," in *Colonialism and Culture*, ed. Nicholas Dirks (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1992), 296, 293.
- 4 Ivan Karp, "Culture and Representation," in *Exhibiting Cultures*, ed. Ivan Karp and Steven Lavine (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1991), 15.
- 5 Quoted in Tim Barringer and Tom Flynn, introduction to *Colonialism and the Object*, ed. Barringer and Flynn (London: Routledge, 1998), 5.
- 6 Svetlana Alpers, "The Museum As a Way of Seeing," in Karp and Lavine, *Exhibiting Cultures*, 29.
- 7 Michael Baxandall, "Exhibiting Intention: Some Preconditions of the Visual Display of Culturally Purposeful Objects," in Karp and Lavine, *Exhibiting Cultures*, 40.
- 8 Howell Reeves, *Wanderings in Nippon* (Tokyo: privately printed, 1927), 13, 14.
- 9 Increased political tensions had already led Japan to withdraw from the League of Nations in 1933. The Japanese were particularly concerned to maintain amicable relations with the United States as evidenced in the extensive U.S.–Japan Friendship display that the Japanese government mounted in 1939–1940 in the country's pavilion at the New York World's Fair, which visually documented the long-standing cultural amity between the two countries.
- 10 Hasegawa Nyozeikan, "What Do the Japanese Want?" *NIPPON*, no. 5 (1935): 15.
- 11 The terms *specular dominance* and *controlling vision* are used by Tony Bennett in "The Exhibitionary Complex," *New Formations* 4 (spring 1988): 79. As John Urry has explicated, all forms of the gaze are "socially organized and systematized," with the aid of "many professional experts who help construct and develop our gaze." In the case of *NIPPON*, the prominent intellectuals who took on the role of spokesmen for Japan, such as Hasegawa Nyozeikan, and the national tourism association (Board of Tourist Industry) were just a few examples of such professionals. Of course, as Urry also notes, there was no single tourist gaze, as the touristic experience was "constructed in relation to its opposite, to non-tourist forms of social experience and consciousness" (Urry, *The Tourist Gaze* [London: Sage, 1990], 1–2). Another equally important component of the tourist experience in Japan was the foreign traveler's perception of difference between Western civilization and the exotic Orient—the expectation of encountering an exotic other—while at the same time yearning for the comforts of home and judging Japan by a perceived lack of amenities.

- 12 *NIPPON* was available in the United States, Canada, Mexico, Germany, Switzerland, France, Brazil, and Italy. On average about five thousand copies were published for each issue.
- 13 For a basic chronology of Natori's career see Iizawa Kōtarō, *Natori Yonosuke*, *Nihon no shashinka* 18 (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1998), 68–69.
- 14 In 1936 Natori returned with Mecklenberg to Germany to cover the Berlin Olympics. His work was picked up by *Life* magazine, and he traveled to New York to continue shooting photographs for *Life*. After driving cross-country to the West Coast, he flew to Beijing to cover the war in China in September 1937.
- 15 Okatsuka Akiko, "The Founding and Development of Modern Photography in Japan: Consciousness and Expression of the Modern," in Tokyo Metropolitan Museum of Photography, *The Founding and Development of Modern Photography in Japan* (Tokyo: Metropolitan Museum of Photography, 1995), 24.
- 16 Ina Nobuo, "Shashin in kaere," *Kōga* 1, no. 1 (May 1932). Quoted and translated in Tokyo Metropolitan Museum of Photography, *Founding and Development of Modern Photography in Japan*, 173.
- 17 In this respect, Natori and his colleagues distinguished their work from the press photography that appeared in other graphic magazines that were extremely popular at the time and run by newspaper companies such as *Asahi graph*. See Ishikawa Yasumasa, *Hōdō shashin no seishun jidai* [The early years of photojournalism] (Tokyo: Kodansha, 1991), 240.
- 18 Quoted in *ibid.*, 239–240.
- 19 For examples see *ibid.*, 30, 34, 40–41, 60, 92–93.
- 20 John Roberts, *The Art of Interruption* (Manchester: University of Manchester Press, 1998), 3. For example, the Association for the Study of New Photography (Shinkō Shashin Kenkyūkai) formed in 1930 included Horino Masao, Watanabe Yoshio, and Furukawa Narutoshi, all photographers who contributed to Nippon Kōbō publications. The group that published the innovative photography journal *Kōga* (1932–1933) counted among its members Ina Nobuo and Kimura Ihee.
- 21 *Ibid.*, 20.
- 22 For an extensive discussion of the definition and importance of daily life for the development of modern photography see *ibid.*
- 23 After the dissolution of the first Nippon Kōbō, Hara, Kimura, and Okada founded their own group, called Chūō Kōbō (Central studio).
- 24 *NIPPON*, no. 22 (1940): 52. From its inception the society worked closely with the Board of Tourist Industry. See Foreign Affairs Association of Japan, *The Japan Year Book*, 1935 (Tokyo: Kenkyusha, 1935), 720.
- 25 Yamana not only created posters, newspaper advertisements, and packaging design for Shiseidō, but he also worked as a book designer for the two major publishing houses, Shinchō-sha and Chūō Kōron-sha.

- 26 For a full chronology of Yamana's career see Meguro Prefectural Museum, *Yamana Ayao-ten* [Exhibition of works by Yamana Ayao] (Tokyo: Kodansha, 1999).
- 27 For a brief biographical sketch of Kōno Takashi see Ishikawa, *Hōdō shashin no seishun jidai*, 63.
- 28 For a brief biographical sketch of Kamekura Yūsaku see *ibid.*, 81.
- 29 The Axis was later joined by Hungary, Rumania, and Slovakia. See *NIPPON*, no. 24 (1940): 11.
- 30 After the bombing of Pearl Harbor all resident foreigners in Japan from non-Axis countries were interned and eventually repatriated. Published travel accounts indicate, however, that there was still a sizable contingent of travelers to Japan from Germany, which included official tours by Hitler youth organizations and other Nazi representatives. For example see Marie Luise von Gronau, *In Kimono und Obi* (Stuttgart: K. Thienemanns, 1944).
- 31 Quoted and translated in Okatsuka, "Founding and Development," 24.
- 32 Dean MacCannell, *The Tourist* (New York: Schocken, 1976), 94.
- 33 Frank H. Lee, *Days and Years in Japan* (Tokyo: Hokuseido Press, 1935), 5–6.
- 34 Carol Bache, *Paradox Isle* (New York: Knopf, 1943), 3–4.
- 35 Spencer Crew and James Sims, "Locating Authenticity: Fragments of a Dialogue," in Karp and Lavine, *Exhibiting Cultures*, 163.
- 36 Stephen Greenblatt, "Resonance and Wonder," in Karp and Lavine, *Exhibiting Cultures*, 42.
- 37 The photographs are credited to the unknown, presumably German photographer Fritz Henle. The textual commentary and layout, however, were probably created by the editorial staff and art director Yamana Ayao.
- 38 "At the Foot of Mt. Fuji," *NIPPON*, no. 6 (1936): 22–23.
- 39 Kabayama Ayské, "What Has Japan in Store?" *NIPPON*, no. 3 (1935): 7.
- 40 Iijima Minoru, "Un Week End à Izu," *NIPPON*, no. 8 (1936): 19–22.
- 41 The photographs are generically credited to Nippon Kōbō.
- 42 Iijima, "Un Week End à Izu," 22.
- 43 Sugiyama Eisuke, "Chats on Manchoukuo," *NIPPON*, no. 13 (1937): 23.
- 44 Yosano Akiko, "A Talk on Japanese Women," *NIPPON*, no. 10 (1937): 3.
- 45 Iijima Minoru, "First Steps towards Being a Perfect Housewife," *NIPPON*, no. 10 (1937): 12–15.
- 46 Hasegawa Nyozeikan, "Life and Art," *NIPPON*, no. 11 (1937): 5.
- 47 "Pottery: How to Appreciate Its 'Japanese' Traits," *NIPPON*, no. 11 (1937): 27, 42.
- 48 MacCannell, *The Tourist*, 102.
- 49 *NIPPON*, no. 1 (1934): 33.
- 50 Advertisement over the table of contents in *NIPPON*, no. 14 (1938).
- 51 Natori, Kimura, Horino, Watanabe, Domon, Fujimoto, Okada, Sakamoto Manshichi, and several others worked on this publication.
- 52 Roberts, *Art of Interruption*, 30.
- 53 For essays on the various uses of montage see Matthew Teitelbaum, ed., *Montage and Modern Life* (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1992).

- 54 "Shrines in Shintō Life," *NIPPON*, no. 20 (1939): 19–21.
- 55 Roberts, *Art of Interruption*, 35.
- 56 "Hallo America! Some of Our Exhibits at the Golden Gate World Fair," *NIPPON*, no. 17 (1939): 48–49.
- 57 *Ibid.*, 48.
- 58 Yamawaki actually designed another, entirely new display for the hall in 1940 when the New York fair was extended for an additional year.
- 59 For a detailed discussion of this project see Kawahata Naomichi, "Fusing Photography and Space: Iwao Yamawaki's Photo Murals for New York World's Fair," in *Kolloquium über Bauhausfotografie* (Kawasaki: Kawasaki City Museum, 1997), 124–133.
- 60 Three special issues of the magazine appeared on China, Korea, and Manchukuo: *NIPPON*, no. 14 (1938); *NIPPON*, no. 18 (1939); and *NIPPON*, no. 19 (1939), respectively.
- 61 Sugiyama, "Chats on Manchoukuo," *NIPPON*, no. 13 (1937).
- 62 "Up and Coming Manchoukuo," *NIPPON*, no. 19 (1939): 4–6.
- 63 "Cooperative Government," *NIPPON*, no. 19 (1939): 14.
- 64 "Resources," *NIPPON*, no. 19 (1939): 25–26.
- 65 Far Eastern Society of Archaeology, "The Excavation of the Ruins of P'o-Hai's Palace," *NIPPON*, no. 8 (1936): 43.
- 66 Patricia Morton, "The Civilizing Mission of Architecture: The 1931 International Colonial Exposition in Paris" (Ph.D. diss., Princeton University, 1994), vols. 1–2.
- 67 *NIPPON*, no. 17 (1939): 26–33.
- 68 John Patric, *Why Japan Was Strong* (New York: Doubleday, Doran, 1943), 72.
- 69 Nitobe Inazō and Others, *Western Influences in Modern Japan* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1931), 1.
- 70 *NIPPON*, no. 4 (1935).
- 71 Frank H. Hedges, "Japan Becomes Comfortable," *Travel in Japan* 2, no. 1 (1936): 40–44.
- 72 Watanabe and other members of the International Photojournalism Association (Kokusai Hōdō Shashin Kyōkai) worked for this publication. Incidentally, this was the same group of photographers who worked on the large-scale photomurals displayed in Japan's pavilion at the Paris World's Fair in 1937.
- 73 The board's activities included "business concerning statistics and investigation; business concerning propaganda abroad; better accommodation and improvement of tourist points and sightseeing facilities; development of the hotel business and improvement of hotel accommodation; overseeing of guides and persons coming in direct contact with foreign tourists." In addition, the Government Committee of Tourist Industry was formed as an auxiliary organ. It was comprised of representatives from shipping firms and hotels, government officials, and scholars. See Foreign Affairs Association of Japan, *The Japan Year Book, 1931* (Tokyo: Kenkyusha, 1931), 297. In 1931 the board set up another subsidiary agency, the Kokusai

- Kankō Kyōkai (International Tourism Association), devoted entirely to producing publicity abroad. See Foreign Affairs Association of Japan, *The Japan Year Book* 1935, 720.
- 74 For a fascinating discussion of the travel industry developed around Manchuria see Louise Young, *Japan's Total Empire* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1998), 259–268. For an equally absorbing consideration of the exoticization of Japan for promoting domestic tourism in the postwar period see Marilyn Ivy, *Discourses of the Vanishing* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995), particularly 29–65. By 1941, under the auspices of the board, the Japan Tourist Bureau had international offices in London, Berlin, Los Angeles, New York, Shanghai, Beijing, Hong Kong, Manila, and Buenos Aires.
- 75 The total monetary expenditure in 1931–1932 by foreign sightseers, crews of foreign ships, foreign students, missionaries, and for diplomatic services was ¥42,603,000. This, of course, does not include money spent in Japan's colonies, through which many tourists traveled en route to Japan. See Foreign Affairs Association of Japan, *The Japan Year Book*, 1933 (Tokyo: Kenkyusha, 1933), 745–747.
- 76 Statistical information also indicates that there was a “remarkable upward tendency” in the number of tourists coming from Manchukuo and other East Asiatic countries. See Foreign Affairs Association of Japan, *The Japan Year Book*, 1937 (Tokyo: Kenkyusha, 1937), 663–665. The latest statistics for foreign tourism in the prewar period that I could locate are for 1939, when 32,951 tourists visited Japan. It is interesting to note that while U.S. and British tourists were still at the top of the list, Germans moved to third, increasing their numbers from 1,523 in 1935 to 2,447 in 1939. See Foreign Affairs Association of Japan, *The Japan Year Book*, 1940–41 (Tokyo: Kenkyusha, 1941), 587–588.
- 77 From the privately published travel account of Frederica Walcott, *Letters from the Far East* (Woodstock, Vt.: Elm Tree Press, 1917), 38. I would like to thank Simon Partner for bringing to my attention the travel accounts in the Duke University Library Special Collections, Durham, N.C.
- 78 Patric, *Why Japan Was Strong*, 26.
- 79 *Ibid.*, 44.
- 80 Foreign Affairs Association of Japan, *Japan Year Book*, 1937, 664.
- 81 Alpers, “Museum As a Way of Seeing,” 30.