

Images of American Racial Stereotypes in Nineteenth-Century Japan

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In the mid-nineteenth century, after more than 200 years of isolation from the West, residents of Japan were officially introduced to America, a country with a unique set of artistic conventions for race. As the Japanese encountered Americans of European descent and their images of the American “Indian” and “Negro” in newspapers, magazines, dime novels, and even in scientifically sanctioned history and geography books, they became aware of the racial stratification that existed in the white Western world and were, to some extent, forced to self-reflexively evaluate their place within it.¹ This essay examines the exportation of U.S. racial stereotypes and their adoption in Japanese art and culture.

For the Japanese people, the reaction to first contact with Americans was predicated on earlier relationships with European nations. Encounters with the West in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries had proven unsatisfactory, and in 1639 the Japanese government ordered the country’s borders closed to guard against perceived threats of foreign aggression and challenges to the Tokugawa Shogun’s rule. Europeans were expelled, and Japanese people traveling abroad were not allowed to return. The only Western foreigners permitted to stay and trade in Japan were the Dutch, who were confined to a small manmade island off the coast of Nagasaki, where their activity was strictly controlled. For more than two centuries the government severely limited Japan’s exposure to the rest of the world.

This situation changed with the arrival of a fleet of American ships commanded by Commodore Matthew Calbraith Perry in 1853. Although Japan initially resisted a relationship with America and the West, Perry succeeded



1. Utagawa Yoshifuji, *Americans Strolling About* [*Americajin yōkyō*], 1861. Woodblock print, 14 ¹⁵/₁₆ × 9 ¹¹/₁₆ in. Arthur M. Sackler Gallery, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, DC, Gift of the DeVal Foundation, from the Collection of Ambassador and Mrs. William Leonhart.

in opening the country to trade with the United States, and eventually with other nations as well, when he returned in 1854 with the threat of force. Soon after treaties with the Western countries were signed, a foreign settlement was established within the port city of Yokohama.

Not surprisingly, the presence of exotic-looking foreigners in Japan, with their strange hairstyles, feathered hats, and unusual clothing, fueled an interest in images of the Westerners. Woodblock print publishers in the nearby capital city of Edo (renamed Tokyo in 1868) quickly capitalized on this fascination with the newcomers in the

foreign settlement, issuing a new kind of woodblock print known as the “Yokohama picture” (*yokohama-e*). These prints were mass-produced for a general audience that could easily afford them and were sold by the thousands between 1859 and 1862, when their popularity began to wane.² Some artists appear to have traveled to Yokohama from Edo to “accurately” capture the appearances of their subjects. Access to the Westerners in these early years of the small Yokohama foreign settlement was difficult, however. The foreigners’ residences were segregated from those of Japanese merchants, and their travel outside the boundaries of Yokohama was restricted. Most artists, therefore, drew their inspiration from newspapers and magazines that trickled into Japan through the foreign settlement.³

The Western inhabitants of Yokohama—Dutch, French, Russian, English, and American—were all represented in these prints.⁴ To the Japanese artists who designed them, however, these strangers all looked much the same. Other than an occasional costume flourish, the foreigners were distinguishable only by the accompanying

text or by a printed inscription within the composition that noted their nationalities. The emphasis was on the exoticism of the subject matter as a whole; specific cultural differences were secondary.

Americans—fair-skinned people of European descent—were a popular subject among the pictures of foreigners in Yokohama (Figure 1). The definition of “American,” however, was a complicated one. Unlike the homogeneous depictions of the peoples of Holland, Russia, France, and England seen in foreign publications, the image of the white Euro-American was but one of the representations of Americans that was coming into the Japanese consciousness. The books, newspapers, and magazines that were reaching Japan through the foreign settlement depicted two other kinds of American people: Indians and Negroes. These “others” came to be known to the Japanese primarily through the filter of stories and illustrations conceived by the white Western world—accounts and pictures that provided a subtext defining nonwhites as less than human. The fact that this message was clearly received is evident in the nineteenth-century Japanese labeling of images of Native Americans and other non-white Americans with terms like *Amerika no dojin* (“American savages”) and *Amerika no bo* (“American ‘boy’”) in reference to adult males.⁵

Americans: The Early Years

White Americans of European descent were not the first Americans to be introduced to Japan through images. In the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, Dutch traders had brought maps that included quasi-scientific illustrations of the “people of different nations” and featured (correctly) images of Indians as the representative culture of America.⁶ These maps were widely disseminated, and it was through them that Dutch cartographers established global conventions for portraying the peoples of different nations—people with whom the Japanese had no experience and about whom they had no visual knowledge. These models were copied and codified by Japanese artists in the early seventeenth century in large paintings made for a wealthy military class interested in exotic themes.⁷

A celebrated example of this type of painting is a pair of eight-panel folding screens entitled *Bankoku ezu: Sekai zu/Nijūhachi toshi zu* (*Pictorial Map of All Countries: Map of the World and Twenty-eight Cities*) in the Imperial Household Collection in Tokyo. Almost six feet high and over 12 feet wide (each), this imposing set of screens is painted in ink and color on paper. On the right screen the anonymous artist has depicted 28 Western cities and a large map of Portugal derived from maps by the Dutch mapmakers Willem and Joan Blaeu. Above the cities, eight rulers of the Christian and Muslim worlds face off in pairs.⁸ The left screen features a map of the world flanked on either side by 42 pairs of costumed



2. *Bankoku ezu: Sekai zu (Map of the World and Twenty-eight Famous Cities)*, Momoyama to Edo period, 17th century. Details from a pair of eight-panel screens, each screen: 70 $\frac{5}{16}$ × 191 $\frac{1}{2}$ in. The Museum of the Imperial Collections, Sannomaru Shōzōkan, Tokyo.

figures representing the peoples of the world (Figure 2). These people are organized following Dutch models, what some scholars have called the “conquerors on the right and conquered on the left.” While care seems to have been taken to distinguish the different nationalities and to present them in an unbiased, almost anthropological way, there is no denying that the painting presents an iconography of civilized versus uncivilized—with the grouping of white and light-skinned on the right and nonwhite on the left, the richly clothed on the right and the partially clothed on the left, the weapon as accoutrement on the right and weapon as useful tool on the left.⁹

Through these Dutch-inspired paintings of the people of the world we get a sense that, for the first time, the Japanese had begun to think self-reflexively about their place in the global context. In most of the works the artists have placed the pair of Japanese representatives at the bottom of the “light-skinned” side of the maps, suggesting that they saw themselves as part of the “civilized world.” In this painting the artist has gone a step further to give the Japanese female figure an atypical, long and curly hairstyle, making her appear more like a Renaissance woman than a Japanese lady.¹⁰ In the nineteenth century, after the long break in regular contact with the West, the same hierarchy seen in these paintings would once again be clearly articulated to the Japanese—this time by Americans.

Images of American Indians

Despite the self-imposed isolation begun in 1639, by the early eighteenth century the Shogunate had relaxed some of the laws regarding contact with the Dutch. Western books could be purchased and translated. *Rangaku* or “Dutch learning” became an essential source of information on science and technology, and, with the extremely high literacy rate in Japan, thousands of copies of translated Dutch volumes were published and sold. Dutch cartography, perpetuating the visual images of the “people of the world,” was once again studied as interest in the West grew.¹¹ Generally speaking though, the image of the American Indian—placed among the many “uncivilized” peoples on these maps—was rather benign. Native Americans, usually with the label *Amerika* or “people of America” (*Amerika no jin*) were depicted as one group of the many scantily clad, brown-skinned people wearing feathered headdresses that inhabited the Americas.¹² It was not until the nineteenth century and interaction with the United States that the image of the American Indian began to change from a rather impersonal anthropological representation of earlier periods into something more savage and threatening.

The relationship between Native Americans and white Americans in the United States was constantly changing during the latter half of the nineteenth century, and, consequently, images of the American Indian that came to Japan took a variety of forms. This was reflected in contemporary newspapers such as *Harper's Weekly* that featured everything from articles on the so-called noble savage—with culturally edifying engravings of what was perceived to be controlled Indian life on the plains—to advertisements and cartoons of savages wielding knives. The Indian as a sexually threatening savage was a popular literary theme in the United States, and a staple in luridly illustrated publications coming to Japan like *Beadle's Dime Novels*.¹³ This was the image that ultimately came to represent the American Indian in the minds of the Japanese.

The greatest influence on this choice of how the Indian would be both perceived and represented in Japan seems to have been the prolific writings of the renowned scholar Fukuzawa Yukichi, who not only made two trips to the United States, but was a leading figure in a zealous attempt by a new imperial Japanese government (which came to power in 1868) to undertake the modernization of Japan. This was a complex project that involved the seemingly contradictory embrace of Western culture and the self-conscious revival of old court rituals.¹⁴

Woodblock prints, a popular and influential form of media in nineteenth-century Japan, capitalized on this imperially mandated modernization effort. Pictures showing technological innovations like the steam train, silk-reeling machines, and portraits of the emperor and his family wearing modern Western dress ultimately

became a means of visually educating the public to move toward what was referred to at the time as *bunmei kaika* or “civilization and enlightenment.” Fukuzawa’s writings were another means of educating the Japanese people. His ideas were not based as much on his personal experience in the West, however, as they were on information from illustrated American geography books such as Samuel Augustus Mitchell’s *A System of Modern Geography*, which he translated and interpreted for Japanese audiences. It was Mitchell—and therefore Fukuzawa’s—theory that the people of the world fell into general categories: the civilized, the semi-civilized, and the uncivilized.¹⁵ Not surprisingly, Europeans and Americans of European descent were placed in the “civilized” category. Native Americans and dark-skinned Americans of African descent were placed in the “uncivilized” category. The Japanese people, and other Asians, fell into the “semi-civilized” category. Undaunted by this designation, Fukuzawa wrote that, with this knowledge that they fell between “civilized” and “uncivilized,” the people of Japan—in order to become modern—should strive to become civilized like the (white) peoples of Europe and America, hence providing the rationale for Westernization in the guise of modernization.¹⁶ In the chapter entitled “Western Civilization as Our Goal” in the 1875 text *Bunmeiron no gairyaku* (“Outline for a Theory of Civilization”), for example, he states:

When we are talking about civilization in the world today, the nations of Europe and the United States of America are the most highly civilized, while the Asian countries such as Turkey, China, and Japan, may be called semi-developed countries, and Africa and Australia are to be counted as still primitive lands. . . . [T]he designations “civilized,” “semi-developed,” and “primitive” have been universally accepted by people all over the globe.

“[T]he attainment of modern civilization is of the greatest importance,” he later adds. “. . . We have only now reached the stage where true progress can be envisioned.”¹⁷

Images played a powerful role in this propaganda, in part because Fukuzawa was also indirectly involved in another part of the modernization effort: the transformation of the Japanese educational system. In 1872 new textbooks were required, and Fukuzawa’s illustrated *Sekai kunizukushi* (“Nations of the World”), an abridged translation and adaptation of several geography and history books published in the United States, became an officially mandated textbook for Japanese schools. First published in 1869 as a text for both adults and children, it was reprinted several times and sold over a million copies. *Sekai kunizukushi* greatly influenced how Japanese people, from childhood, viewed the Western world and the permutations of “civilization.”¹⁸ Its contents consequently shaped the Japanese conception of



3. "Savages of America Beating European People to Death." Woodblock print, 3 1/4 x 4 3/4 in. From Fukuzawa Yukichi, *Sekai kunizukushi* [*Nations of the World*] (ca. 1868–71 reprinting). Collection of the author.

the American Indian. In *Sekai kunizukushi* Fukuzawa describes the discovery of the Indians (*injiyan*) by Christopher Columbus, their life on the plains, and their dwindling numbers. He also includes an illustration (Figure 3) of Native Americans, with the caption, written within the frame, explaining: "Savages of America Beating European People to Death." This was an image drawn from the American geography and history books he used as his source material—one that was sociologically and scientifically sanctioned by the Western authors he held in such high regard.¹⁹ Variations of images on this theme appear in countless American books in the nineteenth century. Despite Fukuzawa's belief in their authenticity, however, the authors of these history and geography texts were not traveling across America to sketch true-to-life depictions of native peoples. They too were often drawing from an earlier visual source—a powerful image found in the first American history painting to be accepted by the Paris Salon: the 1804 painting of *The Murder of Jane McCrea* by the American artist John Vanderlyn (Figure 4). Although the painting did not create the initial excitement the artist had hoped for in Paris, it indirectly began the codification of the image of the American Indian that would, in a variety of permutations, transcend its time and place. It was a pictorial convention so pervasive that it was the model on which many illustrated articles, books, cartoons, advertisements, and dime novel covers were derived throughout the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.²⁰



4. John Vanderlyn, *The Murder of Jane McCrea*, 1804. Oil on canvas, 32 1/2 x 26 1/2 in. Wadsworth Atheneum Museum of Art, Hartford, CT. Purchased by Subscription. Photo, Wadsworth Atheneum Museum of Art/Art Resource, New York.

Vanderlyn's painting depicts a young American woman being scalped by savage Indians in the employ of the British army during the Revolutionary War. It related a story based on actual events that took place in 1777 but continued to capture the imagination of the American public for more than a hundred years. The subject was engraved, painted, and lithographed by artists as popular as Currier & Ives well into the early twentieth century, with most versions closely adhering to the Vanderlyn prototype.²¹ Fukuzawa derived his image of the American Indian from illustrations like these, heavily influenced by the convention established by Vanderlyn.



5. Adachi Ginkō, *The Strange Tale of the Castaways: A Western Kabuki* [*Hyōryū kidan sei'yō kabuki*]: *The Desert Plains of America*, 1879. Woodblock print, 14 3/16 x 9 5/8 in. Princeton University Art Museum, Museum purchase, Anne van Biema Collection Fund. Photo by Bruce White.

That Fukuzawa's representation of the American Indian became part of the Japanese consciousness is clearly seen in an 1879 woodblock print by the artist Adachi Ginkō and in the kabuki play on which that print was based (Figure 5).²² The print is an illustration of the play *The Strange Tale of the Castaways: A Western Kabuki*, produced in 1879 by the celebrated theatre owner Morita Kan'ya and playwright Kawatake Mokuami. Fresh from a highly acclaimed performance of a play in honor of and attended by General Ulysses S. Grant two months earlier, they hoped to capitalize on the publicity and on their celebrity by writing and bringing to the stage a play about Japanese people traveling

through America and Europe. In this illustration of the beginning of Act II, Adachi Ginkō has depicted the dangerous desert plains of America. There has been a train crash, which has left these young Japanese travelers in Western dress victim to the sexual and barbarous nature of the bright red, barefoot, and feather-adorned American savages (as they are described in the yellow cartouches within the composition) who loom over them. It is clear in the positioning of the figures—especially the standing Indian wielding the club—and the landscape with a large tree and lush grass in the background that the ultimate model for this woodblock print was Vanderlyn’s painting of *The Murder of Jane McCrea*. In its own context it recap-



6. Adachi Ginkō, *The Strange Tale of the Castaways: A Western Kabuki [Hyōryū kidan sei'yō kabuki]: Theatrical Scene with Foreigners*, 1879. Woodblock print, 14 $\frac{1}{4}$ × 9 $\frac{1}{2}$ in. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Bequest of William S. Lieberman. Photo © Metropolitan Museum of Art/Art Resource, New York.

tures the drama of the earlier work, and we sense the terror that Japanese audiences must have felt as they viewed such an image. Copied in the name of authenticity from American prototypes, the depiction of the red savage wielding a weapon became the accepted image of the American Indian in nineteenth-century Japan.

Images of the American Negro

Another of Adachi Ginkō’s woodblock prints illustrating *The Strange Tale of the Castaways* hints at the images that were being cultivated in Japan of the third type of American coming into the national consciousness: the American Negro (Figure 6).

Producer Morita Kan’ya had the revolutionary idea of ending his production with a “play within a play” for which he would hire real Western musicians to perform for both the characters in the story and the kabuki audience watching the performance. He brought in a troupe of English and American performers touring Asia at the time who, among other things, sang contemporary operettas, played the

violin, and performed the Highland fling. As we can see in this print, there was also a comic number based on the American minstrel show staple Brudder Bones.

As Vanderlyn's representation of the Indian as a savage killer became the convention for portraying the American Indian, so too did this minstrel figure portrayed with woolly hair, a dull gray-colored face, and exaggerated, almost ape-like features become one of the conventions for portraying the American Negro in nineteenth-century Japan. The black-faced minstrel was an image exported from the United States in a variety of media, and it is clear from the positioning of the figure with his arms and legs spread wide that Adachi Ginkō is working from a standardized image for this character of Brudder Bones.²³

The minstrel show had been known to the Japanese as early as 1854 through paintings of the one performed following a large banquet given by Perry for Japanese guests after his second arrival in Japan.²⁴ It was performed by some of his crew members, who blacked-up their faces with burnt cork to perform a number of songs, and is recorded as having delighted the Japanese audience.²⁵

Black people (Africans) and images of black people were not new to Japan in the mid-nineteenth century. They too had appeared on Dutch maps and Japanese interpretations of these maps in the "uncivilized" category. Yet contemporary records suggest that there was a certain reverence for the Africans who came to Japan in the late sixteenth century as both crewmen and slaves of European traders. Many Japanese people thought their dark skin indicated that they were from India, the land of Buddha's birth, and they came from miles around to see them. This interest is evidenced in early-seventeenth-century paintings of the port of Nagasaki, showing Portuguese traders and clergy members with their Javanese and African slaves. In these works there is only a slight difference in appearance between the slaves and their masters. The skin and hair color is not the same, and the slaves are barefoot; otherwise there is little differentiation in their features and form—they were all strange and exotic foreigners. They were—and this was what was important at the time—not Japanese. Gradually, however, the subhuman treatment of these African slaves by the white Europeans with whom the Japanese identified caused them to feel that they also should despise them and see them as inferior.

In the Yokohama prints made in the early 1860s artists adopted different approaches in portraying dark-skinned people. Works by artists like Utagawa Sadahide, who is believed to have traveled to the foreign settlement to study his subjects, reveal an interpretation similar to the early-seventeenth-century paintings of the Portuguese and their slaves at Nagasaki; beyond skin color, there is little difference in their appearance. In a woodblock print of a salesroom of a foreign mercantile firm in Yokohama, for example, we see a woman who is described in a cartouche as

a “black laundress.”²⁶ Except for the grayish coloring of her skin, however, she looks just like the white women in the room. It is interesting, though, that she is the only woman identified by a cartouche. Perhaps it is because she is so similar in appearance to the other women that the artist felt she had to be labeled as different. This sensitive approach to the subject contrasts with the treatment of black American men we see in Yokohama prints.

In a Yokohama print by the artist Ichiryūsai Yoshitoyo, for example, we see another type of depiction of the American Negro.

These men are not performers, conforming to the conventions of the minstrel, but sailors who came to Japan on merchant ships as both slaves and free men. They are dark-skinned, half-naked, and barefoot and, despite being served food and drink by a woman (who appears to be white), they are the quintessential image of the definition of “uncivilized” in appearance (Figure 7). The title of the print in the upper right corner telling us that these are *Amerika kuronbō* (American black “boys”/inferiors) informs these images. It does not contain the word *jin* or “person,” the term used for depictions of white European and American men and women in Yokohama prints, but the distinctively different ending *bo*.

Like the representation of the minstrel, the model for these figures appears to be the visual documentation of Perry and his crew. There are two images of Negro sailors in the earlier scrolls. Both have naked torsos with the same defined muscles of the men seen in the woodblock print made about six years later. They have baggy short pants and scarves which are held or hung around their necks. It is interesting to



7. Ichiryūsai Yoshitoyo, *American Black Men [Amerika kuronbō]*, 1860. Woodblock print, 14 ³/₁₆ × 9 ³/₈ in. Harvard Art Museums, Arthur M. Sackler Gallery, Bequest of William S. Lieberman. Photo, Imaging Department © President and Fellows of Harvard College.

note that in the two watercolor paintings of Perry's trip and this Yokohama print, the clothing, the scarves, and the definition of their nude muscular bodies all have an uncanny resemblance to paintings and sculptures of Buddhist demons turned guardians who are threatening in their fierce protection of Buddhist law. The appropriation of this form in both the 1854 paintings and in this 1860 print further emphasized the "uncivilized," possibly hidden demonic nature of the American Negro, known to the majority of the nineteenth-century Japanese population only through pictures like these. This too was a subtle message to the Japanese audience of the racial stratification that existed in the West.

Relatively speaking, there are few images of Native Americans and Americans of African descent in Japanese art of the nineteenth century, and this helped to solidify a singular impression of these "other Americans." It is important, however, to acknowledge these works that were derived from exported American models, because they created a negative view of the Indian and Negro that existed well into the twentieth century. As pictures of the Japanese themselves began to trickle into Japan through the foreign settlement at Yokohama—images often less than flattering with exaggerated features and dark skin—the depictions of Indians and Negroes also helped them to consider their own place in the global community as defined by white America.

Notes

1. The terms "Indian" and "Negro" are used in this essay to reflect nineteenth-century American parlance.
2. For a detailed examination and illustrations of Yokohama prints, see Ann Yonemura, *Yokohama: Prints from Nineteenth-Century Japan* (Washington, DC: Arthur M. Sackler Gallery/Smithsonian Institution Press, 1990).
3. Ibid., 82, and Julia Meech-Pekarik, *The World of the Meiji Print: Impressions of a New Civilization* (New York: John Weatherhill, Inc., 1986), 17–20.
4. See Yonemura, *Yokohama*, especially fig. 8, and catalogue entries 21–32 and 34–39.
5. The word *dojin* has, over the course of Japanese history, ranged in meaning from "savage" to "indigenous person." By the beginning of the Meiji period in 1868, however, it was used as a derogatory term. See David Howell, *Geographies of Identity in Nineteenth-Century Japan* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005).
6. See, for example, Willem Janszoon Blaeu, *Nova Orbis Terrarum Geographica* (1607) and Joan Blaeu, *Nova et Accurata Torius Terrarium Orbis Tabula* (1646), in *Japan Envisions the West: 16th–19th Century Japanese Art from Kobe City Museum*, ed. Yukiko Shirahara (Seattle: Seattle Art Museum, 2007), figs. 4, 9.
7. Examples of these paintings can be found in Yoshiaki Shimizu, *Japan: The Shaping of Daimyo Culture* (Washington, DC: National Gallery of Art, 1988), and Money L. Hickman, *Japan's Golden Age: Momoyama* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1996). See also Ann Yonemura, et al., *Twelve Centuries of Japanese Art from the Imperial Collections* (Washington, DC: Freer Gallery of Art and Arthur M. Sackler Gallery, Smithsonian Institution, 1997), 102–05.
8. The illustrations of these cities are mostly derived from Willem Blaeu's 1607 map, although the view of Rome is believed to have been modeled after *Vita Beati patris Ignatii Loyolae* (1610). Shimizu, *Japan: The Shaping of Daimyo Culture*, 181. The figures are identified as the rulers of Persia, Abyssinia, Tartary, Moscow, France, Spain, Turkey, and the Holy Roman Empire.

9. For an interesting exploration of this categorization, see Ronald Toby, "The 'Indianness' of Iberia and Changing Japanese Iconographies of Other," in *Implicit Understandings: Observing, Reporting and Reflecting on the Encounters between Europeans and Other Peoples in the Early Modern Era*, ed. Stuart B. Schwartz (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 323–54.

10. Ibid.

11. By the mid-eighteenth century, versions of earlier maps with their (labeled) depictions of peoples of foreign lands were published for the general public in great quantities. See, for example: *Bankoku sozu* (Kyoto: Hayashi Jizaemon, 1671). Dictionaries and family encyclopedias also included these same maps with the labeled foreigners following on subsequent pages. See, for instance *Daifuku setsuyoshu daizo hokan* (Kyoto: Umemura Ichibei, 1761). On the influence of the Dutch on art of this period, see Calvin French, *Through Closed Doors: Western Influence on Japanese Art 1639–1853* (Rochester, MI: Meadow Brook Art Gallery, 1977) and *Shiba Kōkan: Artist, Innovator, and Pioneer in the Westernization of Japan* (New York: Weatherhill, 1974).

12. Mexican and South American Indian cultures were also included as part of this group.

13. On the appearance and influence of dime novels, see Jonathan E. Zwicker, *Practices of the Sentimental Imagination: Melodrama, The Novel, and the Social Imaginary in Nineteenth-Century Japan* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2006), 210–13. The impact of the dime novel on Japanese literature (particularly drama) of the early Meiji period is discussed in J. Scott Miller, *Adaptations of Western Literature in Meiji Japan* (New York: Palgrave, 2001). See also Christopher Castiglia, *Bound and Determined: Captivity, Culture-Crossing, and White Womanhood from Mary Rowlandson to Patty Hearst* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996); and June Namias, *White Captives: Gender and Ethnicity on the American Frontier* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1993). Albert Johannsen, *The House of Beadle and Adams and its Dime and Nickel Novels: The Story of a Vanished Literature* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1950); for an example of a cover illustration of a sexually aggressive Indian, see vol. 1, fig. 54.

14. Founder of Keio University and appearing today on Japan's 10,000-yen banknote, Fukuzawa made his trips to America in 1860 and 1867. In accordance with Japanese custom, the surname precedes the given name.

15. Samuel Augustus Mitchell, *A System of Modern Geography* (Philadelphia: E. H. Butler & Company), 1870 (editions of this text had been published since 1839). Fukuzawa translated Mitchell's description of stages of enlightenment in his 1872 *Sekai Kunizukushi*; see Keio Gijuku, ed., *Fukuzawa Yukichi zenshu*, vol. 2 (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1959), 663–64. Mitchell originally divided the world into five stages, with two categories of uncivilized (savage, barbarous) and two categories of civilized (civilized, enlightened), and one category that bridged stages (half-civilized); Fukuzawa conflated the groups.

16. Fukuzawa describes the Japanese as being half-civilized in *Bunmeiron no gairyaku* ("Outline of a Theory of Civilization"), 1875, in Keio Gijuku, ed., *Fukuzawa Yukichi zenshu*, vol. 2 (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1959). Fukuzawa's original woodblock-printed books have been scanned by Keio University and can be accessed at http://project.lib.keio.ac.jp/dg_kul/index.html.

17. David A. Dilworth and G. Cameron Hurst III, trans., *Yukichi Fukuzawa: An Outline of a Theory of Civilization* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2008), 17–18. *Bunmeiron no gairyaku* (http://project.lib.keio.ac.jp/dg_kul/index.html), 43–44, 48–49.

18. In his article, "Fukuzawa Yukichi cho *Sekai kunizukushi* ni kansuru ichikenkyū: shoshigakuteki chōsa," Minamoto Shōkyū posits that the images in this text had an influence on the way the Japanese people viewed the world from the Meiji period onward. See *Kūkan, shakai, chiri shisō*, no. 2 (1997): 2–18.

19. In *Sekai kunizukushi*, Fukuzawa explains to the reader that the text is a translation derived from a compilation of geography and history books; *Fukuzawa Yukichi zenshū*, vol. 2 (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1959), 585. From the text he translated and the images he copied, we can specifically cite Mitchell's *System of Modern Geography* and Sarah Sophie Cornell's *Cornell's High School Geography* as two of his sources. The many texts featuring a variation of this image include Robert Sears, *The Pictorial History of the American Revolution*. (Boston: Reading and Co., 1846), fig. 113; John Warner Barber, *Incidents in American History* (New York: Geo. F. Cooledge & Brothers, 1847), 145; and Samuel Goodrich, *Pictorial History of America* (Hartford, CT: House & Brown, 1853).

- 20.** On this painting's influence on nineteenth-century American art, see Samuel Y. Edgerton Jr., "The Murder of Jane McCrea: The Tragedy of an American Tableau d'Histoire," *Art Bulletin* 47, no. 4 (December 1965). doi:10.2307/3048306.
- 21.** Currier & Ives produced a hand-painted color lithograph entitled *Murder of Miss Jane McCrea, A.D. 1777* in 1846; see *Currier & Ives: A Catalogue Raisonné* (Detroit: Gale Research, ca. 1983), no. 4638.
- 22.** On this play and the woodblock prints associated with it, see Nicole Fabricand-Person, "From the Wild West to the Far East: The Imagining of America in a Nineteenth-Century Japanese Woodblock Print," *The Record, Journal of the Princeton University Art Museum*, 2009.
- 23.** For early minstrel images, see Robert C. Toll, *Blackening Up: The Minstrel Show in Nineteenth-Century America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1974). On Brudder Bones, see the cover for *The Celebrated Negro Melodies, as Sung by the Virginia Minstrels* (published in Boston in 1843) in Hans Nathan, *Dan Emmett and the Rise of Early Negro Minstrelsy* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1962), fig. 40, 127.
- 24.** At least two similar water color-painted illustrations of this minstrel show exist, likely based on sketches done by artists sent to record the event by the Emperor and Shogun. The first version is assembled paintings mounted on a folding screen in *Tokyo daigaku shiryō hensen-jo* (Tokyo University Historiographical Institute); an illustration of this work appears on the cover of *American Heritage* 29, no. 3 (April-May 1978). The second painting, in the Chrysler Museum, Norfolk, VA, is pictured in *American Heritage* 9, no. 3 (April 1958): 21.
- 25.** See Victor Fell Yellin, "Mrs. Belmont, Matthew Perry, and the 'Japanese Minstrels'" *American Music* 14, no. 3 (Autumn, 1996): 257–75. A contemporary account appears in Frederic Trautmann, trans., *With Perry to Japan: A Memoir by William Heine* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1990): 154–55, 182, 212–13, note 5.
- 26.** This 1861 woodblock print appears in Yonemura, *Yokohama*, cat. entry 14.