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of Princeton University

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From The Editor

Volume 13, no. 2 (Autumn 2009) is the penultimate issue of the *East Asian Library Journal*. We will publish the final issue, volume 14, nos. 1 & 2 (Spring & Autumn 2010), prior to my retiring as editor of this journal at the end of June 2010. The East Asian Studies Program of Princeton University has for several years been interested in winding down the operations of the *East Asian Library Journal*. In addition, the current, widely reported financial challenges facing higher education in the United States have affected Princeton University to a significant degree. Each and every department and program here has probed its operations in order to trim its budget. The East Asian Studies Program made a decision to halt funding for the journal's operations and to redirect existing moneys to other projects.

In the current number, an essay about blind culture in Japan stands with two articles on Western adventurers, whose activities in China and Japan, respectively, included the acquisition of significant collections of books and other printed and manuscript material. Bruce Swanson (1937–2007), Commander U.S. Navy retired, has written on the early years of the naval career of Irvin Van Gorder Gillis (1875–1948), the agent and consultant living in Beijing in the first half of the twentieth century through whom Guion Moore Gest (1864–1948) acquired a now-famed trove of old and rare Chinese books and documents. Bibliographer J. S. Edgren, whose name is well known to readers of this journal, writes about Adolf Erik Nordenskiöld (1832–1901), the Swedish geologist of Finnish origins, whose 1878–1879 voyage through the Northeast Passage from Sweden to Japan yielded not only valuable scientific data for the members of his expedition team, but also a remarkable collection of old and rare Japanese books and, as well, an eclectic accumulation of unusual ephemera from Japan, all dated to the year 1879.

In his essay on blind culture in Japan, Kojiro Hirose passionately builds a case for the elegance and importance of the sense of touch.

Weaving Japan's history of printing raised letters for the blind and vignettes from his own life of learning through touch into a description of his professional work to mount barrier-free and universally appreciable museum exhibits, Professor Hirose unabashedly declares, "I want the world to notice the profound culture of touching." Indeed, his words point undeniably to the significance of ways of reading beyond the visual. Michael Emmerich has translated the explanatory note for the tipped-in chart of Japanese braille, which invites the journal's readers themselves to touch the "points" of this tactile Japanese type.

The final volume of the *East Asian Library Journal*, Volume 14, nos. 1 & 2 (Spring & Autumn 2010), will present four articles:

Chen Huaiyu's catalogue of the Chinese-language materials in the collection of Dunhuang fragments in the East Asian Library at Princeton University;

Joseph Dennis's research on the economics of publishing local histories in China in the Ming dynasty;

Thomas Ebrey's exhaustive survey of the many editions and states of the color woodblock-printed set *Shizhuzhai shuhuapu* (Ten Bamboo Studio Collection of Calligraphy and Painting); and

Hiroki Kikuchi's introduction to the tradition of producing manuscript copies in Japan.

The intention is that this double issue, scheduled for release around the end of June 2010, will be especially appealing to the journal's readers and a fitting gathering of scholarship on the history of the book in East Asia with which to close the publishing run of the *East Asian Library Journal* and its predecessor title, the *Gest Library Journal*.

Nancy Norton Tomasko
December 2009

News and Notes

New Frederick W. Mote Monograph

At his passing in 2005, Frederick W. Mote, Professor Emeritus of East Asian Studies at Princeton University, left in progress a manuscript memoir and a file of related materials. The *East Asian Library Journal* is very pleased to have been entrusted with the publication of this manuscript as Professor Mote's final scholarly monograph, *China and the Vocation of History in the Twentieth Century: A Personal Memoir*. The author's wife, Hsiao-lan Mote, carefully read the manuscript at each stage of the editing process and located almost all of the figures that grace this book. The publisher is the East Asian Library Journal, and the distributor is Princeton University Press. See the Princeton University Press website, http://press.princeton.edu, for a listing of Mote's book (ISBN 978-0691-14463-4) in the Spring 2010 catalogue and for ordering information. The book, three hundred sixty pages in length, includes a preface by Michael Gasster, Professor Emeritus of Chinese History at Rutgers University, around fifty figures and maps in color, appendices, and addenda.

Professor Mote has written a historian's memoir that uses observation and personal experience to understand the intellectual and social transformation of China. His narrative distils his reflections on modern China and details change in Chinese historical studies in the twentieth century—in China among the Chinese themselves and within Chinese historical study outside of China. Language training in the Army Specialized Training Program and subsequent wartime service in the mid-1940s with the Office of Strategic Services serendipitously drew Mote into the study of China, the immense discipline to which he devoted his life. Previously unpublished material in the text, appendices, and addenda documents such diverse encounters as the intellectual debates among Chinese historians in the first half of the twentieth century, destruction

of a Catholic mission by the Communists, Sino-Japanese relations in China in the aftermath of World War II, a gathering of Junior Sinologues in 1955 in Leiden, a 1974 delegation visit to China, and the growth of East Asian Studies at Princeton University.

East Asian Digital Library

The results to date of the digitization of some of the rare works in the East Asian Library of Princeton University are now available to the public online. An exchange program with the Academia Sinica in Taipei, Taiwan, made possible digitization of about twenty titles of medical texts. The number of titles now available has considerably expanded to include a second, larger digitization project, funded by the Chiang Ching-kuo Foundation and conducted cooperatively with the Harvard-Yenching Library of Harvard University, the Library of Congress, and the Fu Ssu-nien Library of the Academia Sinica. Eventually the electronic files for these books will be fully processed with enhanced navigation features, but currently they are available in PDF format, which can be downloaded for reading and personal use only. Links to the titles available and further information about the project may be found on the website of The East Asian Library and The Gest Collection at Princeton University, http://eastasianlib.princeton.edu/diglib.php.

International Conference on the Book

The International Conference on the Book holds an annual event open to, according to its website, "a wide range of participants from the world of books, including authors, publishers, printers, librarians, IT specialists, book retailers, editors, literacy educators, and academic researchers and scholars from all disciplinary traditions." Presentation categories include a diverse gamut of topics related to the past, present, and future of all aspects of books. Each year there is a very small number of presentations on book-related topics in East Asia, which suggests that there is considerable room for expansion of the "international" scope of this conference.

The Sixth Annual International Conference on the Book was held in the autumn of 2008 at the Catholic University in America, Washington

DC. The Seventh Annual International Conference on the Book was held 16–18 October 2009 at the University of Edinburgh, Edinburgh, Scotland. The deadline for the all for papers for the Eighth Annual Conference to be held 6–8 November 2010 at the University of St. Gallen, St. Gallen, Switzerland is March 2010. The Ninth Annual Conference is planned for 14–16 October 2011 at the University of Toronto, Toronto, Canada. See the website, www.book-conference.com, for more information on the programs, publications, and deadlines for the upcoming conferences.

New York Times Arts-Column Item, "Rare Chinese Books"

Noteworthy is the *New York Times*'s giving space in its "Arts, Briefly" column of Monday, 12 October 2009, to an Associated Press news release on rare Chinese books. Featured was the six-year, multimillion-dollar cooperative agreement signed by Harvard College Library and the National Library of China to digitize the more than fifty thousand volumes in the Harvard-Yenching collection of rare books. This is a project of breath-taking scope. And one can only hope that photographing these rare texts for promised long-run digital access and decreased handling damage to the originals over time in fact does not render unfortunate and irreversible damage to the works during the digitization process.

For the record (and perhaps as testimony to the wild diversity in the domain of the arts and culture in America here in the first decade of the twenty-first century), this news about rare Chinese books appeared in the company of the following topics: weekend movie-box-office figures, the unexpected absence from performance (due to illness) of the star of a Broadway play, the appointment of a conductor to a new position, an opera diva's persevering in performance despite two separate foot injuries, the new fall lineup for television sitcoms, an announcement of a television series on the return to respectability of a disgraced sports figure, and, finally, a new line of clothing and accessories featuring classic comic-book characters and promoted by a major department-store chain.

Japanese Medical Books in the Tokugawa–Meiji Era: Holdings in North American Libraries and Beyond

On 21 September 2009 in the East Asian Studies Department at Princeton University, four Japanese scholars of the history of Japanese traditional medicine held a seminar on historical documents related to Japanese medicine. Participants and the topics of their presentations were as follows:

Senjurō Machi, Nishōgakusha University: "Japanese Historical Medical Books in North American Libraries";

Shizu Sakai, Juntendō University, President of Japan Society of Medical History, and President of Asian Society of Medical History): "Japanese Historical Medical Documents in North American Libraries";

Nobuko Shimizu, Kitasato University: "Classification of Old Japanese Medical Books"; and

Mikio Watanabe, Juntendō University: "Japanese Historical Medical Documents and the History of Electrotherapy."

This group is officially charged by the Japanese Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science, and Technology to conduct a survey of old Japanese medical books in collections outside Japan. These scholars were on the Princeton University campus from 20–22 September inspecting holdings of such medical books in The East Asian Library and The Gest Collection, many of which have yet to be catalogued. It was through the initiative of Keiko Ono, research fellow in East Asian Studies at Princeton, that these scholars learned about Princeton's holdings. The four scholars graciously agreed to make presentations in the public seminar and also invited Professor Benjamin Elman and graduate students to view Princeton's holdings of these works.

Pearl of the Snowlands: Buddhist Printing at the Derge Parkhang

From 11 September to 5 December 2009 the Center for Book & Paper Arts of Columbia College Chicago is hosting an exhibit that visually documents the culture and arts of Tibetan Buddhist woodblock printing as practiced in the Derge Sutra Printing Temple. On 9 October Patrick

Dowdey, curator of the Mansfield Freeman Center for East Asian Studies at Wesleyan University, gave a lecture on the Derge printing site and its role in the dissemination of Tibetan culture. On 21 November James Canary, a Tibetan scholar and Special Collections Conservator at Indiana University, will lead a panel entitled "History, Printing, and People: The Derge Parkhang and Tibetan Cultural Revival." Other participants are Yudru Tsomo, a scholar of Sino-Tibetan relations and assistant professor of history at Lawrence University, and exhibit organizers, Clifton Meador, director of the Columbia College MFA Program in Book and Paper Arts, and Patrick Dowdey. Jim Canary will conduct a two-day (21–22 November) workshop on the Himalayan book that includes making daphne paper, making dyes, woodblock printing on cloth and paper, and binding a Tibetan-style stitched binding.For more information on this program and the catalogue accompanying the exhibit, see www.bookandpaper.org; or write to Columbia College Chicago, Center for Book & Paper Arts, 1104 South Wabash Avenue, 2nd Floor, Chicago, IL 60605-2328, or at book&paper@colum.edu.

Centennial Celebration of the National Library of China

From 7 to 12 September 2009 the National Library of China in Beijing marked the 100th anniversary of its founding with two conferences open to an audience of delegates invited from around the world and with a series of related public exhibitions and television programs. Ma Tai-loi, the director of Princeton's East Asian Library, represented Princeton at the festivities and scholarly conferences. Details of the events may be found on the special website created for the centennial events: www.nlc.gov.cn/bngq/index.html. Of considerable interest is a series of eight videos about various aspects of the history of the National Library of China, its collections, efforts to relocate and repurchase treasures lost from the collections, and book and paper conservation practices, which China Central Television (CCTV) broadcast originally in the autumn of 2009. Continuing access to the videos is available through links on the celebration website.

As any scholar who has been fortunate to gain access to the treasures in the holdings of this great library may be inclined to testify, the National Library of China in its one hundred years of operation has

been progressively moving to the forefront of information management with the desire to transmit knowledge about Chinese civilization and to serve the knowledge and information needs of world society. Echoing both The Classics and contemporary politics, the slogan selected for the centenary, *Chuancheng wenming, fuwu shehui* (Transmit Civilization, Serve Society), encapsulates the aspirational spirit of the operation of this great institution in the twenty-first century.

Luminous Worlds: Chinese Shadow Figures from The East Asian Library and The Gest Collection

Mary E. Hirsch, a researcher in Chinese art with a special interest in shadow figures, is the guest curator of an exhibit of a selection of the more than two-thousand-piece cache of shadow figures held in The East Asian Library and The Gest Collection at Princeton University. (See figure 1.) Irvin Van Gorder Gillis acquired these figures in the late 1920s

1. Front of postcard invitation to the 20 August 2009 opening of "Luminous Worlds: Chinese Shadow Figures From The East Asian Library & The Gest Collection," curated by Mary E. Hirsch. Postcard designed by Christopher Mattison.

for his client Guion Moore Gest, and curators of the Gest Collection over the decades have made special efforts to keep the collection intact and to house it properly. Until the exhibit opening on 20 August 2009, only a few of the shadow figures had previously been exhibited. Jody Beenk, Rare Book Conservator in the Princeton University Firestone Library, served as installation consultant and devised numerous unusual display structures that help simulate shadow-figure stage settings. A color-illustrated pamphlet accompanies the exhibit, which is on public display until 22 January 2010 in the entry gallery of the East Asian Library on the third floor of the Frist Campus Center on the campus of Princeton University. On 12 November 2009 Mary Hirsch gave a public lecture at Princeton University, sponsored by the Program in East Asian Studies and the Tang Center for East Asian Art, on her research on Chinese shadow theater.

Imprimer Sans Profit? Le livre non commercial dans la Chine impériale (Noncommercial Books in Imperial China)

Scholars participating in this international conference, held in Paris from 11 to13 June 2009 at the Institute national d'histoire de l'art, considered papers on palace printing; the printing and distribution of religious and lay works; publication carried out by religious organizations; publication by local government, private academies, and individual families; and the production of materials on fine arts and literature. Additional information on the sponsoring organizations for this conference, may be found at the following websites: www.crcao.fr for the Centre de recherche sur les civilisations chinoise, japonaise et tibétaine; and at www.efeo.fr for the École francaise d'Extreme-Orient. Information on the publication of the papers from this conference is forthcoming.

Censorship, Media, and Literary Culture in Japan: From Edo to Postwar

An international symposium convened 6–7 March 2009 at the Donald Keene Center of Japanese Culture, Columbia University, to explore censorship in Japan; Japanese literary and visual culture; and pre–World

War II and Occupation period literature, film, and popular culture. For details of the conference program, see the Keene Center website: www.keenecenter.org under "Events Calendar" for spring 2009.

Beauty and Bravado in Japanese Woodblock Prints: Highlights From the Gillett G. Griffin Collection

The Princeton University Graphic Arts Collection mounted an exhibition of Japanese woodblock prints that ran from 18 January to 7 June 2009. On display were items that Gillett G. Griffin, curator emeritus of Princeton University's Graphic Arts Collection and a collector of Japanese prints for more than sixty years, has donated to the University. The prints evidence evolving print technologies and graphic-design trends in Japan from the late seventeenth century to the midnineteenth century.

Utagawa Hiroshige: Shaping the Japanese Landscape

A two-part exhibition of over one hundred fifty woodblock prints by Hiroshige was on view at the Seibold House Museum in Leiden from 20 December 2008–11 January 2009 and 14 January–22 February 2009. Curators of the exhibition, Christiann Uhlenbeck and Marije Jansen, coauthored an elegant catalogue by the same title as that of the exhibition. For details, see below in Books and Articles of Note under the authors' names.

Fellows of the Friends of Princeton University Library

Among the summer 2008 Fellows of the Friends of Princeton University Library were two scholars with a research projects on the history of the book in East Asia. Lucille Chia, Professor of History, University of California, Riverside, undertook research on the history of Chinese books through the significant collection of Chinese Buddhist imprints in the Gest Collection and gave a talk to the university community on 6 August 2008. Professor Chia's research was funded by the East Asian Studies Program. Margaret Wee-Siang Ng, McGill University Ph.D. candidate, utilized the unusually large collection of medical texts in the

Gest Collection to study Chinese traditional childbirth practices. Ms. Ng presented a summary of her research findings on 18 August 2009.

In the summer of 2009 Darui Long, Professor of Buddhist Studies at University of the West, did research on the exemplar of the Qisha edition of the Chinese Buddhist Canon in the Gest Collection. Professor Long's research visit was funded by the East Asian Studies Program. Peng Xu, a Ph.D. candidate at the University of Chicago, pursued information on literati singing of opera in the late Ming dynasty. Ms. Xu utilized the East Asian Library's large photographic-reprint collection of rare Chinese works in the Naikaku Bunko in Japan and gave a talk on her work on 2 July 2009.

For more information on the program of fellow of the Friends of Princeton University Library, see the organization's website: www.princeton.edu/rbsc/fellowships/f_ships.html. Research proposals for the next round of applications are due 1 April 2010.

Sainsbury Institute Third Thursday Lecture Series

Throughout the year on the third Thursday of each month, the Sainsbury Institute for the Study of Japanese Arts and Cultures, located in Norwich, United Kingdom, presents a public lecture on topics often related to printing, printmaking, and visual culture. For more information and a calendar of the current lecture series, see the institute's website: www.sainsbury-institute.org. Information is also available at Sainsbury Institute, 64 The Close, Norwich, NR1 4DH. Tel.: 01603 624349. Fax.: 01603 625011. E-mail: sisjac@sainsbury-institute.org.

Books and Articles of Note

Berry, Mary Elizabeth. *Japan in Print: Information and Nation in the Early Modern Period*. Asia: Local Studies/Global Themes 12. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2006. 342 pp. Illustrations and maps. ISBN 0-520-23766-8. Cloth.

Burg, Christer von der, comp. *The Art of Contemporary Chinese Woodcuts (Zhongguo dangdai muban yishu)*. London: The Muban Foundation, 2003. 267 pp. ISBN 0-9546048-0-6. Cloth.

ISBN 0-9546048-1-4. Paper. Essays by Frances Wood, Julia F. Andrews, Ellen Johnston Laing, and An Bin on the history of printmaking in China and woodcut printing in the twentieth century precede the portfolio of prints, which is arranged alphabetically by the artists' surnames. The large, 9"x13" format makes this work a visual treat and gives the reader sufficient visual space to appreciate each print. A biography sets each artist in the context of his training, techniques, and exposure in the larger art world. Of particular note are printmaker and scholar David Barker's well-chosen "Chinese-English Glossary of Terms Relating to Woodblock Printing" and a section entitled "Chinese Institutions, Names, and Terms," both of which follow the print portfolio. David Barker of the Muban Educational Trust drew this work to the attention of the editor of the *East Asian Library Journal*.

Carpenter, John C., ed. *Reading Surimono: The Interplay of Text and Image in Japanese Prints*. Leiden and Boston: Hotei Publishing, Brill; Zürich: In association with Museum Rietberg Zürich, 2008. 432 pp. Over 400 color illustrations. ISBN 978-90-04-168411. Jacketed cloth. This catalogue, published in conjunction with an exhibit of Japanese prints collected by Swiss artist and collector Marino Lusy, contains eleven essays on the *surimono* genre, which combines literature and art in its composition.

Eliot, Simon, Andrew Nash, and Ian Willison, eds. *Literary Cultures and the Material Book*. British Library Studies in the History of the Book. London: British Library, 2007. xix, 444 pp. Illustrations and a map. ISBN 978-0-7123-0684-3. Cloth. The editors of this volume present papers from a 2004 symposium held at the Centre for Manuscript and Print Studies in the Institute of English Studies in the University of London and at the British Library, divided into three categories: non-Western traditions of the book; the Western book in history; and language empires. Glen Dudbridge's essay "A Thousand Years of Printed Narrative in China" and Peter

Kornicki's essay "Marketing the Tale of Genji in Seventeenth-Century Japan" comprise the conference's attention to the East Asian realm of the history of the book.

Field, Dorothy. *Paper and Threshold: The Paradox of Spiritual Connection in Asian Cultures*. Ann Arbor, Michigan: The Legacy Press, 2007. 93 pp. Foreword by Jane M. Farmer. Elaborately illustrated in color. Bibliography. Glossary of papermaking terms. ISBN-13: 978-0-9797974-0-8 and ISBN-10: 0-9797974-0-3. Cloth. The author, a student of textiles and paper making, presents an informed look at the sacred uses of paper across a wide spectrum of Asian cultures and with references to civilizations on other continents. The book was published by Cathleen A. Baker, a career paper conservator, who also has founded a small press to produce finely printed books. See www.thelegacypress.com for more information on *Paper and Threshold*.

Formanek, Susanne, and Sepp Linhart, eds. *Written Texts / Visual Texts: Woodblock-Printed Media in Early Modern Japan*. Hotei Academic European Studies on Japan 3. Amsterdam: Hotei Publishing, 2005. 368 pp. Illustrations, bibliography, and index. ISBN 9-07482-258-4. Contributors and their essay topics are:

- Franziska Ehmcke on Tokaido woodblock-print series;
- Susanne Formanek on pictorial, Edo-period Sugeroku games;
- Harada Nobua on books and the transmission of culinary culture;
- Ann Herring on printed toys, prints, books, and other publications for young people in the Tokugawa era;
- Stephan Kohn on documentary literature in the late Edo;
- Sepp Linhart, two essays, one on early Japanese newspapers and the other on news and new-style publications;
- Ekkehard May on book illustrations in early modern Japan;
- Hartmund O. Rotermund on the depiction of measles;
- Shirahata Yozaburo on printing illustrated travelogues in eighteenth-century Japan;

- Martina Schoenbein on illustrated Kabuki texts;
- Yokoyama Toshio on illustrated household encyclopedias;
- Reinhard Zollner on publications related to popular religion.

Idema, Wilt, ed. *Books in Numbers: Seventy-fifth Anniversary of the Harvard-Yenching Library*. Harvard-Yenching Library Studies 8. Cambridge, MA: Harvard-Yenching Library, Harvard University; Hong Kong: Distributed by The Chinese University Press, 2007. xxviii, 500 pp. ISBN 978-9-6299-6631-6 and ISBN 9-62996-331-0. The volume comprises the papers presented at the symposium "Books in Numbers" held at the Harvard-Yenching Library, 17–18 October 2003 to celebrate the seventy-fifth anniversary of the founding of that library. See volume 11.2 of the *East Asian Library Journal*, pp. xix–xx, for a note on that celebration. For more information on the conference volume, write to Librarian's Office, Harvard-Yenching Library, Harvard University, 2 Divinity Ave, Cambridge, MA 02138, or by fax to (617) 496-6008.

Koretsky, Elaine. *Killing Green: An Account of Hand Papermaking in China*. Ann Arbor, Michigan: The Legacy Press, 2009. 217 pp. Eighty-five color and black-and-white photographs. ISBN 978-0-9797974-1-5. Cloth. This newest work by Elaine Koretsky, the veteran historian of world paper, is an account of paper making in China based on eighteen field expeditions to forty-two villages in Asia over a quarter of a century to photograph and document hand-papermaking techniques.

Lenoir, Yves, and Nicolas Standaert, eds., with Michel Brix, Michel Hermans, and Brigitte Van Wymeersch. *Les Danses rituelles chinoises d'apres Joseph-Marie Amiot*. Bruxelles: Éditions Lessius, and Namur: Presses universitaires de Namur, 2005. 326 pp. Numerous illustrations and tables and generous bibliographies. ISBN 2-87299-135-2 and 2-87037-485-2, respectively. Paper. This work of five scholars in seven chapters details the life and works of Joseph-Marie Amiot, an eighteenth-century Catholic missionary in China, whose interest in music and ritual lead him to a study of the writings of the late Ming prince Zhu Zaiyu, a renowned scholar

of mathematics, the calendar, musicology, and ritual dance. Michel Herman, Nicolas Standaert, Yves Lenoir, Brigitte Van Wymeersch, and Michel Brix contribute essays on Amiot's biography, the sources and content of Amiot's major work, the history of its composition, analysis of Amiot's discussion of the role of dance in Chinese religious and civil ritual, and Amiot's 1761 journal article on Chinese dance and references to dance in Confucian works.

Nicolas Standaert's related publication on this topic "Ritual Dances and Their Visual Representations in the Ming and the Qing," first appeared fully illustrated in the *East Asian Library Journal* 12.1 (Spring 2006), pp. 68–181. The Academia Sinica later published this article, also illustrated, in Chinese translation as: Zhong Mingdan (Standaert, Nicolas), "Ming mo Qing chu de Zhongguo liyi wudao tushi" (Ritual Dances and Their Visual Representation at the End of the Ming and in the Early Qing), trans. by Zhang Jia, *Zhongguo wenzhe yanjiu tongxun (Newsletter of the Institute of Chinese Literature and Philosophy)* 18.1 (March 2008), pp. 1–60.

Liang, Ellen Johnston. *Art and Aesthetics in Chinese Popular Prints: Selections from the Muban Foundation Collection*. Michigan Monographs in China Studies. Ann Arbor, Michigan: Center for Chinese Studies, The University of Michigan, 2002. 206 pp. Introductory essay, extensive bibliography and background studies list, glossary/index. ISBN 1081-9053. The large format of this book allows for the generous reproduction of the eighty-four color woodblock prints presented in eight categories: door gods, auspicious images, stove gods, gods of wealth, protectors Zhang Daoling and Zhong Kui, tutelary gods, Daoist and Buddhist subjects, pantheons, and narratives. In the catalogue entry for each image, the author offers substantial discussion of printing techniques and the history and significance of the image. David Barker of the Muban Educational Trust drew this work to the attention of the editor of the *East Asian Library Journal*.

Liao, Jielian (Liu, Esther). *Yijiusijiu nian hou Zhongguo ziti sheji ren: yizi yisheng* (Post–1949 Chinese Typeface Designers:

Behind Each Character, a Life). Hong Kong: MCCM Creations, 2009. 249 pp. Many plates, charts, diagrams, chronologies, photographs. Bibliography and glossary of Chinese typeface names. ISBN 978-988-99843-0-4. Paper, jacketed in a folded poster printed on transparent paper. Esther Liu, associate professor in the School of Design at Hong Kong Polytechnic University, has created a graphically beautiful (and at turns, transparently whimsical) work that sets the creative philosophies and type design work of twelve prominent Chinese type designers in the context of type development in the post-1949 era—in China and outside of China. The typographic design work of these masters featured influences almost everything published today in print in Chinese. The book gives clear proof of Esther Liu's strength as a woman passionately committed to her graphic-design work and to her profession as a teacher. A last line on the copyright page states clearly that any profits the author receives from the sale of this book will go to student scholarship awards and to philanthropic causes.

Löwendahl, Björn, comp. *Sino-Western Relations, Conceptions of China, Cultural Influences and the Development of Sinology, Disclosed in Western Printed Books 1477–1877*. 2 vols. Hua Hin, Thailand: Elephant Press, 2008. More than 700 pp., color plates. Other titles, *China Illustrata Nova*; and *Cong Xiwen yinben shuji (1477–1877) kan Zhong-Xi guanxi, Zhongguo guan, wenhua yingxiang he Hanxue fazhan*. Volume one ISBN: 978-974-9898-33-8. Volume two ISBN: 978-974-9898-34-5. This catalogue in English by the collector (also a rare-book dealer) himself of what is now known as the Löwendahl-von der Burg collection (held in the collector's homes in Sweden and in Thailand) offers minutely detailed information on more than fifteen hundred titles of Western-language books on China gathered over more than twenty years. Arranged chronologically within categories such as Chinese history, language, religion, society, science, missionary work trade, etc.

Newland, Amy Reigle, ed. *The Commercial and Cultural Climate of*

Japanese Printmaking. Hotei Academic European Studies on Japan 2. Amsterdam: Hotei Publishing, 2004. 256 pp. Sixteen plates. Illustrations. ISBN 9-07482-249-5. Included are essays drawn from the "First International Conference on Ukiyo-e," organized by Hotei Publishing in 2001 in cooperation with the International Institute for Asian Studies (IIAS). Contributors and the titles of the articles are:

- Asano Shugo, "The Production and Distribution of the Illustrated Books and Prints of the Hishikawa School";
- David Waterhouse, "The Artistic Milieu of the Prints of Suzuki Harunobu";
- John T. Carpenter, "Textures of Antiquarian Imagination: Kubo Shunam and the National Learning Movement";
- Timothy T. Clark, "Utagawa Hiroshige and the Maruyama-Shijo School";
- Ellis Tinois, "A Response to Tim Clark";
- Roger Keyes, "This is What We Accomplished: An Osaka Poet Collects Surimono in the 1820s";
- Matthi Forrer, "The Relationship Between Edo-Period Publishers and Print Formats";
- Oikawa Shigeru, "Kawanabe Kyosai and His Artistic Circle."

Orientations: The Magazine for Collectors and Connoisseurs of Asian Art 40.3 (April 2009), pp. 19–69, is devoted entirely to the color-printed books recently acquired by the Muban Foundation (now reorganized as the Muban Educational Trust) from Shibui Kiyoshi's collection of Ming erotic books. In nine generously illustrated articles, an impressive range of scholars, collectors, artists, and librarians consider the history, scope, and bibliographic significance of the books; various technical and artistic aspects of their production; and the influence on Japanese *yukio-e* prints.

Qi Fengge, ed., and David Barker, ed. and trans. *For the Love of China: A Collection of Contemporary Chinese Prints (Ai wo Zhonghua: Zhongguo xiandai banhua cangpin ji)*. Beijing: Zhongguo huaqiao chubanshe (The Chinese Overseas Publishing House), 2006. 319 pp. ISBN 7-80222-113-7. Paper. In

2004 Pa (Ning) Wong (Wang Boning), President of Novel Energy (North America) Ltd., began a concerted effort to collect contemporary Chinese prints. Wong's initial purchase of over four hundred prints formed the core of the Novel Energy Art Collection (Yongxin nengyuan yishu shoucang). In preparation for this volume, which samples the works of this corporate collection, Liu Shuang of the Fine Arts College of Shanghai University interviewed the artists to gather background information on the works and about the artists themselves. Significant patronage (prominently highlighted in the volume) has made possible the publication of this bilingual Chinese-English work of uncommon elegance. Each of the sixteen featured artists is given a gallery showing of more than ten individual works, a short biography (with contact information), a photograph in color, exhibition record, publication list, list of collections holding the artist's work, a brief critical "artistic evaluation," and space for an artist's statement. The cream-colored paper selected for the 9"x12" pages provides a comfortable foil for the graphic dynamics of the compositions regardless of the print technique the artist used. The translator of this volume, David Barker of the Muban Educational Trust, drew this work to the attention of the editor of the *East Asian Library Journal*.

Qian Cunxun (Tsien Tsuen-hsuen, b. 1910). *Liu Mei zayi: liushinianlai meiguo shenghuo de huigu* (Recollections of a Life in America: A Look Back at Nearly Sixty Years of Living in America). Hefei, Anhui: Huangshan shushe, 2008. 332 pp. Numerous black-and-white photographs. ISBN 978-7-80707-993-4. Paper. This memoir in Chinese by Tsien Tsuen-hsuen, the one scholar who more than any other can be credited with initiating the study in the United States of the history of the book and paper in China, offers insights into his life, his interactions with his scholarly cohort, the circumstances of the publication of his works, and much more.

Reed, Marcia, and Paola Demattè, eds., *China on Paper: European and Chinese Works from the Late Sixteenth to the Early Nineteenth Century*. Los Angeles, California: Getty Research

Institute, 2007. 236 pp. Numerous, large, black-and-white and color figures. Long list of works cited. Index. ISBN 9788-0-89236-869-3. Jacketed cloth. Four scholars, Maria Reed, Paola Demattè, Gary Song, and Richard Strassberg, authored the six chapters in this catalogue, published in conjunction with an exhibition held at the Getty Research Institute, 6 November 2007 to 10 February 2008. The thirty-seven items in the catalogue are given extensive entries.

Schaeffer, Kurtis R. *The Culture of the Book in Tibet*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2009. 264 pp. ISBN 978-0-231-14716-3.

Si, Han. *A Chinese Word on Image: Zheng Qiao (1104–1162) and His Thought on Images*. Gothenburg Studies in Art and Architecture 25. Göteborg: Acta Universitatis Gothoburgensis, 2008. 270 pp. Bibliography, illustrations. ISBN 978-91-73046607-3. A treatise on the previously little-studied writings by Zheng Qiao on the importance of figures, images, diagrams, or arrays to understanding written text and the relation between text and non-text elements, as found in *juan* 72 ("Tupu") of his 200-*juan* work *Tong zhi* (Comprehensive Treatise).

Silbergeld, Jerome, and Dora C. Y. Ching, eds. *Persistence / Transformation: Text as Image in the Art of Xu Bing*. Princeton: P. Y. and Kinmay W. Tang Center for East Asian Art, Department of Art and Archaeology, Princeton University and Princeton University Press, 2006. 104 pp. Sixty halftones. ISBN-10: 0-691-12532-5. Paper. ISBN-10: 0-691-12568-6. Cloth.

Standaert, Nicolas. *An Illustrated Life of Christ Presented to the Chinese Emperor: The History of* Jincheng shuxian*g (1640)*. Monumenta Serica Monograph Series 59. Sankt Augustin, Germany: Institut Monumenta Serica, 2007. 333 pp. Illustrations, tables, bibliography. ISBN 978-3-8050-0548-7. Cloth. This meticulous study of the translation and republication in China of a set of paintings based on a wide variety of prints by European engravers depicting scenes from the life of Christ, presents reproductions of the Chinese version of the images and of the European print sources.

Uhlenbeck, Christiaan, and Marije Jansen. *Hiroshige: Shaping the Image of Japan*. Leiden: Hotei Publishing, 2008. 112 pp. Color illustrations. ISBN 978 90-04-17195-4. Paper. Publication in conjunction with an exhibition held at the Siebold House Museum in Leiden of 140 woodblock prints by Utagawa Hiroshige (1797–1858), gathered from private and public collections and marking the 150th anniversary of the artist's death. For more information, see the museum's website, www.sieboldhuis.org.

Weber, Therese. *The Language of Paper: A History of 2000 Years*. (Bankok, Thailand: Orchid Press, 2007). xv, 206 pp. Amply and colorfully illustrated. Useful bibliography. Index. ISBN: 974-524-093-1. ISBN-13: 978-974-524-093-3. Jacketed cloth. The author, a practicing hand papermaker, artist, and one of the founders of the International Association of Papermakers and Paper Artists (IAPMA), offers a wide-ranging discussion of paper and its precursors; the origins and spread of papermaking; paper and its relation to printing, East and West; contemporary practices of papermaking in Asia; and the multifaceted utilizations of paper. She closes with a chapter that introduces the work of nine artists who make paper the core and object of their creativity.

Zhang Xiantao. *The Influence of the Protestant Missionary Press in Late Qing China*. Media, Culture, and Social Change in Asia Series, 10. London and New York: Routledge, 2007. 178 pp. Illustrated. ISBN; 0415-3-8066-9. ISBN-13: 978-0-415-38066-9. Cloth.

Glossary

Ai wo Zhonghua: Zhongguo xiandai banhua cangpinji 愛我中華: 中國現代版畫藏品集

Chiang Ching-kuo 將經國

Chuancheng wenming fuwu shehui 傳承文明服務社會

Cong Xiwen yinben shuji (1477–1877) kan Zhong-Xi guanxi, Zhongguo guan, wenhua yingxiang he Hanxue fazhan 從西文印本書籍 (1477–1877) 看中西關係中國觀文化影響和漢學發展

Fu Ssu-nien (Fu Sinian) 傅斯年

Jincheng shuxiang 進程書像
Juntendō daigaku 順天堂大学
Kitasato daigaku 北里大學
Liao Jielian 廖潔連
Liu Mei zayi: liushinianlai meiguo shenghuo de huigu 留美雜憶: 六十年來美國生活的回顧
Liu Shuang 劉雙
Machi, Senjurō 町泉寿郎
Ming mo Qing chu de Zhongguo liyi wudao tushi 明末清初的中國禮儀舞蹈圖示
Naikaku Bunko 内閣文庫
Nishōgakusha daigaku 二松学舎大學
Qi Fengge 齊風閣
Qian Cunxun, *see* Tsien Tsuen-hsiun
Sakai, Shizu 酒井シジ
Shimizu, Nobuko 清水信子
Tong zhi 通志
Tsien Tsuen-hsuen 錢存訓
tupu 圖譜
Utagawa Hiroshige 歌川広重
Watanabe, Mikio 渡部幹夫
Wang Bonian 王柏年
Wong, Pa (Ning), *see* Wang Bonian
Xu Bing 徐炳
Yijiusijiu nian hou Zhongguo ziti sheji ren: yizi yisheng 一九四九年後中國字體設計人: 一字一生
Yongxin nengyuan yishu shoucang 永新能源藝術收藏
Zhang Daoling 張道陵
Zheng Qiao 鄭樵
Zhong Kui 鍾馗
Zhong Mingdan 穜鳴旦
Zhu Zaiyu 朱載堉

I. V. Gillis and His Biographer, Bruce Swanson

NANCY NORTON TOMASKO

In August 2004 Bruce Swanson, the author of the next article in this number of the *East Asian Library Journal*, wrote requesting an article on Irvin Van Gorder Gillis and the Spencer Collection at the New York Public Library, which had appeared in a previous issue of the *Gest Library Journal*.[1] I filled his order and wrote him a note asking about his interest in I. V. Gillis. He replied, "My principal interest is Mr. Gillis whose early career in China as U.S. naval attaché I have traced through official navy files of the period 1909–1918. This [rare-book-related] part of his life, involved as he was in scholarly research, was unknown to me." Startled, I replied something to the effect that here at Princeton University we were certainly aware of Gillis as the person through whom Guion M. Gest in the 1920s had accumulated a collection of old and rare Chinese books that eventually became the core of the collection of East Asian language materials at Princeton, but we knew very little about Gillis's naval career or about his family background.

Thus began our exchange of sources, information, ideas, photographs, interesting leads, and newspaper articles as Bruce extended his research on I. V. Gillis's life and work. Bruce, himself a career navy man, had first encountered I.V. Gillis during research for his monograph, *Eighth Voyage of the Dragon: A History of China's Quest for Seapower*.[2] Fascinated

with Gillis's inventiveness and his distinctive outspokenness, Bruce had begun, in long-hand on yellow, legal-pad paper, to spin a novel based on the intrigue that he found in many navy-related documents. However, he decided to set this "fiction" aside to pursue first the real-life story of Gillis and began to write, again in long-hand on yellow, legal-pad paper, a biography of I.V. Gillis. We finally met when Bruce and his wife, RoseAnn, came to Princeton in the spring of 2005 for several days so that Bruce could read through Gest Library archival records. Bruce also traveled several times from his home in Atlanta to the Washington, DC area to locate documents in various U.S. Navy and government archives, mined on-line sources, and eventually located Bonnie Gillis Waters, a distant cousin of I.V. Gillis, who lives on Gillis-family property in upstate New York and who is the Gillis-family's genealogist.

In the autumn of 2007 Bruce, an avid hunter, went with his son and several friends on a hunting trip in the upper Midwest. Toward the end of the trip Bruce inexplicably fell ill. Back in Atlanta, his physicians' diagnosis of leukemia intensified Bruce's efforts in his remaining weeks to continue writing his text on Gillis and to move the project forward. He telephoned Vance H. Morrison, Captain, U.S. Navy (Retired), a navy colleague and close family friend, to explain the challenges he was facing and to ask this friend if he were willing to carry the Gillis manuscript to completion. Vance willingly agreed and immediately asked another friend and navy colleague of Bruce's, Don H. McDowell, Rear Admiral, U.S. Navy (Retired) to work with him.

Bruce left a study full of stacks of his manuscript pages, organized generally by the chapters of his outline of Gillis's life. Vance Morrison and Don McDowell, with the encouragement of Bruce's widow, RoseAnn Swanson, have for the past year and a half been cooperating to organize Bruce's manuscript and to fill in documentation. This has involved no small effort on their parts, but it is clear that both men have caught a good measure of Bruce's determined curiosity about I.V. Gillis. Perhaps this can be credited partially to parallels that exist between Gillis's navy and post-navy careers and their own careers that give them an insider's understanding of the implications of Gillis's work.

I spoke with RoseAnn Swanson about the possibility of publishing the first chapter of Bruce's manuscript in the *East Asian Library Journal*.

Understanding her husband's passionate interest in seeing his entire manuscript pulled together for eventual publication, RoseAnn agreed to the preliminary publication of the material on Gillis's family background and early years in the navy. Bruce's eldest daughter, Meghan Snyder, sent me the computer file for the first chapter of that manuscript, and RoseAnn later located a partial list of the documentation for this section. This first chapter, to which necessary documentation has been added, is what we are publishing in the current number of the *East Asian Library Journal*.

When completed, Vance Morrison and Don McDowell's edited version of Bruce Swanson's complete manuscript will present a larger narrative of I. V. Gillis's career. The article that follows begins with I. V. Gillis's family background and follows his navy career to the beginnings of his involvement with East Asia. To give the readers of the *East Asian Library Journal* a context for Bruce's narrative, here I offer a very brief sketch of Gillis's life, starting with his first contact with Asia.

Toward the end of 1899 Gillis was given new orders to the gun boat *Annapolis* for extended deployment in the Far East and in 1901 went to Asia for the first time as chief navigator and chief engineer of the *Annapolis*. Enroute to China, passing the Philippine Islands, Gillis was, in his own words, "nearly stung to death by wasps on Guimaras Island."[3] (See figure 1.) He served on two other ships in Asian waters before receiving appointment as naval attaché in Tokyo from 1904 to 1905 and then in Beijing from 1907 to 1908. He participated in one overland reconnaissance mission with journalist Willard Straight into Manchuria to the Amur River. His unusually well-practiced talents with engineering and communications led him to positions of high responsibility at each stage of his naval service in East Asia. Along the way he accrued unusual honors for outstanding work, among them a medal of the Order of the Rising Sun bestowed by the Japanese government in 1909 after a tour as an observer aboard a Japanese ship that went to Korea to survey the Russo-Japanese War theater. Between 1911 and 1914 Gillis held the title of Assistant Naval Attaché to Peking and Tokyo and by special arrangement also began representing the Bethlehem Steel Corporation in Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, in its pursuit of contracts with the Chinese government to provide steel and ships for a navy that the Chinese government hoped

GILLIS, I[illegible]n V. (Pa- N.G.) 2137

(Son of 252)

Proposed engineering competition in the Navy.
Suggested separation of duties of Fleet Engineer and Chief Engineer of the flag-ship.
Submitted basic idea of Director Firing (before Admiral Percy Scott) but letter was pigeon-holed by Captain Berry, of KENTUCKY.
Evolved what is now known as Rude's "Star Finding Diagrams" several years before Rude and submitted it to Hydrographic office where it was duly pigeon-holed.
Suggested necessity for knowledge of psychology by naval officers and proposed the study of the subject at the Naval Academy, but the idea was ridiculed by the Commander-in-Chief Rear Admiral Schroeder.
Proposed basic idea of present system for procurement and record of ship's stores afloat, but Paymast General and Bureau Chiefs opposed the idea as impracticable and nothing came of it.

GILLIS, [illegible]rvin V. (Pa- N.G.) 2137

(Son of 252)

Nearly stung to death by wasps on Guimaras Island (P I) in 1901.
Wrote book on origin and meaning of the Chinese characters "ch'ao" and "hsi" in connection with the tides.
After retirement acted as adviser to the Chinese Cabinet Office, Ministry of the Navy, Ministry of Communications, and the Coast Guard Administration at various times.
Presided over American symbolic Masonry in all China as the District Grand Master for China - Massachusetts Constitution for 13 years (1923 to 1936) and as such was the Senior Ranking Mason of all nationalities in China.

1. U.S. Naval Academy Records Cards for Irvin Van Gorder Gillis. Courtesy of the U.S. Naval Academy Special Collections and Archives, Nimitz Library, Annapolis, MD.

to build. Gillis, thus, was in China associated with the U.S. Legation in Beijing at China's transition from empire to republic.

Gillis officially retired from the navy on 1 July 1914 and returned briefly to the United States before reappearing in Beijing in September of 1914 as representative in China of the Electric Boat Company in Groton, Connecticut, and, as well, of Bethlehem Steel. In fact, from this position as industry representative, Gillis managed a clandestine, civilian information operation and recruited numerous eminent foreign scholars, researchers, educators, anthropologists, archaeologists, businessmen, and missionaries, developing a wide net of intelligence informants.[4] In mid-1917 in response to disintegrating world cohesion, Gillis returned to rank in the navy, and for two and a half years he filled the post of naval attaché in the U.S. Legation in Beijing.

By 1914 Gillis had already established a home in Beijing and was very active socially in the foreign diplomatic and business circles in China. (See figures 2 and 3.) Thus, when he fully retired from the navy late in 1919, perhaps it was an obvious choice for Gillis to forego returning to his homes in Pennsylvania and up-state New York. He continued his career in China and never again, so far as can be learned, left that country even for a short period. In 1922 Gillis listed himself professionally as I Li Shou, "representing American shipbuilders & manufacturers" and gave business addresses at "Ma I Pa Hsieh Chieh, outside Hou Men" and at Kwai Pang Hutung.[5] In 1925 he was associated with the Peking Mongolor Mining Co. as a manufacturer's and shipbuilder's representative.[6] Gillis reported that at various times also acted as adviser to many entities of the Chinese government: Chinese Cabinet Office, Ministry of the Navy, Ministry of Communications, and Coast Guard Administration.[7] Socially he was vice president of the American Chamber of Commerce, a director (along with S. C. Thomas Sze and others) of the Association of Chinese and American Engineers, and president of the Peking Club.[8] He was particularly active in the Masons, presiding over all Masonic activities in China for thirteen years (1923 to 1936.)[9] (See figure 4 for an undated photograph, probably taken in the 1920s.)

With his feet planted solidly (and yet very fluidly) in Chinese and Western military, governmental, engineering, business consulting,

2. I. V. Gillis standing beside a fireplace. Probably taken in Beijing. Undated. In the collection of The East Asian Library and The Gest Collection, Princeton University.

3. Garden of I. V. Gillis's residence in Beijing. Photograph by John Van Antwerp MacMurray, secretary to the U.S. Legation, Beijing, May 1915. John van Antwerp MacMurray Papers, Seeley G. Mudd Manuscript Library, Princeton University.

and social domains, it is not surprising that Irvin Van Gorder Gillis at some point in the nineteen-tens or early twenties met Guion Moore Gest, whose own electrical engineering company did a large business in many international venues, when Gest came to China seeking contracts for production and sale of electric cable. The story of Gest's medical problems with his eyes and Gillis's suggestion that he give Chinese medicine a try has been frequently cited as the precursor to Gest's interest in accumulating old books on Chinese medicine with Gillis acting as his book agent and to Gillis's advising him to expand the range of his collecting interests to include antiquarian books in all categories.[10]

In 1927 Gillis moved to a new residence, perhaps not far from his earlier residence outside of Di'anmen (Houmen) in the area just north of the Forbidden City. This move may have corresponded to his marriage to Zhao Yubin (Chao Yü-pin), a woman eighteen years his junior, who has been identified, by some reports, as a Manchu and a member of the former imperial clan. (See figure 5 for an undated photograph of Gillis

4. Commander Irvin V. Gillis, USN (retired), in dress clothing, white shirt, tie, overcoat, standing in front of doors. Undated. NH661150. In the collection of the Naval Historical Foundation, Washington, DC.

5. I.V. Gillis with his wife, Zhao Yubin, possibly a wedding photograph. Probably taken in Beijing. Undated. In the collection of The East Asian Library and The Gest Collection, Princeton University.

and his wife.) It was from this residence that he ran his business as a book buyer, primarily for Gest, but for others (among them the North China Language School in Beijing and major library collections in North America) as well. In 1926 the huge collection of books acquired for Gest was shipped to its first home, McGill University, Montreal. In 1933 and 1934 (and probably earlier and continuing for some additional years), Gillis listed himself solely as representing the Gest Chinese Research Library, McGill University, Montreal, Canada.[11]

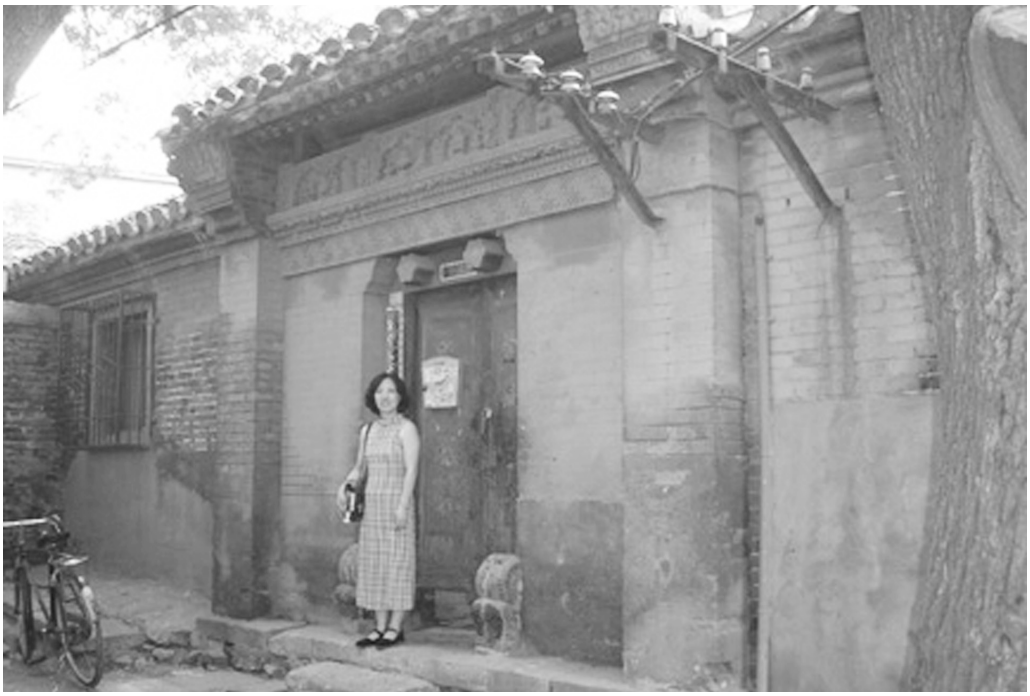
As with the earlier parts of his career, Gillis never confined his professional activity to a single domain. The intense interest with systems, procedures, codes, organization, and categorization that he displayed in the constant stream of letters that he wrote to his naval superiors and to the Navy Department enlivened the effectiveness of his engineering consultancy.[12] In Gillis's work as book buyer, these skills translated into an uncanny ability to ferret out old and rare materials, to develop a unique cataloguing system, to work around the increasingly complicated rulings with respect to the sale of Chinese antiquities issued by the wary Nationalist government (about which Gillis made no small number of perhaps fittingly harsh and disdainful comments), and to develop a bookman's scholarly understanding of how to identify and confirm editions of old Chinese books. As stated above, all the while he nosed around for books, I. V. Gillis indeed continued applying his significant store of intelligence-gathering skills in the service of the U.S. government as chief of intelligence in the Far East.

During the Sino-Japanese War the Japanese occupied Beijing and in March 1943 dispatched Americans in that city for transport to an internment camp in Weixian, Shandong. Gillis was among the crowd of Americans walking to the railway station when he fainted, reportedly because of a heart condition. Hospitalized for a period, he was released to spend the balance of the war under house arrest inside the former Beijing British Legation compound, then under the control of the Japanese.[13] (See figure 6, for a photograph of the Gillises standing inside the British Legation compound.) Officially freed in October 1945, Gillis and his wife did not move back into their home, which for several years had been let out to several Japanese households, until April 1946.[14] Gillis

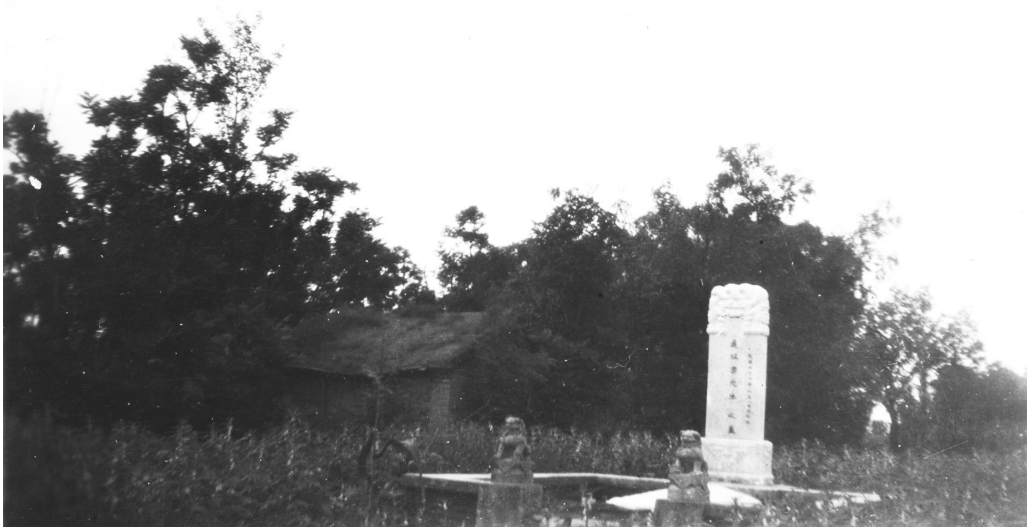
6. Left to right: Chinese woman holding two dogs, Captain Hines, Zhao Yubin, I. V. Gillis, Chinese man. Caption on the back of the photograph reads, "Taken inside the British Legation Quarters, Peiping, China, October 1945. The Marine officer is Captain Hines." In the collection of The East Asian Library and The Gest Collection, Princeton University.

gradually regained a measure of his health and recovered some of the books and materials scattered during his absence, though much was lost and destroyed. As of 2007 a portion of the last home and garden that the Gillis's owned still stands, again a multifamily dwelling. (See figure 7 for a photograph of Gillis's home as it appears today.) Letters from these post-internment years understandably are at turns sharply cynical, and one mentions the death of his son, the only know reference to any children that I. V. Gillis might have fathered.[15] Gillis died late in 1948 and was probably buried in the Beijing area though the specific location of the gravesite is to date unknown. (See figure 8.)

I. V. Gillis's life as an antiquarian bookman in China, which bears considerable significance for the history of the book in East Asia, grew out of and was thoroughly and intriguingly intertwined with his life as a navy man. Bruce Swanson's narrative of the beginnings of I. V. Gillis's navy career sets the groundwork for understanding that career. And we anticipate reading Bruce's narrative in its entirety in Vance Morrison and Don McDowell's edited version when it finally appears as a monograph.



7. Front door of Gillis's home in Beijing, 2007, with Cao Shuwen, the Chinese book cataloguer in the East Asian Library at Princeton whose research led to locating Gillis's entry in Beiping city household registration records for 1947 and the house as it stands today. Photograph courtesy of Cao Shuwen.



8A. I. V. Gillis grave site, probably in Beijing, specific location unknown.

8B Center text on the stone reads: "Yi Lishou xiansheng zhi mu" (Grave of Mr. Yi Lishou [i.e. Irvin V. Gillis]). The text on the right reads: "Minguo sanshiqinian jiuyue yi?[er?]ri ? ? ?" (Thirty-seventh year of the Republic, ninth month, first [or possibly second] day, [followed by three undeciphered characters]). In the collection of The East Asian Library and The Gest Collection, Princeton University

Notes

1. See Soren Edgren, "I. V. Gillis and the Spencer Collection," *Gest Library Journal* 6.2 (Winter 1993), pp. 5–29.
2. Bruce Swanson, *Eighth Voyage of the Dragon: A History of China's Quest for Seapower* (Annapolis MD: Naval Institute Press, 1982).
3. Irvin Van Gorder Gillis, ["Alumnus resume summary record card"] 2137, Special Collections and Archives Division, Nimitz Library, United States Naval Academy, Annapolis, side 2.
4. The following records, dated from 1913 to 1931, point to Gillis's long-term involvement in intelligence gathering in China. See John A. Logan, "Ta Wha (Big Talk)," typescript given to the Gest Library in 1956 by Mrs. David Murray (i.e. I. V. Gillis's sister, Caroline), in the archives of the East Asian Library, Princeton University. John Logan accompanied the 1931 ethnological expedition to Northern Tibet that Gene Lamb conducted. Logan states that along the way, he did some mapping for naval intelligence to "orient a punitive expedition if it were necessary to send one out by our Marine Guard in Peking." (p. 4) He clandestinely took photographs of sketch maps that he drew and destroyed the sketches. Logan clarifies further, "And upon my return to Peking I redrew them [the maps] in large scale and turned them over to Capt. I.V. Gillis, our former Naval Attaché and who was then head of intelligence in Asia." (p. 5)

   See also, "List of Reliable Americans Residing in China," 7 July 1921, Office of Naval Intelligence (ONI), 405: 602-200. This document, filed by Gillis's immediate successor to the post of naval attaché at the U.S. Legation in Beijing, in all likelihood was, in Bruce Swanson's evaluation, largely compiled by Gillis himself. The 22-page document lists by city the names of individuals (the first name being that Gillis himself), giving a short biography, noting specific skills, and degree of reliability for each person.

   A similar two-page Office of Naval Intelligence document (ONI no. 403-RRQ) dated 21 June 1913, lists persons who "might be of service during approach or out break of war." To this is added a cover page dated 17 July 1913, the first line of which reads, "Lieutenant Commander I. V. Gillis examined this list July 17, 1914 [in error for 1913?], and stated that he considered . . . [person's name] not a desirable person to employ because he talks too much."

   Perhaps most explicit of all is an unsigned, personal and confidential letter (ONI no. 20022) from the Office of Naval Intelligence, Washington to Gillis dated 15 November 1915, which states in part, "It is now intended that you should be appointed the Chief Intelligence Officer in China in case of strained relations with a certain power [i.e. Japan]." The document continues, "so, if after conferring with the Naval Attaché at Peking and reading the papers which apply, you decide that you wish to undertake the work, you may consider yourself as the officer designated as Chief Intelligence Officer in China."

   Numerous additional declassified documents among those that Bruce Swanson

located in the archives of the Office of Naval Intelligence confirm that Gillis indeed did take up this work in earnest, posting regular reports that reflect his unvarnished candor about how to remedy the deficiencies in the intelligence operations and his evaluation of procedures and events.

5. Alexander Ramsay, comp., *The Peking Who's Who, 1922* (Peking: Alexander Ramsay, 1922), pp. 14 and 111. These two street names are attached to intersecting streets or *hutong* just south of the vicinity of Di'anmen and may simply be two names that Gillis used to refer to the place of his business and/or his residence rather than pointing to two different locales.
6. *The North-China Desk Hong List 1925: A General and Business Directory for Shanghai and the Northern and River Ports, Etc.* (Shanghai: North-China Daily News & Herald, 1925), p. 851.
7. Irvin Van Gorder Gillis, ["Alumnus resumé summary card"] 2137, side 2.
8. Ramsay, *The Peking Who's Who, 1922*, pp. 73, 74, and 77.
9. Irvin Van Gorder Gillis, ["Alumnus resumé summary card"] 2137, side 2.
10. For more information, see the following: Hu Shih, "The Gest Oriental Library at Princeton University, *Princeton University Library Chronicle* 15 (Spring 1954); Diane Perushek, "The Gest Chinese Research Library," *Princeton University Library Chronicle* 43 (Spring 1987); Soren Edgren's article cited in note 1 above; Su Chen and Juming Zhao, "The Gest Chinese Research Library at McGill University, 1926–1936," *East Asian Library Journal* 11.2 (Autumn 2004), pp. 40–99; and Martin Heijdra, "The East Asian Library and The Gest Collection at Princeton," in *Collecting Asia: East Asian Libraries in North America, 1868–2008*, ed. Peter Zhou (Ann Arbor MI: Association for Asian Studies, 2010), forthcoming.
11. See *The North-China Desk Hong List 1933*, p. 620; and *The North-China Desk Hong List 1934*, p. 658.
12. Irvin Van Gorder Gillis, ["Alumnus resumé summary card"] 2137, side 1.
13. Irvin Van Gorder Gillis to Nancy Lee Swann, 28 February 1948, Gest Library Papers, box 238.
14. Gillis to Swann, 17 April 1946, Gest Library Papers, box 238.
15. Ibid.

Glossary

Cao Shuwen 曹淑文

Chao Yü-pin, *see* Zhao Yubin

Dahua 大話

Di'anmen 地安門

Guaibang hutung 拐棒胡同

Hou Men, *see* Houmen

Houmen 後門

I Li Shou, *see* Yi Lishou

Kwai Pang Hutung, *see* Guaibang hutong

Ma I Pa Hsieh Chieh, *see* Mayiba xie jie

Mayiba xie jie 馬尾巴斜街

Minguo sanshiqinian jiuyue yi?[er?]ri ? ? ? 民國三十七年九月一 ? [二 ?] 日□□□

Ta Wha, *see* Dahua

Weixian 濰縣
Yi Lishou 義理壽

Yi Lishou xiansheng zhi mu
義理壽先生之墓
Zhao Yubin 趙玉彬

Irvin Van Gorder Gillis
Naval Training for an Uncommon Agent

Bruce Swanson

Fathers and Sons

In the fall of 1890 fifteen-year-old Irvin Van Gorder Gillis entered the U.S. Naval Academy as a member of the class of 1894. His appointment by Congressman Milton De Lano (1844–1922) of New York had been automatic because of his first-place finish in a rigorous competition examination at the local congressional-district level followed by Gillis' successful passing of the academy's tough three-day entrance test. The decision by young Irvin to pursue a naval career was largely inspired by the example of his father, Commodore James Henry Gillis (1831–1910), who had graduated from the academy in 1854 and was then beginning his fourth decade of naval service. During his naval career James H. Gillis endured nearly twenty-five years of sea duty while serving on twenty-one different ships, of which he commanded seven. James likely inherited his interest in the sea from his grandfather Robert Gillis (1745–1836), who spent time with young James in Ridgway, Pennsylvania. As a teenager in colonial America, Robert had been a merchant seaman on ships engaged in the coastal trade from Boston to Charleston to New Orleans. As Irvin Gillis prepared to report to the Naval Academy in September 1890, he would, only briefly, be reunited with his father who was expected back

at the family residence in Binghamton, New York, following a three-year absence. The elder Gillis was completing yet another long tour of sea duty, this time as commander of the U.S. Navy's South Atlantic squadron, whose homeport was Buenos Aires.[1]

Nearly everything about I. V. Gillis's early life, in fact, reflected the influence of the navy. He had been born in the commanding officer's residence near the navy docks in Erie, Pennsylvania, on 1 January 1875, where, at the time, his father was the captain of the *Michigan*, a gunboat responsible for patrolling the Great Lakes.[2] As a toddler he lived in officer's quarters at the naval base in Newport News, Virginia, where James H. Gillis commanded the barracks ship *Franklin*. From the age of seven until he was ten, he resided in naval housing on the edge of the sprawling Brooklyn Navy Yard. His father, then a captain, commanded the *Minnesota*, a training ship based at New York City responsible for the recruitment and basic training of young boys who would ultimately serve as enlisted men in the U.S. fleet. The *Minnesota* did not spend much time at sea instead conducting the bulk of recruit basic training at anchor off West Twenty-Third Street in the lower Hudson River. On occasion Captain Gillis took Irvin about the ship where he could see firsthand the various drills and evaluations that young seamen were expected to master.

Perhaps the most lasting impression young Gillis formed, however, was witnessing his father in uniform overseeing the daily routine of the *Minnesota*. The elder Gillis, though in his early fifties, very much epitomized the image of a senior officer of that period. He was a lean and handsome man whose deep-set, steady blue eyes had an honest and open look, but also hinted of sternness. He had high cheek bones but the sunken, Lincoln-like jowls and lips were well hidden behind a full, snow-white, extended goatee and heavy, integrated mustache. His wavy, grey hair was worn short with no extended sideburns. Without doubt he carried himself in a proud and dignified manner but also had the rolling gait of a man who had spent much of his life at sea. (For a photograph of James Henry Gillis, see figure 1.)[3]

During this time the Gillis family was comfortably housed in a two-story brownstone bordered by gardens and carefully manicured lawns separating it from the other similarly landscaped officer's quarters. A short

1. James Henry Gillis (1831–1910), I. V. Gillis's father. Formal, bust portrait, in uniform with two medals above right breast. Photographer [Charles Wallace Chute and Thomas Brooks] Festudio Fotografieo de Chute & Brooks, Monte Video and Buenos Aires. [*Ca.* 1889]. Caption on back: "Son of James Lyle and Cecelia Barry Gillis (second wife), buried at Arlington Cemetary." Courtesy of Bonnie Gillis Waters, Victor, New York.

distance away a fence formed the border to the navy-base property. On walks in company with his father Gillis saw many naval monuments commemorating various stirring moments in naval history. As the younger Gillis grew older, his father probably arranged for visits to the adjacent shipbuilding facility, taking him to see the dry dock, where warships rested on chocks and underwent major overhaul or repair. Such visits would have surely included observing the foundry, engine and machine shops, ordnance buildings, and the forge and blacksmith shops.[4]

At some point in his adolescence, Irvin learned of his father's Civil War exploits, particularly his participation at the Battle of Spanish Fort near Mobile, Alabama, in March 1865. In that encounter James H. Gillis was commanding the monitor *Milwaukee*, which struck a torpedo (mine) and was sunk. Swimming ashore, he then had volunteered to command a naval shore-battery and fought bravely, ultimately assisting in the capture of the fort. For that action he was promoted for gallantry and received a special commendation from Gideon Welles, President Lincoln's secretary of the navy.[5] Another favorite story concerned his father's daring rescue of a group of Argentinean sailors in Montevideo Harbor in August 1868. The evidence of that event was prominently on display at the Gillis home. Awarded by the Argentine government, it was a magnificent medal of steel and gold surmounted by a life buoy in white enamel and a setting sun of gold whose rays were set in diamonds.[6] (See figure 1.)

In the early 1880s Irvin and his family visited the U.S. Naval Academy for the first time to see his older brother Harry (1861–1938), who was a naval cadet at Annapolis from 1879 to 1883. As Harry advanced through his four years, his parents and siblings on occasion were present to observe the respective classes march and drill accompanied by martial music. It was always a dramatic display and likely made a lasting impression on the precocious younger Gillis.

Harry's experience at the academy was a bittersweet one however. In those days many cadets were subject to discharge upon graduation because of a backlog of naval officers. The final determination was based on class standing, and sometimes less than half a class would ultimately gain commissions. In Harry's case he ranked forty-fifth of fifty-four cadets and did not meet the threshold. Great disappointment came in August 1883 when Harry received word that he was to be honorably discharged and given one year's salary of one thousand dollars. (For a

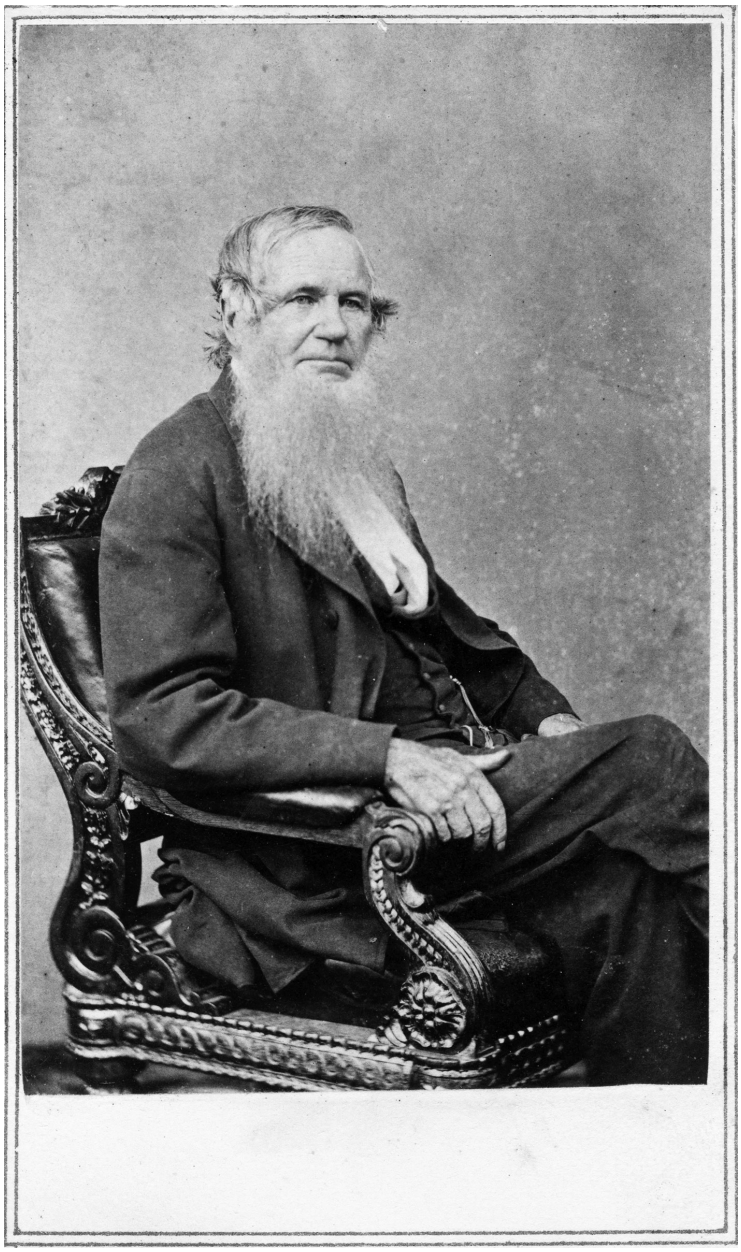
2. Harry Alexander Gillis (1861–1938), USNA class of 1883. Standing formal portrait, in uniform, wearing gloves, hat in right hand, sword in his left hand. *Ca.* 1883. Photographer: F. M. Zuller, Richfield Springs, New York, and U.S. Naval Academy, Maryland. Courtesy of Bonnie Gillis Waters, Victor, New York.

photograph of Harry Alexander Gillis, see figure 2.) As will become evident, Harry's classroom difficulties would not be lost on his younger brother who would excel academically during his time at the academy from 1890 to 1894.

Ironically, Harry was stymied by a ponderous yet demanding promotion system prevailing throughout his father's career, where an officer could expect to be promoted about every ten years if his record was without serious blemish and if he completed the requisite amount of time at sea. Thus, as long as his health was good, an officer could remain on active duty until the mandatory retirement age of sixty-two. This system, coupled with a postwar no-growth policy, produced a surfeit of officers competing for positions aboard relatively few, obsolete ships. As a result there was a paucity of billets open to new academy graduates like Harry.

One other prominent reminder of the family's rich tradition of service provided an example for young Irvin. It was his grandfather James Lyle Gillis's (1792–1881) cavalry sword that had been willed to his father.[7] Irvin's grandfather had enlisted during the War of 1812 as a volunteer from Hebron, New York, but, because of his leadership qualities, he gained a commission as a lieutenant of cavalry under General Winfield Scott. From 1812 to 1814 he participated in a number of battles including Ft. George, Chippewa, and Lundry's Lane. In the last encounter, which took the most lives of a battle in the war, Irvin's grandfather was badly wounded and taken prisoner but subsequently escaped in Montreal. He was soon recaptured and transported to a more secure fortress in Halifax where he remained until the end of the war when he was released in a prisoner exchange. Upon his death in 1881, it was reported that James L. Gillis was one of the last surviving veterans of the War of 1812.[8]

James Lyle Gillis led a most robust and colorful life. Following the War of 1812 he pioneered the Ridgway, Pennsylvania, frontier area north of Pittsburgh operating a tannery and sawmill. He went on to become a judge and then entered politics at the state level and was subsequently elected to the U.S. Congress for the single term 1856–1858. Prior to the Civil War, President Buchanan appointed him Indian agent for the Pawnee Nation in Nebraska. He was a life-long freemason and had once been arrested but later acquitted in the famous 1829 murder case of William Morgan, who had publicly revealed certain secrets surrounding freemason rituals.[9] (For a photograph of James L. Gillis, see figure 3.)



3. James Lyle Gillis (1792–1881), I.V. Gillis's paternal grandfather. Formal portrait, seated in ornate chair. Photographer [Alexander Gardner (1821–1882)], Corner 7th & D Streets, Washington, DC. Courtesy of Bonnie Gillis Waters, Victor, New York.

Education and Achievement

On 6 September 1890 Irvin Gillis reported aboard the training ship, *Santee*, which was permanently assigned to the Naval Academy. He and his classmates underwent a three-week intensive indoctrination program that was intended to familiarize the cadets with shipboard life as well as to break any bad habits learned in civilian life. (For a photograph of a young Irvin V. Gillis, see figure 4.) At the end of the period the class moved back on land and into their stark living quarters at Bancroft Hall where they prepared to commence the academic year. The *Santee* experience had demonstrated to all that they had entered a new world where members lived by a rigid set of rules, moved about with precise military bearing, and communicated in their own curious jargon. Floors were decks; walls, bulkheads; bathroom, heads; and stairs were ladders. Directions were now given in standard naval argot. Left was port and right was starboard.[10]

Once at Bancroft Hall, another set of slang soon mastered was designed to make the class aware that it was now part of an exclusive fraternity peculiar only to naval cadets. For instance, a perfect mark was termed "a four," to do a thing well was "a biff," to fail was "to zip," "sux" meant not difficult, and "bilge" meant to be dismissed or dropped. If something was swell or good, it was just "doggy," to study was "to bone," and awkward cadet was called "a squid," a cadet lieutenant or petty officer was "a buzzard," a senior or first classman was "a firsty," a firsty without office or rank was "a clean sleever." The chaplain was known as "Holy Joe," and anyone in the Engineer Corps was known as "a greaser."[11]

Commencement of the academic year also marked the beginning of hazing, which had always been a problem but by the time Irvin arrived at the academy had become more mental than physical. Whole paragraphs had to be memorized and recited faithfully even as cadets were braced at attention and the eyes of an upper classman burned at them like a mad, feral animal. One such can incantation had been imputed to be the words of John Paul Jones:

> None other than a gentleman, as well as a seaman, both in theory

4. Ensign Irvin V. Gillis, Naval Historical Center, Naval Historical Foundation, Washington, DC. NH49320.

> and practice, is qualified to support the character of commissioned officer in the navy; nor is any man fit to command a ship of war who is not capable of communicating his ideas on paper, in language that becomes his rank.[12]

Another favorite to be shouted out perhaps at meal time was from Shakespeare's *Henry the Fifth*: "I am not covetous of gold, but if it be a sin to covet honor, I am the most offending soul alive."[13]

A further ritual involved the assignation of nicknames, which more often than not were unflattering. In the 1894 Naval Academy yearbook, *The Lucky Bag*, Irvin was dubbed "Splint," a variety of bituminous coal known for its dull, stony appearance. "Splint" Gillis it was then for four years. *The Lucky Bag* also listed Gillis as being only five feet five inches tall and weighing but 125 pounds. In fact, the yearbook tells that Irvin's keenest desire at graduation was to be taller. "Splint" was apparently a teetotaler. While most of his fellow cadets listed their favorite drinks as ones containing some form of alcohol, Splint Gillis listed his as sarsaparilla.[14]

Irvin's straight-arrow qualities were also evident in his accumulation of demerits over his four years at the Naval Academy. During that time he received sixty-three demerits and most were awarded for a variety of petty infractions. The majority were for talking in formation. His biggest single infraction, however, was for ten demerits, which he received in his third year for being disrespectful to a coxswain of a small boat. As a measure of comparison Gillis received but nine demerits in his final year while the worst offender in the class, Arthur Kavanaugh of Nebraska, received 172.[15]

Despite his youth and diminutiveness, Gillis was an outstanding student and had no apparent difficulty with recitation that stymied many cadets.[16] Three hours each day, five days a week, and one hour on Saturdays, he was required to meet with instructors and review the subject matter assigned from the previous day. For mathematics the recitations were principally conducted at the blackboard in the development of formulas, propositions, and the solving of problems. In history or English the recitations were often oral, but sometimes written, with the instructor correcting the cadet where necessary for style, grammar, punctuation, spelling, choice of words, and, as well, factual mistakes. At

the end of each session the instructor would award a numerical grade with 4.0 being the highest.[17]

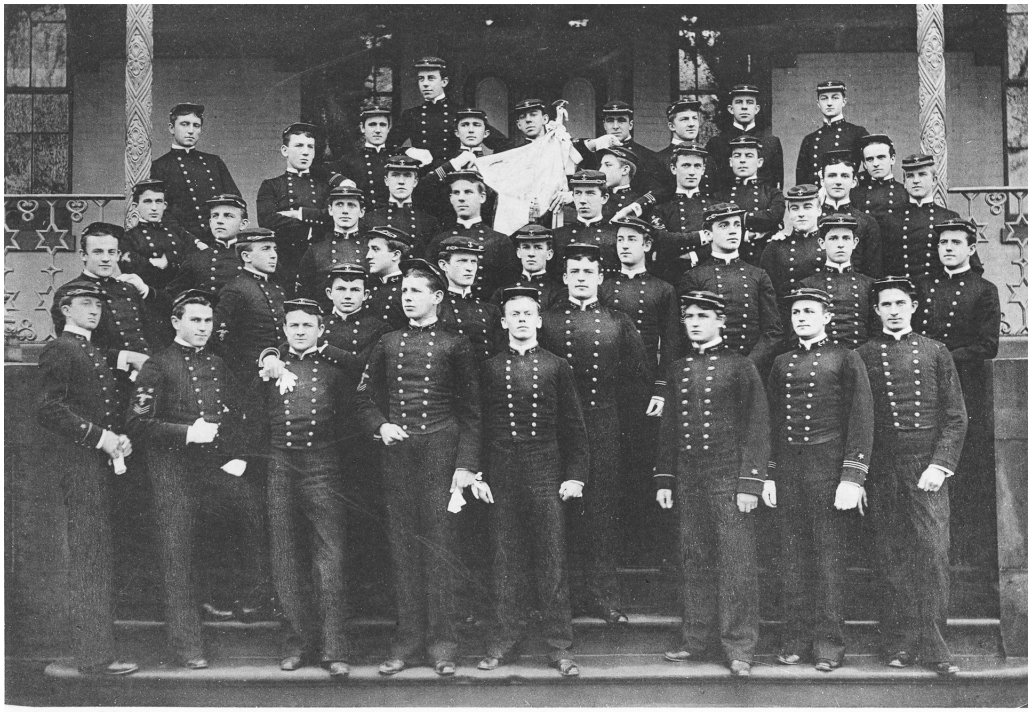
By the time he became a "firsty," Gillis achieved the rank of cadet lieutenant, being one of only eight naval cadets to be awarded that title. It meant that he had charge over a division of his fellow classmates, twelve cadets in all, who were divided into three four-man crews. As such, Gillis enjoyed special privileges but also had the authority to issue orders to his division that were to be considered official and obeyed. This carried over to drills and practice exercises where his three crews might man a naval gun, form an infantry landing-party, or crew a small boat. (For a photograph of I. V. Gillis as midshipman, see figure 5.)

A serious family crisis occurred in the late summer prior to Irvin's final year. On 2 August 1893 Lydia Gillis died following a stroke. She had lingered for two weeks as family members rushed to her bedside in Alexandria, Virignia.[18] Her death, at the relatively young age of fifty-seven, came just two and one-half months after Commodore Gillis retired, having been relieved by George Dewey as a member of the Lighthouse Board.[19]

Following his mother's interment at Arlington National Cemetery, Irvin returned to the Naval Academy to resume his final year. In June 1894 he graduated with honors, finishing third in his class with a four-year grade-point average that exceeded the coveted eighty-fifth percentile. Despite his mother's death and concern for his father, he managed to finish second in the annual examination given in June 1894. Of the nine academic groups, he finished first in four: ordnance and gunnery, navigation and surveying, navigation practice cruise, and least squares/applied mechanics. He also had the distinction of finishing first in his class in mathematics three of the four years.[20] (For a photograph of the United States Naval Academy, Class of 1894, see figure 6, and for a formal portrait of I. V. Gillis in uniform, see figure 7.)

Two more requirements remained before Irvin would gain his commission. He had to satisfactorily complete the customary two-year cruise aboard a U.S. Navy warship and then pass a final examination for promotion back to Annapolis. Within days following June Week, he received his orders to report aboard the armored cruiser *New York*, the flagship of the North Atlantic Fleet. The assignment carried a special honor. Only the top few of a class would be ordered to the North Atlantic

5. Midshipman Irvin V. Gillis, Naval Historical Center, Naval Historical Foundation, Washington, DC. NH49319.



Lithotype Printing Co., 111 Nassau St., N. Y.

THE CLASS OF NINETY-FOUR.

6. United States Naval Academy, Class of 1894, *Lucky Bag* (Annapolis, MD: United States Naval Academy, 1894). I. V. Gillis is in the second row, fifth from the right (standing on the second step up with his right shoe visible. Photographer: Linotype Printing Co., New York. Courtesy of Naval Historical Collection, Naval War College, Newport, RI; and U.S. Naval Academy Special Collections and Archives, Nimitz Library, Annapolis, MD.

7. Irvin V. Gillis. Standing formal portrait, in uniform, gloves in right hand, sword at left side. *Ca.* 1894. Photographer: F. M. Zuller, Richfield Springs, New York, and U.S. Naval Academy, Maryland.
Courtesy of Bonnie Gillis Waters, Victor, New York.

Fleet, which usually contained the newest, most-modern naval ships.[21] The *New York* was but three years old and represented a fast class of heavily armored cruisers. It also carried rifled, breech-loading guns as well as torpedoes.

Once aboard, Irvin and seven fellow classmates soon found themselves under the baleful eye of Captain Robley Evans. The commanding officer of the *New York*, Evans was a charismatic, somewhat bellicose officer who in 1891–1892 had acquired the popular nickname, "Fighting Bob" when he faced down a hostile Chilean-government challenge in the port of Valparaiso.[22] He also was known affectionately as "Gimpy Bob," due to a pronounced limp resulting from several Civil War gunshot wounds he received while leading marines in the assault on Fort Fisher in December 1864. Nearly all of the officers in the fleet knew the story of how Evans had aimed his pistol at the doctor who was ready to amputate both legs, calmly informing him, "If [you] or any one else entered my door with anything that looked like a case of instruments, I meant to begin shooting, and that (the doctor) might rest perfectly sure that I would kill six before they cut my legs off." The legs remained attached for the rest of his life, but Evans endured constant pain and had to move about with the use of a cane.[23]

His colorful past notwithstanding, Evans was also highly respected by his peers for his naval expertise and his penchant for detail. He was a "hands-on" commanding officer who, despite his handicap, frequently moved about his ship chatting with enlisted men while carefully observing various drills and shipboard evaluations. He demanded perfection and took great pride that his crew aboard the *New York* could close all water-tight doors within thirty seconds after the general alarm was sounded.[24] Although one might think Evans a plain old "seadog," he also moved easily in higher circles. He maintained friendships with many influential politicians, including Theodore Roosevelt, Grover Cleveland, and William McKinley. He also was well-connected with international royalty as well as ranking European naval officers. And due to a previous tour as the navy's equipment officer, Evans had made many friends in the upper echelons of private industry.[25] As will later be evident, Gillis's exposure to Evans as a young naval cadet would have lasting benefits as their paths would frequently cross in the future.

For Gillis the primary purpose of the so-called "middie cruise"

was to carefully observe the shipboard routine as well as to participate actively as a member of the crew. One important duty was that of standing watches both in port and underway as a junior watch-officer. He might also act as messenger relaying word from the officer-of-the-deck to the embarked Admiral Richard Meade to Evans himself.[26] Underway he would be allowed to use a sextant and practice celestial navigation, comparing his results in fixing the ship's position with that of the *New York*'s navigator. Other activities involved observing the frequent gunnery exercises. The ships, in company with other vessels of the North Atlantic squadron, would often steam together to the two training areas on the East Coast where they would also practice maneuvering drills at different courses and speeds. Much time was spent in practicing two new techniques—live firing of torpedoes and flashing-light signaling.[27]

In the summer of 1895 the *New York* and several sister ships were chosen to represent the United States at Kiel, Germany, for an international naval pageant that included seeing the opening of the Kiel Canal.[28] It was grand event and a highlight of Gillis's summer that year. Gillis got to see and visit the newest warships from nearly every major country in the world. On one occasion the German emperor, Wilhelm II, paid a visit to the *New York*.[29] The *New York* also visited England and Denmark before returning home early in the autumn.

In April of 1896 Gillis returned to Annapolis where he took his final examinations before commissioning. Having passed easily, the following month he was granted two-months' leave. During that time he received notification of his official promotion to ensign effective 1 July of that same year and orders to report for duty aboard the United States first battleship, the USS *Texas*, which had been in commission for less than a year.[30]

Old Hoodoo[31]

During his six "apprentice" years Gillis was probably too preoccupied with his academic and postgraduation-cruise requirements to take full notice of the changes taking place in world naval circles. However, the visit to Germany gave him a new perspective on the growing emphasis being placed on the construction of more-heavily armored and more-lethal warships that were simultaneously becoming larger and faster.

Moreover, by the time Gillis was commissioned, he, like most officers, had become familiar with the writings of Captain Alfred Thayer Mahan, who, in 1890 had introduced the world to a new vision which posited that the combination of mercantile imperialism and naval power could make a nation prosperous and great.[32] The naval review at Kiel confirmed that the age of navalism had begun.

In America, Mahan's disciples, led by Theodore Roosevelt, had successfully lobbied for a naval-building program as well as a more expansive policy. A jingoist spirit was beginning to pervade the land as speeches and news editorials preached a more bellicose and aggressive patriotic message. When the British Navy landed troops in British Guiana in 1895 because of a boundary dispute with Venezuela, America demanded that the Monroe Doctrine be respected, and a war scare swept the country. Roosevelt was quick to declare: "Let the fight (with England) come if it must. I rather hope that the fight will come soon. The clamor of the peace faction has convinced me that this country needs a war."[33] The British eventually agreed to arbitrate, and the storm passed.

When Gillis returned to Annapolis in the spring of 1896 to be examined for promotion, the press was also reporting that a group of hawkish congressmen and senators was already urging intervention in Cuba and the sending of a fleet there to protect American interests. For Gillis, who was eager at long last to embark upon his naval career, the future seemed to offer bright prospect for action and adventure.

The *Texas*, as America's first battleship, represented a considerable technical challenge as well as an expensive item of naval hardware. To protect its investment, the navy department undoubtedly picked the *Texas*'s officers with care. It was commanded by Captain Henry Glass, and the executive officer was Lieutenant Commander J. D. J. Kelley, both of whom had been ordered to the *Texas* from the new cruiser *Cincinnati,* which under their hand had attained a high degree of proficiency and discipline. Similarly, Gillis's selection was primarily based on his high standing at the Naval Academy as well as on his high marks while aboard the *New York*.

Once aboard, Gillis was assigned duties as Glass's aide and also was designated the ship's signal officer in charge of communications and responsible for that group of enlisted men making up the ship's signal division. Very soon he also became qualified to stand deck watches both

underway and in port.[34] As the captain's aide Gillis had a unique inside look at the day-to-day decision making that took place in the running of the ship. The position undoubtedly made him popular in the wardroom for he most certainly was privy to the ship's schedule and operational orders. These were always important bits of information that provided lively gossip about what to expect with respect to the ship's future ports-of-call.

As in the course of much of his career, Gillis would encounter officers and enlisted men who had served with his father, and his service aboard the *Texas* was no exception. Lieutenant Commander Kelley, for example, had commanded the *Tallapoosa* in Rear Admiral Gillis's South Atlantic Squadron in the late 1880s. Kelley, in fact, was a most unusual person and one of the earliest "activist" officers who had written articles on naval affairs as well as on the need for a strong commercial-shipping industry. He was a close friend of James Gordon Bennett, the influential publisher of the *New York Herald*, and upon retirement in 1901, Kelley would become the *Herald*'s naval editor and later served on the paper's board of directors. Like Mahan, Kelly was a devout navalist and in the early 1880s had authored a number of articles in support of a strong, modern navy. He likely encouraged the officers of the *Texas* to be current on all manner of naval topics.

The honeymoon aboard the *Texas* was a brief one for Gillis. On 16 September 1896 she ran hard aground at Newport, Rhode Island, while still undergoing sea trials. The mishap was caused by miscommunication over engine signals from the bridge to the engine room via the *Texas*'s new engine-order telegraph-system. Although the ship continued to operate after being freed by tugs, the hull had been weakened, and the *Texas* subsequently went to the Brooklyn Navy Yard in early November for inspection and repair. It was soon discovered that sixty-one compartments below the water line were leaking. The worst was yet to come however. On 9 November a faulty seacock valve led to massive flooding below decks, and the ship, still moored to the dock, sank to its gun deck. The flooding created yet another serious problem. The water that rushed in was highly polluted and contained solid-waste particles. The crew had to be evacuated ashore to avoid a typhoid epidemic, and it took several weeks to clean and sanitize the ship. For a brief period

in late November it was doubtful that the *Texas* would ever again be ordered to sea.

In February 1897, however, the ship was at last ready and headed for Galveston, Texas, for a belated ceremony celebrating its being not only America's first battleship, but also the first to bear the name *Texas*. Upon arrival at Galveston it once again ran aground, but the sandy bottom treated the ship more kindly than had the rocks off Newport. Though embarrassed, Captain Glass quickly freed the ship, and the banquet went on as scheduled. Departing Galveston several days later, the *Texas* went to New Orleans where it and the *Maine*, America's latest battleship, represented the U.S. Navy at Mardi Gras. The *Texas* subsequently returned to the East Coast where it commenced operations with the North Atlantic Squadron.

The gala banquets and parades not withstanding, the atmosphere aboard the *Texas* soon changed to gloom. Between the groundings and the dockside sinking, various members of the *Texas*'s officer cadre became the subject of two Naval Courts of Inquiry. When the findings were handed down, Letters of Censure and Reprimand were issued to several officers. By now the *Texas* had a bad reputation, and navy men in the fleet had begun calling her the USS *Hoodoo*. Few wanted to see any duty aboard what they believed to be a jinxed vessel.

Gillis was not affected by the legal inquiries, but he and two other senior lieutenants found an outlet for relieving their frustrations. In late September 1896 the Navy Department had issued a circular letter requesting proposed changes to the fleet's tactical-signal book, which, with the advent of new battleships and cruisers, had become outdated. It contained a vast set of signals to be employed during action or emergency situations as well as during routine tactical maneuvering. Captain Glass had passed the letter down to the officers directly involved in the ship's communications, which obviously included Gillis. Within several weeks a detailed list of proposed changes was jointly submitted to Captain Glass by Gillis and the two other lieutenants. It was a reasoned and comprehensive report covering a variety of signaling situations principally related to the new and evolving tactics requiring ships to maneuver in concert from line, column, and echelon formations. Gillis further marked himself as an improviser of solutions when he submitted precise instructions for

the care and inspection of the ship's double bottom. The instructions were intended to prevent a future accidental flooding of below-deck space such as that which had occurred in the Brooklyn Navy Yard.

By late summer of 1897 the *Texas* was once again back in dry dock undergoing extensive modifications. This time she had to have her bow- and stern-torpedo mounts removed as they could not be fired without risking danger to the ship. There were other problems as well. The *New York Times* reported on 30 September that twenty crew members had deserted while she was in dry dock.[35] The *Times* indicated that the main reason for the desertions stemmed from the ship's being "uncomfortable" because the engine room and crew's living quarters were excessively hot and impossible to cool.

The problem was greater than matters of comfort, however. The navy's building program was already straining its ability to provide trained enlisted men to operate the increasingly complicated equipment. Many sailors were foreign born and not well educated. Moreover, the excessive amount of time spent in navy yards for repairs and upkeep was often too much of a temptation for men who often drank to excess. Ship's logs were replete with instance of desertion or absence without leave. As a result, the ship's brig was invariably provided with a steady supply of transgressors. For young division-officers like Gillis, the challenge of leadership was difficult and often discouraging. As his tour came to an end, however, Gillis had met his first test. He distinguished himself as a smart, capable young officer by receiving from Captain Glass the highest mark of "excellence" in all graded categories in his Report of Fitness.[36]

"Nothing in His Composition but Nerve."[37]

Just one week prior to the desertions on the star-crossed *Texas*, Gillis had received his orders to the *Porter*, a torpedo boat that was in port at New York also undergoing modifications and repairs. For Gillis the duty on the *Porter* must have been an exciting prospect because he knew he would have a much broader range of responsibilities on this much smaller ship. In fact, he was to be the ship's second in command under Lieutenant John C. Fremont, Jr., son of the famous explorer, politician, and military officer. Gillis's primary duty on the *Porter* was that of chief engineer, a demanding assignment because the *Porter*, like the *Texas*, was

also a new, experimental class of ship. The ship had been in commission for less than a year, and several design and technological challenges were readily apparent. Heading the list were propeller-shaft and -blade problems. The high speeds for which they had supposedly been designed caused the shaft and blade to twist or break when the ship was put to maximum limits. Secondly, the ship had two steam reciprocating-engines fed by three coal-fired boilers capable of developing 4000 horsepower. At higher speeds the vibration and pounding of the reciprocators caused many pieces of auxiliary machinery to break free from their deck fasteners. The *Porter* was cramped, dirty, and noisy with minimal space left over to provide comfort for the crew. When the *Porter* was underway, some slept on deck, but this could often be quite hazardous as these craft were poor sea keepers in all but the calmest conditions.[38] The main weapon system also had serious problems. The torpedoes were inaccurate and went off course at high speed. Even during stationary firing, a torpedo had a tendency to go off course when it hit a small object or if its propeller struck the tube at discharge. Eventually the torpedo problems were solved through a series of experiments with a new steering mechanism.

All of this activity had gone on throughout the summer of 1897 at Sag Harbor, New York, often under the critical eye of Theodore Roosevelt, then the assistant secretary of the navy, who maintained his home Sagamore nearby. In fact, it was Roosevelt who had pushed hard for the creation of a "mosquito war-fleet," which if successful, would spawn the creation of others to be used in defense of the coastal waters of the United States.

In January 1898 a six-month shakedown cruise for the flotilla was ordered. It was to proceed down the East Coast using the inland waterway, and then via the Gulf of Mexico it was to go up the Mississippi to St. Louis. It proved to be a tiring and stressful trip as all systems had to be tested under a variety of sea conditions. One vessel of the flotilla, the *Foote*, had severe problems and averaged only a slow twelve knots against her contracted speed of thirty knots. She soon became known as the "Footless" among the other torpedo-boat crews. The *Porter*, meanwhile, performed so well that it was recognized as the best ship from a reliability and efficiency standpoint. Early on, Fremont gave credit to Gillis in the latter's Report of Fitness with the highest mark of "excellent" in all graded categories. He also added the following remark: "Ens. Gillis has

shown exceptional zeal, intelligence, and resourcefulness in performing the various duties required of him during the cruise of this vessel."[39]

The ships never made it any further than Key West. War fever was now running high in the United States over mistreatment of Cubans by Spanish colonialists. Outrage in America was fueled in no small part by the newspapers of William Randolph Hearst, Joseph Pulitzer, and James Gordon Bennett. In some months they had run stories of atrocities in Cuba, both real and imagined. As the *Porter* pulled into Key West for upkeep and repair, Captain Fremont had orders to ready the ship for partial duties.

Toward the end of *Porter*'s upkeep period, the *Maine* was reported sunk in a furious explosion while it lay at anchor in Havana Harbor. An inquiry was ordered, but the headlines screaming "Remember the *Maine*" were an obvious call for America to teach the Spanish a lesson. On 26 April 1898 President McKinley finally declared war. The *Porter* was quickly underway from Key West, and upon its arrival at Havana the battle squadron commander, Admiral William Sampson, who was embarked aboard the *New York*, immediately assigned the *Porter* close-in patrol duties. Her first chance at action came within a few days when she intercepted and captured the Spanish schooner *Sophi*a, loaded with rum and sugar. Everyone aboard celebrated because there was a bounty on such ships, and the *Porter*'s crew stood to divide up a fair sum of prize money.

Less than a day after the *Sophia* was captured, the *Porter* became involved in a clandestine effort to gather information ashore per the direction of Admiral Sampson. Sampson had become friendly with Sylvester H. "Harry" Scovel, a reporter for Pulitzer's *New York World*. Scovel had already earned a reputation as one of the most celebrated correspondents covering the war, having been the first on the scene in Havana Harbor within minutes of the sinking of the *Maine*. His subsequent stories captured the attention of the world with his lurid descriptions of the event and suspicions that the ship had been a victim of Spanish sabotage. Scovel also had a long history of writing articles about Spanish atrocities against the Cubans and had excellent connections with General Maximo Gomez, the chief of the Cuban insurgents. Moreover, Scovel directed the efforts of a small group of other reporters ashore whose job it was to spy on Spanish activities in Havana, as well as to provide Scovel with

scoops over his rivals from other newspapers. Scovel's maneuverings had not escaped Admiral Sampson's attention, and he asked Scovel to provide him with badly needed intelligence ashore. It fell to the *Porter* to act as Scovel's transport for the dangerous mission.

The first story Scovel filed from the *Porter* appeared in the *World* on 28 April 1898 and featured Ensign Gillis. Apparently, the *Porter* was to land a boat ashore to pick up one of Scovel's reporter-spies, operating under the pseudonym Holmes, with the hope that "Holmes" could provide much-needed updates for Admiral Sampson as to the situation in Havana. Scovel's description of the event read in part:

> For hours the *Porter*'s officers watched. The moon was not yet risen; coast and sky were of the same inky black. The loom of the shore a few hundred yards distant, although obscuring the coastline, did not obstruct the view seaward. The *Porter* could be seen, and any moment the nearby Cojimar field artillery might begin puncturing the thin-skinned, valuable, almost defenseless torpedo boat.
>
> Holmes was to be waited for three hours. The officers watched longer and then reluctantly gave up.
>
> On the night of the 24th the hour set was "soon after dusk as possible."
>
> Again the swift *Porter* ran into the shaded bay. The moon enabled them to find it easily. This was the second trial.
>
> The officers, to give Holmes every chance to reach them and the admiral every chance to learn the facts about Havana's sealed interior, decided to go right to the beach.
>
> Ensign Gillis took an eighteen-foot boat, four willing jackies swept the oars and the sandy beach was almost touched.
>
> Gillis signaled. No answer.
>
> It is now known that this point was patrolled that night.
>
> The signals of the previous evening had been seen, and Holmes either could not approach the beach or had attempted it and been captured. Gillis held to the shore for an hour, then, after his return, the *Porter*'s electric masthead light itself shot the white beams in proper intervals; but no Holmes.[40]

Over the next five days Scovel remained aboard the *Porter* as it

continued its vain attempt to contact "Holmes." Admiral Sampson finally instructed the *Porter* to land Scovel at Caibarien on Cuba's north shore. Once the mission was completed, the *Porter* received orders to link up with the flagship *New York*, which was in the process of organizing an expedition to San Juan in hopes of intercepting Admiral Pascual Cervera's fleet, which was reliably reported to be heading there from Cape Verdes. Battle plans were drawn up as the *Porter* ferried the commanding officers of the San Juan expedition back and forth between their ships and the *New York*. One of those passengers was Robley Evans, then the commanding officer of the battleship *Iowa*.

On 11 May the ships of Sampson's squadron commenced a bombardment of San Juan, and the *Porter* was ordered to remain close by the harbor entrance looking for any sign of Admiral Cervera and his fleet. On one occasion the *Porter* came under heavy fire from shore batteries but was not hit. After three hours Sampson withdrew, disappointed not to have found Cervera. The *Porter* was ordered back to Key West for refueling and some rest for the tired crew.

Upon arrival at Key West the *Porter*'s crew had a sobering moment when it saw the battered and broken *Winslow*, one of her sister torpedo boats. Following the declaration of war, the *Winslow* had been the war's first serious casualty when she was struck by fire from shore batteries on 11 May at Cárdenas. Her captain, Lt. John Bernadou, had been badly wounded, and her executive officer, Ensign Worth Bagley, and five crewmen had been killed instantly. It had taken a herculean effort by the revenue cutter *Hudson* to tow her to safety all the while receiving fire from Spanish guns ashore.

Returning to Cuba in mid-May, the *Porter* took up picket duties protecting the larger force of U.S. combatants, which began to form up at Santiago where Admiral Cervera and his fleet had finally been discovered. During this period a near catastrophe was averted by the *Porter* and the *New York*. Gillis had the night watch, and at two o'clock in the morning on an especially dark night with rain squalls, he had spotted a large unlit ship in the gloom. He woke Fremont, and it was decided that, since they were located well to the east of Havana, the ship could not possibly be one of the U.S. blockaders. Preparations for battle were quietly passed to the crew as the *Porter* began a stealthy approach from

astern of the mystery ship. Within a short time the torpedo boat was able to come within yards of the vessel, and Fremont later noted that "excitement on the *Porter* was at a fever heat, and the enforced silence and the nervous tension were hard to bear.[41]

Fremont decided to make sure that the ship was Spanish and turned on his night signal. It produced no answer. He tried again and this time fired his forward gun in warning. The response was immediate as the target showed a light signal but fired at the *Porter*. The signal, however, was the wrong one, and the *Porter* rang up full speed for a torpedo attack. At the very last moment the ship was identified as the *New York*, Sampson's flagship. Both ships now slowed and via megaphone exchanged apologetic explanations. It was later confirmed that the *New York* was the ship in error for having responded with incorrect recognition signals.[42]

A few days after the *New York* incident, the *Porter* was again involved in an incident that soon became the talk of the fleet. On 4 June while patrolling near the mouth of Santiago Harbor, the *Porter*'s lookout spotted two torpedoes floating dead in the water. It was decided to try to recover them in the hopes that considerable technical intelligence could be gleaned once they were thoroughly subjected to examination back in the United States. The *Porter*'s log entry for of the event, which bears the signature of Ensign I. V. Gillis, Navigator, was succinct and laconic in the extreme. "During fore noon saw two Schwartzkopf automobile torpedoes floating in water. In attempting to pull them up one sank, but secured the other and took it on board. It had war head and nose on.[43] (For the 4 June 1898 log of the *Porter*, see figure 8.) Lt. Fremont, in an article published the following November, treated the incident with somewhat more detail:

> These torpedoes were still extremely dangerous. Any ship striking the forward end of one would have fared exactly as if the torpedo had run into her. It was therefore necessary either to destroy or recover these machines. Recovery was preferable, of course, but extremely dangerous in the heavy sea running, unless they could be rendered harmless by the removal of the firing pin or war-nose. There was a gallant attempt to do this by a young officer [Gillis] attached to the *Porter*, who jumped overboard and wrestled with the torpedo single-handed, while

LOG of U. S. Torpedo Boat "Porter" J. C. Fremont, Lieut., U. S. N., Comd'g.

Date: Saturday, June 4, 1898.

H.	K.	COURSE.	WIND.	WEATHER.	REMARKS.
1					Spoke several vessels of squadron with
2					messages from commander-in-chief.
3					During forenoon saw two Schwartz Kopf auto-
4					mobile torpedoes floating in water.
5					In
6					attempting to pick them up one sunk, but
7					
8			S.E.	f.c.	secured the other and took it on board.
9					It had war head and nose on.
10					
11					
12			S.E.	f.c.	
1					
2					
3					
4					
5					DYNAMO.
6					Running from midnight to 6 a.m. and
7					
8			East	f.c.	from 6 p.m. to midnight.
9					
10					
11					
12					

COAL AT NOON: On hand, 31 tons; expended during preceding 24 hours, 8 tons. Distance run 30 miles

POSITION AT NOON: ~~Lat. by~~ Off Santiago de Cuba; ~~Long. by~~

EXAMINED and found to be correct.

D. McLeish, Ensign, U. S. N. Navigator

8A. Log of U.S. Torpedo Boat *Porter* for 4 June 1898.

Saturday, June 4, 1898.

HER. REMARKS.

Spoke several vessels of squadron with messages from commander-in-chief.
During forenoon saw two Schwartzkopf automobile torpedoes floating in water. In attempting to pick them up one sunk, but secured the other and took it on board.
It had war head and nose on.

DYNAMO.

Running from midnight to 6 a.m. and from 6 p.m. to midnight.

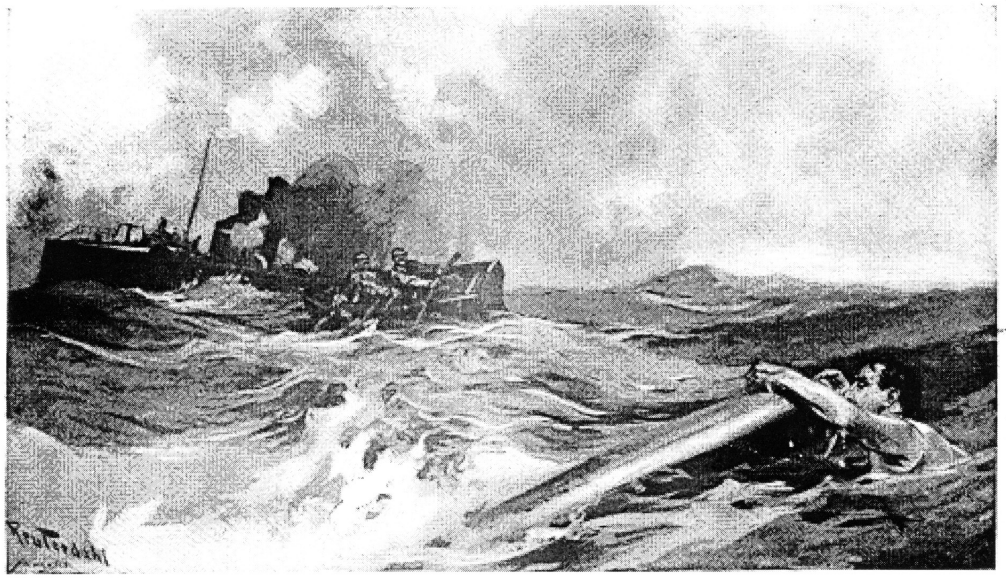
; expended during preceding 24 hours, 8 tons. Distance run 3.0 miles

Logs be Cuba; Kept by

und to be correct.

D. Gillis Ensign, U. S. N. Navigator.

8B. Enlargement of log of U.S. Torpedo Boat *Porter* for 4 June 1898.



ENSIGN GILLIS ATTEMPTING TO UNSCREW THE WAR-NOSE ON A SPANISH TORPEDO.

9. Drawing by [Henry] Reuterdahl (1871–1925), in J[ohn] C. Fremont, "Torpedo Boat Service," *Harper's New Monthly* 97.582 (November 1898), p. 836.

> trying to unscrew the firing pin. One of these torpedoes was lost during these operations, sinking despite all efforts to recover it. The other was taken on board the *Porter*, where it remained an object of curiosity to all until, on our arrival at New York, it was transferred to the torpedo depot at Newport.[44] [See figure 9 for a Henry Reuterdahl drawing of Gillis defusing the torpedo.]

The incident quickly made the rounds among the blockading ships and, following the war, was retold in several books and magazines. One of these even contained full-page artist's renderings that depicted Gillis grappling with the torpedo in heavy seas.[45] (See figure 10.) Another, in the best tradition of pulp novels of that era, provided this highly embellished description:

> Gillis clutched the rail firmly and prepared to make the jump. "Don't do it, Gillis; she's got her war nose on!" exclaimed the Captain, reaching for his ensign.

> "I'll fix that, sir," replied Gillis, leaping into the sea before his superior officer could restrain him.[46]

The piece continues in equally hyperbolic detail, ending finally with this:

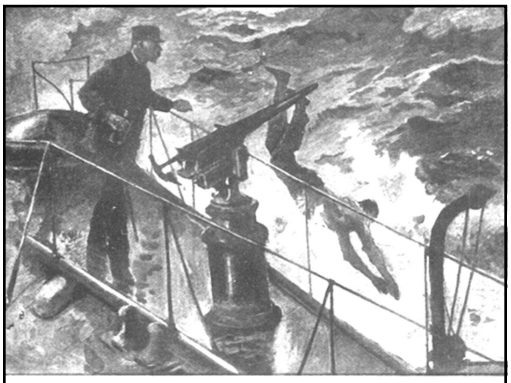
> No more daring deed has been done during the war, and Rear Admiral Gillis (retired), of the United States Navy, who is the father of the boy and resides in Delhi, N.Y., can well be proud of the youth. He was graduated at Annapolis from New York and went to the front to serve his country and his flag at any cost.
>
> Captain Fremont sums Gillis up in the few words: "He has nothing in his composition but nerve." The war is surely building up a new generation of heroes, and Ensign Irving [sic] Van Gordon [sic] Gillis stands in the front rank.[47]

Following the torpedo-recovery incident, the *Porter* was directed to an obscure bay where it participated in providing covering fire for marines who had established a beachhead at the village of Guantanamo. She was still there when word came that Admiral Cervera was attempting to run the blockade. Fremont quickly made for Santiago but arrived too late. The Spanish fleet had been intercepted by the U.S. blockading force and destroyed. The war was all but over.

On 19 July 1898 the *Porter* arrived in New York and began an extended period of upkeep and repair. The next day a *New York Times* reporter came aboard and interviewed Gillis, who was acting officer-in-charge. With obvious pride in his ship and his own role as chief engineer, Gillis stated,

> [T]he *Porter* has proved herself in every emergency and in all weathers a staunch, swift, and at all times a capable boat. Our water-tube boilers have given us our speed whenever wanted, but we come up here now for a little professional attention—much less, however, than might be expected when a vessel has been so long in service without docking or overhauling.[48]

Gillis's assessment notwithstanding, a closer inspection of the *Porter* revealed a need for an extreme overhaul of her engineering plant. The Brooklyn Navy Yard had higher priorities with many of the fleet's capital



"The brave young officer had plunged into the shark-infested sea."

"A few sturdy strokes, and Gillis reached the side of the torpedo."

10A–C. Sequence of drawings by F. W. Burton of I. V. Gillis's 4 June 1898 retrieval of a torpedo, in W. B. Northrop, "Capturing a Plunging Torpedo," *English Illustrated Magazine* 47 (February 1907), pp. 531–533.

ships also in need of repairs resulting from extended operations during the war. As a result it was decided to place the *Porter* out of commission while she awaited her turn. Gillis was granted a short, week's leave in August before receiving orders to once again report to the *Texas*, which was also at the navy yard undergoing repairs.

"From Coupler-Flange to Spindle-Guide I See Thy Hand, O God."[49]

Returning from a week's leave in early August 1898, Gillis once again reported for duty aboard the *Texas*, which was moored at the Brooklyn Navy Yard. Like the *Porter*, the *Texas* had also just returned from Cuba where she had seen much action and received considerable battle damage at Santiago. If Gillis had any doubts about returning to the *Texas*, they were quickly dispelled. The ship, having acquitted itself well in the war had, at last, shed its bad luck image. At the same time Gillis was preparing to report back aboard the *Texas*, the *New York Times* recorded the following on 2 August:

> The *Texas* looking every inch the fighting machine that she is, lay at the cob dock in the Brooklyn Navy Yard yesterday, almost over the spot where she sank in the soft mud not many months ago and brought discredit on herself. But if there were any who were ashamed of her and had called the old ship a "hoo-doo," they were not in evidence. There wasn't a man in all her crew yesterday who wasn't proud of her, proud of her sons, her bent deck plates, and her grimy look.[50]

The *Texas* also no longer held status as a first-class battleship. The U.S. Navy's construction program, aided and abetted by a sympathetic Congress, had moved into high gear by the late 1890s. At the close of the Spanish-American War the navy listed in its inventory eight new, first-class battleships that now formed the core of the first U.S. fleet. Meanwhile, many new cruisers, and a miscellany of other smaller combatants had also been added. Even more ships had been approved for construction and would join the fleet in the next several years. The *Texas*, now labeled a second-class battleship, also had a new commanding officer,

Captain Charles D. Sigsbee, who had graduated from the Naval Academy in 1863. Sigsbee had had the misfortune to have been the commanding officer of the *Maine* when it exploded in Havana Harbor in February 1898. Surviving, he had to endure a difficult Court of Inquiry following the incident that left his reputation tarnished when it was determined that he had not taken adequate precautions to protect his ship.

In the immediate post–Spanish-American War period, a major deficiency within the expanding navy was a lack of qualified officer engineers. In order to make up for the shortage, commanding officers had to assign line officers to engineering duties, a move that did not always produce the best of results. Many simply did not have the expertise to operate machinery, diagnose or troubleshoot problems, or understand how to maintain or improvise repairs of the increasingly complicated engineering systems. The *Texas* was no exception. Captain Sigsbee, taking note of Gillis's mathematical and technical talents, assigned him to stand engine-room watches.

Gillis did not seem to mind being a "greaser." He easily grasped the concept of steam propulsion and electricity and was evidently comfortable with getting his hands dirty working on the array of auxiliary machinery, boilers, condensers, and generators that were necessary to drive a ship through the water. He very much epitomized the maxim coined by Theodore Roosevelt several years earlier when he was assistant secretary of the navy, "Every officer on a modern warship has to be a fighting engineer."[51]

Following a three-month repair and upkeep period, the *Texas* resumed its routine duty with the North Atlantic Squadron. The next nine months proved uneventful, until Gillis received orders in July 1899 to report for examination for promotion. On 1 August 1899 he received word that he had passed and was promoted to lieutenant junior grade. He also received orders to proceed home to await reassignment. In Irvin's final report of fitness, Captain Sigsbee rated Gillis excellent in all categories and stated that he was "a highly intelligent, well-equipped and zealous officer of all round aptitude, including engineer's duties." Sigsbee also added that he was "glad to have him" under his command and that he considered Gillis "very fit" to be entrusted with hazardous and important independent duties.[52]

"And the *Maine* Has Been Remembered in the Good, Old-Fashioned Way"[53]

On 11 September 1899 Gillis received word that he was to become the commanding officer of the *Porter*, which was scheduled to be recommissioned the following month. In the interim he was to proceed to the torpedo station, Newport, Rhode Island, for a two-week concentrated weapons-training program on the latest torpedo developments, including propulsion, guidance, and power-generation systems.

At the end of the refresher training period, the torpedo-boat flotilla, now at Newport had been alerted to proceed to New York City on 26 September to take part in the huge naval review to honor George Dewey and the other participants of the Spanish-American War. Gillis was given the high honor of commanding the *Winslow*, which had been repaired following its distinguished action in Cárdenas Harbor in May 1898. The *New York Times* had highlighted the fact that the *Winslow* would have a venerable place in the naval review, stating on 30 August that "the gathering of representatives of the navy will be the largest ever seen in the waters surrounding New York. Prominent among men will be the plucky little torpedo boat Winslow, on which the first blood shed in the Spanish-American War was spilled."[54]

On 29 September the five-boat flotilla slowly moved in column up the Hudson River alongside several dozen battleships, cruisers and gunboats. The main attraction, however, was the hero of Manila, Admiral George Dewey, embarked aboard the cruiser, *Olympia*, which steamed proudly at the head of the column of gleaming white and buff vessels extending from 110th Street to 69th Street. The next day a massive parade of thirty-five thousand soldiers and sailors from the ships marched down Fifth Avenue to the site of the proposed Dewey Arch on 23rd Street. Several hundred thousand people, waving signs proclaiming "Dewey for President," turned out greeting the admiral. Alongside Dewey and receiving equal adulation was Theodore Roosevelt, beaming proudly before another sea of signs and cheers that honored "Teddy, the Rough Rider." Meanwhile, all of the naval officers and squadron commanders who had commanded the major warships, as well as senior army officers who had engaged the Spanish, were driven along the parade route in a procession

of more than forty horse-drawn carriages. The day soon dissolved into a round of patriotic speeches and songs constantly interrupted by loud hurrahs and applause. The pageantry, parades, and banquets continued for nearly two weeks, gratefully concluding for the worn-out participants in mid-October.

"Lieutenant I. V. Gillis Read His Orders and Assumed Command."[55]

Following the naval review Gillis remained in New York until taking command of the *Porter* on 10 October 1899. Without doubt this was a singular achievement for the twenty-four year old Gillis. The ceremony was in fact a double one, for the *Porter* was also officially recommissioned at the same time. The *Porter*'s log entry, as approved by its new captain, offers an interesting contrast between the sublimity of the event and the challenge of command that lay ahead:

> Tues., 10 October 1899, Navy Yard, NY
> At 3:05 p.m. this vessel was placed in commission, and the ensign and pennant hoisted by Captain Frank Wildes, U.S. Navy, representing the commandant (of the New York, Navy Yard), Rear Admiral John W. Philip. The crew was assembled, and Lt. I. V. Gillis read his orders and assumed command.
> Following punishments assigned:
> J. M. McAlevy (oiler), W. J. Powell (oiler), G. H. Reintarg (F1C) (All) drunk and unfit for duty on board ship. (Assigned) five-nights confinement in double irons.[56]

Unlike his previous tour of the *Porter* with Lt. Fremont, Gillis was the only officer aboard, and of the twenty-six enlisted men in the crew, twenty were older than he. A variety of languages and accents was in evidence for nearly half the crewmen were first generation immigrants representing England (one), Ireland (five), Germany (two), Norway (one), Denmark (one), and Sweden (one). Gillis, of course, was the only person aboard who had previously served on the *Porter* and was intimately familiar with its engineering and weapon-system idiosyncrasies.

It was fortunate that Gillis had a strong engineering bent because during the year he commanded the *Porter*, he probably spent as much time

below deck in the engineering spaces as he did topside. What seemed to be an endless number of minor repairs and system failures required constant attention. In fact, the *Porter*'s log resembles more an engineering record than a traditional deck log. For example, in the summer of 1900 the following entry, signed off by Gillis, in part reads as follows:

> Steam on "b" boiler. Cleaned furnaces and ash pans of all boilers. Renewed joints in main feed line over "B" boiler and two joints in superheater feed pipe in after engine room; remade front joints near "b" blower engine. Overhauling crank pin and crosshead brasses of starboard main engine.[57]

When a nonengineering item did appear in the log, it often was in reference to some disciplinary matter. In July 1900 while in Newport, Rhode Island, the log makes note that a certain W. P. Bell "returned on board 4 hours overtime," and Gillis wasted little time meting out a severe punishment. He reduced the offender to 4th Class.[58]

Gillis's tour as commanding officer of the *Porter* was, for the most part, uneventful as he followed a routine operating-schedule for the torpedo-boat flotilla. The boats generally headed south for the winter to Norfolk, Charleston, or Key West where they conducted periodic maneuvers and trained naval militiamen. In early spring they would rendezvous at Annapolis and exercise in the Chesapeake Bay. The *Porter* did dock in Annapolis where naval midshipmen were introduced to the various weapon and engineering systems aboard the ship. Some training was again conducted for local naval militiamen. From Annapolis the ships would head to New York where they would undergo repairs and upkeep at the Brooklyn Navy Yard.

The highlight of the year occurred in early summer when the boats returned to their home base at the Torpedo Station, Newport, Rhode Island. In 1900 Newport was at the forefront of the Gilded Age, and many famous mansions already lined Bellevue Avenue. In fact, the officers and men of the flotilla were well known about Newport and often attracted much attention when they conducted high-speed runs in Narragansett Bag for the benefit of people like the Vanderbilts, Whitneys, Astors, and Belmonts. These operations also had an official sanction since Admiral Dewey also was in residence at Newport and was a popular figure at various supper parties and banquets hosted by Newport's elite.

Gillis and his fellow commanding officers also enjoyed participating in various festivities such as yacht racing and carnivals sponsored by the wealthy members of the "cottage colony." The Torpedo Station and the torpedo-boat captains also responded in kind by sponsoring "at home" dances for many of Newport's more influential citizens. One newspaper article described these events as "delightful entertainments" that had become a popular feature of the Newport social scene.[59] Sometimes the social whirl required the torpedo boats to ferry various government dignitaries or senior navy officers about Narragansett Bay. On 5 September 1900 Gillis had the honor of welcoming Admiral Dewey and his wife aboard the *Porter*. His assignment was to convey them from their cottage at Narragansett to Newport, where the following day the admiral was to preside over the navy's newly created General Board.[60]

On the operational side Gillis also performed duties as an instructor, both at the Naval War College and the Torpedo Station, on the subject of torpedo operations and tactics. His superior, Commander Newton E. Mason, who headed the Torpedo Station, rated him highly as an instructor, commenting in Gillis' Report of Fitness that he delivered a "very fine performance.[61] Mason went on to become a rear admiral and subsequently headed the navy's important Bureau of Ordnance.

One further event in the fall of 1900 occupied the torpedo-boat commanders. A major naval war game had been planned for the last week in September and would involve many major units of the North Atlantic Squadron as well as the several army forts that guarded the entrance to Narragansett Bay. The basic idea behind the war game was to test the readiness of Newport to defend against a large hostile fleet attempting to force an entry at night into the bay, destroy the various defending units, and then support the landing of soldiers and marines ashore. Though never stated, the hostile force plainly represented the British Royal Navy. Interestingly, the navy's only operational submarine, the *Holland*, would be part of the defending fleet. The entire torpedo-boat flotilla, comprised of six boats, was assigned to the hostile force. The war game proved to be a bust for Gillis and the *Porter*. His assignment was to enter Narragansett Bay via the west passage while avoiding detection by the spot lights from Fort Greble on Dutch Island. In an audacious maneuver, Gillis attempted to make a slow-speed approach well inside the main channel in the shallow waters on the island's western shore. However,

the *Porter*, which drew only four feet of water, ran aground on the mud flats and was detected. With no apparent damage to the ship, Gillis freed the *Porter* within several minutes but was declared "out-of-action" by the umpires and forced to return to the Torpedo Station.[62]

Less than eight weeks after the war game, Gillis received new orders to the gun boat *Annapolis*, which was at Norfolk preparing for an extended deployment to the Far East. He was to be the ship's navigator. Cdr. Mason's final fitness report on Gillis was again most complimentary as he rated the young officer "excellent" in all categories."[63]

Notes

Editor's note: Bringing the first chapter of Bruce Swanson's manuscript on Irvin Van Gorder Gillis to print required this editor's relying on many people to whom she extends her heartfelt thanks. Foremost among these is RoseAnn Swanson, Bruce's widow, Navy-wife extraordinaire, and ever-inventive entrepeneur, whose grace, verve, and vocal talents demonstrated throughout her life continue undeterred despite the deep sadness of losing her beloved mate of forty-seven years. Meghan A. Snyder, the second of RoseAnn and Bruce's four children, saw to it that Bruce's long-hand manuscript for the first chapter of his book was typed and available for him to read when he returned home from the hospital for his last brief stay. Meghan later sent me the electronic file for this chapter for publication.

Bonnie Gillis Waters, a fifth-generation descendant of Robert Gillis and Robert's first wife and Irvin Van Gorder Gillis's second cousin twice removed (I. V. Gillis was a third-generation descendant of Robert Gillis and Robert's second wife), lives on her great-great-great grandfather's property in upstate New York and is the Gillis family archivist and genealogist. Bruce and Bonnie spoke and wrote frequently exchanging information about I. V. Gillis, and Bonnie provided several family photographs that appear in this issue of the journal.

Dorthea V. Abbott, Librarian of the Special Collections and Archives Division of the Nimitz Library at the U.S. Naval College, Annapolis, sent photocopies of materials related to I. V. Gillis held in that collection. Head of the Naval Historical Collection, Evelyn M. Cherpak, and Reference Librarian, Alice K. Juda, at the Naval War College, in Newport, Rhode Island, supplied photocopies of Gillis-related items in the college's collection. Laura Waayers, Historical Services Manager, of the Naval Historical Society, provided five high-quality images of I. V. Gillis and of his father held in this vast collection of public-domain, navy-related materials.

1. The chronology of James Henry Gillis's naval service is contained in U.S. Navy, Record of Officers, Record Group 24, National Archives, Washington, DC.
2. A description of the *Michigan*'s patrol duties of the Great Lakes and its lay up during winter quarters is taken from "Cutters on the Lakes," *New York Times*, 13 February 1899, p. 9.
3. Another photograph of James Henry Gillis, I.V. Gillis's father, probably also taken in the late 1890s, may be found in Lewis Randolph Hamersly, *Records of Living Officers of the U.S. Navy and Marine Corps*, 7th ed. (New York: L. R. Hamersly Co., 1902). The Naval Historical Foundation, Washington, DC, preserves a

copy of this photograph as record NH78450 and notes that James Henry Gillis was appointed to the Navy on 12 October 1848 and retired in May 1893.

4. For information on the Brooklyn Naval Yard, see http://www.officersrow.org/history.htm. Accessed August 2007. See also *1939 WPA Guide to New York City* in http://www.brooklyn.net/neighborhoods/navy_yard_01.html; and "The National Navy Yards," *New York Times*, 12 April 1885, p. 14.
5. "Boys in Naval Service," *New York Times*, 8 December 1882, p. 3.
6. See Russel H. Bastert, "A New Approach to the Origins of Blaine's Pan American Policy," *The Hispanic American Historical Review* 39.3 (August 1959), pp. 375–412. For more on James H. Gillis, see Commodore [James H.] Gillis, "My First Cruise," *Morning Oregonian* (Portland, Oregon), 30 July 1893, p. 12. See also U.S. Navy, Record of Officers (James Henry Gillis), Record Group 24, National Archives; Obituary of Rear Admiral James H. Gillis, U.S.N., Retired," *Army and Navy Journal*, 11 December 1910, unpaginated; and Obituary of Commodore James Henry Gillis, *New York Times*, 8 December 1910, p. 13. See also Lewis R. Hamersly, ed., *Who's Who in Pennsylvania* (New York: L. R. Hamsersly Company, 1904), p. 263; and John McIntosh Kell, *Recollections of a Naval Life* (Washington, DC: The Neale Company, 1900), pp. 97–98, 102, and 108.

   On James Henry Gillis's service in South American waters, see E. G. Squier, "The Great South American Earthquakes of 1868," *Harper's New Monthly Magazine* 38.227 (April 1869), pp. 603–624. See also reports of the USS *Powhatan* and USS *Wateree* concerning the earthquake and tidal wave of 13 August 1868 at Arica, Peru, available at http://www.history.navy.mil/library/online/powhatan.htm.
7. In the possession of Irvin Gillis Murray (an artist who goes by Gil Murray), a grandson of I. V. Gillis's sister Caroline, is a sword that he reports once belonged to James H. Gillis, possibly the sword mentioned here. Irvin Gillis Murray, telephone conversation with the editor, 9 July 2009.
8. All basic family genealogical information is from various decennial U.S. census reports available at Ancestry.com.
9. For more information on James Lyle Gillis, see the "The Late James L. Gillis, The Patriarch of Elk County," *Pittsburgh Daily Post*, 30 July 1881 and the *Philadelphia Times*, 29 July 1881. Extracts of the *Pittsburgh Daily Post* article by Henry Souther were reprinted in Elk County Historical Society, *The Elk Horn* (Summer 1968 and Fall 1968). See also William James McKnight, M.D., *A Pioneer Outline History of Northwestern Pennsylvania, 1780–1850* (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott, 1905), pp. 497–508 and 718–723 for Souther's tribute in its entirety; *History of the Counties of McKean, Elk, Cameron, and Potter, Penna., with Biographical Sketches* (Chicago: J. H. Beers, 1890), p. 727; and *Portrait and Biographical Album, Henry County, Iowa* (Chicago: Acme Publishing Company, 1888), pp. 202–205. This last source provides the following description: "After taking up his residence in Mt. Pleasant, Judge Gillis became one of the noted men of the young city. Of a lofty and stately carriage, his dignified form was noticeable whenever he appeared upon the streets. His stirring and eventful life had made him familiar with all classes of society, and his urbanity endeared him alike to all."

10. Ginger M. Doyel, "Plebe Summer 1904," http://usna.com/History/PlebeSummer1904/1/1.htm. This article offers a glimpse into the content of examinations given to Naval Academy students in that era. This article appeared in print as follows: "Plebe Summer 1904," *Shipmate* (July/August 2004), pp. 32–35. The website is open only to graduates of the U.S. Naval Academy. Ginger Doyel kindly supplied information about its publication in the print version of the USNA alumni magazine.
11. For more on the selecting and training of naval cadets, see "Selecting Naval Candidates," *New York Times*, 19 October 1890, p. 10. The method for selecting naval candidates differed between northern and southern states where the latter conducted no competitive examinations. This article indicates that on one occasion a southern U.S. Representative had "thundered out" on the floor of the House of Representatives, "We in the South, Sir, select our men for West Point and Annapolis as we would pick out blooded stock for the race course." See also, "Train Naval Cadets," *New York Times*, 18 September 1892, p. 10.
12. John Paul Jones statement, *ca.* 1777, quoted in Walter G. Richardson, ensign, U.S. Navy, "Life and Study at the Naval Academy," *The New England Magazine* 14.3 (May 1893), p. 305.
13. William Shakespeare, *Henry V*, Act 4, Scene 3. Also quoted in Lieutenant J. D. Jerrald Kelly, U.S. Navy, "The United States Naval Academy," *Harper's New Monthly Magazine* 77.458 (July 1888), p. 173.
14. *Lucky Bag* (Annapolis: U.S. Naval Academy, 1894), p. 146. The definition of "splint" is from Benjamin E. Smith, ed., *Century Dictionary and Cyclopedia* (New York: The Century Company, 1909), p. 1256.
15. *Record of Naval Cadets, Class 1894*. Special Collections, Nimitz Library, U.S. Naval Academy, Annapolis, Maryland.
16. *Lucky Bag*, 1894, pp. 66–68.
17. *Record of Class Appointed in 1890*, Special Collections, Nimitz Library, U.S. Naval Academy. See also Richardson, "Life and Study at the Naval Academy," p. 312.
18. "Commadore Gillis's Wife Critically Ill," *Washington Post*, 2 August 1893, p. 1; and "Mrs. Gillis is Dead," *Washington Post*, 3 August 1893, p. 1.
19. U.S. Navy, Record of Officers, RG 24, National Archives.
20. *Record of Class Appointed in 1890*, Special Collections, Nimitz Library, U.S. Naval Academy. "Class of '94, Naval Academy: About the Men Who Are To Be Graduated," *New York Times*, 4 June 1893, p. 2.
21. Gerald E. Wheeler, *Admiral William Veazie Pratt, U.S. Navy* (Washington, DC: Naval History Division, 1974), p. 12.
22. A full eyewitness accounting of the incident is contained in Robley D. Evans, *A Sailor's Log* (New York: D. Appleton and Co., 1908), ch. 21–23.
23. Ibid., p. 102.
24. Ibid., p. 385.
25. Much of the detail on whom Evans knew is contained in various sections of Evan's own memoirs, *A Sailor's Log*, ibid., and *An Admiral's Log* (New York and London: D. Appleton and Co., 1910).
26. Wheeler, *Admiral William Veazie Pratt, U.S. Navy*, p. 15.
27. Evans, *A Sailor's Log*, pp. 391–392.

28. Ibid., ch. 30. See also "Making Ready for Kiel," *New York Times*, 29 April 1895, p. 8.
29. Evans, *A Sailor's Log*, pp. 384–386.
30. Record of Officers, 1829–1924, Naval Academy, roll 7, vols. 12 and 13, Irvin Van Gorder Gillis. See also Kenneth J. Hagan, *This People's Navy* (New York: The Free Press, 1991), p. 209.
31. See text this section and the text at note 50 below for the source of this reference.
32. See Alfred Thayer Mahan (1840–1911), *The Influence of Sea Power Upon History 1660–1783* (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1890).
33. Theodore Roosevelt (Police Commissioner of New York City) to Henry Cabot Lodge (U.S. Senator from New York), December 1895, in Walter Millis, *The Martial Spirit: A Study of Our War with Spain* (Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1931), p. 38.
34. "Report on the Fitness of Officers," Form B, Ensign I. V. Gillis, attached to the U.S. Battleship *Texas*, National Archives. Captain Henry Glass filed this report for the period 1 January–31 March 1897 and described Gillis's duties as "Captain's aide and signal officer entire period," ranking him "excellent" in five categories and "good" with respect to his health. Glass further specified that Gillis "was frequently put in charge of the deck at sea and in port; duty performed excellently" and that he "translates French and Spanish."
35. "Repairs to the Texas; Twenty of Her Crew Deserted While She Was in Dry Dock," *New York Times*, 30 September 1897, p. 12.
36. [Missing from similar materials that the author gathered is the report on fitness, which should be dated around August 1897 and signed by Captain Glass.]
37. This phrase describing Gillis's daring in retrieving a torpedo may be found in James Rankin Young and J. Hampton Moore, *History of Our War with Spain* ([Philadelphia, Pennsylvania], [National Publishing Company], [1898]), pp. 597–599, esp. p. 599. In the Young and Moore book, Gillis's name is misspelled as Irving Van *Gordon* Gillis. For this phrase, worded somewhat differently in a quotation attributed to Captain [John Charles] Fremont, see [James William Buel], "The Courageous Act of Ensign Gillis," *Hero Tales of the American Soldier and Sailor as Told by the Heroes Themselves and Their Comrades* (Philadelphia: Century Manufacturing Company, 1899), p. 302.
38. For general information on the development of torpedo boats and their weaponry, see Richard V. Simpson, B*uilding the Mosquito Fleet: The U.S. Navy's First Torpedo Boats* (Charleston, South Carolina: Arcadia Publishing, 2001). Specific reference to the *Porter* may be found on pp. 62–73, 90–92, 99–107, 134, and elsewhere throughout the text. Numerous photographs of this boat, one of the largest torpedo boats in the U.S. fleet, are included. Page 106 shows the Frank Cresson Schell drawing of Gillis's capture of a torpedo, and page 107 reproduces the Henry Reuterdahl drawing of the same event from John C. Fremont, "Torpedo-Boat Service," *Harper's New Monthly Magazine* 97.582 (November 1898), pp. 829–837, esp. 837. Captions for both these drawings misspell Gillis's name as *Irving* V. Gillis.

39. "Report on the Fitness of Officers," for Ensign I. V. Gillis, attached to the USS *Porter*, for 23 September 1897 to 31 December 1897, and signed by Lieutenant Commander J. C. Fremont. In another report, Fremont identified Gillis's duties as that of executive and engineer and commented, "Duties on the *Porter* were extremely trying and were well performed by this officer." See "Report on the Fitness of Officers," for Ensign I. V. Gillis, attached to the USS *Porter*, for 1 January 1898 to 15 August 1898, and signed by Lieutenant Commander J. C. Fremont.
40. [Sylvester H. Scovel], "Brave *World* Correspondent May Be Killed or Captured," *New York World*, 28 April 1898. This article is also quoted in Darien Elizabeth Andreu, "Sylvester H. Scovel, Journalist, and the Spanish-American War" (PH.D. diss., Florida State University, 2003), pp. 270–271.
41. John C. Fremont, "Torpedo-Boat Service," illus. by Henry Reuterdahl, *Harper's New Monthly Magazine* 97.582 (November 1898), p. 832.
42. Ibid., pp. 830–832. For a long narrative of this near catastrophe between the *Porter* and the *New York*, see James Rankin Young and J. Hampton Moore, *Reminiscences and Thrilling Stories of the War by Returned Heroes* (Philadelphia: J. H. Moore, 1899), pp. 275–283.
43. See "Log of U.S. Torpedo Boat *Porter*," J. C. Fremont, Lieut., USN, Commanding, Saturday, 4 June 1898, signed by Lt. I. V. Gillis. National Archives, ARC ID 581208.
44. John C. Fremont, "Torpedo-Boat Service," *Harper's New Monthly Magazine* 97.582 (November 1898), pp. 829–837, esp. p. 837. The text of the account of the retrieval of the torpedo does not mention Gillis by name, though the caption to a drawing by Reuterdahl on p. 836 reads, "Ensign Gillis attempting to unscrew the war-nose on a Spanish torpedo."
45. W. B. Northrop, "Capturing a Plunging Torpedo," illus. by F. W. Burton, *English Illustrated Magazine* 47 (February 1907), p. 533. Northrop misspells Irvin Van Gorder Gillis's name as *Irving* Van *Gordon* Gillis (p. 531) and states his age as twenty-seven instead of the actual twenty-four years of age (p. 534).

    Two modern publications reproduce a drawing, attributed to F[rank] Cresson Schell (1857–1942), of Gillis's capture of the torpedo. Both books incorrectly write the artist's name as F[rank] *Cressan* Schell. See Lionel D. Wyld, *The Navy in Newport* (Dover, New Hampshire: Arcadia Publishing, 1997), p. 37, where the caption reads, ". . . the heroic capture of an armed Schwartzkopf torpedo by Ensign Gillis of the *Porter* during the Spanish-American War." Wyld offers no source for this drawing. See also, Richard V. Simpson, *Building the Mosquito Fleet*, pp. 105–107, esp. p. 106, cited first in note 37 above. The latter work offers a brief summary of the various accounts of Gillis's recovery of the torpedo and notes that the missile is held in the collection of the Naval War College Museum, Newport, Rhode Island.
46. James Rankin Young, *History of Our War with Spain*, p. 598.
47. Ibid., p. 599.
48. "The Porter at the Navy Yard: She Comes Here for Overhauling and Repairs—Ensign Gillis Talks of Her Experiences," *New York Times*, 20 July 1898, p. 5.
49. Rudyard Kipling, "M'Andrew's Hymn," *Rudyard Kipling's Verse, Inclusive Edition*

1885–1918 (Garden City, New York: Doubleday, Page and Company, 1919), pp. 137–145.

50. "Texas Tars Our Guests; Cigar Stores and Restaurants Will Supply Their Wants and Will Accept No Pay; Repairs Begun on the Ship; No One on Board Knows Whether She Will Be Here Five Days or a Month—Into the Dry Dock To-day," *New York Times*, 2 August 1898, p. 12.
51. Roosevelt as assistant secretary of the navy. Quoted by Admiral George Melville, engineer in chief of the U.S. Navy. See "Engineers in the Navy; Admiral Melville Says They Are Decreasing in Number—Changes Needed," *New York Times*, Wednesday, 18 October 1901, p. 8.
52. "Report on the Fitness of Officers," Form B, Lieutenant Junior Grade I. V. Gillis, attached to the USS *Texas*, National Archives. Captain C. D. Sigsbee filed this report for the period 1 July–22 August 1899.
53. Unattributed, "Our Hero," *Poems of Dewey and The Philippines*, in Joseph L. Stickney, *Admiral Dewey at Manila and the Complete Story of The Philippines: Life and Glorious Deeds of Admiral George Dewey* (Chicago: Imperial Publishing Company, 1899), p. 373.
54. "The Dewey Naval Parade; Greatest Marine Pageant in the History of the City to Take Place," *New York Times*, 30 August 1898, p. 4.
55. "Log of U.S. Torpedo Boat *Porter*," Lieut. I. V. Gillis, USN, Commanding, Tuesday, 10 October 1899.
56. Ibid.
57. "Log of U.S. Torpedo Boat *Porter*," Lieut. I. V. Gillis, USN, Commanding, Tuesday, 10 July 1900.
58. "Log of U.S. Torpedo Boat *Porter*," Lieut. I. V. Gillis, USN, Commanding, Monday, 2 July 1900.
59. "The News of Newport," *New York Times*, 29 June 1900, p. 7.
60. "Log of U.S. Torpedo Boat *Porter*," Lieut. I. V. Gillis, USN, Commanding, Wednesday, 5 September 1900.
61. See "Report on the Fitness of Officers," Form A, Lieutenant I. V. Gillis, commanding the *Porter* at Naval Torpedo Station, Newport, Rhode Island, filed by Commander N[ewton] E. Mason for the period 3 May–30 June 1899.
62. See "Naval Attack on Newport," *New York Times*, 25 September 1900; "Naval Manoeuvres End," *New York Times*, 26 September 1900; and "The Newport Manoeuvres," *New York Times*, 27 September 1900.
63. See "Report on the Fitness of Officers," Form A, Lieutenant I. V. Gillis, commanding the *Porter* at Naval Torpedo Station, Newport, Rhode Island, filed by Commander N[ewton] E. Mason for the period 1 July–29 September 1900.

The Richness of Touch

The Paradoxical Meanings of Disability in Japanese Culture

KOJIRO HIROSE

Two blind men have taught me the importance of the sense of touch, or blind culture. One is Louis Braille (1809–1852) and the other is Kuzuhara Kōtō (1812–1882). Louis Braille, the originator of Braille, was born in Coupvray in the rural area of France. His eye was injured in an accident when he was three years old, and gradually he lost his eyesight. In 1819 he left home to enter the Paris School for the Blind where he stayed until his death, first as a student and then as a teacher. The Paris School for the Blind, built in 1784, was the first school for the blind in the world. In the beginning of the education for the blind, students did not have Braille, so they had to read and write normal letters. (For an example of raised letters or embossed lettering for the blind that were included in the author's exhibit, discussed below, see figure 1.) These letters are very beautiful and soft to the touch, and from them we can perceive the possibility of touch. However, for the blind, they are difficult to read and to write. Producing a book in embossed lettering is time consuming, and the resulting book is very thick.

Louis Braille was interested in efficient communication and self-expression for the blind. He knew about sonography, or the "letters for

1. Raised letters (*totsu monji*)used for making embossed texts. In the collection of the Kyoto Prefectural School for the Blind.

night," a system used as a cipher in the French army. Sonography was composed of twelve raised dots, so people could read a cipher in the dark. From this system, Braille got the idea for the new lettering system that blind people could read and write easily and in 1825 devised a system that used only six dots. Every student in the Paris School for the Blind was fascinated by the Braille system and was fond of communication and self-expression using Braille. However, Braille met with strong opposition from sighted teachers, who persisted in using embossed letters because they themselves could read raised letters with their eyes. They insisted that the blind should use normal letters and that Braille was not universal. Here we must ask what the meaning of "normal" is. The sighted hold a majority in this world, and the disabled—blind people among them—are regarded as a special group or as being in the minority.

After the invention of Braille, authorities in the Paris School for the Blind prohibited students from using Braille. Nonetheless, for the

rest of his life Louis Braille tried hard to improve and spread the use of his Braille system. In 1854, two years after Louis Braille died of tuberculosis at the age of forty-three, the French government finally adopted Braille as officially recognized letters. Louis Braille put greater importance on dissimilation than on assimilation. In other words, he thought that the blind had to maintain their identity or originality. His system was introduced to the United States in the 1860s, and in 1890 Japanese Braille was adapted from Louis Braille's system. (For a chart of Japanese Braille printed in raised letters, see the inserted card and appendix 1.) Braille has been the simplest and easiest method for the blind to read and write since its birth. And, by the invention of Braille, Louis Braille revealed the uniqueness of blind people or blind culture.

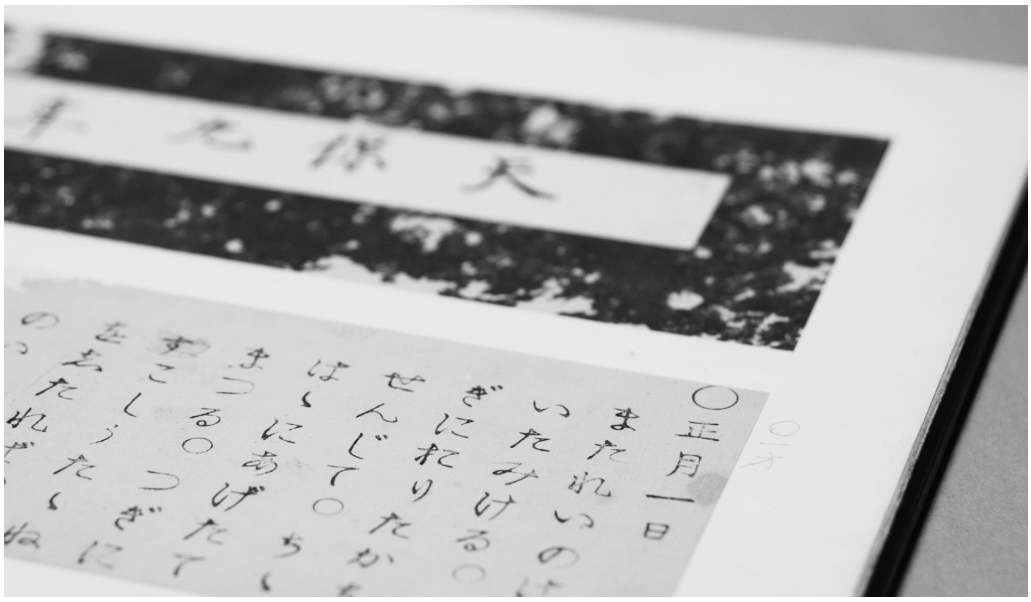
Another example of blind culture, this time from Japan, is found in the life and work of Kuzuhara Kōtō. In his lifetime, Kuzuhara experienced the Meiji Restoration, but he lived his life quietly, staying in the rural part of Hiroshima as a *koto* musician. His achievements in *koto* music were great. He invented the Yakumogoto, a two-stringed bamboo *koto*, and he is famous for his diary *Kuzuhara Kōtō Nikki*. Because of smallpox, Kuzuhara lost his eyesight at the age of three. He later studied *koto* and *shamisen* at the Ikuta school in Kyoto and entered Tōdōza, a guild composed of blind musicians and acupuncturists. Tōdōza, founded in the fourteenth century by *biwa-hōshi* (lute players or minstrels) all of whom were blind, had a long tradition dating from the tenth century, the middle of the Heian period. Kuzuhara Kōtō's given name, "Kōtō," is the name of the third-highest rank in the hierarchy of Tōdōza.

In premodern times the blind were unable to use characters. Actually they did not need characters. Again, be reminded that Japanese Braille was contrived only in 1890, and before that, the blind were dependent fundamentally on their memories. *Heike Monogatari* (The Tales of Heike) by *biwa-hōshi* is one example of the fruits of their special abilities. Kuzuhara Kōtō tried to communicate with sighted people, and he wanted to leave for coming generations positive proof of his life. The appearance of his *Kuzuhara Kōtō Nikki* marks the shift from premodern times to modern times. Modernization forced the blind to embrace characters. In other words, the blind, or minorities, were expected to be "normal" in modern Japan.

Kuzuhara started keeping his diary in 1827, at first written down by his pupils. Then, from 1837 to his death, he wrote his diary by himself—a period of more than forty years. (See figure 2.) *Kuzuhara Kōtō Nikki* is probably the first written self-expression by a blind man in Japanese history, and this diary showed the uniqueness of blind culture. How was it possible for him to "write" a diary before the invention of Braille? His printing type is called *moku-katsuji* (wooden type). Each piece of type was marked with a unique identifying mark so he could recognize it by the sense of touch. He put wooden type into a frame one by one to fill up a line and then began a new line. The type were then inked and printed on paper as a woodblock print is printed. His wooden type included the Japanese alphabet "*iroha*," numerals, and a small number of Chinese characters. (See figure 3.) On one of Helen Keller's visits to Japan, she saw Kuzuhara's *moku-katsuji*. Impressed, she was reported to have said "an Oriental typewriter was invented by a blind man."[1] A famous Japanese novelist, Dazai Osamu called Kuzuhara's diary "a blind man's chuckle."[2] With useful wooden types and his diary, Kuzuhara chuckled at his interesting life compared with the sighted world of normal people.

Braille is suitable for self-expression for the blind, while Kuzuhara's wooden types were good for communication with sighted people. It is by chance that Louis Braille and Kuzuhara Kōtō lived in the same period of the nineteenth century. As an inevitable consequence of the crisis for blind culture, both of them were enthusiastic about new lettering systems for the blind. Today we have computer technology, and through this technological revolution, the blind can read and write normal scripts easily and the sighted can put a document into Braille even if they do not know the rules of Braille. From a viewpoint of normalization and equalization of opportunities, it would seem that the blind or the disabled today must be happy.

What can we say about the present situation of blind culture? *Biwa-hōshi* will disappear sooner or later. The number of people who can read Braille is now decreasing. The days when Louis Braille and Kuzuhara Kōtō repeated trial and error seem to belong to a different age. By making full use of the sense of touch, Louis Braille and Kuzuhara Kōtō opened up one kind of modernization in the nineteenth century. Through an exhibition mounted at the National Museum of Ethnology (Kokuritsu Minzokugaku Hakubutsukan) in Osaka from 9 March



2. Pages from Kuzuhara Kōtō's diary. In the collection of Kan Chazan Kinenkan in Hiroshima-ken.

3. Wooden type used by Kuzuhara Kōtō to print his diary. In the collection of Kan Chazan Kinenkan in Hiroshima-ken.

through 26 September 2006, I introduced the wide range of possibilities of blind culture in the twenty-first century. And again, in the spirit of Louis Braille and Kuzuhara Kōtō, through the exhibit I said to everyone, "Touch and Grow Rich!"

The National Museum of Ethnology, covering over fifty thousand square meters of floor space, conducts anthropological and ethnological research and aims to promote a general understanding and awareness of peoples, societies, and cultures around the world through the collection and conservation of ethnographic materials and public exhibitions. My thematic exhibition, "Touch and Grow Rich: You Can Touch Our Museum," was well received. Mass media reported on this exhibition many times, introducing it widely because the exhibit was intended for visually handicapped people, who rarely have opportunities to visit museums. The exhibit was organized with several unconventional purposes and hoped for effects in mind. First, it was designed to be an exhibition friendly for appreciation by the visually handicapped, that is, an exhibition possessing what I term a "barrier-free" quality. And, second, we insisted that the museum experience that we created not prejudice or exclude any individual or group so that the exhibit was universally appreciable, a quality that I term "inclusiveness." By this I mean that despite the existence of barriers, people freely come and go over the barriers. People with disabilities and people without disabilities recognize the differences between them and enjoy the communication between the different cultures.

With those principles in mind we built an exhibit that paid specific attention to people most removed from museums. The exhibits included historical examples of writing systems for the blind—raised wooden letters, needle letters, a textbook written in raised wooden letters, and origami paper letters. (See figures 2 and 3 above.) On display were raised and topographical maps and a globe used in the Meiji era as educational devices and Kuzuhara Kōtō's diary and the wooden letter set that he used to print his entries. We invited visitors to handle and touch many aesthetically pleasing pieces of art, among them the Fureai Buddhist statue created by the late Nishimura Kōchō, master sculptor and chief priest of the Otagi Temple in Kyoto; bird sculptures carved by one of Japan's leading bird sculptors, Uchiyama Haruo of Chiba; and model of a Japanese shrine created by carpenter Shimizu Masakazu, also of Chiba-ken. (See figure 4 for a photograph of the shrine model.)

4. Model shrine created by carpenter Shimizu Masakazu from Chiba prefecture.

In planning a truly universal museum—one that everyone can enjoy regardless of disabilities—, there are actually a good many things to be considered. When we use the word "disabled," we should understand there is not a single kind of disabled person but rather there are various kinds: hearing impaired, mentally handicapped, physically impaired, and so on. In addition, regard for the aged, consideration for people from other countries, and so forth are to be included in thinking about the words "universal" and "everyone." Sad to say, my ability alone or a single thematic exhibition cannot cover all aspects of these goals. Museums mainly expect that their exhibits are appreciated visually. Therefore, those who cannot see may be, in a sense, alienated from museums. So the goal of this exhibition was to take a first step toward realizing the idea of "universal" or "everyone" in a museum-exhibit design.

News about the exhibition spread widely by word of mouth as well as through the media. Fortunately, beginning with groups involved with the visually handicapped, many people visited the exhibition throughout its entire run. Ordinary people may have sometimes seen a person with

a white cane or been asked for directions. However, never before had so many visually handicapped people been seen in a museum at one time. Ordinary people had not imagined it possible for them to appear there. Indeed, the response far exceeded their expectations and had a great influence on many fields of our society. Since visually handicapped people mostly came accompanied by family members or volunteers, the number of visitors naturally was very large. That so many visually handicapped people from far-away districts appreciated the exhibits also far exceeded my expectations. As one of the persons in charge, I was pleased with the large attendance but felt a little sad, for it showed clearly the difficult circumstances through which the visitors had to go to get to the museum. That the visually handicapped have few chances to appreciate exhibits that they can freely touch understandably involves some disappointment on my part.

The museum staff looked to foster the attitude of "cheerfulness to accept" and on the part of the handicapped visitors the "courage to go out." Totally blind, I myself observed what was going on inside and outside of the museum building sometimes as an "insider" and other times as an "outsider." The staff at the information desk and the ticket counter had not learned how to relate to people with a white cane whose visits formerly were very rare. I suppose they had regarded it as common sense that visually handicapped people were not able to enjoy themselves in the museum. When the museum staff came to accept this large number of visually handicapped visitors, they found out that their own expectations had been wrong. They became aware that there are many visually handicapped people in our world and that, quite naturally, they wanted to come to the museum just as ordinary people did. Thus the staff members acquired a newly expanded sensitivity—a new "common sense."

Through the six months that the thematic exhibition was on display, the museum staff gradually grew accustomed to the feeling that while visually handicapped people could not see, they could appreciate the exhibits with the sense of touch. Our museum had to accept various people and offer various means of enjoying exhibits. This "innovated consciousness" on the part of the museum—this attitude of accepting the visually handicapped cheerfully—, which I termed "cheerfulness to

accept," is something that is far more important than efforts at improving a museum's physical facility and, in fact, is operating a museum with a consciousness that is barrier free.

Equally important is "consciousness innovation" on the side of museum visitors. I stress the need for them to go out to visit museums. Visually handicapped people inevitably have an expectation that a museum is a facility where people "see" exhibits, and therefore, without "sight" it will not be interesting for them to visit such a place. In addition, there are many barriers to their getting to a museum. The visually handicapped maintain some sort of resignation that they need not take the trouble to go to such an inconvenient place. Through this exhibition, however, they discovered their potential as people with an acute sense of touch. Those who felt that "the museum is unexpectedly interesting" or that "it might be worth visiting" invited their friends one by one to visit my exhibition.

Some of the visually handicapped visitors' remarks that the permanent exhibition was more enjoyable than the thematic one pleased me, but that was not without a bit of mixed feelings, for it was I who had organized the thematic exhibition. However, considering their remarks objectively, it was good that some blind people were satisfied by touching various exhibits for there are far more materials in the permanent exhibition than in the thematic exhibit. It is my hope that this "touching-is-believing" experience will spark a trend among the handicapped to increase their "courage to go out."

Consciousness was enlightened for both the visually handicapped visitors and the museum staff. "Courage to go out" and "cheerfulness to accept" will become key phrases in the movement to promote a barrier-free experience at museums. When we no longer distinguish people based on the concept of "the disabled versus the ordinary" but as "those who comprehend by touching versus those who comprehend by seeing," the possibility for existence of a "universal museum" will expand. In order that the high-minded idea—the museum as enjoyable for everyone—does not become "pie-in-the-sky," it is indispensable for the two key ideas—"courage to go out" and "cheerfulness to accept"—to develop with a mutual influence.

In practical pursuit of barrier-free access, various kinds of so-called

"services for the disabled" are being tried out in many fields. At the National Museum of Ethnology we worked to get over the preoccupation with "service for the minority." Our thematic exhibition provides some examples of ways to support the visually handicapped.

For my exhibition, I translated the exhibit captions and pamphlet into Braille. The pamphlet, printed on transparent resin using UV printing techniques in both Braille and normal Japanese scripts, was usable by both the sighted and the blind. The design and the appearance of the pamphlet was both beautiful to see and soft and appealing to touch. (See figure 5 for photograph of the cover of the pamphlet.) It was innovative that the same pamphlet was intended for both the visually handicapped and the sighted and was handed out to all visitors. Making these pamphlets surely cost more than I had expected, but I was able to do this experiment because the period of this exhibition was limited. Judging from the answers in the questionnaire completed by visitors, this experimental pamphlet was favorably received by the sighted as well as the visually handicapped.

Lately it is more and more common for museums, especially new museums, to hand out Braille pamphlets or to translate exhibit captions into Braille. Braille users are thankful for this consideration. Thinking more deeply about this special accommodation, however, it is clear that Braille pamphlet users are unmistakably in the minority. Usually, a museum staff works on revising the Braille pamphlet only after improving the pamphlet most sighted people use. As a result, while the ordinary pamphlet is kept current, the Braille one, in some cases, is long out-of-date, unedited from the time the museum started. Even in a museum where ancient materials are displayed, I am very sorry to say that far too often pamphlets in Braille are allowed to grow out of date and can be counted among the museum's ancient holdings.

It is unfair to decide things based on the distinction of "majority" and "minority," but the service maintenance for the minority, such as the preparation of Braille pamphlets, frankly is neglected. A museum in difficult financial circumstances may not be able to afford the cost of producing Braille pamphlets to be used by only a few people. That a museum cannot help considering the balance between supply and demand is understandable. Nonetheless, it is important to make materials that

5. Cover of the exhibition pamphlet, 21 x 29.5 cm (8 1/4 x 11 5/8 in). Printed in color with embossing to simulate both raised and recessed Japanese *kana* and with embossed Japanese Braille text floated over the printed surface.

meet the needs of all individuals, or else the idea "everyone is the same" cannot always be called "universal." Our experimental Braille pamphlet played a big role in getting rid of the common notion of "service for the minority." If more museums made pamphlets printed in both Braille and normal letters and handed them out to all visitors alike, the concept that Braille is something peculiar would fade and the high cost of Braille printing decrease.

Most sighted people cannot read Braille. How do they feel when they put their hands on the pamphlet bearing a code consisting of lots of raised dots? (For this experience, please see and touch the Japanese Braille chart insert.) Some may feel it is bothersome, and others may be interested in the unfamiliar code. I hoped that this pamphlet would trigger notice that there are Braille users in our neighborhood. Totally blind, I am not able to read normal printed matter at all. In spite of that, day by day I am surrounded by paper documents that I cannot read without the help of a personal computer or assistants. In making the exhibit pamphlet, I hoped to reverse the positions of the sighted and the visually handicapped to give the sighted an enjoyable and informative experience.

While the pamphlet was printed both in Braille and normal letters, in fact, what is written there differs delicately. The text written in Braille and the text written in normal letters do not, strictly speaking, correspond exactly. That is just what I intended because I wanted a dialogue to be born mediated by the pamphlet. Thus this pamphlet was further innovative because it functioned as a tool for starting dialogue and as a device of communication among different cultures, including, in this case specifically, sighted visitors and visually handicapped visitors.

Another typical barrier-free service for the visually handicapped available in museums is the audio guide. To be sure, it is a very convenient tool, and experimentation is going on in every area of audio communication. The cell-phone-type audio guide is most popular. Pushing a given number in front of an exhibit allows one to hear an explanation on the cell phone. Recently, a new type of tool that sends messages and images automatically through a sensor has been developed. Such a system will be effective in providing service for people from other countries. I intentionally used very few audio guides in my exhibition. However, since

I had expected complaints about this from some visually handicapped visitors, I did install one audio-guide machine at the entrance of the exhibition area. I did not furnish any audio guides or cell-phone-type devices inside the exhibits. Shortage of money was one reason, but I had a more positive reason for not furnishing any vocal-guide tools.

Most museum visitors basically prefer a self-guided tour, which allows them to take a tour at their own pace. Some of the museums in the United States have recommended the self-guided tour to visually handicapped people. Each visually handicapped person visits a museum alone, following the guided course and enjoys the exhibits in his or her own style. On such an occasion, an audio guide that enables him or her to listen to explanations by pushing a button will be very helpful.

I have had several bitter experiences with audio guides. In 2006 the Kyoto National Museum mounted a large-scale picture-scroll exhibition. It was known widely because very precious scrolls were exhibited. Full of curiosity, I visited the museum with one of my friends. There were many picture scrolls laid in the glass cases, and being reminded that picture scrolls were something to be enjoyed visually, I borrowed an audio guide. At first, my warm-hearted friend supported me by offering some explanation. I listened to the voice from the audio guide with my right ear and to my friend's voice through my left ear. I sometimes acknowledged his friendly support, but because different information came into my brain from right and left at the same time, I gradually grew disturbed and tired. Meanwhile, probably noticing my embarrassment, my friend came to speak less. Then another problem arose. My friend's pace of enjoying scrolls and the pace of the explanation by the audio guide differed somewhat. My friend wanted to stop in front of the exhibits he was interested in, appreciating them closely. The explanation by the audio guide, however, was short. Having nothing to do, I was obliged to listen to the explanation of the next exhibit. As a result, even though both of us were in front of the same exhibit, dialogue between us grew more and more difficult.

I have occasionally had such inconvenient experiences that interrupt dialogue. The visually handicapped, who live relying on the surrounding sounds, want to keep their ears open. If they were able to enjoy exhibits by talking to each other, they would not have to use audio guides, and

perhaps they would in fact rather not use them. Taking a self-guided tour with an audio guide in his or her hand may in some cases be an ideal barrier-free experience for a visually handicapped person. However, the audio guide will truly become a comfortable service when the visually handicapped can come to a museum alone and learn by *touching* exhibits in addition to hearing an audio description.

As I said before, handicapped people have to cross big barriers on the way to our museum. It is very difficult for those who come for the first time to get to the National Museum of Ethnology, which some call a "desert island on land" because it is remote from the city center and a fifteen-minute walk from the nearest station. After visitors get to the museum, they will find the large exhibition hall itself is a maze. It would be practically impossible for the blind to take a tour alone even if we supplied audio guides and guided tours. Since they encountered so many difficulties just getting to the museum, it was important for them to enjoy themselves to the fullest while they were in the museum.

My target was a thematic exhibition that the visually handicapped and the sighted visited and enjoyed together. What is the same and what is different between the impressions gained through the sense of sight and those gained through the sense of touch triggers the beginning of a dialogue between the people of different cultures. I thought the visitors would enjoy the exhibition much more if they toured the exhibit conversing with each other rather than relying on machinery. This was the reason I dared to provide no audio guides in the exhibition area, and I decided to offer tours guided by human beings.

When we considered various devices to attract visually handicapped people to our museum, we found out the best and the most feasible one was to provide individuals as guides. In visiting museums in the United States, I am always impressed how well they make use of volunteers. Increasingly Japanese museums have begun to appeal to the public to work as volunteers to offer many kinds of services. Our museum has just started offering various services provided by a volunteer group named "Minpaku Museum Partners," (MMP; Minpaku stands for the National Museum of Ethnology). Further, not only its museums, but also American society itself is built by making good use of the power of volunteers. What Japanese society should learn from the United States

is to provide less in terms of facilities and equipment for barrier-free museum-going and more in terms of services provided by an organization of volunteers.

Our museum was built in the 1970s when there were no modern ideas such as universal design or barrier-free experience. Having a policy to improve its facilities and equipment to make the museum barrier free, committee members in the museum sometimes ask for my opinion. Thankful for being asked, I was nonetheless at a loss where to begin the transformation. Of course, we are obliged to start at what is relatively easy to improve, but the reformation is inevitably limited in the case of an existing building. If we built a museum totally anew, we could make it perfectly universal and barrier free, providing all necessary facilities. On the other hand, turning an existing museum structure into one completely accessible to the handicapped is very difficult and costly. Under these circumstances, providing human guides offers a viable solution. A guided tour given by trained volunteer staff might not be perfect, but it is a practical alternative. A human guide can work flexibly in accordance with the situation. For example, when the volunteer notices that the visitor seems not to be interested, he or she will ask, "Shall we go ahead to the next exhibit?" Or when the visitor seems to be attracted to a particular exhibit, the guide will give detailed explanation. Such resourceful guidance is impossible with an audio guide.

By designing an exhibit to be touched, providing a pamphlet printed both in Braille and in ordinary letters, and encouraging dialogue between the visually handicapped and the sighted by providing human guides, we moved toward our goal of making this exhibit "barrier free."

The second target of this exhibition, as I mentioned briefly above, was to make the thematic exhibition "inclusive," in every way. The achievement of this second goal hinges on the operation of two experiences, which I term "creating" and "opening." Here, let me attempt to illustrate these keywords of my exhibition, experiences toward which I worked to facilitate throughout the period of the exhibition.

This exhibition focused on the visually handicapped, yet, to tell the truth, most of the visitors were the sighted. Information acquired visually, as the phrase "obvious at a glance" shows, is very convenient—all too convenient. As a result, the sighted do not use all five senses to the

fullest, except perhaps the sense of vision; and in particular they tend to neglect the sense of touch. In our world, however, there are things that cannot be identified without touch and things that we get interested in through touch. My exhibition was an opportunity for museum visitors to realize the potential of the five senses and to discover the possibility of the sense of touch. I want the world to notice the profound culture of touching. This is my message to sighted people.

Although I sometimes admire some woman's voice and jokingly, "fall in love at a hearing," so to speak, the phrase "fall in love at a glance" is much more widely used. The ability to get much information of various kinds in a moment is the characteristic of the sense of vision. On the other hand, the sense of touch is inconvenient. One might say that getting a large number of images and a large amount of information without freedom of choice or some regulation or moderation is not always pleasant. An example is the often-criticized, unfavorable influence of video games on children.

While the sense of sight can catch considerable information in an image, the sense of touch gets information only by the points that hands touch. Information gained by the sense of touch is a point at first, but as you move your hand back and forth, the information expands from a point to a surface, and then to a three-dimensional space. It is highly intelligent work and a world of creation and imagination. I recommended that sighted visitors taste the fresh impression of the exhibits by touching sensitively with the eyes closed. You can create an image of an exhibit in the mind gradually with your hands and brain working actively. Since information about texture and temperature is acquired only through the sense of touch, sighted people who noticed that the impression gained by vision and that gained by touch were different enjoyed my exhibition doubly.

I call the work that expands an image by the power of the sense of touch "creation." A big model of a shrine at the entrance of the exhibition area let visitors understand the charm of creating. This model, the symbol of the exhibition, was a magnificent shrine clearly visible from a distance. (See figure 4 above.) Touching it, the visitor sensed the rough texture of its roof and the fine lines of its intricate timbering. Gathering such pieces of information, little by little you will grasp the

whole image by activating your hands and brain. It is certainly difficult to identify the shrine only from information gained through the sense of touch, but what is important is not the conclusion, rather the process of creating the image by activating the imagination and creativity. My exhibition placed such an emphasis on the work of creation that the visitors could experience the imagination and creativity unaided by the convenience of vision and could literally "feel" the latent ability of the sense of touch that the sighted tend to forget.

Increasingly museums have begun to allow visitors to touch exhibits. Sculpture is beautiful to look at, but you will have a different impression by touching it. My former art teacher, now a professor at Tsukuba University and one of the best sculptors in Japan, has carved statues of nude women. There were many such statues made of wood or plaster in the art room of my junior high school. As a junior high schoolboy, I was greatly excited, eager to hold them tightly but rather touched them diffidently, afraid of being seen by somebody. However, the art teacher encouraged me, saying, "You must not touch that way. Touch it with your whole body so as to feel the energy of the sculpture." Taking my hands, he himself had me touch the breast of the sculpture. Since then, I have made it a rule to touch sculpture bravely for both pleasure and aesthetic appreciation.

I have practiced martial arts for many years and am occasionally conscious of "*qi*" (alternately "*chi*" or "*ki*") in my daily life. The energy of the sculpture, my former teacher once said to me, will be the energy that the artist put into his sculpture and that of the sculpture itself, energy that rises from the earth to the sky up above the world, as well. Energy is also given off from the hands that hold the sculpture tightly. It is the creative energy of the sense of touch that starts with a point and extends to a surface, and then to a three-dimensional body. Unparalleled "*qi*" is born where those three kinds of energy mingle. It is the world of art vastly different from the world perceived visually.

Work to "create" is extending an image through the hands moving dynamically. In contrast, work to "open" is delicate finger movement. For example, you cannot read Braille if you touch strongly with your two hands as you do when you touch a sculpture. In reading Braille, you have to touch the raised points softly, concentrating the nerves at

the tips of the fingers. Touching with all your might is "creating," and touching extremely delicately is "opening."

Why do I call touching precise parts delicately "opening"? During my exhibition, I received several delightful comments from some of my friends. One of my sighted friends said, "I tried touching an exhibited picture with raised lines with my eyes closed. Sorry to say, I could not recognize anything at all at first. After the first tour, I tried again but in vain. Before leaving the museum after appreciating the permanent exhibition, I tried for a third time. I am not sure, but I felt the impression was different each time." I said to myself, "He is really tough." Indeed, I was most grateful to him for his persistence and his favorable interest in my exhibition.

You touch something. You may have no idea about it at first touch, but as you continue touching, you soon will know vaguely what it is. That is precisely the experience that I aimed to create with my exhibit. I learned Braille in my junior high school days and was not able to understand Braille letters at first. I felt as if they were a kind of code with a lot of raised points. As I kept reading them again and again day after day, I came to know the number of the points and their arrangement by touching them. Soon I began to use Braille as a very convenient system. Needless to say, Braille can be read quite smoothly even in the dark, and in fact I have grown so familiar with Braille letters that now I read texts in Braille in bed before falling asleep almost every night.

Just as with the case of learning Braille, there is a moment when the "closed sense"—the sense of touch that remained asleep—suddenly "opens" as you touch repeatedly. I hoped that through by exhibition, as many visitors as possible would feel that deep emotion of "opening." To that end during the period of the thematic exhibition, we had monthly Braille-experience workshops with the cooperation of members of the Minpaku Museum Partners. Observing the reactions of participants, I discovered that children learned absolutely fastest and that their way of thinking was very flexible. Even though they could not read at the first touch, using a tool called "slate-and-stylus," they wrote some Braille letters themselves and tried to read them. (See figures 6a and 6b.) Human beings will instinctively try to touch something they are interested in, and I realized that, compared with adults whose sense of touch is growing

dull, children have the suppleness to "open" simply. A "mind to open" will be fostered through experiences for the "senses to open." Schools where the Braille experience is adopted in class are of late increasing in number. Such learning is meaningful in two ways: the closed sense of touch becomes "open," and the mind to cooperate with Braille users is "opened."

One day near the close of the exhibition, I had the honor of a visit from Dr. Umesao Tadao, who came to see, or rather, to touch the exhibits. He is the founder of the National Museum of Ethnology and a well-known scholar of comparative civilization study. Though he lost his sight some twenty years ago, still at more than eighty years of age he continues his writing activity. In the thematic exhibition, we displayed various kinds of "letters to touch" used in many areas in the world before the invention of Braille. "Letters to touch" consisted of uneven dots and lines impressed onto a wax-board or made out of folded-paper strings, carved wood, and other materials. They were really beautiful to look at. Feeling those letters, Dr. Umesao commented, "I cannot read them at all. It is hopeless." Since he lost his sight after the age of sixty, the great Dr. Umesao has probably had much difficulty in switching from being a sighted person to being a visually handicapped one. Certainly it is desperately hopeless for a daily user of Braille, such as I am, to read the raised letters used by the blind in the nineteenth century. The point of exhibiting these various letters to be touched is for us all to become aware of the existence of people who really read these letters in times past and to notice that there is a moment for the closed potential sense of touch to "open." What is important is not whether you can read those letter forms, but the process of moving your fingers to seek an expanding world of touch.

Many visually handicapped people, myself included, are challenged to learn to read Braille to overcome the hopeless situation of not being able to use the sense of sight. However, precisely because they lost their sight, the visually handicapped may be counted as very lucky people who have been able to open the latent power of their sense of touch and experience the unique use of the senses. Following the lead of Dr. Umesao Tadao and from my own perspective as a cultural anthropologist, I have come to some new insights into what modern civilization, which

6A and 6B. Young visitors to the Japanese National Museum of Ethnology

learning to write and read Braille.

predominantly gives priority to the sense of vision, should become. The "act to create" and the "work to open" as I have introduced them above, are the important keys to my lifework of reconsidering what modern civilization, which gives priority to the sense of vision, should become. In order to overcome the hopeless situation of modern civilization, it may be that we all need a "mind to open," which is acquired by recovering our five innate senses.

In the history of Japanese religion and entertainment, blind people have played an important role. As mentioned above, blind lute-playing minstrels, *biwa-hōshi*, creators and popularizers of the *Tales of Heike* (*Heike Monogatari*), late seventeenth-century tales, transmitted their unique performing arts successively from master to pupil through oral instruction. Their incomparable art has been handed down even until today. Blind female mediums, *itako*, living in small numbers in the Tōhoku district, are shaman who, through severe training, acquired the art of seeing the unseen world of the spirits of the dead. In the Edo period the blind acquired the skills of massage and acupuncture as occupations. Hand-therapy, in which practitioners infer the inward condition of their patients with their fingertips and palms, is also a way the blind make a living.

Beyond those examples of the special skills practiced by the blind, the life of the Ainu or people in the Jōmon era (*ca.* 1400–300 BCE) provides evidence that natural human beings, that is people with innate abilities uninfluenced by modern civilization, freely exercised the full power of the five senses. The Ainu or the people in the Jōmon era hunted and fished, exercising their five senses, which were probably far keener than those of so called "civilized," modern human beings. In the process of modernization with the introduction of written language, however, visual communication of information became the mainstream, and what was not visually perceptible, such as the world of the spirits of the dead, was abandoned as superstition. With the introduction of Western medicine, inward physical conditions came to be observed directly and visually. Blind people, whose special powers of perception—totally independent of the sense of vision—were increasingly discriminated against, specifically because they could not use the sense of vision.

The advent of the museum can be seen as characterizing modern

society's dependence on the convenience of visual sense and the information it brings. A museum, which collects and exhibits valuable historical materials, is a cultural system that displays the authority and power of a nation and of the museum's founder to the world. Museums became places where exhibits were to be visually appreciated, while the sense of touch was given only a subordinate role and, in fact, was largely forbidden. Those who could not see—the visually handicapped—diffidently enjoyed only those exhibits that they could touch, specially mounted in only a few museums. This was the unfortunate situation during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

Because of what we have learned from history, the significance of our museum's opening the touch-culture exhibition in the twenty-first century hopefully at last will become clear. The trigger for opening up the possibility of museums is not the exhibition that permits touching but which considers the sense of touch a mere alternative to the sense of vision, rather it is the exhibition that is designed to be touched *and* that explores the identity of the sense of touch. The words telling pointedly the special qualities and nature of "the exhibition to be touched" are "create" and "open."

Partially following Dr. Umesao's idea from the foundation of our museum, the permanent exhibits of the National Museum of Ethnology are fundamentally open-access-style displays that the visitor can touch with his or her hands outstretched. This is the only museum in Japan having so many touchable exhibits. Indeed, this is innovative, but the basic premise of the exhibits' being designed to be touched actually only supplements the museum's main approach. Unfortunately, that approach continues to be for visitors to appreciate our museum's exhibits visually.

Though my thematic exhibition "Touch and Grow Rich" was a small-scale, personal project, it was an exhibition different from traditional ones in offering a display all of which was designed to be touched. While conventional museums are biased in favor of visual sense, I recognize the five senses as equivalent and that each has a different character. In this 2006 exhibit I focused on enjoyment through the sense of touch, but in the future I want to mount other exhibits that concentrate on hearing and smell.

The concept of "barrier-free" experience is useful to museums because it turns the museum's attention to the handicapped who generally have been forgotten. "Barrier free," which seeks the idea of human equality, hereafter will be a goal for museums as public institutions. In order that the visually handicapped—or any minority—enjoy museums just as the sighted do, special supporting services are indispensable. As a precursor to barrier-free museum exhibits, consideration for the disabled (the so-called weak people) is important, and the necessary budget will have to be allocated to meet these goals.

In fact, a museum—and particularly an ethnological museum—is a place where people turn their attention to the differences among them and which produces meetings with different cultures, as well. "Different cultures" is a phrase with diverse meanings, and I define bringing out the potential of the five senses as an "intercultural" experience. The visually handicapped are not weak people who cannot use the sense of sight, but rather are unique people who do not use the sense of sight. My first and last challenge is to offer an active image of the blind as people who know how to enjoy a museum in a way that is different from the common sense, finding fun in touching.

It is my ideal to see that in society each person recognizes differences that exist among individuals, respecting another's life style as a different culture. In addition, by creating inclusive environments each person interacts with different cultures. "Inclusiveness" is my term for such a new cultural framework, one that would overcome the conventional image of the disabled. In my exhibition I introduced touch culture, comparing it with visual culture. It was a space that embodied the concept of "inclusive museum" for the sighted and the visually handicapped. Different from the "barrier-free" museum experience, evidenced by the increase in number of handicapped visitors, what I intend with the phrase "inclusive" is difficult for ordinary museum visitors to understand.

How we can have many ordinary people notice touch culture and how we can get many ordinary people to stop to look at the exhibits were big themes of my exhibition. Here again we must return to discussion of the individual, human guide. For my exhibition, members of Minpaku Museum Partners functioned not only as guides for the visually handicapped but also as the vanguard of "non-discrimination," bringing

out—for all visitors—the creative aspects and imagination potential of the five senses. The museum is the best field on which to experience "inclusiveness," and it is the human guide who can indicate innovative ways to enjoy exhibits. With a human guide, visitors will come to understand different ways of living, which they cannot do when they simply look at exhibits vaguely.

In order to bring into being museums that can be universally appreciated, the latest information technology will play an important role. However, looking at the activities of Minpaku Museum Partners members accompanying the groups of visitors, I deepened my confidence in the effectiveness of the human guide. With respect to both a "barrier-free" museum experience—one that allows direct contact with the objects on display— and a "non-discriminating, universal" museum experience—one that does not prejudice an individual from any "culture,"— the human guide will "create" and "open" the way to universal society—starting here with exhibits in the Japanese National Museum of Ethnology. Through the experience of organizing, designing, and mounting the touch-culture exhibition, I have become convinced that a great flow toward the post-modern civilization is about to start in the museum of the twenty-first century and that this current will develop and extend the potential of human beings.

Appendix One

Explanation for Chart of Japanese Braille

Michael Emmerich

In 1825 a Frenchman named Louis Braille devised a means of writing using raised dots that became the basis for similar systems now employed all around the world. In Japan, Ishikawa Kuraji succeeded in translating the method for use with the Japanese language in 1890, contributing greatly to the development of an information culture for the visually impaired. In recent years people have also devised ways to represent the Sino-Japanese graphs (*kanji*), using raised dots, but printing [for the visually impaired] in Japanese syllabary (*kana*) remains the standard. New uses for computers to aid the visually impaired are being developed as well.

Tenji, as the raised-dot writing system is known in Japan, makes use of combinations of six dots, this means that only sixty-three written forms are possible. Since it would be ill advised to mark voiced consonants, such as "*ga*," or the blended sounds written as a combination of two syllables, such as "*kya*," the way one does in standard writing (*sumiji*)—by adding two dashes at the upper right, in the first case, and by printing the second element in the diphthong combination smaller, in the second—we add on voiced-consonant dots or blended-sound dots before a given Japanese-braille syllable, *tenji*, doubling its width. At other times, we add a mark indicating that a numeral or writing in the Roman alphabet follows and by this means use a particular combination of dots to represent several different meanings. For instance, the complete array of six dots represents the sound "*me*" in the *kana* syllabary, but when read as an English word it means "for," when read as a number it means "infinity," and when read as a musical notation it means "an F whole note."

Because the size of the writing in books printed using Japanese braille can't be changed, such books are considerably longer than typeset books. The Japanese-braille edition of the Sanseidō *New Concise English-Japanese Dictionary*, for instance, is printed on 18,000 pages approximately the size of a page [of this journal] and runs to 100 volumes that take up about five meters of shelf space.

Here at our center we publish textbooks, children's books, works of general interest, and dictionaries intended for schools for the blind, all projects requiring sophisticated techniques. We also prepare various printed matter in Japanese-braille form, tactile maps, Japanese-braille signs and door plates, and so on.

Thank you very much for your continuing support.

Social Welfare Organization
Nippon Lighthouse
Technical Center of the Tactual Information

2-14-34, Morigawachi-Nishi
Higashi-Ōsaka, 577-0061
Tel: (06) 6784-4414
Fax: (06) 6784-4417

Notes

1. Ogura Toyofumi, "Kuzuhara Kōtō no Denki" (Biography of Kuzuhara Kōzō) in ed. Ogura Toyofumi, *Kuzuhara Kōtō Nikki* (The Diary of Kuzuhara Kōtō) by Kuzuhara Kōtō (Tokyo: Ryokuchisha, 1980).
2. Osamu Dazai, "Mōjin dokushō" (A Blind Man's Chuckle), *Shinpū* 1 (1940).

Glossary

Ainu アイヌ
biwa-hōshi 琵琶法師
Chiba 千葉
Chiba-ken 千葉県
Dazai Osamu 太宰治
Edo 江戸
Fureai ふれ愛
ga が
Heian 平安
Heike Monogatari 平家物語
Hirose, Kojiro 広瀬浩二郎
Hiroshima 広島
Hiroshima-ken 広島県
Ikuta 生田
iroha いろは
Ishikawa Kuraji 石川倉次
itako 巫女
Jōmon 縄文
kana 仮名
Kanchayama ki'nenkan 菅茶山記念館
kanji 漢字
Kokuritsu Minzokugaku Hakubutsukan 国立民族学博物館
koto 箏
Kōtō 勾当
Kuzuhara Kōtō 葛原勾当
Kuzuhara Kōtō Nikki 葛原勾当日記
kya キャ
me メ
me ⠍
Meiji 明治
Minpaku 民博
Mōjin dokushō 盲人独笑
moku-katsuji 木活字
Nishimura Kōchō 西村公朝
Ogura Toyofumi 小倉豊文
Otagi 愛宕
qi (chi, ki) 気
Sanseidō 三省堂
shamisen 三味線
Shimizu Masakazu 清水政和
Shinpū 新風
sumiji 墨字
tenji 点字
Tōdōza 当道座
Tōhoku 東北
totsu moji 凸文字
Tsukuba 筑波
Uchiyama Haruo 内山春雄
Umesao Tadao 梅棹忠夫
Yakumogoto 八雲琴

A. E. Nordenskiöld and His Japanese Book Collection

J. S. EDGREN

The name of Adolf Erik Nordenskiöld (1832–1901) is hardly a "household word" these days, and yet in the last decades of the nineteenth century his name was known throughout the world. His arrival in Japan on 2 September 1879 was worldwide news. Many European newspapers displayed banner headlines announcing that he was alive. After having noted on 4 August that [as of 23 July] "there was no knowledge of the safety or movements of Prof. Nordenskjold's party," on 5 September the *New York Times* reported on page one the text of his first cable from Yokohama. Nordenskiöld stated: "All are well. We left Winter quarters on the 18th, and doubled East Cape on the 20th of July. Proceeded thence to Lawrence Bay, Port Clarence, and Behring's Island. Have had no sickness and no scurvy. The *Vega* [his ship] is in excellent condition."[1] Before describing Nordenskiöld's Japanese book collection in detail, it will be useful to explain the events that led up to his dramatic landing in Japan.

Nordenskiöld, a fourth-generation Swedish-Finn, was born and raised in Finland but spent most of his adult professional life in Stockholm, Sweden. Both countries claim him as a native son. In the footsteps of his father, Nordenskiöld pursued an academic career in mineralogy. By 1855 he enjoyed a junior appointment in the University of Helsingfors (i.e. Helsinki) while he worked to complete his doctorate, but

he (together with several politically minded fellow students) ran afoul of the Tsarist authorities in Finland and was obliged to go abroad. Although previously under Swedish authority, Finland had been a part of the Russian Empire since 1809, and by midcentury tensions in society were growing. After a brief stay in Berlin, Nordenskiöld returned via Stockholm to the university and received his doctorate in May of 1857. At the graduation banquet he made a speech that apparently aroused the wrath of the authorities once more, and this time it was deemed necessary for him to move abroad, which he accomplished in June by crossing to Sweden, his second homeland.

In Stockholm Nordenskiöld immediately found a research position in his chosen field of geological sciences, and the following year he took part in his first Arctic expedition to the island of Spitzbergen. One year later he began what was to become a very distinguished career with the National Museum of Natural History in Stockholm, and by 1860 his hopes of returning to Finland were so dim that he became a Swedish citizen. His first two decades in Sweden were full of scholarly achievement and success, which included teaching, research, and further arctic explorations (including an unsuccessful attempt to reach the North Pole), all of which culminated in plans to explore the fabled Northeast Passage.

Ultimately it was interest in the so-called Northeast Passage (i.e., the sea route eastward from the Barents Sea north of Norway, via the uncharted Arctic Ocean, the Bering Strait, and finally to the Pacific Ocean and the Asian countries that border it) that provided Nordenskiöld's historic and memorable contact with Japan. The successful navigation of the route had long been considered commercially and scientifically attractive by the nations of Europe, and Nordenskiöld himself was especially interested in Siberian exploration and had collected books, maps, and scientific data on the entire region. His multistage plan began with analyses of the experiences at Spitsbergen and the first circumnavigation of the Russian island of Novaya Zemlya, and it continued with his own exploratory expedition along Siberia's arctic shores in 1875, which triumphed with his inland exploration of the Yenisei River and his overland return through Russia to Sweden. Early in 1876 Nordenskiöld was honored by election to the French Academy of Sciences as a corresponding

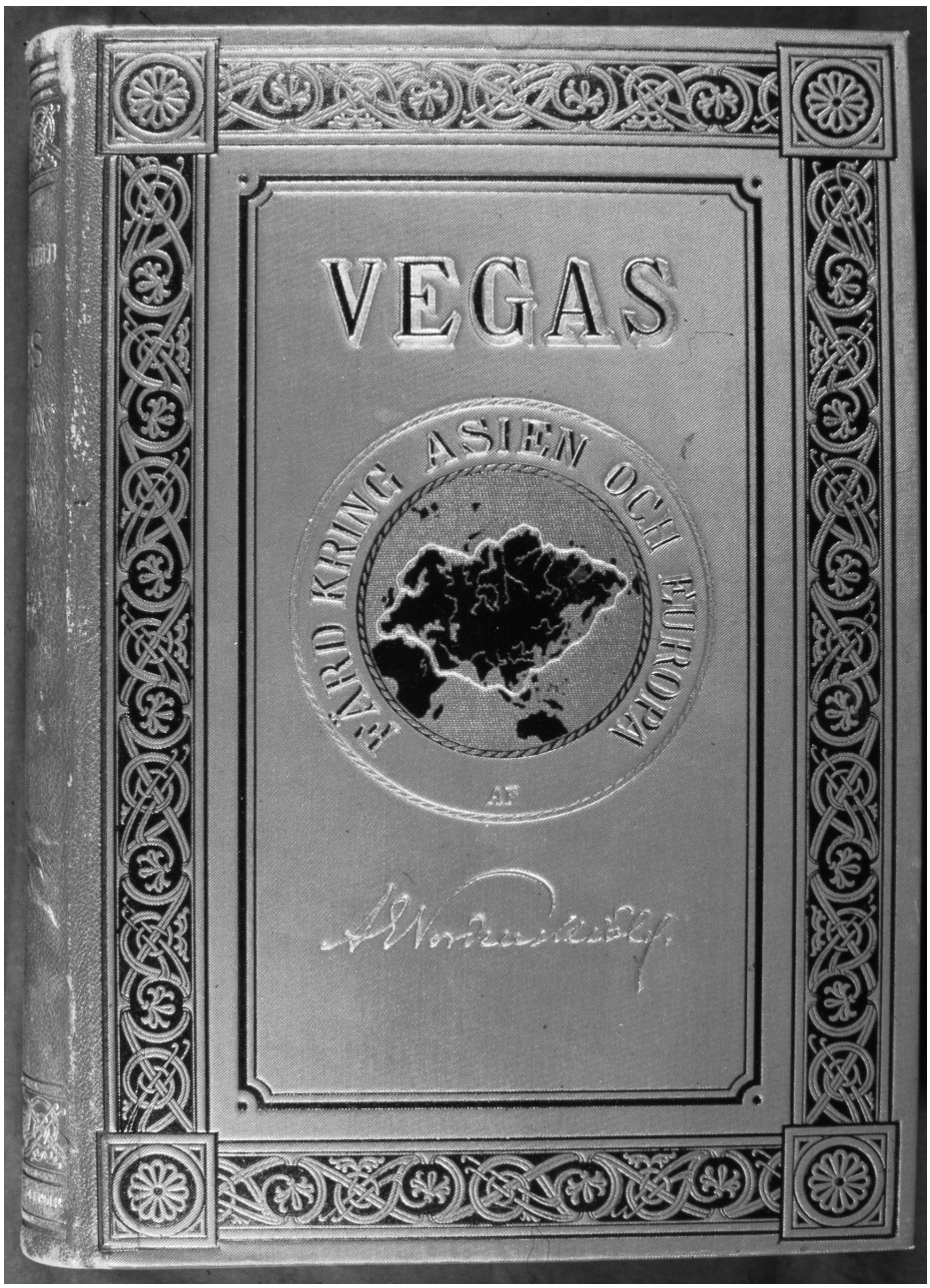
member, occupying the chair vacated by the death of the distinguished Africa explorer David Livingstone (1813–1873). Because of the unexpected success of the 1875 voyage, Nordenskiöld was immediately prevailed upon to undertake another, with even broader goals, in the summer of 1876. One reason for the repetition of the journey was to underscore its feasibility and reliability as a trade route and, indeed, one of its sponsors was Alexander Siberiakoff, a young, wealthy Siberian businessman. The second voyage was so successful that the way was now clear for serious plans to undertake the more formidable crossing of the Northeast Passage.

Piecemeal attempts to traverse the Northeast Passage had been made for over two hundred years, but because of brief and unpredictable periods of ice-free water flows along the Siberian coast, no single voyage in either direction had ever succeeded. Nordenskiöld meticulously prepared, and, because of his recent successes, he received generous support for the project. For the voyage he selected and purchased a German-built whaling ship named *Vega*. She had been constructed in 1873 of oak with an additional exterior hardwood surface, and, in addition to her three-masted sailing rigging, she boasted a small steam engine on board. With a clear understanding that they might not succeed as planned, provisions for two years were required in the event that they would have to spend the winter in the Arctic. The officers and crew, who were carefully selected and of whom several had served with Nordenskiöld previously, represented Sweden, Finland, and Denmark, and as well included an Italian officer personally recommended to Nordenskiöld. Of the total cost of 710,000 Swedish crowns budgeted for the Vega expedition, 60 percent came from Nordenskiöld's wealthy Swedish patron Oscar Dickson (actually a Scottish merchant long resident in Göteborg(i.e. Gothenburg), while Alexander Siberiakoff (described in contemporary press reports as a Siberian millionaire) contributed 15 percent, King Oscar II of Sweden personally contributed 10 percent, and the Swedish government allocated approximately 15 percent, as well as providing Swedish Naval support, which included equipping the vessel before departure. The *Vega* sailed out of Göteborg from the west coast of Sweden on 4 July 1878.

The story of what happened on the expedition is wonderfully told by Nordenskiöld in the two-volume popular history of the expe-

dition, translated from the Swedish and entitled in English *The Voyage of the Vega Round Asia and Europe*, published by MacMillan in London in 1881 and in New York in 1882.[2] (See figure 1 for the red cover of the original publisher's binding of the Swedish first edition of 1880 and figure 2 for the title page of the first English edition.) The fact that the book was translated into ten European languages at the time gives some indication of its popularity. As feared, the *Vega* became frozen fast in the ice, as it turned out, less than one hundred miles west of the Bering Strait, and the men spent the winter of 1878–1879 in the Siberian Arctic. In retrospect, Nordenskiöld suggested that the scientific nature of the expedition was both the source and the beneficiary of the forced wintering in the far north. He reasoned that the demands of the scientific staff on board (besides Nordenskiöld's own expertise, included were botany, zoology, lichenology, hydrography, and meteorology) for opportunities for observation, measurement, and collecting en route led to delays which, combined with unreliable information about early icing of the waters of the easternmost Arctic Ocean, resulted in their entrapment. On the other hand, he acknowledged that without having been forced to spend nearly ten consecutive months there they never could have achieved their thorough scientific results, which are so thrillingly recorded in *The Voyage of the Vega*. In fact, the ice did not break up until 18 July the following summer, and a few days later the *Vega* entered the Bering Strait. The dream of crossing the Northeast Passage in a single season had not been realized; in fact, it would not happen until it was accomplished by a Soviet icebreaker in 1932. On 2 September 1879 the *Vega* reached Yokohama and news of the safety of Nordenskiöld and his shipmates was telegraphed around the world.

Arrival in Japan was an exciting event, and two months were to be spent there before the onward voyage of the Vega. Nordenskiöld's grand reception in Tokyo included an imperial audience with the Meiji emperor on 17 September, as well as numerous banquets and excursions to scenic places. He preserved all manner of ephemera throughout the voyage, including schedules and menus from these events. Perhaps the most significant event of all during Nordenskiöld's stay in Tokyo was the reception and ceremony organized by the Tokyo Geographical Society in conjunction with the British Asiatic Society and the Deutsche



1. *Voyage of the Vega*, red cover of the original publisher's binding of the Swedish first edition, Stockholm, 1880–1881.

THE

VOYAGE OF THE VEGA

ROUND

ASIA AND EUROPE

WITH A HISTORICAL REVIEW
OF PREVIOUS JOURNEYS ALONG THE NORTH COAST OF THE
OLD WORLD

BY

A. E. NORDENSKIÖLD

TRANSLATED BY ALEXANDER LESLIE

WITH FIVE STEEL PORTRAITS, NUMEROUS MAPS, AND ILLUSTRATIONS

IN TWO VOLUMES—VOL. I

London
MACMILLAN AND CO.
1881

2. *Voyage of the Vega*, title page of the English first edition, London, 1881.

Asiatische Gesellschaft on 15 September. The newly established Tokyo Geographical Society was one of the first scientific and scholarly societies to be founded in the Meiji period, and its German-speaking chairman, Prince Kitashirakawa, credited Nordenskiöld's presence with promoting an international image for the organization. The *Vega*'s two-month visit and the publicity for attendant scientific fieldwork also stimulated Japan's burgeoning study of science and natural history.[3] A handsome silver commemorative medal was struck by the society in honor of the *Vega* and its accomplishment and presented to Nordenskiöld.

News of Japan after the Meiji Restoration and her opening to the outside world had attracted much attention and curiosity in Europe, and even before it became apparent that the Vega expedition might take him there, Nordenskiöld possessed a keen interest in the country. It appears that he had solicited provisional funds from Dickson for the purchase of books in Japan, should the opportunity present itself. That he conceived of a Japanese book collection at all and, indeed, attached great importance to it probably was due to the fact that he himself was an eminent book collector. By the end of the century his own geographical and cartographic library was one of the finest private collections in existence, and it had served him well in preparing the two publications for which he is best known: the *Facsimile-atlas*, devoted to the history of printed maps, and *Periplus*, which deals with manuscript maps and sailing charts.[4] Due to an interesting twist of fate his library now rests in the Helsinki University Library (i.e., the National Library) in Finland, and it and the Japanese collection in the Royal Library in Stockholm are known as the "two Nordenskiöld book collections." Nordenskiöld began to make plans to sell his personal rare book and map collection before his death in 1901; afterwards his widow, Anna Mannerheim Nordenskiöld, offered to sell the library *en bloc*, but finding a single buyer proved to be difficult. In a magnanimous gesture, and in recognition of Nordenskiöld's native land and of his contributions to Russia, Tsar Nicholas II (1868–1918) ordered the Russian treasury to purchase the collection on behalf of the National Library of Finland.

An essay about Nordenskiöld posted on the website of the Finnish Embassy in Tokyo curiously fails to mention these interesting circumstances concerning the Tsarist provenance of the Nordenskiöld Library

in Helsinki. It merely says that his collection of books and maps was "purchased from his family to the Library of the University of Helsinki."[5] The collection is truly magnificent, including cartographic and geographic literature covering the period of antiquity through the eighteenth century, as well as maps and atlases. It contains about five thousand volumes (including atlases), with no less than one hundred twenty-nine incunables and forty-nine different printed Ptolemy editions. There are more than twenty-four thousand maps, including those in atlases. In fact, the collection is so remarkable that it was added to UNESCO's Memory of the World Register in 1997.

As for the Japanese collection, Nordenskiöld reveals some of his motives in bringing it together and describes conditions prevailing in Japan during the twelfth year of Meiji in a passage translated from his five-volume "scientific observations of the Vega expedition" published in Swedish.

> An even more valuable contribution to the knowledge of Japan's older history and its people's ancient culture is provided by the rather extensive Japanese book collection that I succeeded to bring together during my brief stay there. I was assisted by a young, knowledgeable, French-speaking native, Mr. Ōkuchi. On my account, he searched through the stocks of countless antiquarian book dealers in Yokohama and Tokyo. When finally no further additions to the collection could be made in these towns, I sent him to Kyoto, which for centuries served as Japan's capital and seat of learning. When I decided to accept the considerable expenses that these book purchases involved, I was guided by the desire to bring home a more valuable and more enduring memento than could be conveyed by the natural history collections, . . . A large number of private collections of old books, as well as arms and armour, have thus come into the antique shops. With the eagerness with which the natives now set themselves to imitating Western writings, these old, domestic books are being completely disregarded, and the majority of them probably will—as often happens in similar cases with us—come to be used as wrapping paper by shopkeepers or be consumed as pulp for

> the making of new paper. In addition, there are frequent fires which often ravage the cities, and during which only the most valuable household objects get saved in the fire-proof buildings erected in most districts of the cities against the event of such calamities. Moreover, these scarcely read books from earlier times are not counted as valuables. Therefore, I am fully convinced that a book collection of the sort that I am now bringing home, in even a few years will be possible to assemble only with extreme expenditures of time and money, and that the time will come when this collection will become of exceptional value for anyone who wants to study this remarkable people's history and its "inner-life" prior to the time when the ports were opened for the Westerners. Most of the books purchased by me are, in fact, printed before 1859.[6]

We can see from the above that Nordenskiöld's collecting effort was systematic and premeditated, and the collection comprising nearly eleven hundred titles became one of the largest early collections of Japanese books to enter Europe, preceded only by the two von Siebold collections, the one in the National Museum of Ethnology, Leiden, and the other in the British Library, London. (See below for further discussion of Heinrich von Seibold's book collections.) Nevertheless, the collection never would have been realized had not Nordenskiöld been introduced to Ōkuchi Masayuki shortly after his arrival. (See figure 3 for a photograph of Ōkuchi Masayuki.) Thanks to a diligent librarian in Helsinki, we now have a photograph of the young man, which was discovered between the pages of one of the books in Nordenskiöld's own library. The note in Nordenskiöld's hand at the bottom of the photograph says, "The one who helped me to collect the library in Japan." Ōkuchi's identity is indicated by his own signature on the back of the photograph.

At the time Ōkuchi was said to have been a junior-level civil servant in the Meiji government working in the laboratory of Dr. A. J. C. Geerts in Yokohama. In fact, I have not been able to find Ōkuchi's name in the usual lists of Meiji civil servants, and it has been suggested that he may have been a Meiji government agent sent to spy on the for-

eigners in Japan, who had generated considerable suspicion and mistrust. It will take additional research to learn more about the true identity of Ōkuchi Masayuki. Geerts, a Dutch physician, had been appointed as a public health official by the new Meiji government.[7] Not only did Ōkuchi diligently select all the books and make arrangements for their delivery to the *Vega*, he also compiled an acquisitions list to accompany the books. His acquisitions list with field numbers became Nordenskiöld's catalogue and chief source of knowledge of what he had acquired.

After completion of maintenance and repairs to the *Vega* in Yokohama, the initial book purchases were taken on board, and early in October she proceeded to Kobe to fetch the remaining book purchases made by Ōkuchi in Kyoto. The stop in Kobe also afforded Nordenskiöld the opportunity to spend several days visiting Kyoto. On 18 October the *Vega* weighed anchor and traveled through the Inland Sea to her final Japanese destination, Nagasaki. Permission had been granted to land at two places on the way to Nagasaki, which allowed the ship's zoologists and botanists to enrich their collections. Nordenskiöld's description of Japan at this point ended on a rather prophetic note:

> It is difficult to foresee what new undreamed of blossoms and fruit this soil will yield. But the Europeans are perhaps much mistaken who believe that the question here is only that of clothing an Asiatic feudal state in a modern European dress. Rather the day appears to me to dawn of a time in which the countries round the Mediterranean of eastern Asia will come to play a great part in the further development of the human race.[8]

After leaving Japan, the *Vega* completed her circumnavigation of Asia and Europe through the South China Sea, the Indian Ocean, the Suez Canal and the Mediterranean Sea, returning to Stockholm on 24 April 1880, nearly two years after setting off. One of Nordenskiöld's first acts after returning was to present the Japanese books to the Royal Library, the National Library of Sweden. Indeed, Ōkuchi's list served as the basis for the first catalogue of the collection compiled by the French scholar Léon de Rosny (1837–1914) and published in Paris in 1883. (See figure 4 for the title page of the catalogue.)[9] Although de Rosny never came to Stockholm to view the books in person, a substantial correspondence

3. Rare photograph of Ōkuchi Masayuki, which he gave to A. E. Nordenskiöld in 1879.

BIBLIOTHÈQUE ROYALE DE STOCKHOLM.

CATALOGUE

DE LA

BIBLIOTHÈQUE JAPONAISE

DE NORDENSKIÖLD,

COORDONNÉ, REVU, ANNOTÉ ET PUBLIÉ

PAR LÉON DE ROSNY,

PROFESSEUR À L'ÉCOLE SPÉCIALE DES LANGUES ORIENTALES,

ET PRÉCÉDÉ D'UNE INTRODUCTION

PAR LE MARQUIS D'HERVEY DE SAINT-DENYS,

MEMBRE DE L'INSTITUT, PROFESSEUR AU COLLÈGE DE FRANCE.

PARIS.

IMPRIMÉ PAR AUTORISATION DE M. LE GARDE DES SCEAUX

À L'IMPRIMERIE NATIONALE.

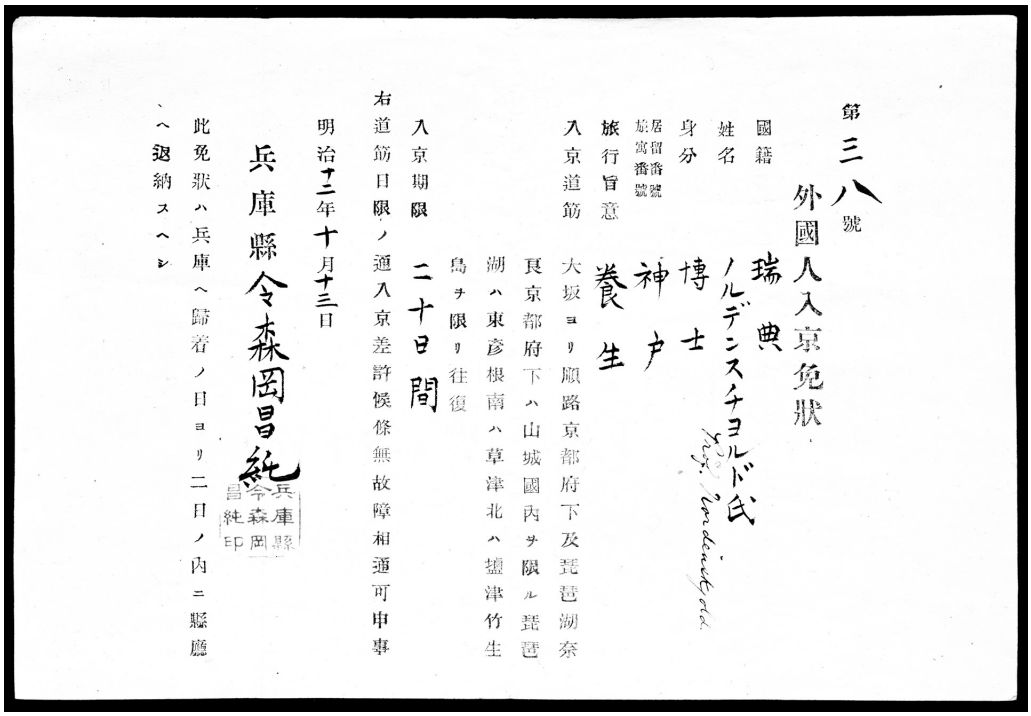
M DCCC LXXXIII.

4. *Catalogue de la bibliothèque japonaise de Nordenskiöld*, title page, Paris, 1883.

preserved in the Swedish Royal Library testifies to the efforts made to assist him, even to the extent of sending some volumes by diplomatic courier to Paris. The library also sent tracings (referred to as "calques") of colophons from some of the books, but all these efforts could not completely eliminate the difficulties inherent in cataloguing rare books and manuscripts from a great distance, and there were many errors and omissions in the published catalogue. One thousand copies were printed and it initially stimulated interest in the collection, but after a few decades both the catalogue and the collection were largely forgotten.

Nordenskiöld was an inveterate collector and the archivist's natural ally for he carefully preserved all manner of documentation from his travels, as well as a rich correspondence. Collections in the Library of the Swedish Academy of Sciences in Stockholm, as well as in the Royal Library, abound with envelopes and portfolios containing everything from the most mundane ephemera to obviously valuable research documents. In fact, nothing from the Vega expedition and its aftermath is without interest: for example, calling cards of the personalities Nordenskiöld encountered; the permit or "visa" issued on 13 October 1879 by the Hyōgo prefectural authorities allowing him to visit the Kyoto area within a period of twenty days (figure 5); a copper-plate-printed railway timetable for the Kyoto–Osaka–Kobe line (figure 6); a guidebook to the Kusatsu *onsen* spa in the mountains near the Asamayama volcano, which Nordenskiöld visited at the beginning of October 1879 and described in *The Voyage of the Vega* (see figure 7 for a Japanese illustration of bathing at Kusatsu), and so on. Receipts for most of the book purchases are preserved with the collection, and they provide exceptionally valuable economic information about the antiquarian book trade in the early Meiji period. (See figure 8 for the final section of a receipt in scroll form from the Tokyo bookseller Asakuraya.) Book wrappers, sometimes called *fukuro*, which were popular throughout the nineteenth century, are preserved for many of the books. (See figure 9 for a colorful example of a wrapper from the mid-nineteenth century.)

The three chapters devoted to Japan in *The Voyage of the Vega* contain keen observations and sensitive descriptions of the life and customs of the Japanese people, especially considering the obvious limitations of Nordenskiöld's circumstances.[10] His admiration for "this splendid and



第三八號

外國人入京免狀

國籍　瑞典

姓名　ノルデンスチヨルド氏

身分　博士

居留番號
旅寓番號　神戸

旅行旨意　養生

入京道筋　大坂ヨリ順路京都府下及琵琶湖奈良京都府下ハ山城國内ヲ限ル琵琶湖ハ東彦根南ハ草津北ハ堅津竹生島ヲ限リ往復

入京期限　二十日間

右道筋日限ノ通入京差許候條無故障相通可申事

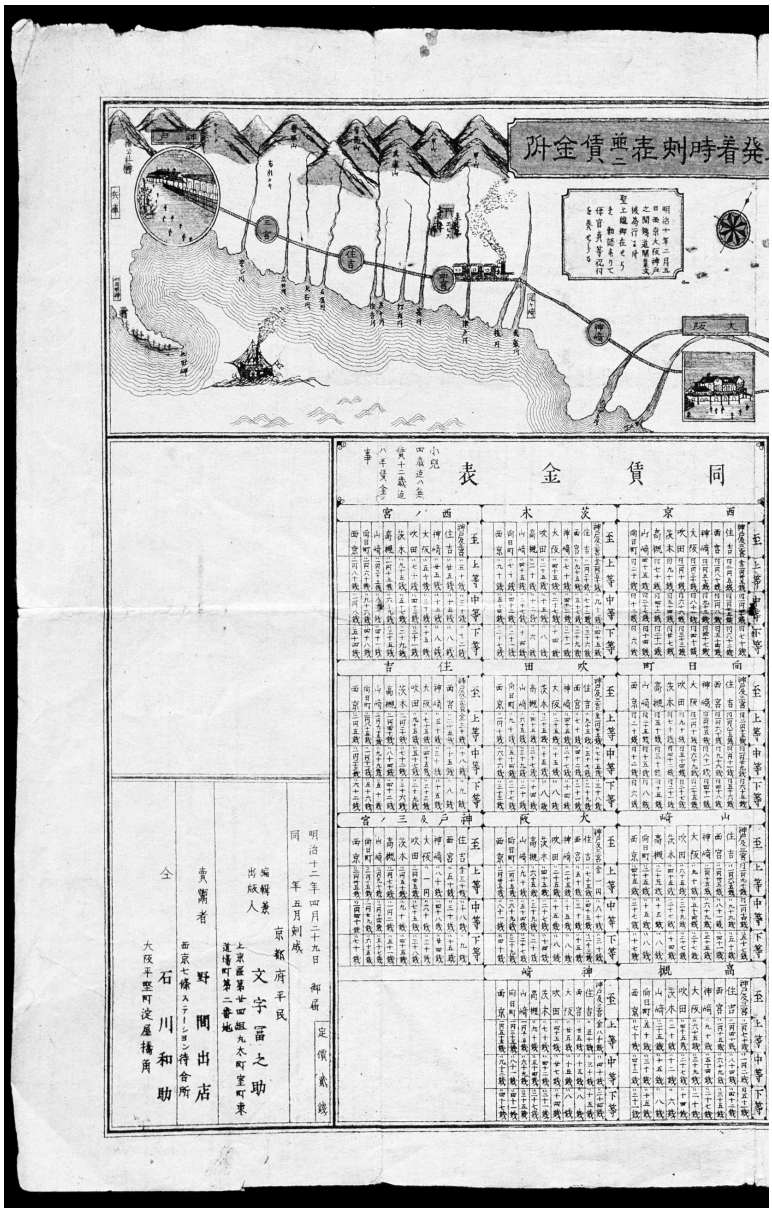
明治十二年十月十三日

兵庫縣令森岡昌純

兵庫縣令森岡昌純印

此免狀ハ兵庫ヘ歸着ノ日ヨリ二日ノ内ニ縣廳ヘ返納スヘシ

5. Backside of Nordenskiöld's travel document for the Kyoto area, issued 13 October 1879.



6. Railway timetable for Kyoto–Osaka–Kobe line with route

map above, published 29 April 1879.

shed. Without this arrangement it would perhaps be difficult to get the patients to go into the bath, for agreeable it could not be, to judge from the grave faces of the bathers and the fire-red colour of their bodies when they come out.

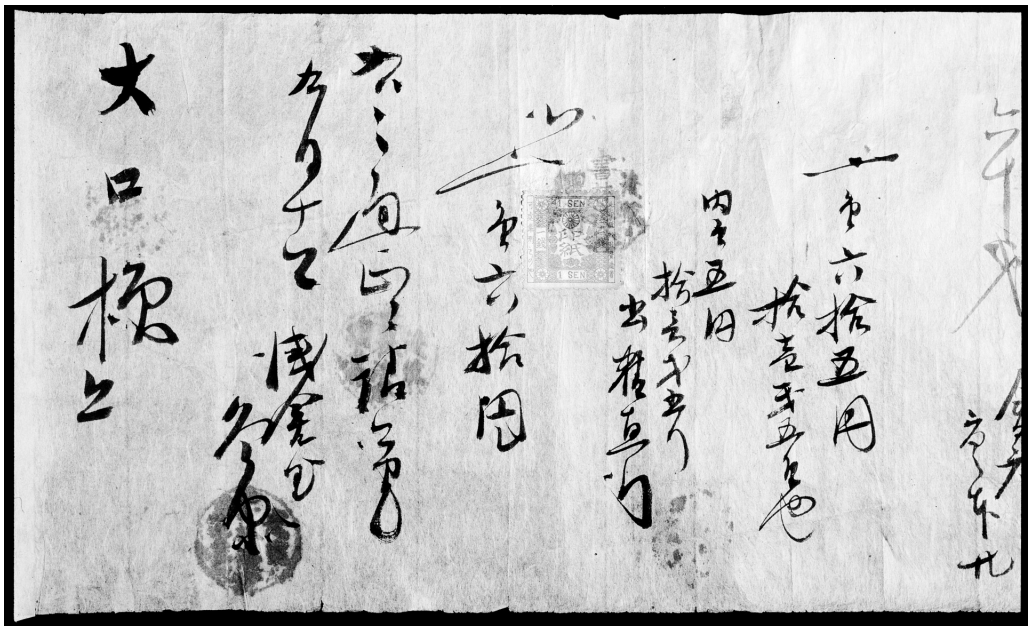
The baths are under open sheds. Men and women all bathe in common, and in presence of both male and female spectators. They make their remarks without reserve on the diseases of the patients, even if they are of that sort about which one would

BATH AT KUSATSU.

not speak willingly even to his physician. Often the bath-basin is not fenced off in any way, except that it is protected from rain and sunshine by a roof resting on four posts. In such cases the bathers dress and undress in the street.

In consequence of the situation of Kusatsu at a height of 1050 metres above the sea, the winter there is very cold and windy. The town is then abandoned not only by the visitors to

7. Japanese illustration of bathing at Kusatsu, reproduced from a Japanese travel guide and published in the *Voyage of the Vega*, p. 347.



8. Final section of a receipt in scroll form from the Tokyo bookseller Asakuraya, 10 September 1879.

9. Decorative book wrapper printed in color for *Kachō sansui zushiki* of 1866.

remarkable country" is apparent throughout his narrative.[11] He also shows a surprising awareness of political and social undercurrents, especially regarding certain attitudes of the Western powers such as to extraterritorial arrangements in the treaties with Japan. He cites with some satisfaction the remark made by ex-president Ulysses S. Grant (1822–1885) concerning a recent incident in which a German ship committed a breach of international law by breaking a Japanese cholera quarantine by coming from Nagasaki and discharging her cargo at Yokohama, to the effect that "the Japanese government had the right without more ado to sink the vessel."[12] Coincidentally, General Grant had ended a visit to Japan and sailed for San Francisco on the very day the *Vega* arrived in September 1879. In an aside Nordenskiöld makes this observation:

> The first impression of the Japanese, both men and women, is exceedingly pleasant, but many Europeans who have lived a considerable time in the country say this impression is not maintained, a circumstance which in my belief depends more on the Europeans themselves than on the Japanese.[13]

The book collection that Nordenskiöld made in Japan contains a curious and comprehensive collection of current newspapers and journals, a true cross-section of the periodical literature of the day. In all there are 159 issues of twenty-nine different Japanese-language newspapers, all published in September 1879; fifty-seven issues of forty-two different Japanese language periodicals, dated from April to September 1879; and additionally 140 issues of five different Western language newspapers published in Yokohama and Tokyo during the stay, plus the September 1879 issue of the *Japan Punch*.[14] (See figure 10 for the woodcut cover of this issue.) Most of this contemporary serial literature was acquired from Maruzen (founded a decade earlier) at Nihonbashi in Tokyo, and it functions as no less than a "time capsule" for Nordenskiöld's visit to Japan.

Nordenskiöld had occasion to meet many prominent Japanese and resident foreigners while in the Tokyo area, and he describes several of these meetings in *The Voyage of the Vega*. Of particular bibliographic interest is his meeting with the son of the Phillip Franz von Siebold (1796–1866). Heinrich von Seibold (1852–1908), then serving as attaché

10. Woodcut cover of the *Japan Punch*, Yokohama, 1879.

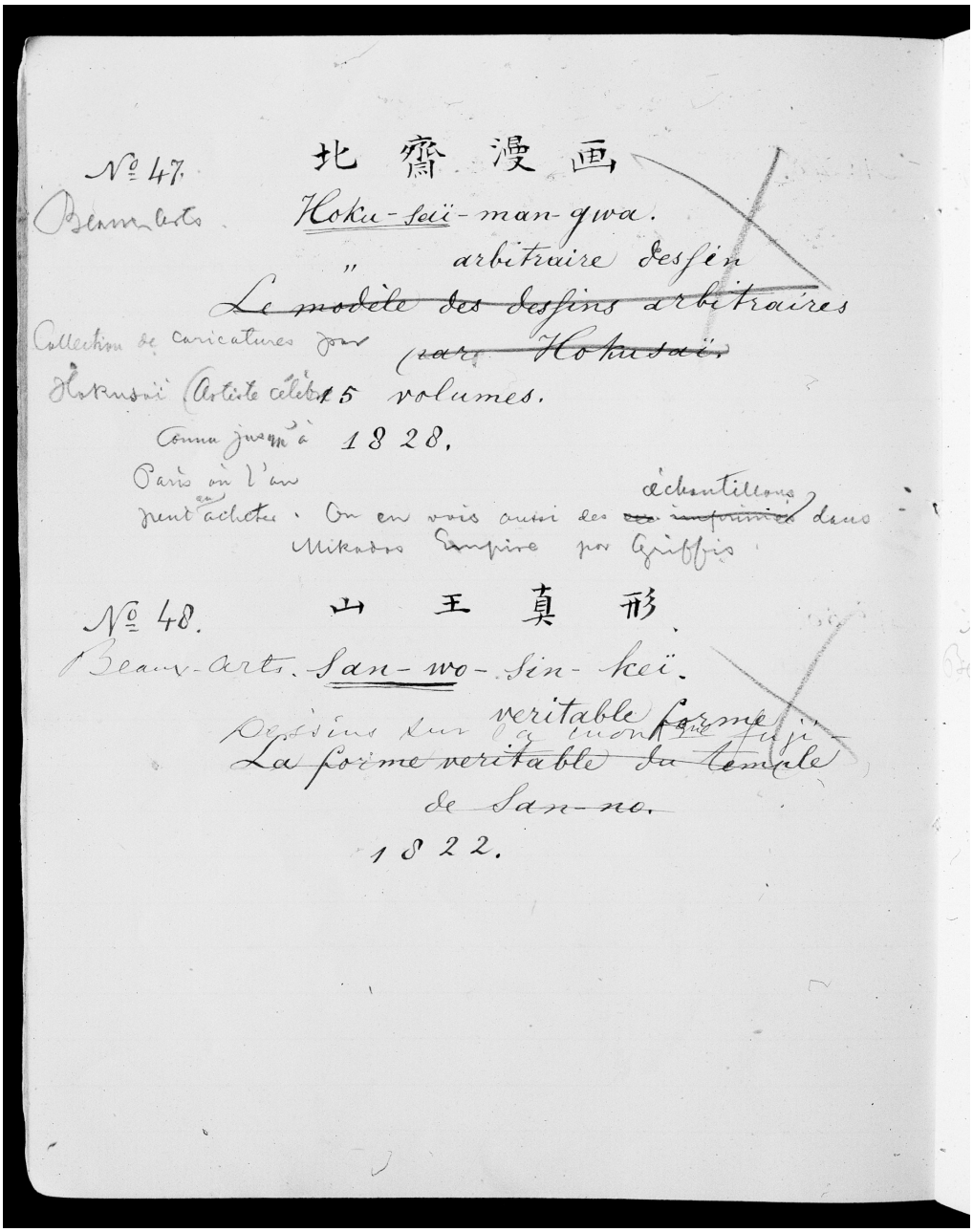
with the Austrian Legation, presented Nordenskiöld with a manuscript catalogue of his father's book collection. The elder von Siebold was known for two Japanese book collections. The first, made during his initial residence between 1823 and 1829, is in the National Museum of Ethnology in Leiden. The second, made in Japan between 1859 and 1862, was purchased by the British Museum in 1868 and is now kept in the Oriental Collections of the British Library.[15] As often happened in the nineteenth century, the individual works in the latter collection were rebound in Western style and dispersed throughout the library. The catalogue received from Phillip Franz von Seibold, *Zōsho mokuroku*, now in the Nordenskiöld collection in the Royal Library in Stockholm, is not explicitly titled as that of the von Siebold collection; so in 1973 I contacted a colleague at the British Library to inquire whether they could confirm my speculation. It turned out that the original catalogue that accompanied the British Library's purchase of the von Siebold collection had gone missing, and the library had been trying to reconstitute the collection by the tedious method of locating volumes with the same stamped date of acquisition. I was able to provide the British Library with a photocopy of the catalogue in the Royal Library in Stockholm, which greatly relieved its task.[16]

Nordenskiöld's collection of nearly one thousand one hundred titles in approximately five thousand five hundred volumes is very diverse for his aim was to acquire a universal collection that reflected the broad interests of Japanese scholars, as well as those at all levels of the reading public. First, it must be acknowledged that Ōkuchi served him very well in this pursuit. While the aims and conditions under which the collection was made militated against the acquisition of a concentration of great rarities, it does contain many valuable books and manuscripts, especially printed books. Ōkuchi's catalogue consists of three notebooks in which he wrote the sequential acquisition numbers, followed by the Japanese titles together with Romanized transcriptions, brief descriptions in French, the number of volumes and, when possible, a date from the book. In general, the entries show that Ōkuchi was a well-educated young man. Later pencil annotations and corrections by different hands are found throughout the volumes. A group of eight pornographic *enpon* and *shunga* books, excluded from the de Rosny catalogue, have the word

mauvais written across each title in Ōkuchi's list, obviously censored by the anonymous hand of a nineteenth-century librarian. The most interesting notes, often merely correcting Ōkuchi's French, are by August Strindberg (1849–1912), the great Swedish author and playwright, who worked as an amanuensis in the Royal Library from 1874 to 1881. (See figure 11 for a page from Ōkuchi's notebook with Strindberg's annotations to *Hokusai manga*.) Strindberg began to study the Chinese language as early as 1875, and he considered himself something of an "orientalist," but his attempt to learn Japanese after the arrival of the Nordenskiöld collection was not successful.[17] In the last years of his life Strindberg published some bizarre etymological theories concerning Asian languages.

The Nordenskiöld collection is a rich resource that can be appreciated from many angles, and some serious attention was paid to a limited number of titles after my own catalogue was published in 1980.[18] Some obviously unique items were microfilmed by a team from the National Institute of Japanese Literature (Kokubungaku kenkyū shiryōkan) in the early 1980s. Sorimachi Shigeo and others have described some rare book titles in the collection.[19] Kawase Kazuma has cited new discoveries of *gozanban* and *kokatsujiban* editions in articles supplementing his two definitive bibliographies.[20]

For literary and textual studies the uniqueness of individual texts is paramount, but for the growing field of book historical studies, the uniqueness of individual copies of books is critical. For example, the two *gozanban* editions in this collection, *Keitoku dentōroku* (*Jingde chuandenglu*), Kyoto, 1348, and *Gotō egen* (*Wudeng huiyuan*), Kyoto, *ca.* 1370, both biographical compilations of eminent Chinese Chan (Zen) monks, are interesting beyond their significance as fourteenth-century editions of important Zen Buddhist publications. The former work contains extensive manuscript annotations, possibly by the Japanese monk Sūshō, whose *ex libris* seal impression is found in the book, and the latter preserves its original wrapped-back binding (Ch. *baobeizhuang*, Jpn. *tsutsumi-hyōshi* or *hōhaisō*) for all twenty volumes. (See figure 12 for the first page of the text of *Gotō egen* and figure 13 for the original binding, showing restoration to the first and last volumes.) The badly damaged, but original, wrapped-back binding of the Daitōkyū Kinen Bunko library copy of the same edition of *Gotō egen* is considered so significant that Kawase Kazuma



№ 47. 北齋漫画

Beaux-arts. Hoku-sai-man-gwa.

" arbitraire dessin

~~Le modèle des dessins arbitraires~~

Collection de caricatures par ~~par Hokusai~~

Hokusai (Artiste célèb. 15 volumes.

Connu jusqu'à 1828.

Paris où l'on peut en acheter. On en voit aussi des ~~ex. imprimés~~ échantillons dans Mikados Empire par Griffis.

№ 48. 山王真形

Beaux-arts. San-wo-sin-kei.

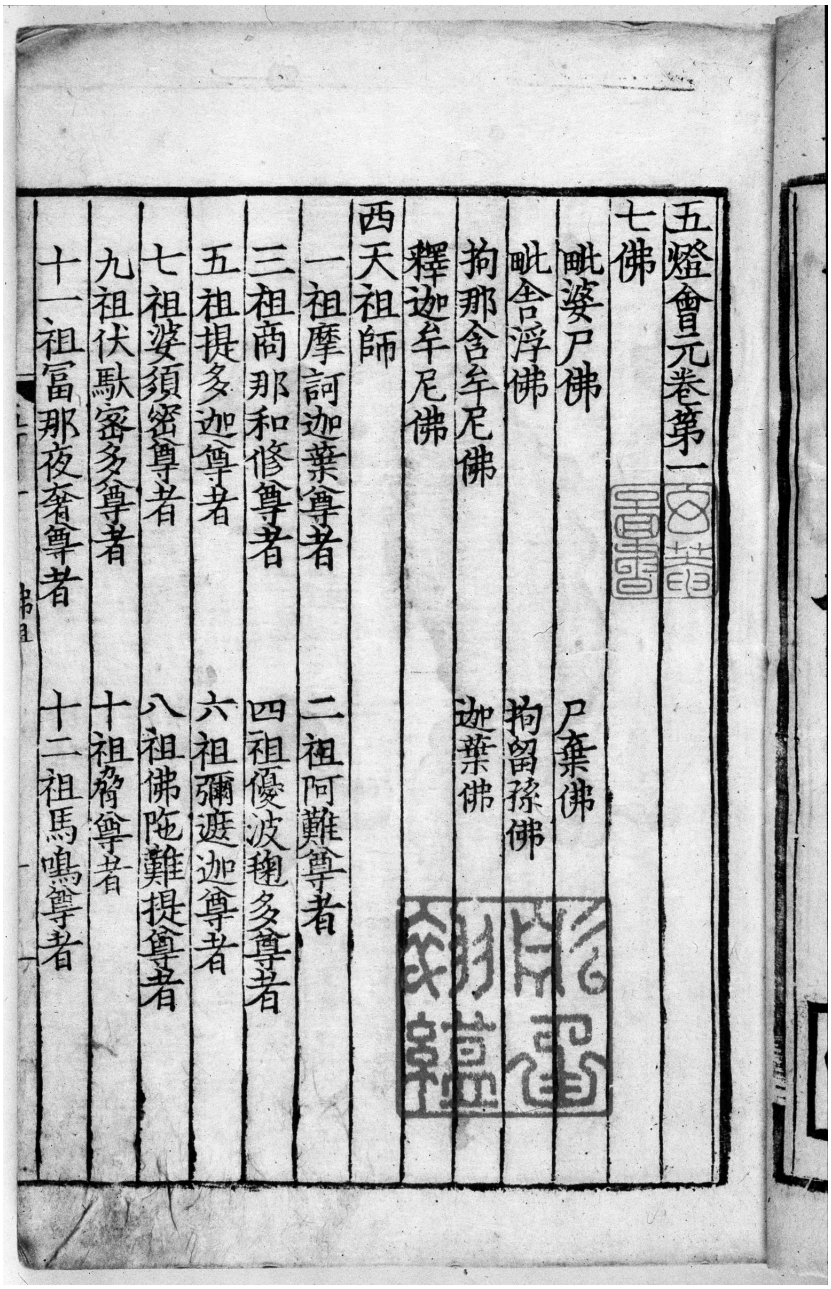
Dessins du veritable forme

~~La forme veritable du temple~~

~~de San-no.~~

1822.

11. Catalogue entry from Ōkuchi's notebook with annotations by August Strindberg.



五燈會元卷第一

七佛

毗婆尸佛　尸棄佛

毗舍浮佛　拘留孫佛

拘那含牟尼佛　迦葉佛

釋迦牟尼佛

西天祖師

一祖摩訶迦葉尊者　二祖阿難尊者

三祖商那和修尊者　四祖優波毱多尊者

五祖提多迦尊者　六祖彌遮迦尊者

七祖婆須密尊者　八祖佛陀難提尊者

九祖伏馱密多尊者　十祖脅尊者

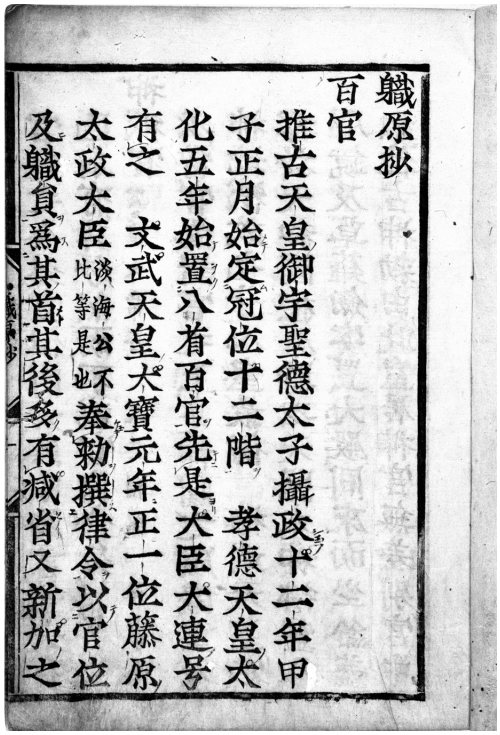
十一祖富那夜奢尊者　十二祖馬鳴尊者

12. *Gotō egen*, *ca.* 1370, first page of text with ex libris seal marks of Asano Baidō (1816–1880).

13. Original wrapped-back binding, *tsutsumi-hyōshi*, of *Gotō egen*, with restoration to first and last volumes.

photographed the binding as one of only two color illustrations in the revised 1970 edition of his *Gozanban no kenkyū (Bibliographical Study of the Gozanban Editions of Medieval Japan, 1200–1500)*.[21] Incidentally, the two *gozanban* editions in Nordenskiöld's collection were purchased in 1879 from the famous Asakuraya Bun'enkaku bookshop in Tokyo for 1.5 *yen* and 1.6 *yen* respectively. The oldest printed book among Nordenskiöld's acquisitions is a Kōya edition from 1296 of the Buddhist work *Hannya haramitta rishushaku*, an explanation of an esoteric text of Shingon Buddhism. The only other known copy of this edition is in the Tōyō Bunko in Tokyo.

The six *kokatsujiban* editions in the collection serendipitously represent all major genres of early movable-type printing. *Shokugenshō* (On Sino-Japansese Government Offices) of 1599, by Kitabatake Chikafusa (1293–1354), is a *chokuhan*, or imperial edition, from the earliest phase of this publishing vogue. (See figure 14, for the first page of *Shokugenshō*.) It is bound together with a manuscript supplement by Kiyohara Hidekata (1575–1614). The neatly written commentary in red ink is by a certain Tanimura Mitsuyoshi, who also may have transcribed the supplement. *Shasekishū*, a Buddhist prose anthology by Mujū Ichien (1227–1312), was published by the Yōhōji temple in 1605 and represents the first use of *kanji* and *kana* movable types in the same book. (See figure 15 for the first page of text of *Shasekishū*.) *Ise monogatari* (Tales of Ise), 1608, is the Saga edition with types (including ligatures for the first time) designed by Hon'ami Kōetsu (1558–1637), and it contains the first native Japanese book illustrations in Yamato-e style. (See figure 16 for a specimen page of text from *Ise monogatari* and figure 17 for a woodcut illustration from this work.) *Ihō taiseiron* (*Yifang dacheng lun*), a treatise on medical prescriptions, is a 1610 movable-type reprint of a Chinese Yuan-dynasty medical work by the specialist publisher Baijuken. *Daizō ichiranshū* (*Dazang yilan ji*), an anthology of Buddhist texts, 1615, is printed from Suruga bronze movable types, one of only two such editions commissioned by Tokugawa Ieyasu (1542–1616). (See figure 18 for the first page of text from *Daizō ichiranshū*.) *Honchō monzui*, 1629, a large Heian anthology by Fujiwara Akihira (fl. eleventh century), in its original *fukurotoji* (thread-binding) form, was published from wooden movable types during the Kan'ei period (1624–1642), and represents the final phase of the *kokatsujiban* era.

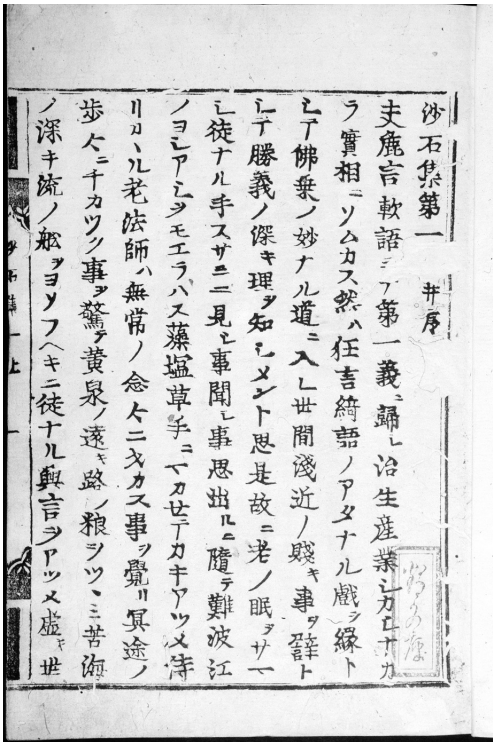


職原抄

百官

推古天皇御宇聖德太子攝政十二年甲子正月始定冠位十二階　孝德天皇大化五年始置八省百官先是大臣大連号有之　文武天皇大寶元年正一位藤原太政大臣淡海公不比等是也奉勅撰律令以官位及職員爲其首其後多有減省又新加之

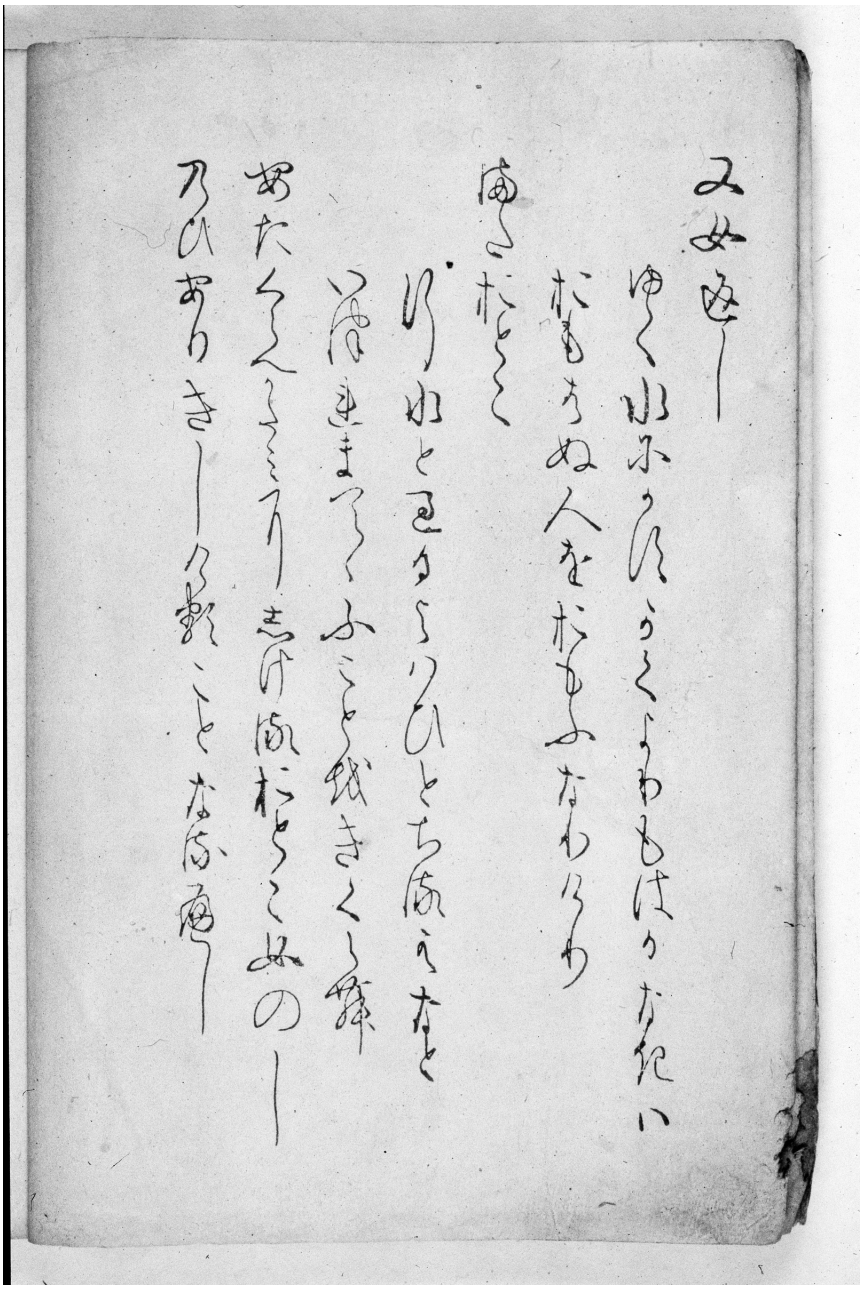
14. *Shokugenshō*, 1559, first page of text of this *chokuhan*, imperial edition, printed with movable type.



沙石集第一　并序

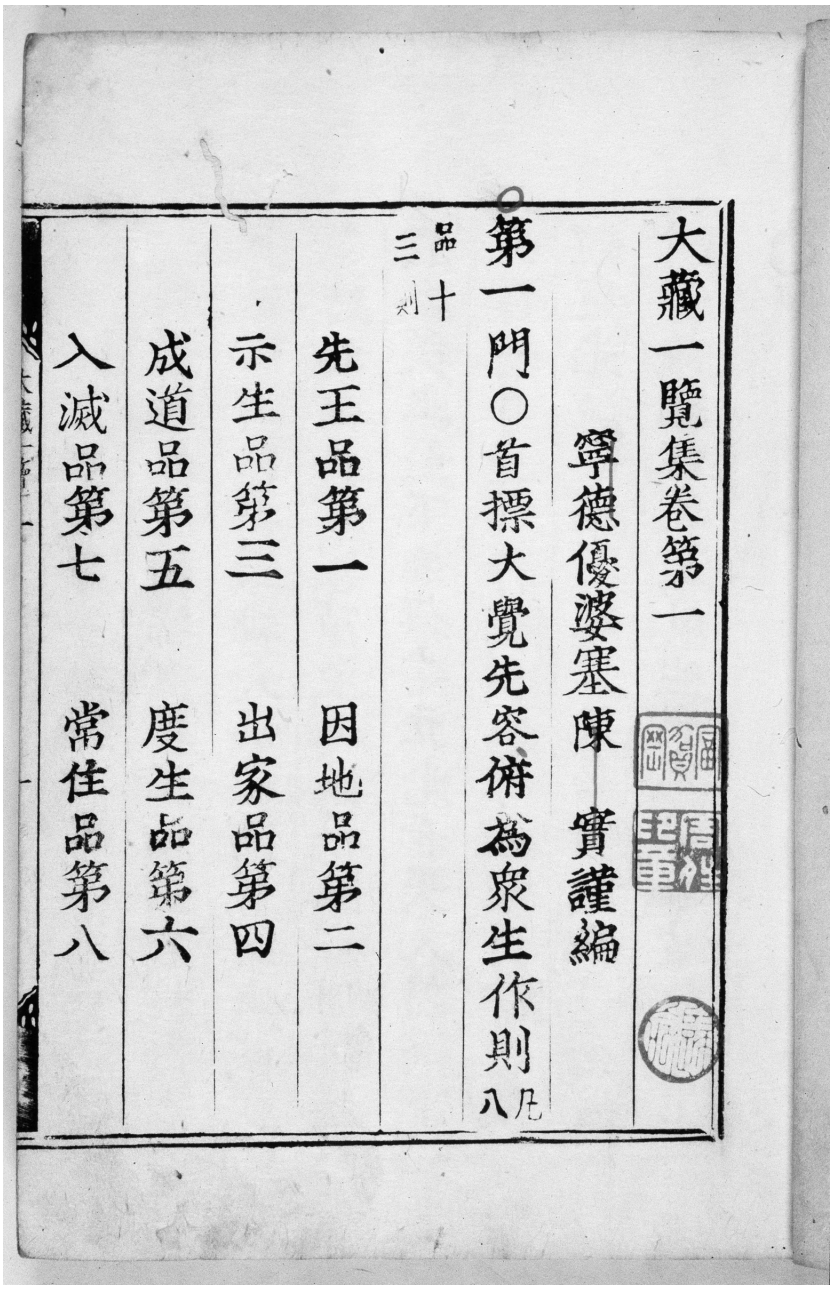
夫鹿宮軟語ニテ第一義ニ歸シ治生産業ハ方ニ十カラ實相ニソムカス然ハ狂言綺語ノアダナル戲ヲ緣トシテ佛乘ノ妙ナル道ニ入シ世間淺近ノ賤キ事ヲ辭トシテ勝義ノ深キ理ヲ知シメントト思ヒ是故ニ老ノ眠ヲサマシ徒ナル手スサミニ見シ事聞シ事思出ルニ隨テ難波江ノヨシアシヲモエラハス藻塩草手ニマカセテカキアツメ侍リカハル老法師ハ無常ノ念ヲニシカス事ヲ覺リ冥途ノ歩ヲニチカツク事ヲ驚テ黃泉ノ遠キ路ノ粮ヲツクミ苦海ノ深キ流ノ船ヲヨソフヘキニ徒ナル與言ヲアツメ虛キ世

15. *Shasekishū*, 1605, first page of text with preface of this edition printed with movable type for *kanji*, Chinese characters, and *kana* printed together.



16. *Ise monogatari*, 1608, specimen page of text of this Saga edition showing movable type with ligatures.

17. Yamato-e-style woodcut illustration from *Ise monogatari*, 1608.



大藏一覽集卷第一

寧德優婆塞陳實謹編

第一門○首標大覺先容俯為衆生作則凡八品十三刻

先王品第一　因地品第二

示生品第三　出家品第四

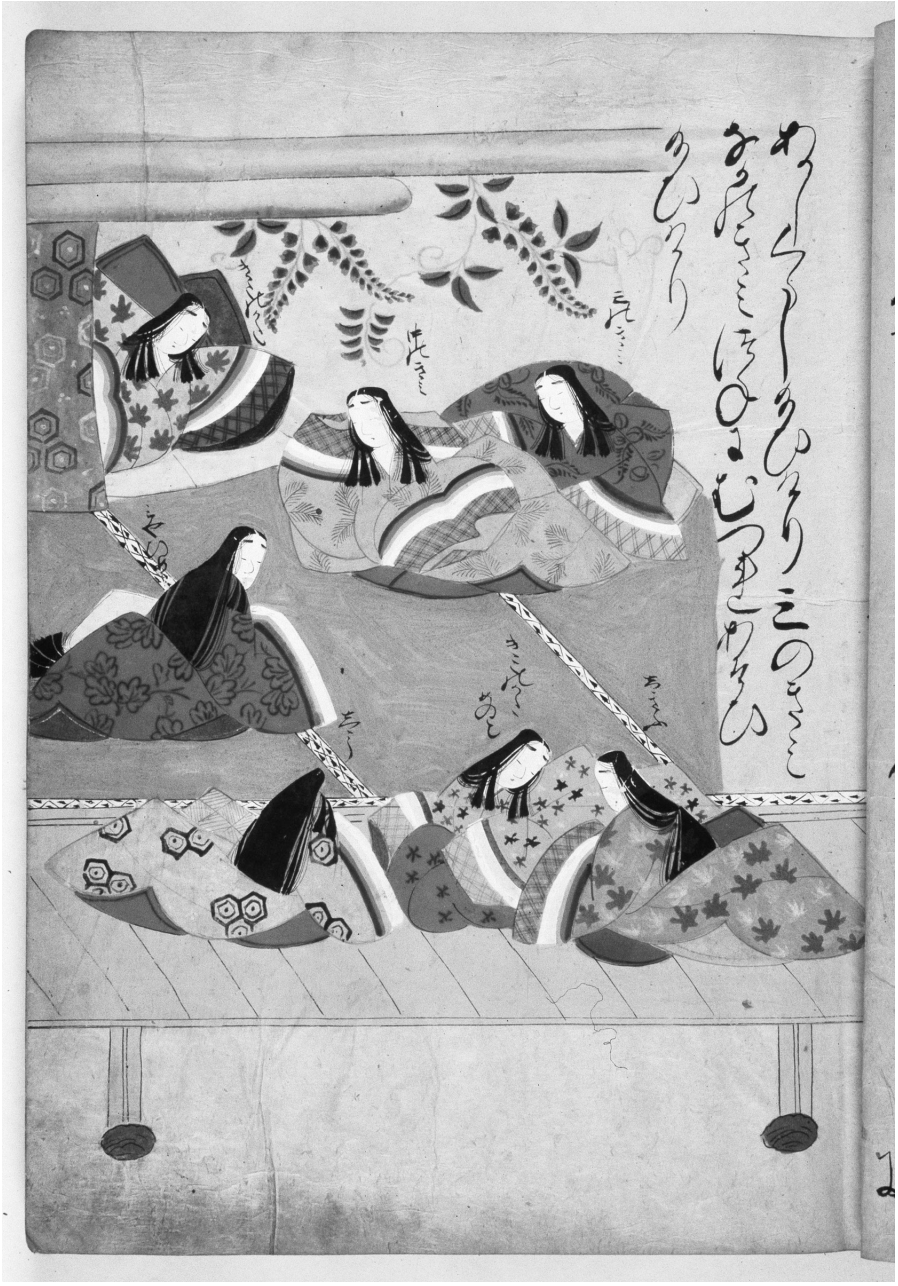
成道品第五　度生品第六

入滅品第七　常住品第八

18. First page of text of *Daizō ichiranshū*, 1615, showing printing with bronze Suruga movable type.

Illustrated popular fiction in most of its forms and genres is found in the Nordenskiöld collection.[22] In my catalogue 125 titles of fiction are distributed over eleven subheadings under the Literature classification. A prototypical large-format *naraehon* edition of *Sumiyoshi monogatari* (Tale of Sumiyoshi Temple) is paired with a typical oblong-format *naraehon* edition of *Ominaeshi monogatari* (Tales of Virtuous Women).[23] (See figure 19 for an illustration from *Sumiyoshi monogatari* and figure 20 for an illustration from *Ominaeshi monogatari*.) An early Edo edition of *Kara'ito zōshi* (Story of Lady Kara'ito) is a rare example of *tanroku* hand coloring.[24] The collection possesses two Saikaku-bon, or rare editions of the works of Ihara Saikaku (1642–1693): *Budō denraiki* (Tales of the Warrior Class) of 1687 and *Saikaku zoku tsurezure* (Saikaku's Sequel to *Tsurezuregusa*) of 1695. The collection also contains other original editions of *ukiyo-zōshi* (stories of the Floating World) by Ejima Kiseki (1667–1736) and Andō Jishō (1666–1736) and published by the famous Hachimonjiya press. Some fiction writers wrote illustrated guidebooks and travelogues, which were very popular at the time; others contributed to theatrical writing. *Honchō jisha monogatari* of 1667 is an example of the former. (See figure 21 for an illustration from *Honchō jisha monogatari*.) Many of these early editions of fiction and literature were purchased in Kyoto from Sasaki Chikuhōrō, whose mid-eighteenth century bookshop had been at the same location on Teramachi Street since the 1780s.

Books on natural history and medicine, especially works of *Materia medica*, are quite well represented in the collection. For example, there is a manuscript in 10 *juan* of the Song-dynasty work by Wang Jixian (1098–1181) titled *Shaoxing jiaoding jingshi zhenglei beiji bencao huatu* [Jpn.: *Shōkō kōtei keishi shōrui bikyū honzō gazu*; Illustrations to the Shaoxing (1131–1162) Recension of *Jingshi zhenglei beiji bencao*]. Since the end of the Ming dynasty this is one of the early Chinese medical books that is recognized as circulating only in Japanese manuscript copies. To turn to Itō Keisuke (1803–1901) is to travel seven centuries in time. In 1829 Itō published *Taisei honzō meiso* (Western Botany with a Commentary on Nomenclature), his influential work on Western botany, based on *Flora Japonica* by the Swede Carl Peter Thunberg's (1743–1828).[25] Naturally, Nordenskiöld was interested in Itō and his relationship with Thunberg



19. Illustration from *Sumiyoshi monogatari*, *ca.* 1590, a large format *naraehon*.

20. Illustration from *Ominaeshi monogatari*, late seventeenth-century, oblong-format *naraehon*.

21. Woodcut illustration from *Honchō jisha monogatari*, a guidebook published in 1667.

異端辯正序

先儒有崇正辯者爲釋氏也曰老曰仙凡所謂異端者未之及焉竊欲補之深愧淺陋且絆於陸沉茲叨直指可以摧廓而歲歉民流難於措手徒嚴法令禁其教褫其居耳噫民入於愚久而不悟障川之力可以一人爲哉雪厓詹先生寄予異端辯正議論嚴明證以格言斷以已意宛然昌黎子之家法足以砥柱吾道孟軻氏曰能言

22. Korean edition of a Chinese work on Confucianism *Yiduan bianzheng*, printed in *ŭrhaeja* font, bronze movable type of 1455, first page of preface.

and mentions this in his book. Ōkuchi managed to acquire a copy of the scarce *Taisei honzō meiso* (complete with supplement, engraved frontispiece, and polychrome woodcuts) for Nordenskiöld.[26]

I have only described some highlights of the collection, which consists almost exclusively of Japanese printed editions and manuscripts. Although about 10 percent of the collection comprises Kanseki (i.e., books by Chinese authors or books in Chinese by Japanese authors), less than ten titles are Chinese editions and only one is Korean. The lone Korean edition is an exceptional one, being a rare work printed from the bronze *ŭrhaeja* font of 1455, probably printed in 1525 and presented as a *naesabon* (imperial presentation copy).[27] It is a neo-Confucian work entitled *Yiduan bianzheng* (Kor.: *Idan pyŏnjŏng*; Rectification of Heresies) by a Ming Chinese named Zhan Ling. The existence of a Chinese edition of this work is uncertain. (See figure 22 for the first page of *Idan pyŏnjŏng*.)

The Voyage of the Vega by A. E. Nordenskiöld is an example of a work that Asian historians interested in early travel books and memoirs written by non-Asian specialists might easily overlook. Certainly of interest to anthropologists, the three chapters on Japan, containing observations by a scientist and humanitarian like Nordenskiöld, are valuable additions to the body of conventional documentation available for the early Meiji period. And the remarkable Nordenskiöld collection of Japanese books, which has not been fully studied or utilized, is reason enough, I think, for having made this introductory presentation.

Notes

1. The *New York Times*, 4 August 1879, p. 2, and 5 September 1879, p. 1, respectively.
2. The original edition, *Vegas färd kring Asien och Europa*, was published in 2 volumes in Stockholm in 1880–1881 by F. & G. Beijers. The Princeton University Library holds the American edition, A. E. Nordenskiöld, *The Voyage of the Vega round Asia and Europe*, trans. Alexander Leslie (New York: Macmillan and Co., 1882) and the French edition, A. E. Nordenskiöld, *Voyage de la Vega autour de l'Asie et de l'Europe*, trans. Charles Rabot and Charles Lallemand, 2 vols. (Paris: Hachette, 1883–1884).
3. Ueno Masuzō, *Nihon hakubutsugaku-shi* (History of the Study of Natural History in Japan) (Tokyo: Heibonsha, 1973), p. 144.
4. The original English editions of both, Stockholm, 1889 and 1897 respectively,

are in the Rare Books Department of the Princeton University Library: A. E. Nordenskiöld, *Facsimile-Atlas to the Early History of Cartography with Reproductions of the Most Important Maps Printed in the* ***xv*** *and* ***xvi*** *centuries*, trans. Johan Adolf Ekelöf and Clements R. Markham (Stockholm: P. A. Nortstedt, 1889); and idem, *Periplus: An Essay on the Early History of Charts and Sailing-Directions*, trans. Francis A. Bather (Stockholm: P. A. Norstedt & Söner, 1897). The Swedish and English first editions of these two works appeared in the same years.

5. For this website, see www.finland.or.jp. The essay on Nordenskiöld may be found under "History" in the section "Embassy."
6. For the translation, see J. S. Edgren, *Catalogue of the Nordenskiöld Collection of Japanese Books in the Royal Library*, Acta Bibliothecae Regiae Stockholmeinsis, no. 33 (Stockholm: Kungliga Biblioteket, 1980), pp. vii–viii. For the Swedish original, see A. E. Nordenskiöld, *Vega-Expeditionens vetenskapliga iakttagelser*, 5 vols. (Stockholm: F. & G. Beijers Förlag, 1882–1887), I, pp. 129–130. This extensive report is held by the Fine Hall Library at Princeton.
7. Ann Jannetta, *The Vaccinators: Smallpox, Medical Knowledge, and the "Opening" of Japan* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2007), p. 177, fn. 36.
8. Nordenskiöld, *Voyage of the Vega*, vol. 2, p. 395.
9. Léon de Rosny, *Catalogue de la bibliothèque japonaise de Nordenskiöld* (Paris: Imprinerie nationale, 1883). This edition also is in the Princeton University Library.
10. A. E. Nordenskiöld, *Voyage of the Vega*, vol. 2, pp. 296–395.
11. Ibid., p. 298.
12. Ibid., p. 333.
13. Ibid.
14. For a detailed list of titles and issues, see Edgren, *Catalogue of the Nordenskiöld Collection*, pp. 4–9.
15. Yu-Ying Brown, "The von Siebold Collection from Tokugawa Japan," pt. 1, *British Library Journal* 1.2 (Autumn 1975), pp. 163–170.
16. Yu-Ying Brown, "The von Siebold Collection from Tokugawa Japan," pt. 2, *British Library Journal* 2.1 (Spring 1976), pp. 38–55.
17. See Walter A. Berendsohn, *The Oriental Studies of August Strindberg (1849–1912)*, trans. Rudolf Loewenthal, Central Asian Collectanea (Washington, DC: Central Asian Collectanea, 1960).
18. For this catalogue, see note 6 above.
19. Sorimachi Shigeo, *Nihon no kotenseki* (Old Printed Books in Japan) (Tokyo: Yagi Shoten, 1984), pp. 272–278.
20. *Gozanban*, literally five-temples editions, refers to fine woodblock editions, mostly facsimilies of Chinese Song and Yuan editions, produced principally by the five great Zen Buddhist temple complexes of Kamakura and Kyoto from the thirteenth to the sixteenth centuries. *Kokatsujiban*, literally early movable-type editions, refers to the large number of typographic editions that dominated Japanese publishing from the 1590s until the middle of the seventeenth century.

    Kawase Kazuma, *Kokatsujiban no kenkyū (Old Printed Books in Japan, a Brief History*

of Early Japanese Typography), 3 vols. [Tokyo: Nihon koshosekishō kyōkai (Antiquarian Booksellers of Japan), 1967], and idem, *Gozanban no kenkyū (Bibliographical Study of the Gozanban Editions of Medieval Japan, 1200–1500)*, 2 vols. (Tokyo: Nihon koshosekishō kyōkai, 1970).

21. Kawase Kazuma, *Gozanban no kenkyū (Bibliographical Study of the Gozanban Editions of Medieval Japan, 1200–1500)*; cited in the preceding note.
22. See J. S. Edgren, "Illustrated Early Japanese Fiction in the Nordenskiöld Collection," *Biblis*, 1977–1978, pp. 9–62.
23. *Naraehon*, Nara-style picture books (without a clear relationship to Nara), refers to highly decorative, illuminated manuscripts of popular fiction that flourished from the late sixteenth century to early seventeenth century.
24. *Tanrokubon*, literally "orange-green books," refers to simple woodblock-printed books of popular fiction produced during the first half of the seventeenth century and enhanced by primitive hand coloring, using chiefly lead-based orange, mineral green, and yellow.
25. Carl Peter Thunberg's (1743–1828), *Flora Japonica* (Lipsiac: I. G. Mülleriano, 1784).
26. Nordenskiöld, *Voyage*, vol. 2, pp. 325–326. See also Richard Rudolph, "Thunberg in Japan and His *Flora Japonica* in Japanese," *Monumenta Nipponica* 29.2 (Summer 1974), pp. 163–179.
27. Three other copies of this edition exist. The copy formerly belonging to Tokutomi Iichirō is in the Ochanomizu Library, and another copy is in the Naikaku Bunko library, both in Tokyo. The third copy is in the Korea University Library in Seoul.

Glossary

Andō Jishō 安藤自笑
Asakuraya 淺倉屋
Asakuraya Bun'enkaku 淺倉屋文淵閣
Asamayama 淺間山
Asano Baidō 淺野梅堂
Baijuken 梅壽軒
baobeizhuang 包背裝
Budō denraiki 武道傳來記
Chan 禪
chokuhan 勅版
Daitōkyū Kinen Bunko 大東急記念文庫
Daizō ichiranshū 大蔵一覧集
Dazang yilan ji 大藏一覽集
Edo 江戸
Ejima Kiseki 江島其磧
enpon 艶本
Fujiwara Akihira 藤原明衡
fukuro 袋
fukurotoji 袋綴じ
Gotō egen 五燈會元
gozanban 五山版
Gozanban no kenkyū 五山版の研究
Hachimonjiya 八文字屋
Hannya haramitta rishushaku 般若波羅密多理趣釋

Heian 平安
hōhaisō 包背裝
Hokusai manga 北齋漫画
Hon'ami Kōetsu 本阿彌光悦
Honchō jisha monogatari 本朝寺社物語
Honchō monzui 本朝文粹
Hyōgo 兵庫
Idan pyŏnjŏng 異端辯正
Ihara Saikaku 井原西鶴
Ihō taiseiron 醫方大成論
Ise monogatari 伊勢物語
Itō Keisuke 伊藤圭介
Jingde chuandenglu 景德傳燈錄
Jingshi zhenglei beiji bencao 經史證類備急本草
juan 卷
Kachō sansui zushiki 花鳥山水圖式
kana 仮名
Kan'ei 寛永
kanji 漢字
Kanseki 漢籍
Kara'ito zōshi 唐系草子
Katsushika Isai 葛飾為齋
Kawase Kazuma 川瀬一馬
Keitoku dentōroku 景德傳燈錄
Kitabatake Chikafusa 北畠親房
Kitashirakawa 北白川
Kiyohara Hidekata 清原秀賢
kokatsujiban 古活字版
Kokubungaku kenkyū shiryōkan 国文学研究資料館
Kōya 高野
Kusatsu 草津
Kusatsu onsen 草津温泉
Maruzen 丸善
Meiji 明治
Mujū Ichien 無住一圓
naesabon 内賜本
Nagasaki 長崎
Naikaku Bunko 内閣文庫
Nara 奈良
naraehon 奈良絵本
Nihonbashi 日本橋
Ochanomizu お茶ノ水
Ōkuchi Masayuki 大口正之
Ominaeshi monogatari 女郎花物語
onsen 温泉
Saga 嵯峨
Saikaku zoku tsurezure 西鶴俗つれづれ
Saikaku-bon 西鶴本
Sasaki Chikuhōrō 佐々木竹苞樓
Shaoxing 紹興
Shaoxing jiaoding jingshi zhenglei beiji bencao huatu 紹興校定經史證類備急本草畫圖
Shasekishū 沙石集
Shingon 真言
Shokugenshō 職原抄
Shōkō kōtei keishi shōrui bikyū honzō gazu 紹興校定經史證類備急本草畫圖
shunga 春画
Sorimachi Shigeo 反町茂雄
Sumiyoshi monogatari 住吉物語
Suruga 駿河
Sūshō 崇聞
Taisei honzō meiso 泰西本草名疏
Tanimura Mitsuyoshi 谷村光義
tanroku 丹緑

tanrokubon 丹緑本
Teramachi 寺町
Tokugawa Ieyasu 徳川家康
Tokutomi Iichirō 徳富猪一郎
Tōyō Bunko 東洋文庫
Tsurezuregusa 徒然草
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ukiyo-zōshi 浮世草子
ŭrhaeja 乙亥字
Wang Jixian 王繼先
Wudeng huiyuan 五燈會元
Yamato-e 大和絵
yen 円
Yiduan bianzheng 異端辯正
Yifang dacheng lun 醫方大成論
Yōhōji 要法寺
Yokohoma 横浜
Zen 禅
Zhan Ling 詹陵
Zōsho mokuroku 藏書目録

About Our Contributors

J. S. Edgren is editorial director of the Chinese Rare Books project, an online, union catalogue based at Princeton University. Besides research on Chinese bibliography and the history of printing in East Asia, he has compiled catalogues of collections and exhibitions and is writing a book on the history of the book in China.

Michael Emmerich teaches Japanese literature and cultural studies at the University of California, Santa Barbara. He is currently at work on a book manuscript dealing with the *Tale of Genji* and its canonization through translation as a classic of world and national literature. He is the translator of over a dozen books from Japanese.

Kojiro Hirose, who earned his ba, ma, and Litt.D. from Kyoto University, is associate professor in the Department of Cultural Research at the National Museum of Ethnology, Osaka, Japan. He is currently conducting field research in the history of new religions in modern Japan and on *biwa-hōshi* (blind minstrels) and *itako* (blind shamen). His new anthropological study on the culture of the handicapped ties in with his promotion of "barrier-free" or "universal-design" organization of museums. Hirose's most recent exhibit, on display from 13 August to 24 November 2009 at the National Museum of Ethnology, was a commemoration the two hundredth anniversary of the birth of Louis Braille. He has authored several articles in English and in Japanese, given many talks, travels widely in Japan and internationally, and is a serious practitioner of martial arts.

Bruce Swanson (1937–2007), with his undergraduate major in Latin, rose to the rank of commander in the U.S. Navy before retiring to begin a second, nearly twenty-year-long career consulting for industry. It was during his research for *Eighth Voyage of the Dragon: A History of China's Quest for Seapower* (Annapolis: Naval Institute Press, 1982) that Bruce first encountered Irvin Van Gorder Gillis and his role in China's pursuit of a modern navy.

Nancy Norton Tomasko has worked with the *East Asian Library Journal* since 1997, first as associate editor and then, beginning in 2000, as editor.

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