

Exchanges between Morse and Japanese People as Evidenced Through Written Correspondence

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Introduction

Edward Sylvester Morse (1838-1925) discovered the Omori Shell Mounds and laid the foundation for the discipline of archaeology in Japan. He collected a large amount of Japanese pottery and folk artefacts not only while he was in Japan but even after returning to the US, and these items are now housed at the Peabody Essex Museum (hereinafter, “PEM”) in Salem, Massachusetts, and the Boston Museum of Fine Arts in Boston, Massachusetts. In addition to the pottery and folk artefacts, what is particularly interesting about the Morse Collection is the large number of related documents that remain. The Edward Sylvester Morse Papers (hereinafter, “Morse Papers”) housed at PEM consist of diaries, letters, research material, sketches, essays, lecture notes, publications, newspaper clippings and more. There are over 46,000 documents in total, of which over 12,000 are correspondence alone. These are primarily letters that Morse received from friends, family, business associates, etc. between 1853 and 1925, as well letters that Morse wrote to his good friend, John Mead Gould (1839-1930).

Amongst the more than 12,000 letters, only 267 can be confirmed as having been sent to Morse by Japanese people¹. However, these exchanges are not limited to the three times that Morse was in Japan, but continued to the end of his life in 1925, and so, through these letters we get a glimpse of the relationship Morse had with Japanese people. In addition to the senders writing about what they had been up to recently, Morse would send originals or copies of books he wrote on Japan after returning to the US, and papers on brachiopods, his other long-standing research theme, to his friends and acquaintances in Japan, so there are also letters of thanks to be found among the collection. There are also many examples of people writing to Morse to help with his research or collecting activities - as he continued to collect Japanese pottery and folk artefacts even back in America, as well as letters that convey people’s joy and surprise that Morse remained just as fascinated with Japan even after returning to the US. This paper examines the relationship that Morse had with the Japanese

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people he had interactions with, and the influence that Morse had on them, by looking at the written correspondence between Morse and Japanese people that can currently be confirmed. I must point out in advance that I have never been to PEM, where this correspondence is kept. This paper is written based on the Morse Papers provided by PEM for Junichi Kobayashi's investigative research.

1 Letters sent by Japanese people to Morse

Amongst the Morse Papers, there are a total of 267 letters sent to Morse from 101 Japanese people (there are also some documents that cannot be identified due to their condition, and some unclassified documents, and so they have not been included in this paper).

Firstly, the years when Japanese people sent letters to Morse, and the number of letters sent in each year, are summarized in the table below.

Table 1: Years when Japanese people sent letters to Morse

1877	3 letters	1887	3 letters	1897	3 letters	1907	6 letters	1917	4 letters	
1878	5 letters	1888	1 letter	1898	0 letters	1908	3 letters	1918	4 letters	
1879	26 letters	1889	2 letters	1899	2 letters	1909	2 letters	1919	5 letters	
1880	11 letters	1890	2 letters	1900	3 letters	1910	7 letters	1920	4 letters	
1881	1 letter	1891	0 letters	1901	3 letters	1911	13 letters	1921	3 letters	
1882	19 letters	1892	7 letters	1902	3 letters	1912	6 letters	1922	6 letters	
1883	3 letters	1893	5 letters	1903	1 letter	1913	10 letters	1923	5 letters	
1884	0 letters	1894	4 letters	1904	4 letters	1914	5 letters	1924	5 letters	
1885	3 letters	1895	1 letter	1905	3 letters	1915	6 letters	1925	13 letters	
1886	6 letters	1896	1 letter	1906	2 letters	1916	4 letters	Unknown	29 letters	
									Total	267 letters

It can be seen from the table above that Morse received most correspondence from Japanese people during the times that he was in Japan (first time: June to November 1877, second time: April 1878 to September 1879, third time: June 1882 to February 1883). Furthermore, Japanese people sent letters to Morse even later on in his life, after he had returned to the US.

The next table shows how the 101 Japanese people who sent letters to Morse knew him, based on the people's names and the content of the letters in the Morse Papers.

Table 2: How people knew Morse

Met Morse during one of the three times he came to Japan	51 people
Met Morse in the US	36 people
Unknown	14 people
Total	101 people

From the above table, it can be seen that the people who met Morse while he was in Japan account for just over half of the senders. Looking at the occupations and affiliations of the 101 people, the majority, 28 people, are connected to the University of Tokyo (later to become the Imperial University, Tokyo Imperial University, now the University of Tokyo) such as professors, students, etc. There are also letters from academics from other universities and research institutions, politicians, businesspeople, exchange students and travelers going to America, staff from the Ministry of Education and US Embassy, and even the Imperial Household. One can get an idea of the range of relationships Morse had, both in Japan and the US.

Next, this paper will focus on the correspondence from Japanese people that Morse shared a particularly close relationship with and who sent many letters, and trace their movements.

2 Seiken Takenaka and Tsunejiro Miyaoka, the brothers who sent a large number of letters to Morse

The brothers Seiken Takenaka (1862-1925) and Tsunejiro Miyaoka (1865-1943) served as assistants and interpreters during the visits of both Morse and Ernest Fenollosa (1853-1908), and evidence from their letters shows the long-standing relationship they enjoyed even after Morse had returned to the US. Miyaoka sent the most letters of any Japanese person, with 36 confirmed letters, the last of which was dated November 27th, 1925. Their friendship lasted until just before Morse took his last breath on the 20th of the following month.

Morse was first introduced to Tsunejiro Miyaoka through Hideo Takamine (1854-1910), whom he met aboard the ship from San Francisco to Japan in 1878. At the time, Miyaoka was 12 years old and a pupil of Preparatory School of the University of Tokyo, later boarding at the house of Takamine, who was the principal of Tokyo Higher Normal School. Miyaoka, who was fluent in English, frequently visited Morse, who lived at the Kaga Yashiki (former residence of the Maeda Clan of Kaga Domain), becoming friendly with the whole Morse

family, and Morse came to look upon him as his own son.² After graduating from School of Law, the University of Tokyo in 1887, Miyaoka entered the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and was posted to Germany and the US. After leaving this post in 1909, he opened a law office in Tokyo and was active as a lawyer who was an expert on international law and patent rights.³ Miyaoka was active both in Japan and abroad, working with the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace as a special envoy, becoming a founding member of the Rotary Club of Tokyo and publishing books on law.

Looking through the correspondence between Morse and Miyaoka, there are several correspondences that Miyaoka promised to meet Morse if he had the chance while he was posted in the US by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and when on a business trip (for instance, in the letters date August 11th, 1892, and March 28th, 1907). Miyaoka kept Morse up to date with what was going on in his life, informing him of changes in his career, the marriage of his child, and birth of his grandchild, and he also mentions meeting with Morse's pupils, such as Chujiro Sasaki, Tomotaro Iwakawa and Chiyomatsu Ishikawa, and says that they spoke about Morse. In an exchange in 1917, Miyaoka says that he is pleased that Morse had published *Japan Day by Day*, telling him that he had placed a copy in the Tokyo Imperial University Library, and expressing his desire for Morse to sell the book in Japan. After the Great Kanto Earthquake in 1923, he tells Morse about his law office collapsing and the Tokyo Imperial University Library burning down, and when Morse was awarded the Order of the Sacred Treasure, Second Class, Miyaoka sent him a letter with a hand-drawn illustration explaining how to wear the medal and how to act. In a 1925 letter informing Morse of the death of his brother, Seiken Takenaka, he says that a photo of Morse that Seiken owned would become a Takenaka family heirloom, and, on receiving a recent photo of Morse that same year, he said that he would treasure it for the rest of his life.

Miyaoka's international predisposition became a pillar in his life that led him all the way to becoming a diplomat and lawyer, and it all started at the Kaga Yashiki. Morse played a great part in this, and Miyaoka was very grateful for this, which he mentions in letters dated January 28th, 1915, January 11th, 1924, and May 1925. It seems that meeting Morse had a great impact on Miyaoka's life.

Miyaoka's brother, Seiken Takenaka, entered School of Medicine, the University of Tokyo in

1880 after studying at the Tokyo School of Foreign Languages⁴. After graduating, he became a military doctor before moving to Sado in 1905, and opening the Takenaka hospital there. In a letter dated December 8th, 1879, Takenaka tells Morse that he failed the entrance exam for the School of Medicine, and expressed his determination to study hard for the next year's exam. In a letter dated August 1880, after he had entered university, Takenaka tells Morse that he plans to spend the summer at his uncle's house in Kawagoe, and in a letter dated December the same year, he tells Morse about his lectures and exams, and shares his honest feelings about preparing for the entrance exam and being a university student. Morse has written elsewhere about Takenaka, saying, "To Mr. Takanaka Hachitaro (sic), who was my constant companion, great credit is due for the careful way in which the Japanese names were secured for all the objects collected. He also presented many objects of household use and clothing".⁵ After graduating from the university in 1882, Takenaka got married and changed his name from his childhood name of "Hachitaro" to "Seiken". At this time, in an undated letter, Takenaka says he will send Morse his seal with his old name on it, and that he would like Morse to display it in the museum if he is interested. Both Takenaka and his brother Miyaoka were playmates for Morse's son and daughter, and Takenaka often mentioned to Morse that he thought of his children, and that he was continuing to write to them.

In a letter dated May 14th, 1886, Takenaka thanks Morse for his copy of Morse's book, *Japanese Homes and their Surroundings*, and writes, "The book is really good. Just now some carpenters are building a small home in front of my home I showed them the illustrations and they are surprised. Many of my friends want to see the book so I will lend the book to them". At the end of the letter, after saying that he was busy with university, he tells Morse not to work too hard, and he is worried for him, showing the concern that he had for Morse. After moving to Sado in Niigata, Takenaka sent postcards and New Year's cards to Morse. A postcard dated February 16th, 1920, begins "Dear Papa", and has a photo attached that shows Takenaka wearing the coat of a firefighter, as he had become the chief of the fire brigade in the town where he lived in Sado. Even after many years apart, Takenaka still adored Morse like a father.

3 People at the University of Tokyo and others who met Morse in Japan

In the next section, this paper will focus on the University of Tokyo faculty and Morse's students.

(1) Members of the faculty

Included among the letters are from Hiroyuki Kato (1836-1916), who was the first president of the University of Tokyo when Morse first came to Japan in 1877; Masakazu Toyama (1848-1900), then a professor of sociology at the University of Tokyo, who met Morse off the train from Yokohama at Shimbashi Station on June 19th, 1877, and was the one who approached Morse about becoming a professor of zoology at the University of Tokyo; Kakichi Mitsukiri (1858-1909), who later became a professor of zoology at the University of Tokyo; as well as other members of the faculty, including Seitaro Goto (1867-1935), Shozaburo Watase (1862-1929) and Naohide Yatsu (1877-1947).

Kato mostly sent letters to Morse while Morse was in Japan. For example, a letter thanking Morse for recommending people for the positions of professor of philosophy and professor of physics at the University of Tokyo (dated November 1878), and a letter confirming receipt of Morse's paper on the Omori Shell Mounds, and expressing gratitude to Morse at the end of his tenure at the University of Tokyo (dated August 1879). Kato also sent a letter to Morse when he was in Japan for the third time, inviting Morse to a farewell party being thrown for a foreign professor (dated June 8th, 1882), and a letter telling Morse that the university would be sending him a roll of Yamato brocade as a sign of gratitude for his support to the university (dated December 28th, 1882). As you can see, many of the letters from Kato are to express gratitude to Morse for one thing or another.

At the end of his tenure as the first professor of zoology at the University of Tokyo, Morse recommended Charles Otis Whitman (1842-1910) to be his successor. Later, Morse would ask Kakichi Mitsukiri about becoming the third professor of zoology. Mitsukiri (who majored in zoology) was currently studying at Johns Hopkins University and was a fellow student who had studied under Morse's mentor, Louis Agassiz (1807-1873). However, in a letter dated May 21st, 1880, he once refused Morse's offer, explaining that he wished to study in Germany, and that he was not suitable for the role as a young and inexperienced scientist.

In the end however, he did accept, and returned to Japan the following year to become the third professor of zoology. The Biological Society of the University of Tokyo that Morse had established during his tenure had already fallen into decline at that time, but in 1882, Mitsukiri became the head of the society, renamed it the "Biological Society of Tokyo", and sought

to rebuild it (Morse was recommended as an honorary member⁶). In 1886, he established the Misaki Marine Biological Station, which produced a lot of talented people and research results, thereby contributing greatly to the Department of Zoology, the University of Tokyo and zoology in Japan in general.

When Morse came to Japan for the third time, Mitsukiri took on the role of intermediary to arrange the purchase of the lifelike dolls on Morse's behalf, as well as coordinator for things relating to their production, such as costumes, and in a letter dated December 6th, 1882, he reported to Morse about the price and quantity negotiations and the production progress, and asked whether he was still willing to buy them. In a letter dated January 29th, 1883, he informs Morse that payment to the dollmaker was now complete, and included a receipt. He also recommends placing the dolls in a safe place as soon as they arrive, to avoid them getting damaged by fire⁷.

Shozaburo Watase went to Preparatory School of University of Tokyo and Sapporo Agricultural College before entering the University of Tokyo in 1884 and studying zoology under Kakichi Mitsukiri. He went on to study at John Hopkins University under William Keith Brooks (1848-1908), who had been a graduate student of Agassiz (at this time, Watase had Mitsukiri write him a letter of introduction to send to Morse⁸). Watase went on to take a teaching job at the University of Chicago, then, when he was set to return to Japan in 1899, he sent a letter of thanks to Morse, and informed him that his new address in Japan was the University of Tokyo's zoology department, where he became its fifth professor (he majored in cytology and histology). His relationship with Morse continued, writing to Morse in 1913 and 1920 to thank him for sending papers he had written on shellfish.

The agricultural chemist, Yoshinao Kozai (1864-1934), who was the president of Tokyo Imperial University, wrote to Morse in June 1922 to inform him that he was being awarded the Order of the Sacred Treasure, Second Class, and that the Ministry of Foreign Affairs would send him the medal in a separate letter. In the letter, he also praised Morse for introducing zoology to Japan when he visited in 1877-79, introducing western culture, and his contribution to the development of Japanese science. Later, in a letter dated December 5th, 1923, reproduced below, Kozai tells Morse about the damage to Tokyo Imperial University and its library caused by the Great Kanto Earthquake. Kozai was the person to take the lead

in organizing the reconstruction of the university after it had been severely damaged in the earthquake⁹.

Dr. Edward S. Morse,

I learn from Mr. Miyaoka that you have undergone a surgical operation of late, and I sincerely hope that you will take best care of yourself and speedily recover from your illness.

The same gentleman has been also good enough to inform me that you are kindly anxious to know how our University has fared through the recent earthquake disaster. I am very sorry to tell you that the damage done to the University by both earthquake and fire is exceedingly great, for all the buildings for the Faculties of Law, Letters, and Economics, the University Library and many other buildings of importance were destroyed by the fire, and even those buildings which escaped the fire were shaken so badly that some of them are beyond all hope of repairing, and thus we are now confronted with a serious task of rehabilitation besides the urgent necessity to cope with the present situation.

The loss of the University Library is one of the severest blows to us, some 700,000 volumes of books which had required so many long years and efforts for collection having been instantly reduced to ashes. [...] As for the casualties of the University staff and students, the death has been reported to me of a lecturer and an unpaid assistant of the Letters Faculty, an assistant-lecturer and an unpaid assistant of the Agricultural Faculty, and about ten students. The number is far smaller than we feared in consideration of the grave nature of the calamity.

I beg to take this opportunity to tell you that the cordial and extensive sympathy shown by your Government and people toward the general relief work here is highly appreciated by the whole nation of the Japanese Empire.

I am, Dear Sir,

Yours ever sincerely,

Y. Kozai

President.

Morse soon learned about the Great Kanto Earthquake when he read about it in the newspaper. He famously rewrote his will, with the consent of his children, to donate his personal

collection of books to Tokyo Imperial University Library after his death, and the letters he received from Miyaoka and Kozai about the devastation they suffered in the earthquake may have further influenced his decision. The number of books sent after Morse's death is said to surpass 12,000 (or 69 boxes' worth)¹⁰.

(2) Students of zoology

Next, this paper will describe correspondence from Morse's students at the University of Tokyo. The four students officially under his charge were Sayohiko Matsuura (1857-1877) and Chujiro Sasaki (1857-1935) who entered their second year of biology in September 1877, and Isao Iijima (1861-1921) and Tomotaro Iwakawa (1855-1933) who began biology studies the following year in 1878. In addition to these four, Chiyomatsu Ishikawa (1860-1935), who was in the year below Iijima and Iwakawa, was also in and out of the classroom, and developed a close relationship with Morse as a de facto student of his.

Sasaki who was one of Morse's first students, accompanied him dredging for marine life on Enoshima in 1877, the excavation of the Omori Shell Mounds, and an expedition to Hokkaido in 1878. In 1881, he graduated as one of the first graduates of biology at the University of Tokyo, going on to become an associate professor and then professor at Komaba Agriculture School, before becoming a professor at the Tokyo Imperial University Department of Agriculture. His areas of specialty were entomology and sericulture, and he was active as an entomologist.¹¹

Through letters sent from 1879 to 1880, Sasaki reported on excavations on other shell mounds that occurred after Morse had returned to the US, such as the Okadaira Shell Mounds and Shimazu Shell Mounds.¹² After meeting Morse in Boston in 1910, he immediately wrote him a thank-you letter the very next day. In September 1925, he sent a birthday message for Morse's 88th birthday, together with a headscarf and an illustration of how to wear it. Sasaki then received a thank-you letter from Morse after receiving the hat, stating that he was indescribably glad (dated October 23rd, 1925).¹³

Iwakawa attended a lecture given by Morse at the University of Tokyo when he was at Kaisei School, and this made up his mind to study zoology. He studied conchology first under Morse, and then his successor, Whitman. After graduating in 1881, he became a teacher at

Tokyo Higher Normal School (later the Tokyo University of Education, then the University of Tsukuba), and then at the Women's Higher Normal School (now Ochanomizu University).¹⁴

In a letter Iwakawa wrote to Morse dated April 1st, 1903, he thanked Morse for the Memoirs of the Boston Society that he had sent, and told him that he was continuing his research on mollusks at the Tokyo Imperial Household Museum (now the Tokyo National Museum) as well as teaching at the Tokyo Women's Higher Normal School, and he was collecting freshwater shellfish from all over the country. In a letter dated November 15th, 1912, he tells Morse that he is still continuing his research on Japanese mollusks at the Tokyo Imperial Household Museum at the same time as teaching zoology (presumably at the Tokyo Women's Higher Normal School), and he had now collected over 1,300 specimens.

Chiyomatsu Ishikawa often served as an interpreter for Morse, and in 1879 he transcribed and translated Morse's lectures on evolutionary theory, publishing them as "The Evolution of Animals", becoming the first person to systematically introduce the theory of evolution in Japan. After graduating from the University of Tokyo, he immediately took up the position of associate professor at the university's zoology department. He went to study in Germany, and, upon his return in 1889, became an assistant professor of agriculture at the Imperial University, and a full-fledged professor the following year. He held this position until retiring in 1924, and laid the foundations for entomology and fisheries science in Japan. He was involved in the operation of Ueno Zoo for some 20 years, and is sometimes called the father of Ueno Zoo.¹⁵

At a scientific conference he attended in England in 1887, Ishikawa received a message from Morse through August Weismann (1834-1914), who he had studied under while he was in Germany.¹⁶ When Ishikawa visited Morse at his home in Salem in 1909, he received a copy of *Mars and its Mystery* that Morse had recently written. In a letter dated September 3rd, 1925, in addition to sending birthday wishes for Morse's 88th birthday, he also informed Morse of his intention to publish a special on Morse for the New Year's issue of *Toyo Gakugei Zasshi* (the publication of Japanese scientific societies) the following year, as a sign of his long-standing gratitude. In the publishing of this special feature, he asked if Morse could write a word or two, and if someone from Morse's family could write a short biography of Morse's childhood.

After Morse's death, Ishikawa paid a visit to Morse's grave in Salem's Harmony Grove Cemetery¹⁷. Chiyomatsu Ishikawa's son, Kinichi Ishikawa (1898-1959, an English Literature graduate from Tokyo Imperial University), is the man behind the Japanese translation of *Japan Day by Day* in 1929, and he stayed at Morse's home while he was studying in America.¹⁸ Some picture postcards sent to Morse by Kinichi remain among the Morse Papers (one is a Christmas card sent in 1920, and another is a postcard sent from Paris in 1922), and it indicates that the Ishikawas, both father and son, had a good relationship with Morse. In a letter sent by Chiyomatsu that is dated September 3rd, 1925, he reports the birth of Kinichi's daughter, after he got married in 1924.

These letters from people connected to the University of Tokyo paint a strong picture. You can appreciate from the correspondence that the relationships between Morse and people connected to the university lasted a long time, from Morse's first arrival in Japan right up to his final years.

(3) Others

There are also letters from Japanese people Morse probably met during his three times in Japan other than people connected to the university, such as Seiichi Tejima (1849-1918), who became the director of the Tokyo Educational Museum (now the National Museum of Nature and Science) in 1881, and Yoichiro Hirase (1859-1925), a leading authority on conchology in Japan.

In a letter from Tejima that is dated October 5th, 1882, he thanks Morse for a brain coral sent by the Peabody Academy of Science to the Tokyo Educational Museum, and a memoir published by the academy. In return, Tejima donated sketches and a set of tools used by jewellers, pottery sculptors, fishermen and coopers from the Tokyo Educational Museum, and sent Morse a letter to confirm whether he had received the box containing them. In 1886, he thanked Morse for the copy of *Japanese Homes and their Surroundings* that Morse sent him, saying that he placed the book in the library, and he also congratulated Morse on becoming the president of the American Association for the Advancement of Science. When Tejima visited Chicago as a member of the Imperial Japanese Commission that the Ministry of Agriculture and Commerce set up in order to participate in the Chicago World's Fair, 1893, he sent Morse two letters. In one of the letters, dated August 16th, he thanked Morse in advance for letting

him speak at a lecture meeting organized by Morse to take place at a Japanese tea house at 8:00 p.m. on August 22nd. In a letter dated August 31st, 1901, Tejima congratulates Morse on the publication of *Catalogue of the Morse Collection of Japanese Pottery*, a copy of which Morse sent him. At the same time as showing his admiration for the tremendous amount of work it took to get it published, Tejima also informs Morse of the death of fellow professors from the time when Morse was at the University of Tokyo, Professor Toyama and professor of botany, Ryokichi Yatabe (1851-1899).

4 Exchange students and Japanese people living in America who had exchanges with Morse in the US

During Morse's life, the exchange students who came to the US from Japan mostly came from wealthy and powerful families. Due to the concentration of prestigious schools in the university town of Boston, it is said that many young people went to visit Morse, who lived nearby, with letters of introduction. Morse always welcomed these Japanese visitors to his home, repeating the words "Chikuba no tomo" (childhood friends).¹⁹ In the memoirs of Bunkyo Matsuki, he writes, "Everyone who enrolled at Harvard University, the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Boston University, Brown University, etc., would visit Dr. Morse at least once or twice, but they tried to avoid him because they thought it better to keep away from him as he was strange".²⁰ However, there are many letters from people who met Morse while studying abroad in the US, giving their thanks after being impressed by his hospitality. For example, the diplomat Jutaro Komura (1855-1911) and historian and professor at Yale University, Kanichi Asakawa (1873-1948).

There is even a letter from Sutejiro Fukuzawa (1865-1926), second son of Yukichi Fukuzawa (1835-1901), who studied in America in 1883. When he entered the Massachusetts Institute of Technology together with his older brother, Ichitaro (1863-1938), they were taken care of by Morse, and often visited his house (Morse already had a close relationship with their father, Yukichi, when he was in Japan. There is a letter from Yukichi dated August 13th, 1884, thanking Morse for taking care of Sutejiro and other students from Keio University, hoping that it wasn't interfering with his work, and asking Morse to let him know if the youths were causing any kind of trouble). Sutejiro studied railway engineering and upon returning to Japan, he joined Sanyo Electric Railway Co., Ltd. as an engineer. After Yukichi's death, he took over management of the Jiji-Shinpo Newspaper, and became its president. In a letter

from Sutejiro dated December 12th, 1909, he begins, “You will surely be surprised when you receive this letter it has been so long since I had the pleasure of writing to you. Trusting upon your generosity I hope to be pardoned for my long silence in the past”. Sutejiro’s younger brother, Daishiro (Yukichi’s fourth child), also came to the US to study, but he couldn’t really make any friends, and his mother was worried that he was homesick. Sutejiro, recalling all the kindness he had been shown by Morse and his family while he was a student in Boston, told his brother Morse’s contact details and recommended he go and speak with him, and also asked Morse to listen to Daishiro and offer him advice.

After graduating from the Sapporo Agricultural College (now Hokkaido University) in 1881, Inazo Nitobe (1862-1933) initially enrolled at the University of Tokyo in 1883, but dropped out the following year, instead enrolling at Johns Hopkins University to study agricultural economics in 1884. On the occasion of his travelling to the US, Professor Toyama of the University of Tokyo wrote Nitobe a letter of introduction to give to Morse.²¹ It seems that for some reason, Morse and Nitobe were unable to meet, but Nitobe apparently held on to the letter of introduction from Toyama for over 15 years. Nitobe wrote *Bushido: The Soul of Japan* while staying in his wife’s hometown of Philadelphia for medical treatment. In a letter dated January 2nd, 1900, he asked Morse’s frank opinion on whether he thought that the book would be well received by American audiences, hoping to use Morse’s input for the revised edition. After reading *Bushido*, Morse wrote a review of it in the Boston Herald on January 10th. Nitobe immediately sent a Morse a letter (dated January 12th), thanking him for his reply (January 7th) and for his positive book review in the Boston Herald.

In a letter sent to Morse by Nitobe’s wife, Mary, that is dated February 12th, 1912, she enquires whether Nitobe will have the chance to meet Morse during his trip to the US in 1912. From this correspondence, it is indicated that exchanges between the two continued until at least this year.

Even after returning home to the US, Morse continued to study Japanese pottery and collect folk artefacts, and his correspondence and trading with Hiromichi Shugio (1853-1927), Bunkyo Matsuki (1867-1940) and Yamanaka Trading, who were involved in the Japanese art trade in America, survive in his letters. In the preface to *Catalogue of the Morse Collection of Japanese Pottery*, published in 1901, Morse writes, “Since my return to this country I have to

acknowledge my very great indebtedness to Mr. Hiromichi Shugio, the author of the classical catalogue of the Waggaman collection; to Mr. Bunkio Matsuki. Mr. Shugio has aided in the identification of many obscure pieces, and has spent day after day studiously examining the collection. Mr. Matsuki, who owes his first interest and knowledge of Japanese pottery to me, has, during his frequent visits to Japan, secured many items of importance from the potters themselves, and has been particularly skilful in interpreting obscure marks”²².

Shugio enrolled at the Daigaku Nanko (Western Learning College), then went on to study in the US before entering the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in (1874). After working for the former Mitsui & Co., he transferred to the Kiritsu Kosho Gaisha (known in English as the First Japanese Manufacturing and Trading Company) in 1880, with an eye on exporting traditional Japanese crafts. He became the branch manager of the New York store,²³ and worked hard to introduce not only Japanese crafts, but all kinds of Japanese art, including ukiyo-e prints, ceramics and hanging scrolls. After taking part in the American Exhibition of the Products, Arts and Manufactures of Foreign Nations in Boston in 1883 as an exhibitor and acting chairman, Shugio went on to participate in numerous exhibitions and, in 1893, he served as one of the representatives on Japanese art at the Chicago World’s Fair, alongside Morse, Fenollosa and John La Farge (1835-1910).²⁴ There are 13 letters to Morse that are confirmed to be from Shugio. Most of them are about pottery, saying things like he would like to meet Morse when Shugio goes to Boston, or that he has acquired some new pieces that he would like Morse to come and look at. In a letter dated September 27th, 1913, he says he is engrossed in reading an expanded addition of the *Catalogue of the Morse Collection of Japanese Pottery* that he has received, and he is flattered that Morse thanked him for his help in the creation of the catalogue, despite the fact that he only helped a tiny amount in Morse’s great work. Shugio returned to Japan in 1897 to prepare for participation in the 1900 Paris Exposition, and he devoted himself to the growth of modern Japanese art after that as well.²⁵

Meanwhile, when Matsuki relocated to America in 1888 at the age of 21, Morse and his wife acted as his guardians while he lodged nearby, and he enrolled at Salem High School. In 1890, he opened a shop in Salem that carried various Japanese goods, and eventually began to import a considerable amount of Japanese and Chinese artworks and antiques. Backed by the rising popularity of Japonisme in America, Matsuki’s profits soared, and in 1893, he opened another store in Boston.²⁶ After graduating from high school in 1893, he married his high

school sweetheart and purchased some land from Morse in order to build a Japanese-style house.²⁷

He used the opportunity as a trader to travel back and forth between Japan and the US every year, and whilst in Japan, he visited pottery kilns all over Japan to learn about the place and to investigate unknown marks and seals. During his investigations, Matsuki would sometimes come across rare Japanese antiques and a number of letters survive in which he tells Morse about them (letters dated March 1890, March 13th, 1892, February 27th, 1893, etc.). There is also a letter in which he discusses a debt with Morse in connection with the purchase of a scroll (no date given). Eventually, financial problems, such as not being able to repay debts, and a loss of credibility in the Japanese art and antiques he purchased brought Matsuki's business to a standstill, and in the end, he closed up shop and returned to Japan.²⁸

Concluding remarks

The total amount of time Morse spent in Japan during his three trips was about two and a half years, which is not actually that long. However, an analytical reading of the letters Morse received from Japanese people, that are now stored at PEM as the "Morse Papers", reveal many years of vibrant exchanges between Morse and Japanese people: letters of thanks for things Morse sent and the hospitality he showed people, letters telling him the latest about their work, family and mutual friends and acquaintances, and so on. Furthermore, tracing the footsteps of the Japanese people who sent the letters show that relations with students from Morse's time as professor of zoology at the University of Tokyo continued with successive generations and that there were those who carried on their research and became pioneers in zoology and biology in Japan, while others became active on the world stage. There is probably some influence from Morse behind their activities, and Morse would have been delighted to receive an update from them in the form of a letter.

For this paper, the study was limited to letters sent to Morse by Japanese people, but by expanding the scope of research to include letters written by Morse himself and letters from family, friends and other people close to Morse, the relationship between Morse, Japan and the Japanese people will be further understood. More investigation and research are needed for the next step.

[References]

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- 4 Isono, *Ibid.* p.257.
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