

# Falling in Love with Japan: Emma Guffey Miller in Japan, 1901–1906

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## Introduction

Emma Guffey Miller, a younger sister of Hon. Joseph F. Guffey, was a notable and cherished Democratic figure in Pennsylvania. Miller, “The Old Gray Mare,” was a national committee member from 1932 until her death at 95 in 1970, a record of 38 years. She is known for her battle for women’s voting rights, for her fight against prohibition, and for her leadership in organizing the Pennsylvania Federation of Democratic Women. She is also famous for being the first American woman to receive a half vote for the presidential nomination when she was elected as a delegate to the national convention in 1924.<sup>1</sup> In the Democratic Convention of 1924, Miller gave a seconding speech for Al Smith, and her attack on the Ku Klux Klan prompted one excited admirer to put her name in nomination for the president.<sup>2</sup> It should be noted that the reason for her vigorous attack on the KKK was her disagreement with its racial extremism and religious intolerance toward Jews and Catholics.<sup>3</sup>

Miller was not in sympathy with extremism such as anti-semitism or anti-catholicism. However, her attitude toward other races was sometimes much less generous and remained to be indifferent in her later years. For example, from 1960 to 1965, Miller chaired the National Women’s Party and was designated as a life president. In lobbying for the Equal Rights Amendment, NWP members sometimes framed its appeal in implicitly racist, anti-Semitic, and xenophobic terms.<sup>4</sup> Miller was also an opponent, not a supporter, of civil rights for blacks. In 1924, Miller tried to shun extreme racism such as KKK, however, in 1964 she seemed like changed her attitude and she insisted that the original Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964

was a threat and unfair to white, native-born Christian women.<sup>5</sup>

It remains an unsettled question why Miller was so ambiguous and ambivalent about racial issues. One possible explanation for Miller's ambiguity and ambivalence about racial issues can be found in the fact that she lived in Japan from 1901 to 1906. In examining her personal papers,<sup>6</sup> I found that Miller's attitude toward Japan and Japanese paradoxically did not square with her vaunted liberalism. In some respects, as the following pages indicate, Miller was a broad-minded cultural relativist, but in others, especially with respect to race, her attitude was instinctively discriminatory.<sup>7</sup> This aspect of her personality has never been observed before, however, it may help us understand why Miller was so ambiguous and ambivalent about racial issues.

### **Emma Guffey Miller in Japan: Her Observation on Japanese Culture**

The first question which must be addressed is what brought Miller to Japan. In trying to find out the reason, I begin with Masako Dogura (土倉政子).

Masako Dogura<sup>8</sup> was born in Yoshino, Nara prefecture, as the second of four daughters of Shōzaburo Dogura (土倉庄三郎).<sup>9</sup> Shōzaburo was widely known as the founder of modern forestry in Japan, and also gained a notable reputation as a benefactor for social causes. He endowed hospitals, the Red Cross Society of Japan, and scholarships to many Japanese universities. Above all, he was a well-known sponsor of the "Liberty and People's Rights Movement" (自由民権運動).<sup>10</sup>

Shōzaburo tried to give his daughters the best education he could, and hence Masako attended Dōshisha Women's School, one of the best private women's colleges in Japan. It was there she met her English teacher Mary F. Denton.<sup>11</sup> Denton strongly encouraged Masako to study abroad. Coincidentally, Wistar Morris, a devout Friendship Quaker of Philadelphia and Director of the Pennsylvania Railroad Company, happened to be in Japan in the spring of 1891. Wistar was also known as a grandson of Samuel Morris, a Captain of the First Troop of Philadelphia City Cavalry during the Revolutionary War.<sup>12</sup> Wistar and his wife Marry Harris Morris, who were very liberal in their view,<sup>13</sup> had already sponsored more than 80 Japanese students in Philadelphia.<sup>14</sup>

Wistar and Mary offered to take Masako with them on their way back.<sup>15</sup> Masako showed "independence in overcoming the opposition of her parents in crossing the Ocean," and finally sailed across the Ocean to seek intellectual

development by contacting with the western world of scholarship.<sup>16</sup> Masako, after graduating from Miss Stevens Boarding School in Philadelphia,<sup>17</sup> enrolled in Bryn Mawr College where she received B.A. in 1897.<sup>18</sup>

From what I can gather from the primary sources, Emma Guffey Miller, who also attended Bryn Mawr and graduated from with a B.A. in history and political science in 1899, happened to know Masako through a fellow alumna, Michi Matsuda (松田道), who was the very first recipient of the Japanese Scholarship.<sup>19</sup> It is reasonable to guess that through Masako and Michi, Miller gradually enhanced her interest in Japan and made up her mind to go all the way to Japan.<sup>20</sup>

After a voyage of several weeks, Miller arrived at Yokohama on May 6, 1901. Soon after her arrival, she wrote to her family:

Now, I know you are dying to know what I think of Japan. This is Friday, and I arrived only Monday, but from what I have seen and done so far I think it is the most fascinating place in the world. Of course, I have seen little yet except part of Yokohama but that has been sufficient to make me say that if all Japan is as interesting as the little I have seen then surely it is a heavenly place.<sup>21</sup>

As Miller wrote to her family that she had “fallen in love” with Japan and everything Japanese,<sup>22</sup> she seemed to initially have positive feelings toward Japan. However, from the very beginning of her life in Japan, Miller sometimes grumbled about Japanese things that were not to her taste. Nonetheless, she tried to separate herself from her own culture and to adjust herself to things Japanese. This clearly indicates that Miller tried to understand and interpret other people’s culture and history in terms of their own context. For example, she highly admired the fact that the Japanese that “are perfectly wonderful workers and their patience is beyond compare.”<sup>23</sup> However, most of all, Miller held the highest reverence for Japanese art; Miller had a great interest in Buddhism architectures and art, Japanese bonsai, and Kabuki.<sup>24</sup>

She was also deeply impressed by Japan’s economic and social development. She admired the way Japan adopted Western technologies and cultures quickly, but she also thought American and English tendencies were so predominant that she was grievously anxious Japan was going to lose its original culture and society. For example, she wrote that “they are so much nicer looking in native costume than in European dress” and she felt if Japan were to be too civilized, that would be a “shame.”<sup>25</sup> She was given the impression on Emperor Meiji when he appeared not in

Japanese costumes but in entirely foreign coat and trousers that it might be a “terrible comedown.”<sup>26</sup> This kind of nostalgia in reaction to foreign influences that had modified the old Japanese ways excessively was common with Westerners who visited Japan.<sup>27</sup>

As shown above, Miller’s observation upon Japanese culture proves that Miller was a broad-minded cultural relativist.

Also, while she was in Japan, Miller witnessed many interesting events and became very sociable and made acquaintance with other Westerners -- mainly British and Germans, but also a few French --for the first time in her life. In 1920s, Miller had become an active speaker for the suffrage movement and also become one of the most outspoken protagonists for the Equal Rights Amendment.<sup>28</sup> Although many scholars have mentioned her activity in the National Women’s Party (NWP), nothing is known about why she became interested in the suffrage movement. It cannot be proved exactly when, but there is evidence to support an argument that while she was in Japan, she was influenced by European suffragette ideas through Janet Scudder, who was a sculptress of no little note in Paris and Luxemburg, and was associated with suffragists when she studied art in Europe at the turn of the century.<sup>29</sup> Janet had become famous as a feminist who often took part in marches, parades and demonstrations related to women’s issues. Janet Scudder is also famous as the first American artist opposed to having separate exhibitions for male and female artists and to the use of Mrs. or Miss before a woman artist’s name.

Miller and Janet met in Japan when Janet visited Japan for few months with her friend Anne Archbold, who was a daughter of John D. Archbold of the Standard Oil Company.<sup>30</sup> Miller, Anne, and Janet traveled together to China and stayed together at Standard Oil’s house in Shanghai for a few months.<sup>31</sup> Thus we can imagine that Miller was influenced by Janet Scudder, a woman whom Miller called as a “Paris Bohemian,”<sup>32</sup> and that Miller stood on the starting point of her career as a suffragist and during this period of contact deepened her understanding of suffrage issues.

### **Russo-Japanese War**

Miller’s reaction to the Russo-Japanese War is particularly instructive in showing how she had unwarily assimilated Japanese nationalism and favoritism toward the Japanese. In 1905, she wrote about the Japanese victory at Port Arthur as

follows:

Well I am excited! Port Arthur is down at last and the whole of Japan is delirious with joy....this morning while Gertrude and I were dawdling over a late breakfast we suddenly seemed to realize that something wonderful was filling the air, a kind of buzzing, and the next instant came boom of guns and then we knew the long hoped for had come. In another minute the boy was in the room, excited and breathless, telling us that Japanese “ketch all Port Arthur”. In the meantime all of the people were in the streets banzaing for all they were worth and whole of Yokohama became a sea of waving flags before you could say “Jack Robinson”....This afternoon, we saw many a rollicking Jap rolling unsteadily along banzaing to everyone they met, but you can’t blame them. Who wouldn’t get giddy after capturing the impregnable Port Arthur, supposed to be the strongest fortified place in the world.<sup>33</sup>

At this time, other Americans living in Japan largely shared her rosy emotion as well. Miller and most of other Americans who lived in Japan at that time cheered Japan’s victory which they saw as due to the adaptation of Western institutions. Miller also noted that quite a number of the American missionaries were “hot” as they were claiming that Japan’s war success was due to Christianity.<sup>34</sup> She also mentioned in her letters that some Japanese appreciated English and American sympathy in describing a man with English and American flags crossed and John Bull and Uncle Sam hurraing for Japan.<sup>35</sup> Miller especially admired Japanese were neither arrogant nor boastful after this series of victories.<sup>36</sup> Miller, along with other Americans, simply thought Japan blocked the expansion of Russian czarist tyranny.

However, this American tribute soon went from one extreme to the other, when the Japanese government protested about the discrimination towards and segregation of Japanese immigrants in California, and Americans began to fear a potent new rival in the Far East.<sup>37</sup> George Kennan, a famous American explorer and a cousin twice removed of George F. Kennan, who lived in Yokohama at the time and had spent few months at Port Arthur with the Japanese army, was anxious about this swing of the pendulum. He warned Theodore Roosevelt against the resolution of California legislature saying that such a resolution was not only injudicious but also would unnecessarily strain the relationship between the two countries.<sup>38</sup>

I have as much personal and racial pride as anybody, but after a year’s observation of Japanese at home and in war, I’m ready to acknowledge them as

equals and to stand beside them anywhere and in any circumstances. Their character is not ours, but it's a noble character nevertheless. So far as I am able to judge, after a year's experience, there is little danger that the Japanese will become conceived or "cocky" as a result of their brilliant victories.<sup>39</sup>

This opinion was, of course, a minority one among Americans,<sup>40</sup> but Miller also had never been particularly Japanophobic. When William Jennings Bryan visited Japan in the midst of public celebrations for the Russo-Japanese War victories to promote his ideal of universal peace,<sup>41</sup> Miller went to see him in Miyanoshta; as an ardent Democrat, her aim was to determine if she would ever be able to support him or not. Miller thought she would never support Bryan because she thought that Bryan's studies and observations on Japan were so mediocre that Bryan was too unsophisticated for President.<sup>42</sup> Paradoxically, Bryan was promoting universal peace with a sort of cultural imperialistic attitude, and he simply believed Western culture would offer Japan a route to civilization. Unlike Miller or Kennan, Bryan was blind to the virtues and values of other cultures, and he regarded other cultures as inferior and inevitably destined to pass away.<sup>43</sup> In Japan, Bryan tactfully gave lip service to Japanese (especially to the Emperor and other leading decision-makers),<sup>44</sup> but at home, Bryan believed in state rights and supported the segregation of Japanese children from schools in San Francisco.<sup>45</sup> Miller seemed to be suspicious of Bryan's duplicity and wrote that Japanese were smart enough to see there was a good deal more talk in Bryan's speeches than logic.<sup>46</sup>

### **Racial Ambiguity and Ambivalence**

As I have mentioned before, Miller was a broad-minded relativist and never had held Japanophobic opinions, and in some respects, she was more open to diversity and more relativistic than many of her contemporaries at home in America. However, that did not mean that she remained completely neutral; there was another side of her personality.

Her observations of Japan were judicious and keen, but at the same time slightly myopia. Especially racially, Miller had never been driven to extremes, but at the same time, she couldn't cast away an instinctive hatred of Japanese. For instance, Miller showed her prejudice when she didn't hesitate to use the racial slur—"Jap"—in despise. Miller became acquainted with James A. Rabbitt, who was an American

engineer and later became a US War Trade Board attaché in 1918.<sup>47</sup> James Rabbitt and his wife quarreled when Mrs. Rabbitt wished to adopt a Japanese child into the family.<sup>48</sup> Let us consider the following quotation from the letter of Miller's in 1906:

Mrs. Rabbit has gone home to adopt a kid. You know she wanted to adopt a little Jap but he objected and I don't blame him, so perhaps Bre'r Rabbit has consented to giving his name to a white instead of a black rabbit.<sup>49</sup>

It shows that Miller classified Japanese as blacks. Her instinctive segregation of so-called blacks was not only for Japanese but also for Indians and Chinese. In China, when she witnessed Indians wearing turbans on their head, she mentioned them as "fearful." Likewise, she groundlessly referred to Chinese as not trustworthy and noted they were "people without nerves."<sup>50</sup>

In those days, of course, Jap was not considered to be a derogatory word as it is now, but as Ethel Howard wrote in her book *Japanese Memories*, it was widely recognized by Westerners that using 'Jap' was rude and undignified.<sup>51</sup> This kind of discriminatory attitude is, however, not particular to Miller, but was generally common among all Westerners.<sup>52</sup> Miller was not the exception; she repeatedly used this word in her letters. For example, in 1901, she mentioned traditional Japanese raincoats (*minogasa*) with a little bit of sarcasm, saying that when a Jap wore a peaked straw hat, he looked like "old fashioned haycock."<sup>53</sup> Even after she had lived in Japan for more than three years, Miller still disliked Japanese sleeping cars because she did not like to sleep with a lot of "strange Japs."<sup>54</sup> Moreover, at one time she used a simile that Japanese were fun as a bushel of monkeys.<sup>55</sup> These episodes clearly exemplify her bias and racial prejudice, and she had never been able to cast them away to the very end. But all of a sudden, Miller stopped to use the word Jap in 1906. This was not because she reflected on her words, but because she was in fear and trembling of censorship on her letters. As she puts it in her letter:

during the war I wouldn't doubt that many of our letters were opened and read before they left Japan and we never said anything derogatory concerning the Japanese.<sup>56</sup>

We see, hinted in this extract from her letter, how she was acutely conscious of the derogatory nature of "Jap." As has been suggested above, Miller's attitude toward Japan and Japanese was ambivalent and ambiguous. In understanding Japanese culture and history, Miller did not apply her own sense of values a priori, although she had never been free of racial prejudice.

Reflection on this should lead us to a better understanding of her ambivalent attitude toward racial issues during the later period of her life. We can say with fair certainty that her concern in politics was oriented towards the middle or upper class, overwhelmingly if not exclusively white and Christian although including Jews and Catholics; she evinced little concern for others. Therefore, in the Democratic Convention of 1924, Miller attacked extreme racism and religious intolerance toward Jews and Catholics, and also we are now able to see why Miller became an opponent of civil rights for blacks in 1964.

### Conclusion

Miller's love for Japan can be described as an enigma masked by cultural relativism on one side, and instinctive racial prejudice on the other. It is interesting that we look the same person and yet sometimes he or she seems to be a totally different person. Let us examine this duplicity. Her experience in Bryn Mawr enhanced her interest in Japan and the Japanese, and helped open avenues of cultural exchange and even for residence in Japan. Miller's interest in and favor toward Japan extended throughout her life; indeed, Miller belonged to the Japan Society and contributed to cultural exchange between Japan and the US to the very end.<sup>57</sup> Her reverence and interest in other culture had never disappeared, however, at the same time, her instinctive prejudice or fear toward other race even amplified while she spent several years in Japan.

We can probably accept as true that Miller's ambiguity and ambivalence — her vigorous attack on racial extremism in 1924 and her negative attitude toward black civil rights in 1964 — was brought from her experience in Japan.

#### Notes

- 1 Paul B. Beers, "The Guffeys," *Pennsylvania Politics Today and Yesterday: The Tolerable Accommodation* (University Park: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 1980), 146-149; Emma Guffey Miller Oral History, interviewed by David G. McComb, 12 February 1969, Lyndon Baines Johnson Library Oral History Collection, Austin, Texas, 3.
- 2 "Emma Guffey Miller," in eds., Barbara Sicherman and Carol H. Green, *Notable American Women: the Modern Period, A Biographical Dictionary* (Cambridge: The Belknap Press, 1980), 476.

- 3 On “anti-smith sentiments” see, Anti-Catholic Circulars and Cartoons. *Anti-Catholic Literature Collections*, Box 1, The American Catholic History Research Center & University Archives, Catholic University of America, Washington, D. C.
- 4 Most of the NWP members were Republicans and Miller was the notable exception. Carl C. Brauer, “Women Activists, Southern Conservatives, and the Prohibition of Sex Discrimination in Title VII of the 1964 Civil Rights Act,” *The Journal of Southern History*, Volume 49, Number 1 (February 1983): 43; Jo Freeman, “Who you know versus Who you represent: Feminist Influence in the Democratic and Republican Parties,” in eds., Mary F. Katzenstein and Carol M. Mueller, *The Women’s Movements of the United States and Western Europe: Feminist Consciousness, Political Opportunity and Public Policy* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1987), 217.
- 5 Jo Freeman, *We Will Be Heard: Women’s Struggles for Political Power in the United States* (Rowman & Littlefield, 2008), chap. 13.
- 6 There are, of course, other Western accounts of trips to Mixed-Residence Japan that are similar to Miller’s, but these books and primary sources were written mainly by British or Russians, which such writings by Americans were very rare. Except for Miller’s reminiscences, to the best of my knowledge, Eliza Scidmore’s *Jinrikisha Days in Japan* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1902); and Alice M. Bacon’s *Japanese Girls and Women* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1891) are the best known records of travel to Mixed-Residence Japan by Americans. While Miller incorporated a lot of trans-pacific observations, Scidmore and Bacon did not make use of trans-pacific episodes in their own books.
- 7 Two theses have been written on her, but neither of them paid substantial attention to the significance of her years in Japan. Kathryn Lou Polkinghorn, “Emma Guffey Miller, Politician, Democrat, Women.” (M.A. thesis, University of California, Davis, 1991); Sue Ginther Mraz, “Emma Guffey Miller: Politics and Women’s Right” (M.A. thesis, Slippery Rock University of Pennsylvania, 2006).
- 8 For a brief biography on Masako, see Masao Yamaguchi, *haisha no seishinshi* (History of the Losers) (Iwanami Shoten, 1995), 206. See also University Archives of Dōshisha Women’s College of Liberal Arts Homepage; [http://www.dwc.doshisha.ac.jp/campus\\_info/history/who\\_bk.html](http://www.dwc.doshisha.ac.jp/campus_info/history/who_bk.html)
- 9 On Shōzaburo refer to Shōko Dogura, *hyōden Dogura Shōzaburo* (Biography of Shōzaburo Dogura) (Tokyo: Asahi TV News Publishing, 1966).
- 10 LPRM was a liberal democratic social movement that fought against Meiji oligarchy and sought freedom of speech, opening of the national parliament, and drafted proposals for democratic constitution. See Kunio Anzai, Kōji Tazaki, *Jiyū Minken no saihakken* (Rediscovering Liberty and the People’s Rights Movement) (Nihon Keizai Hyōronsha, 2006); Kaichiro Ōisi, *Nihon Kindai shi heno shiza* (Perspectives on Modern Japanese History) (The University of Tokyo Press, 2003).
- 11 Miss Denton to Dr. Clarke, 21 July 1890, *Senkyōshi Bunsho* (Missionary Papers) showed to the author

- through the courtesy of Professor Emertius Kiyone Sakamoto, Dōshisha Womens College of Liberal Arts, Kyoto, Japan; Yasuhiro Motoi, “Dogura ke no hitobito,” (The Dogura Family) *Dōshisha Dansō*, Number 25 (March 2005): 60.
- 12 On Wistar and Marry Harris Morris, refer to The Lower Marion Historical Society, ed. *The First 300: The Amazing and Rich History of Lower Merion* (Pennsylvania: Diane Publishing Co., 2000), 30-31.
- 13 Thomas George Morton and Frank Woodbury, eds., *The History of the Pennsylvania Hospital, 1751-1895* (Philadelphia: Times Printing House, 1897), 434-435.
- 14 Yataro Mishima to Family, 3 June 18 Year of Meiji, ed. Yoshiyasu Mishima, *Mishima Yataro no tegami* (Letters of Yataro Mishima) (Gakuseisha: 1984), 97-98.
- 15 Miss Denton to Dr. Clarke, 21 July 1890, *Senkyōshi Bunsho*. The author found “A Record of Japanese Friends of Wistar and Mary Morris’s who visited Green Hill Farm, Overbrook.” at Tsuda College Archives, Kodaira, Tokyo. According to that name list, we see the names of Shiro Shiba (柴四朗 as known as Tōkai Sanshi, 東海散士), Kanzō Uchiura (内村鑑三), Yataro Mishima (三島弥太郎), Joseph Nijima (新島襄), Momosuke Fukuzawa (福澤桃介), Inazō Nitobe (新渡戸稲造), Hideyo Noguchi (野口英世), Takeo Arishima (有島武郎), Shinpei Goto (後藤新平).
- 16 Draft of “Cultural Japan,” *Corinna Putnam Smith Papers*, Box 4, Folder 495, Radcliffe College, Boston, Massachusetts (Hereby cited as *Smith Papers*).
- 17 Michi Matsuda also attended Miss Stevens Boarding School in 1894. *Dōshisha Jyogakkō Kihō* (Dōshisha Women’s School Bulletin), Number 1 (January 1894): 3.
- 18 *Dōshisha Jyogakkō Kihō*, Number 9 (December 1897): 17.
- 19 Ume Tsuda (津田梅子), a pioneer in Japanese women’s education, was also attending Bryn Mawr and she established a network called the “Japanese Scholarship Committee” and started a scholarship for Japanese women who wanted to study in the United States. Ume turned over the scholarship work to Masako before she returned home. Masako thereafter took the initiative in collecting contributions at Bryn Mawr. What is worth of mention is that Martha Carey Thomas, who was a President of Bryn Mawr at that time, appealed widely to Bryn Mawr students for donation. At the President’s request, the student body donated 184 dollars to the Japanese Scholarship. Ume Tsuda to M. Carey Thomas, 26 August 1898, *Tsuda Umeko Bunsho* (Tsuda Women’s University: 1980), 388-389; Yūko Takahashi, “Mary Carey Thomas,” in eds., Masako Iino, Kinuko Kameda, and Yūko Takahashi, *Tsuda Umeko wo sasaeta hitobito* (People who supported Umeko Tsuda) (Yūhikaku: 2000), 110; Ume Tsuda to Abby, 21 July 1894, *Tsuda Umeko Bunsho* (Papers of Ume Tsuda), Tsuda College Archives, Kodaira, Tokyo, Japan (Hereby cited as *Tsuda Papers*); Masa Dogura to Ume Tsuda, 6 August 1893, *Tsuda Papers*; Michiko Uchida, “Mary H. Morris Scholarship,” in *Tsuda Umeko wo sasaeta hitobito*, 179; Fumi Kimura to Katharine E. McBride, 29 February 1956, *Alumnae Association Record: Class of 1899*, M. Coffin Canady Library, Bryn Mawr

- College Archives, Bryn Mawr, Pennsylvania; Miller to Ida, 10 May 1901 (Yokohama), *Emma Guffey Miller Papers*, Schlesinger Library, Radcliffe College, Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts, Closed-Use Microfilm Reel 3 (Hereby cited as *EGM Papers*); “shōgakukin kōhosha no siken,” *Jogaku Zasshi* (The Woman’s Magazine) Volume 18, Number 343 (1894): 61.
- 20 Matsuda once recalled that her Bryn Mawr classmates were “very kind to Japanese students.” *Mineyama shōgakkō dōsōkaishi* (The News about Mineyama primary school graduates), 13.
- 21 Miller to Ida, 10 May 1901 (Yokohama), *EGM Papers*, Reel 6.
- 22 Miller to Dearest Jojo and Guff, 15 May 1901 (Yokohama), *EGM Papers*, Reel 6.
- 23 Miller to her Mother, 23 May 1901 (Yokohama), *EGM Papers*, Reel 6.
- 24 Miller’s Letter, 2 July 1901, *EGM Papers*, Reel 6.
- 25 Miller to Ida, 10 May 1901 (Yokohama), *EGM Papers*, Reel 6.
- 26 Miller to Jojo, 23 July 1901, *EGM Papers*, Reel 6.
- 27 For example, Scidmore, *Jinrilisha Days in Japan*, 458-467; Lord Redesdale, *The Garter Mission to Japan* (London: Macmillan, 1906), 17-29.
- 28 Oral History Interview with Katie Louchheim, by Jerry Hess, 27 September 1972, Harry S. Truman Library, Independence, Missouri, 12.
- 29 Janet Scudder, *Modeling My Life* (New York: Harcourt, Brace, and Company, 1925), 72-109. See also Maria Caudill Dennison, “Babies for Suffrage: The Exhibition of Painting and sculpture by Women Artists for the Benefit of the women Suffrage Campaign,” *Women’s Art Journal*, Volume 24, Number 2 (Autumn 2003 – Winter 2004): 24-30.
- 30 Miller to Ida, 16 February 1902, *EGM Papers*, Reel 6.
- 31 Miller to Jojo, 23 February 1902 (Hongkong), *EGM Papers*, Reel 6.
- 32 Miller to Ida, 16 February 1902, *EGM Papers*, Reel 6.
- 33 Miller to Mother, 2 January 1905 (Yokohama), *EGM Papers*, Reel 7.
- 34 Miller to Joey, 2 October 1904, *EGM Papers*, Reel 8.
- 35 Miller to Mother, 15 January 1905 (Yokohama), *EGM Papers*, Reel 7.
- 36 15 March 1905 (Osaka), *EGM Papers*, Reel 7.
- 37 Michael Kazin, *A Godly Hero: The Life of William Jennings Bryan* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2006), 129. Also see Toshihiro Minohara, *Kariforunia shū no hainichi undō to nichibei kankei* (The Anti-Japanese Movement in California and U.S.-Japan Relations) (Kobe Daigaku Kenkyūshōsho Kankōkai: 2006), 42.
- 38 George Kennan to Theodore Roosevelt, 1 April 1905 (Tokyo), *George Kennan Papers*, Box 7, Manuscript Division of Library of Congress, Washington, D.C. (Hereby cited as *Kennan Papers*).
- 39 George Kennan to Theodore Roosevelt, 29 May 1905. (Tokyo), *Kennan Papers*, Box 7.

- 40 Kennan was denounced as a ‘panegyrist’ of the Japanese race by San Francisco Board of Education. Kennan argued that he just praised good characteristics of the Japanese and also pointed out those seemed to be bad. Kennan claimed in both cases, he just tried to be ‘fair’ as possible. Kennan to the President of San Francisco Board of Education, 19 January 1907, (Tokyo), *Kennan Papers*, Box 7.
- 41 The Sumitomo Bank to William J. Bryan, 15 July 1905, *William J. Bryan Papers*, Correspondence File (1905-1907), Box 27, Manuscript Division of Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.
- 42 Miller to Grannysan, 31 October 1905, *EGM Papers*, Reel 8.
- 43 Kendrick A. Clements, *William Jennings Bryan: Missionary Isolationist* (Knoxville: The University of Tennessee Press, 1982), 49.
- 44 Robert W. Cherny, *A Righteous Cause: the Life of William Jennings Bryan* (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1985), 102.
- 45 Bryan’s personal secretary once referred to the Japanese ambassador who was within hearing distance as the ‘little Jap.’ See LeRoy Ashby, *William Jennings Bryan: Champion of Democracy* (Boston: Twayne Publishers, 1987), 146, 154; Paolo E. Coletta, “The Most Thankless Task: Bryan and the California Alien Land Legislation,” *The Pacific Historical Review*, Volume 36, Number 2 (May, 1967): 167.
- 46 Miller to Ida, 30 December 1905, *EGM Papers*, Reel 8.
- 47 James A. Rabbitt to R. H. van Gulik, 22 October 1938, *James A. Rabbitt Papers*, Box 15, Hoover Institution Archives, Stanford University, Palo Alto, California (Hereby cited as *Rabbitt Papers*).
- 48 J. R. Geary to James A. Rabbitt, 1 April 1910, *Rabbitt Papers*, Box 1.
- 49 Miller to Paulie, 18 December 1906, *EGM Papers*, Reel 8.
- 50 Miller to Jojo, 23 February 1902, *EGM Papers*, Reel 6.
- 51 Ethel Howard, *Japanese Memories* (London: Hutchinson, 1918), 135.
- 52 Herbert George Ponting witnessed rudeness of some Americans and British to Japanese. He deplored that “certain people travel abroad and sometimes treat native people as beasts, not human beings.” See Herbert G. Ponting, *In Lotus-Land Japan* (London: Macmillan, 1910), 288-289.
- 53 Miller to Ida, 10 May 1901, *EGM Papers*, Reel 6.
- 54 Miller to Joey, 28 January 1904 (Osaka), *EGM Papers*, Reel 7.
- 55 Miller to Guff, 1 February 1904, *EGM Papers*, Reel 7.
- 56 Miller to Guff, 26 March 1906, *EGM Papers*, Reel 8.
- 57 Mrs. Carroll Miller, *Alumnae Association Record: Class of 1899*, M. Coffin Canady Library, Bryn Mawr College Archives, Bryn Mawr, Pennsylvania.