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Feminist Impulse in Antimodernism: Reading *A Japanese Interior* in American Context

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I. Introduction

In June of 1888, Alice Mabel Bacon (1858-1918) arrived at the port of Yokohama after a long voyage across the Pacific with her pet collie Bruce. Although this was her first visit to Japan, she was no stranger to the country. She was immediately greeted by her Japanese friends whom she had known since her childhood. They had not seen each other since those Japanese women left the United States six years ago, but Bacon happily identify them—Ume Tsuda (1864-1929) and Sutematsu Oyama (1860-1919)—immediately.¹ After traveling to Kyoto and Nikko area for a few weeks, Bacon settled in a house which Tsuda rented in Tokyo to live with her. Thus began Alice Bacon's one-year stay in Tokyo.

During the course of the year, Bacon wrote many letters to her family and friends in the United States describing her life in Japan. Later in 1893, these were compiled into a book, entitled *A Japanese Interior*, and published from Houghton and Mifflin Company in Boston. This paper will closely analyze some of her letters in this book. The letters show much about her daily life in Tokyo, which was spent mostly teaching young Japanese women English and also interacting with her friends Tsuda, Oyama, and others. Moreover, these letters also show Bacon's ambivalence towards the contemporary American society, as they provide both explicit and implicit critiques of the social conditions in the United States by comparing and contrasting them with those of Japan.

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During the years Bacon became increasingly interested in Japan, the United States went through various social transformations. Industrialization brought new and ever increasing numbers of immigrants and taste for materialism to the American society. As a large number of urban poor toiled long hours in factories and were forced to live in tenement houses, few wealthy capitalists amassed an amazing amount of wealth and enjoyed material comforts unthinkable in the past. In contrast, the social and political authority of the old elite class declined significantly. Bacon's family, who came from an old and elite New England background, was likely to have been one of the families feeling the loss of authority and respectability in this rapidly changing culture.²

The modernization concerned Bacon not only as intellectual elite, but also as a virtuous Victorian woman. As Kathy Peiss has pointed out, "[t]he complex passage from Victorian culture to modernism involved, among many other changes, a redefinition of gender relations, what might be termed the shift from homosocial to heterosocial culture." The rapidly modernizing society in the United States devalued the virtues of the traditional notion of "womanly woman" and was transforming the "homosocial" relations which had marked the Victorian notion of womanhood.³ Alice Bacon, who had subscribed to a traditional notion of femininity, was a woman who paid particular attention to women's roles and domesticity. Her stay in Japan enabled her to discover a means to critique the changing position of American women in the society by comparing them with the more traditional conditions of Japanese women's femininity and virtuous domesticity.

This paper argues that writing about Japan for her American audience was not simply Bacon's attempt to introduce Japanese culture to the United States but, more importantly, it was an attempt to articulate her ambivalence with the changing American society in which she lived. Although I look at her writings closely, I do not intend to ascertain the accuracy of her representation of Japan. Rather, my goal is to analyze the society in which she and her audience lived at the end of the nineteenth century. In order to do so, I look first at Bacon's life and especially her personal connection to Japan and Japanese women in the following section. Then I will analyze her interest in the realm of Japanese culture that struck her as something contrastive to modern civilization. She wrote that she was drawn to the old fashioned sincerity of the Japanese people. She praised simple and primitive artifacts made in Japan. In the context of her letters, these praises for pre or anti-modern aspects of Japanese culture served as a critique for more materialistic contemporary American society. Such attention to the

old aspects of Japanese culture was not unique to Bacon. Many visitors from U.S. and Europe were drawn to the traditional and often criticized Japan's effort to modernize. But Bacon was unique because her praise and critique were based on her experience of living in a "Japanese home."

Finally, the paper will focus on the depiction of her domestic life in Tokyo. She wrote that she lived in a tightly-knit community that transcended national differences. She highlighted the beauty of the trans-cultural women's community and its virtuous domesticity. I argue that this attempt to praise the existence of a traditional women's community in Japan was a response to the contemporary American society in which the rigidly defined boundary of men and women was threatened by new images of women that were more dissociated from the ideas of domesticity and that emphasized heterosexual relationships more than the traditional women's bonds.

From today's perspective, Bacon's view toward Japan may be labeled as a part of the Orientalist discourse of the turn of the century, an ideology that positioned non-western nations as subordinated, exotic, and feminized others. However, her position as a woman, her socio-economic status, and unique personal connection to Japan complicated her positions and presentations of Japan. Although many of her audience might have simply enjoyed Bacon's feminized image of Japan, the purpose of her writing about Japan was more than what is commonly understood as Orientalism, as it was inflected by her attachment to the conventional bond of womanhood as well as by her critique of modernity.

II. Alice Mabel Bacon: A Brief Biography

Alice Mabel Bacon was born in New Haven, Connecticut, in 1858, as the daughter of Leonard Bacon (1802-1881) and his second wife, Catherine Elizabeth Terry Bacon (1813-1882). Leonard Bacon was a highly respected pastor of a Congregational church in New Haven as well as a professor at Yale Divinity School. He was also a leader of the antislavery movement and an editor of *The Independent*, a religious weekly published in New York.⁴ Although the Bacons were not particularly wealthy, they were well known and well respected in New England intellectual elite circles. They were a leading family whose members made their mark in the U.S. The male members of the Bacon family were well established as ministers, doctors, and professors. Women in the family were also active in religious activities and other fields.

In 1870, when she was twelve years old, Alice went to Hampton Normal and Industrial Institute in Virginia to see her half-sister, Rebecca Taylor Bacon (1826-1878), the first child of the family. Hampton Institute was a school established soon after the Civil War to educate ex-slaves, and Rebecca Bacon, who was thirty-two years older than Alice, was the school's first assistant principal, or "a Lady principal of the young school" in Alice's words. Alice Bacon spent nine months there, "sometimes attending classes and at one time teaching a class of boys—boys of the old type, really men, and men in a position to appreciate anything this bright young girl might be able to give them."⁵ This was Alice Bacon's "debut as a Hampton teacher," she wrote in a letter that explained her background, and during that year she "formed a purpose of becoming a teacher, & a teacher of negros."⁶ She also studied at Hampton and one of her biographers says that she even received a diploma from the school with its first graduating class.⁷ Since she was later educated by private tutors, and never officially graduated from any other formal academic institutions, this turned out to be the only diploma she ever received.⁸

Probably because of Leonard Bacon's interest in and compassion for other peoples, in 1872, when Alice was fourteen years old, he took under his guardianship twelve-year-old Sutematsu Yamakawa, one of the first Japanese girls sent by the Japanese government to be educated in the United States. Living together as sisters for the next eleven years, Alice and Sutematsu became very close.⁹ Alice Bacon also came to know Shigeko Nagai and Ume Tsuda, other members of the group of five Japanese girls who were sent to study in the U.S. along with Yamakawa. Yamakawa and Nagai later studied in Vassar College and Yamakawa became the first Japanese woman to receive a college degree. Later, those Japanese women played important roles in establishing women's higher educational system in Meiji Japan.

After the death of her father in 1881 and mother in 1882, Bacon decided to move to Virginia and dedicate herself to working for Hampton Institute. With her dedication and enthusiasm, she became one of the school's "most valued staff members."¹⁰ She taught economics and civics to prepare students to become good citizens. Her most significant responsibility was to teach the Bible in the Theology Department in order to train students as ministers.¹¹

In 1888, Ume Tsuda, who by that time was teaching at the Peeresses' school [Kazoku-Jo-Gakko] in Tokyo, invited Bacon to come teach at her institution. This was an exclusive school for daughters of nobility and imperial family, and as Bacon explained,

“one of the most conservative and anti-foreign of the Tokyo schools—a school for noble girls, under the management of the Imperial Household Department.”¹² Bacon took a year off from Hampton and sailed to Japan. Tsuda, Nagai (by the time Bacon arrived, she had become Mrs. Uriu, the wife of a high-ranking Navy officer of the Japanese government), and Yamakawa (now Marchioness Oyama, the wife of Marquis Iwao Oyama, the Minister of War), were all rejoiced to see their old friend from their girlhood. It was during this year that Bacon wrote letters which were later published in *A Japanese Interior*.

Bacon returned to teach at Hampton Institute in the fall of 1889. Ten years later, she returned to Japan for the second time. This time she left for Japan to help Tsuda, who was trying to found an English school for women, which later came to be known as Tsudajuku-Daigaku. Bacon lived with Tsuda again, and taught at the school without receiving salary, while supporting herself by teaching at different institutions in Tokyo, such as Woman's Normal School.

When she returned to the United States in 1902, Bacon did not return to Hampton. Rather, she lived in New Haven and also Holderness, New Hampshire, where she opened a retreat named Deephaven Camp. It was a site where her friends could get together and spend a cool summer, while enjoying a life surrounded by nature. Until her death at the age of sixty in 1918, Bacon spent her days writing and lecturing on Japan, doing church activities, and running the camp.

III. Celebrating the Beautiful Tradition

Having taught in prominent women's schools in Meiji Japan and published three books and many articles on Japanese society, Alice Bacon became known as an authority of Japan and Japanese women in the United States. *A Japanese Interior* was her second book, and although it was less popular than her first book, *Japanese Girls and Women* (1881), it was favorably accepted by the American audience.¹³ As it was written in a form of letters, the book shows dimensions of her personal life and experience as well as her thoughts more directly than *Japanese Girls and Women*, which the author called “a study” and tried to maintain a balanced perspective.

Although *A Japanese Interior* was Bacon's account of her personal experience in Japan, it also reflected her concerns and interest she felt in the American society. Specifically, Bacon seemed to have been interested in critiquing the rapidly modernizing American society that was losing its old values and tradition by invoking Japan and

drawing an image that seemed antithetical to the condition in the United States.

In *A Japanese Interior*, Bacon presented to her audience a relatively undeveloped and yet gentle world where women occupied main roles, something quite different from the contemporary American society. Japanese society, she wrote, was polite, sincere, simple, and domestic, thanks to their women. In describing Japan, Bacon paid particular attention to the aspects of pre-modern culture in Japan as well as the Japanese craftsmanship and simplicity. Such an emphasis on the traditional aspects of Japan suggested her doubts about the advancement of the civilization not only in Japan but also in the United States. While she was contributing to the process of westernization of Japanese culture by teaching young female students English so that they may not only become more cultured but also have careers of their own, she seems to have been quite ambivalent about the modernization of Japan in general.

In fact, Bacon wrote about traditional aspects of Japanese culture favorably throughout the book and praised the women in particular. She was especially impressed with the politeness of her female students. “The first thing that one notices after American schools,” she noted, “is the absolute absence of discipline, or of any necessity for it.”¹⁴ She continued,

The pupils are all so perfectly lady-like that politeness restrains them from doing anything that is not exactly what their teachers or superiors would wish them to do...Though the old nobility may be run out physically and mentally, their sense of honor is something wonderful, and the feeling of *noblesse oblige* is so strong that they scorn all petty meannesses as something not in keeping with their rank.¹⁵

Bacon attributed the beauty and sincerity of their politeness to the legacy of the years prior to Japan’s contact with the western world. She came to be particularly interested in some of her students whose families and ancestors “were famous in
6 Japanese history long before Columbus discovered America,” and thought that these girls were polite because “[s]omehow the centuries of honor in which the families have been held have told upon the daughters, and they are ladies in the finest sense of that much-abused word...”¹⁶

The politeness Bacon had known in America was something a person learned through living in and learning in a civilized society, particularly in the advanced (and

white) civilization. Many etiquette books were being published in the United States at the time, primarily targeted at young white women so that they can act in accordance with the norms prescribed by the civilized modern society. When she saw the “historically inherited” gentle manners in the supposedly less-advanced Japanese culture, however, Bacon seems to have become uncertain of what a “perfect civilization” was.¹⁷

Bacon also wrote in detail about traditional furniture and artifacts used in the households in Japan. About a month after she arrived in Tokyo, she went to buy “a fine hibachi, or charcoal brazier, and a pretty copper tea-kettle.” Beauty and simplicity of the artifacts impressed her very much. After she explained *hibachi* in great detail, she wrote that, “the arrangement is very far superior to an alcohol lamp...we are not bright enough to think of such a simple thing; and, besides, we like the more complicated and expensive ways better... all these Japanese contrivances is that they are so simple that it seems as if any one might have thought of them, and yet they answer the purpose much better than many of our modern conveniences and inventions.”¹⁸

Beauty and simplicity of the everyday tools in the household continued to impress her. Nine months after she had written about *hibachi*, she again wondered why Japanese could “keep on making the cheapest things so pretty.”¹⁹ The answer, she thought, was because “the instinct of beauty is so strong in the Japanese artisan that things come from his hands beautiful, whether he makes anything pecuniary by it or not.” She then wondered whether the “the instincts of the beauty” was the cause or the effect of the “gentleness and attractiveness of the common people.”²⁰ True, she still complained about their lack of Christian morality, but Japanese people in her eyes were “more gentle, more contented, more civilized” than American people.²¹

In the nineteenth century, “civilization” was usually considered by many in the Euro-American world to be the sole property of Western, Christian, and white culture. Moreover, this civilization was thought to be steadily progressing towards perfection, while non-civilized societies lagged behind and were fated to disappear in the age of the survival of the fittest. However, having seen the beauty of the politeness of the people and artifacts in Japan, Bacon began to realize that “the word ‘civilization’ is so difficult to define and to understand, that I do not know what it means now as well as I did when I left home.”²²

Before she had left for Japan, Bacon might have not been fully aware of her feeling of uncertainty about the continuing modernization in the American society. However,

having seen that this so-called less-advanced society possessed things that seemed far superior to what she saw in the United States, she became more aware of the problems produced by excesses of modern civilization. Japan provided her with new criteria to see her own society and made her understand the significance of the relative loss of the old virtues and traditions as well as the authority of old stock families, like the one of her own, in such a society. Writing on Japan enabled her to articulate such ambivalent sentiments about the rapidly changing society in the United States.

IV. Celebrating a Women's Community

In the previous section, I discussed that Bacon admired Japanese old customs and sensibilities as well as what seemed “primitive” and suggested how that admiration in fact implied her critique of the contemporary American society. In this section, I will analyze her representation of women's community she formed in Japan. Her emphasis on women's roles and the bond among women in Japan was, as with her admiration for Japanese craftsmanship, was a critical comment on the contemporary condition of the American society. Her attention toward women's role in Japan was response to a particular aspect of modernization in America that seemed to increasingly emphasize individuality and devalue the traditional notion of virtuous womanhood, a notion with which Bacon grew up and regarded important.

In *A Japanese Interior*, she wrote about her home in a very favorable manner as an idealized community of women. Although Japan was a male-centered society and going through a rapid modernization like the United States, by focusing on traditional, feminine, and domestic aspects of Japan, she showed an image that looked quite different from the contemporary American society.

The Japanese household Bacon lived in comprised of mostly women, although as I will discuss shortly, it had male servants, whose presence was significant.²³ Her family consisted of “three of us teachers in the Peeresses' School, three pupils in the same
8 institution, and two young girls living in the family for the sake of the culture, especially in English, to be derived from such society.”²⁴ The three teachers were Bacon herself, “Mine” (alias for Ume Tsuda), and “Mine's cousin, a dear little sweet-faced widow, the chaperon of our establishment,” whose real name was Masako Watanabe.²⁵ The widow and the other two unmarried women created a homely environment for their female students. It was a tight-knit world of women and Bacon learned much from her

Japanese “family.” At home, she learned Japanese customs as well as Japanese language. In their little garden, everyone watched and laughed together over Bacon’s first attempt to walk with Japanese clogs.²⁶ She attempted to write about Japan from the perspective of this kind of women’s world in Japan, although she admitted it was “much affected by passing through the medium of an American mind.”²⁷

But even though Bacon said that “[o]ur household was composed entirely of women,” there were in fact some men, particularly her male cook and servants, who played important roles in maintaining the household.²⁸ In fact, these male servants were Bacon’s favorite subjects in her letters.

It is worth noting that her depiction of these men characterized them more as feminine and “domesticated” figures, as if Bacon was trying to make sure their presence would not destroy the harmony of her all-female community. According to Bacon, her male cook was “a remarkably handy person about the house” and did all the domestic work. Cook San, as she called him, was “entirely honest, and a Christian,” and belonged to “the samurai class,” and was “well educated and read Chinese poetry for amusement.” “Imagine a cook in America,” she continued, “employing her leisure time over Horace or Virgil!”²⁹ This description suggests that the cook was probably once a samurai and had lost his employment in the upheaval of the Meiji Restoration. This man, who had once embodied Japanese masculine prowess, was now cooking for Bacon, just like many female servants in America. She depicted and treated him as a feminized servant who took care of domestic chores like many servant girls in the United States.

There were also coolies in charge of pulling rickshaws, a hard physical labor that required strong muscles. But Bacon described them not so much like men as domesticated animals. They were “very strong and fast, and seemed to be as fresh as two colts just feeling their oats...it seemed to me a good deal like riding a frisky horse with no bridle.”³⁰ Although Bacon came to favor one of the rickshaw men, she wrote of him as if he were a good horse that belonged to her. She said that her rickshaw was “drawn by my pet strong man, a perfect Hercules of a kurumaya [rickshaw-puller], who runs as fast as a horse, and drags me along as if I were a mere feather.”³¹ One day, she ordered a nice and costly rickshaw furnished “with my monogram painted on the lacquered panel at the back.” She also had her monogram embroidered on the favorite kurumaya’s coat between his shoulders and had her monogram also painted on “the paper lantern that he carries at night.”³² The initials visually declared her ownership

and power over this man whose sole use for Bacon was the same as that of a good horse. She was very content and felt “very fine as I ride about the city in my new equipage, and it is a great comfort to have a pleasant, strong man always at hand to take me anywhere at a moment’s notice.”³³

In Bacon’s letters, these male servants existed as assistants for creating an idealized female world. Bacon feminized and domesticated those men in her description, but her purpose was not to threaten the conventional manhood as the fearful caricatures of the New Women in the United States often did. Such a description of the servants as well as her family members suggests that Bacon emphasized and idealized the feminized feature of her domestic space. She implied that the traditional and virtuous aspects of the Japanese culture that seemed so attractive to white Americans like her owed much to the presence of women. It was the women who made such a valuable world possible.

Unlike most of the Western missionaries in Japan during this period who lived in a Western manner, Bacon was very much willing to live surrounded by various Japanese customs. She learned Japanese language, tried Japanese clogs, and enjoyed Japanese food. She even ate raw fish, which was notorious among Western visitors who considered the practice a form of savagery. She said raw fish “is really not bad after you have pocketed your prejudices.”³⁴ She also wore Japanese kimono often at home since “it is so comfortable and restful.”³⁵

It is important to note that, however, despite Bacon’s emphasis on the value of the traditional Japanese society and its women’s sphere, the space she occupied was not an entirely “Japanese” world. In fact, Bacon’s all-female world in Japan was a unique space where Japanese and western elements coexisted. First of all, their living space represented a unique aspect of their domesticity. She explained “[m]y home in Tokyo was a house—half Japanese and half foreign.”³⁶ They had two connected buildings. Bacon’s part was built “as the Japanese are pleased to call it in ‘foreign style,’—that is, with two stories, glass windows, swing doors...furnished after the manner common to
10 America houses.” A piazza led to the Japanese part where the floors were covered with “soft, white mats which form, not floor-covering only, but chairs, tables and spring mattress as well.”³⁷

Just like their house, their lifestyle also merged both Japanese and American aspects. The female (and feminized or domesticated) members of the household celebrated Christmas with many presents in hanging stockings “labeled each in English

and Japanese.”³⁸ A week after Christmas, they enjoyed the New Year by displaying Japanese decorations on their gate made by the cook.³⁹

What was unique about Bacon’s account, then, was that she drew a picture of the world that valued the Japanese tradition while justifying her non-Japanese presence in that world of tradition. One would think that her very presence in the old traditional Japan was the proof that such a world was being destroyed. Indeed, that was the contradiction that faced many antimodernists who searched for old Oriental objects to compensate for the loss they felt in the modernizing world.⁴⁰ However, Bacon managed to avoid that contradiction by happily admitting the possibility of fusion between the west and the east while also vigorously advocating the old tradition. And she argued that it was her position as a woman that enabled her to do so. She could insert herself easily in the Japanese society because the strong traditional bond of womanhood allowed her to identify herself with the Japanese women without fully destroying the old virtue of Japan.

This delicate positioning of her is indicated in an incident of a visit of two American men to her home. One day, she unexpectedly received two American guests, Dr. Phillips Brooks, a well-known Episcopalian Bishop, and Dr. William Neilson McVickar, a rector from Philadelphia.⁴¹ Their visit was a delightful occasion for Bacon but, at the same time, she felt that these American men seemed very “foreign” in her home. She said “[a]fter living for a year among Japanese, all foreign men seem enormous to me, so you may imagine the effect of those two particularly large men in my little parlor with its low doorway.”⁴² She had difficult time “to get over the fear lest they should bump their heads against the ceiling.”⁴³ Although they and Bacon were all Americans, in her multi-cultural domesticated woman’s space, the men seemed very foreign. The white men’s civilization, represented by the two doctors, seemed out of place in Bacon’s “Japanese” female world.

In the Preface to *A Japanese Interior*, Bacon explained that she wrote “simply a daily chronicle of events, sights, and impressions.... My thought throughout the work of editing these letters has been to preserve, so far as possible, without violating confidence, or that sweet seclusion that is so characteristic a feature of Japanese home life, the little touches of nature that make the whole world kin, and bring into one human brotherhood all races under heaven.”⁴⁴ Indeed, Bacon was convinced that she had understood Japan better than any other “average foreign resident in the East,”

because she was able to associate with “the most refined and cultivated of Japanese women” and also she lived in a Japanese household.⁴⁵ She proudly declared that “[f]oreigners may live in Japan for years and not see so much of real Japanese life as I have been able to see in the few months since I began housekeeping Tokyo.”⁴⁶

As she wrote her home life to explain Japanese nation, the title of her book, *A Japanese Interior* had double meanings. Bacon claimed that she was an *insider* to Japanese domestic life, and because of it, she was able to see inside the Japanese nation more deeply than any other Western visitors had ever done. The domestic life stood as a metaphor of the nation this book. *A Japanese Interior* was a book on Japan, but that Japan was represented by the author’s experience in a domestic sphere, where virtuous women took important roles and responsibility. In doing so, she significantly empowered women including herself.

Despite Bacon’s claim to writing about human “brotherhood” in *A Japanese Interior*, what she actually focused was on a strong bond of women’s community made by herself and Japanese women. The women’s sphere she carved out in Japan enabled her to regain the respectability of the bond of womanhood that was losing its authority of “True-Womanhood” in the contemporary American society.⁴⁷ This was made even more significant because the feminized sphere she described was neither American nor Japanese, suggesting the bond among women could be extended beyond the national boundaries. In this way, Bacon further idealized Japanese society by infusing her antimodernist impulse with a feminist perspective, although it was a feminism of a relatively traditional type.

V. Conclusion

In her later years, a simpler and more natural life-style compelled Bacon’s attention. She spent her time in Deephaven Camp, close to the lake and surrounded by woods, as much as she could. The idea of Deephaven Camp was, as an observer recently noted, derived from “an overriding impulse in America at the turn-of-the century: to look to nature for a spiritual grounding many found slipping away in their ever-quickenning daily lives.”⁴⁸ Bacon seems to have considered the camp as an ideal place to escape from industrialism and materialism, which seemed becoming stronger than ever. She did not allow automobiles to enter the camp during her life time, and people were encouraged to wear simple and plain clothes. Once asked what she would say if her guest wore silk clothes, she answered, “I should not say anything, but I might

tell you next year with regret that there was no room for you.”⁴⁹

Bacon's concern for the changing American society started many years before, and she expressed it in her writings on Japan. Her representation of Japan in *A Japanese Interior* could be read as an initial feeling of this antimodernist impulse that grew stronger in her later life. I also see it as a part of her feminist attempt in the sense that it tried to empower women through emphasizing the power of traditions and domesticity that sustained such traditions. The Japanese women's community in her writings may have looked foreign and exotic to her audience, but the readers, especially female readers, who shared her sense of ambivalence with modernity could sympathize with them because those women in Japan reminded the virtuous women of “true womanhood” who represented the Victorian values that were increasingly undermined in the rapidly modernizing American society.

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¹ Alice Bacon, *Kazoku Jiyogakko Kiyoshi no Mita Meiji Nippon no Uchigawa* [A Japanese Interior] trans. Akiko Kuno (Tokyo: Chuo-Koron Sha, 1994), 15.

² Jackson Lears labels these Northern white elites “antimodernists.” T. J. Jackson Lears, *No Place of Grace: Antimodernism and the Transformation of American Culture, 1880-1920* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1994).

³ Kathy Peiss, *Cheap Amusement: Working and Leisure in Turn-of-Century New York* (New York: Temple University Press, 1986), 6.

⁴ For biographical accounts of Leonard Bacon, see Theodore Davenport Bacon, *Leonard Bacon: A Statesman in the Church* by Theodore Davenport Bacon, edited by Benjamin W. Bacon (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1931); Hugh Davis, *Leonard Bacon: New England Reformer and Antislavery Moderate* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana University Press, 1998). For genealogy of Bacon family, Thomas E. Baldwin, *Bacon Genealogy: Michael Bacon of Dedham, 1640 and His Descendants* (Cambridge: Press of Murray and Emery Company, 1915).

⁵ Cora M. Folsom, “The Dixie Hospital: In the Beginning,” *The Southern Workman* (March 1926): 121.

- ⁶ Letter from Alice Bacon to Miss Hobbs, May 1, 1889. Bacon papers, box 2., Hampton University Archives, Hampton, Virginia.
- ⁷ Kathleen Anderson, "A Higher Standard and A Better Life: A History of Sentara Hampton General Hospital," Bacon papers, box 13, Hampton University Archives, p.2. This seems to be a published article, though the source is unidentified.
- ⁸ However, Bacon passed "the preliminary Harvard examinations for women" in 1880 and then "the advanced examinations of the same University in mental and moral philosophy and political economy" in 1881. Letter from Alice Bacon to Miss Hobbs, May 1, 1889.
- ⁹ For relationship between Alice Bacon and Sutematsu Yamakawa (Oyama), see Akiko Kuno, *Unexpected Destinations: The Poignant Story of Japan's First Vassar Graduate*, trans. Kristen McIvor (Tokyo: Kodansha International, 1993).
- ¹⁰ Robert Francis Engs, *Educating the Disfranchised and Disinherited: Samuel Chapman Armstrong and Hampton Institute, 1839-1893* (Knoxville: The University of Tennessee Press, 1999), 87.
- ¹¹ Mrs. Samuel Armstrong, et al, eds. *Deephaven Camp and Its Founder*. Privately published in Holderness, New Hampshire, in 1919. (No page numbers.) Also in Alice Mabel Bacon, *A Japanese Interior* (Boston: Houghton, Mifflin and Company, 1893), 80.
- ¹² Bacon, *A Japanese Interior*, v.
- ¹³ According to The National Union Catalog, *A Japanese Interior* went into sixth printing, while *Japanese Girls and Women* went into 13th printing. *The National Union Catalog Pre-1956 Imprints* (London: Mansell, 1977), 392-393.
- ¹⁴ Bacon, *A Japanese Interior*, 13.
- ¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 13-14.
- ¹⁶ *Ibid.*
- ¹⁷ Similarly, In *Japanese Girls and Women*, Bacon discussed the gentle manners of Japanese children. She observed that "[a] Japanese child seems to be the product of a more perfect civilization than our own." Alice Mabel Bacon, *Japanese Girls and Women*, Illustrated and Enlarged Edition (Boston: Houghton, Mifflin and Co., 1902), 15. Original work published in 1891.
- ¹⁸ Bacon, *A Japanese Interior*, 36-37.
- ¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 226.

²⁰ Ibid. For Bacon and her contemporary readers, beauty and simplicity of the domestic interior and objects were connected to the people's virtue as well as their civilization. It was not a coincidence that American domestic advisors promoted simple interior decoration at the turn of the century. Moralists often thought people's refinement and civilization were expressed by simplicity during this time. Many settlement workers also tried to beautify and simplify the tenement houses to civilize people. One advisor even wrote an article titled "The Gospel of Simplicity." Sarah A. Leavitt, *From Catharine Beecher to Martha Stewart: A Cultural History of Domestic Advice* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2002), 79. Bacon knew this kind of beautification movement in the United States and wrote, "in this country [Japan], there is not need of the various missions (flower missions and the like) which have been started in England and America to cultivate the aesthetic sense of the poor in the great cities; for here every poor man's table service is dainty and delicate in the highest degree." Bacon, *A Japanese Interior*, 226.

²¹ Ibid., 228.

²² Ibid, 228.

²³ Ibid., xii.

²⁴ Ibid., xii.

²⁵ Ibid., 5.

²⁶ Ibid., xi.

²⁷ Ibid., xiii.

²⁸ Ibid.

²⁹ Ibid., 99.

³⁰ Ibid., 17.

³¹ Ibid., 100.

³² Ibid., 123.

³³ Ibid.

³⁴ Ibid., 122.

³⁵ Ibid., 230.

³⁶ Ibid., vii.

³⁷ Ibid., viii-ix.

³⁸ Ibid., 92-93.

³⁹ Ibid., 99.

⁴⁰ Jackson Lears analyzes that intellectual elites in the nineteenth century who no longer could expect the comfort and respect that their family had enjoyed for generations in the modernizing American society sought various therapeutic effects to offset their sense of loss and anxiety. They particularly took an interest in Medieval culture, craftsmanship, mysticism, as well as Oriental culture. Lears, *No Place of Grace*.

⁴¹ Born in Boston, Phillips Brooks (1835-1893) was from a distinguished New England family. His biographer says that he “was a moralist and antimodernist who preached to the hopes and consciences of individuals. As a result, he has been claimed by both conservative evangelicals and by liberal Christians.” John F. Woolverton, “Brooks, Phillip,” *American National Biography*, online. <http://www.anb.org/articles/08/08-00183.html>, retrieved on 19 April, 2003. William Neilson McVickar (1843-1910) was born in New York City and served long years in Philadelphia. McVickar’s biographer noted that he and Brooks were close friend. Gardiner H. Shattuck, “McVickar, William Neilson,” *American National Biography*, online. <http://www.anb.org/articles/08/08-00977.html>, retrieved on 3 May, 2004.

⁴² Bacon, *A Japanese Interior*, 230.

⁴³ Ibid.

⁴⁴ Ibid., xiii-xiv.

⁴⁵ Ibid., vi.

⁴⁶ Ibid., 123.

⁴⁷ See Barbara Welter, “The Cult of True Womanhood: 1820-1860” in Lucy Maddox ed., *Locating American Studies: The Evolution of a Discipline* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1999), 43-66.

⁴⁸ Megan Thorn, *Roots and Recollections: A Century of Rockywood-Deephaven Camps* (Holderness, NH: Rockywood-Deephaven Camps, Inc., 1997), 23.

⁴⁹ *Our Spirit’s Home: Rockywood-Deephaven Camps, Founded 1897: A Chronicle*. A booklet. privately published in Holderness, NH, in 1985. (No page numbers.)

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