Japan and Twentieth-Century United States-Japan Relations as Reflected in the Holdings of The Seeley G. Mudd Manuscript Library, Princeton University

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The Seeley G. Mudd Manuscript Library houses Princeton University's twentieth-century manuscripts dealing with public policy. Its strengths are in American history, particularly foreign policy, civil liberties, and the American role in third-world development. Of note are the papers of Bernard M. Baruch, Albert Einstein, James V. Forrestal, George Kennan, John Foster Dulles, Justice John Marshall Harlan, Adlai Stevenson, and George McGovern. The Library also houses three major and continuing archives: The American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU), Common Cause, and Princeton University. Once the project to publish the Papers of Woodrow Wilson is complete, the Library will also maintain the most complete set of Wilson correspondence in the world.

Early Twentieth-Century

Given the preeminence of these figures, one is not surprised that the Library holds a variety of materials for the study of Japanese-American relations. For the early twentieth century two manuscript collections are of critical importance: the Robert Lansing Papers and the John Van Antwerp MacMurray Papers. Robert Lansing, of course, served as Woodrow Wilson's Secretary of State. Lansing negotiated the Lansing-Ishii Agreement of 1917 (and its secret protocol) which sought to ratify continuation of the Open Door policy during and following the war, to uphold the territorial integrity of China, and yet to recognize a Japanese "special interest" in China. His files contain memoranda for the fourteen meetings Lansing conducted with Viscount Kikujiro Ishii as well as press releases, news clippings, and correspondence, in particular with regard to Chinese reaction to the agreement.

Lansing's diaries and notes from the Paris Peace Conference following World War I are also revelatory in terms of his conversations with Wilson regarding Japanese claims and the League of Nations. They include a number of attacks on Colonel Edward M. House

1This paper was presented at the Panel "Legacies from the Past: Library and Archival Resources for the Study of China and Japan in New York State and Northern New Jersey" at the Mid-Atlantic Region/Association for Asian Studies Nineteenth Annual Meeting at Rutgers University, October 20, 1990.

2Although this paper focuses on the Mudd Library's holdings for Japanese-American relations, one should note that the collection is stronger for China. This paper also deals solely with Mudd Library holdings, but observe that the Firestone Library at Princeton maintains materials relating to pre-twentieth-century Japan (including papers of missionaries and educators, the Papers of John W. Foster relating to the Sino-Japanese War, and various codexes) and Ezra Pound's translations of Japanese dramas.
and Lord Arthur James Balfour for undermining the Fourteen Points through concessions to Japan. The diaries also reflect Lansing's racism as seen in remarks on the differences between the white and yellow races. Finally, Lansing's files contain a modest number of records relating to the Japanese participation in the expeditionary force in Siberia from 1919 to 1922.

During the Wilson administration, John Van Antwerp MacMurray served in the Peking and Tokyo embassies. Subsequently he was Chief of the Division of Far Eastern Affairs, Assistant Secretary of State and Ambassador to China. MacMurray's diaries and letters to his family document his years abroad in great detail. The papers include the William Howard Taft memorandum of conversation with Prime Minister Taro Katsura in 1905 granting Japanese control over Korea and material related to the Anglo-Japanese Alliance of 1902 and the Kiaochow-Shantung agreement at the Paris Peace Conference.

The Library is especially strong for materials relating to the Paris Peace Conference. Bernard Baruch's Papers include a major record series on his participation in the conference. The Papers of Woodrow Wilson and Ray Stannard Baker should also be consulted in regard to the conference.

Between the World Wars

For the period between the wars, the research potential is not as strong. One would want to consult the papers of founder and longtime editor of Foreign Affairs, Hamilton Fish Armstrong, for this and later periods. Unfortunately, MacMurray's tour as chief of the Far Eastern desk at State is poorly documented in his papers, but his files do contain much relation to the 1924 Immigration Act, including pamphlets prepared by the Commission on Relations with the Orient of the Federal Council of Churches, the Pacific American League, the Japanese Association of America, and the Japanese Exclusion League of California. The ACLU Archives also contain some material related to this legislation.

Albert Einstein's visit to Japan in 1922-1923, including a diary, lectures, correspondence and clippings, is available. The records and writings of journalist Herbert Adams Gibbons based on his visits to Japan are valuable for his views on Siberia, Sakhalin, the Nikolaevsk affair, and the 1923 Tokyo earthquake. His papers also include a number of publications by the National Committee on American-Japanese Relations.

For the period before World War II, the Papers of Brooks Emeny and William W. Lockwood, Jr. have been little used. Lockwood served as research secretary and later executive secretary of the Institute for Pacific Relations. Much of his work during these years deals with the relationship between the Japanese and United States textile industry and the importance of Japanese-American trade. Lockwood's continuing interest in Japan is also reflected in his later career with the Office of Strategic Services during World War II, the State Department, and the Woodrow Wilson School at Princeton.

Economist Brooks Emeny served as a consultant to the State Department and was otherwise active in a number of foreign affairs organizations during his career, most notably as a director of the Institute of Pacific Relations. His files on conferences, minutes, reports, publications, lectures, and studies by the Institute provide valuable documentation of that organization's role in shaping American foreign policy in the prewar years.
World War II

For the war period, the papers and diaries of James Forrestal provide insight into such questions as strategic bombing and the use of the atomic bomb and plans for the surrender, occupation, and future of Japan. Another useful document available in the Library is the Board of Economic Warfare's "Basic Data on the Japanese Mandated Islands: Marianas, Carolines, Marshalls" issued in April 1943.

One interesting sidelight on the Japanese surrender is the secret Japanese peace initiative in the spring and summer of 1945 through Allen Dulles, the Office of Strategic Services chief in Switzerland during the war. Two approaches were made. Dr. Fritz Hack, a German national who had lived in Japan for a number of years, served as intermediary between Japanese diplomats and Dulles via Gero von S. Gavevornitz. The Japanese also approached Dulles through Per Jacobson, a Swedish banker who knew Dulles well. All of this is documented in the Allen Dulles Papers.

The Archives of the American Civil Liberties Union contain much during the war on the treatment of Japanese and Japanese-Americans including case files on alien deportations, enemy alien rights, and the Japanese-American internment. The ACLU's interest in the latter proved to be a continuing one involving postwar attempts to obtain compensation for loss of property and freedom that run to the present. The ACLU Archives also documents the close working relationship between the ACLU and the Japanese American Citizens League.

Post-World War II

Following the war, at the invitation of the War Department and General Douglas MacArthur, the ACLU's director, Roger Baldwin, toured Japan and Korea for three months to study civil liberties. The Roger Baldwin Papers include interviews with Generals MacArthur and John R. Hodge, Emperor Hirohito, Prime Minister Tetsu Katayama, and a number of Japanese political and labor leaders. His memoranda, notes, and final report are generally favorable, although he notes problems with censorship of mail to Japan, restrictions on Japanese-American marriages, and immigration and naturalization problems. The ACLU Archives reflect many of these same concerns for this time period, along with a growing desire by the organization to make a commitment to international efforts in the area of civil liberties and human rights. There is also material relating to the Japanese War Crimes trials.

While the Forrestal Papers and a number of George Kennan's lectures between 1947 and 1953 provide background on United States' strategy with regard to Japan in the postwar era, nothing so galvanized and focused that strategy as the Communist revolution in China. Truman and Acheson quickly determined to conclude a peace treaty with Japan regardless of Soviet concurrence and asked John Foster Dulles to negotiate the peace. Dulles files on the peace treaty, signed in 1951 and ratified the following year by the Senate, are an invaluable resource for Dulles' approach to the negotiations and his political strategy to produce bipartisan assent to its final terms. The files include memoranda, correspondence, speeches, press conferences, and private discussions with small groups of opinion leaders like the Council of Foreign Relations.

Of particular value on the peace treaty and Dulles' service as Secretary of State is the John Foster Dulles Oral History Project which was conducted in the early 1960s. Fifty-two of the 175 participants in the project provided reminiscences on some aspect of Japanese-American relations, including such topics as the Girard Case, the Japanese-
United States Mutual Security Treaty, withdrawal of American troops from Japan, Japanese rearmament, and Japan's relationships with a variety of other East Asian states. Those interviews include Foreign Ministers Aiichirō Fujiyama and Katsu Okazaki and Prime Ministers Nobusuke Kishi and Shigeru Yoshida.

A collateral collection for this same period that has been little used is the Papers of H. Alexander Smith, Republican Senator from New Jersey and member of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee (serving on its Far East Subcommittee and chairing that subcommittee in 1953-1954). Alarmed by the situation in Asia, Smith toured Japan in September and October of 1949. The records of that tour include memoranda of conversations with many individuals, including MacArthur, and a lengthy final report. Smith's diaries should also be consulted, although some portions are restricted. Smith's files on the treaty itself are voluminous but poorly organized. They include another trip to Japan with other committee members in December 1951 and a sound recording of the signing ceremony in San Francisco. Two other important resources for this time period are the Papers of Livingston T. Merchant who was Deputy Director for East Asian Affairs, 1949-1951, and later an important advisor to Dulles at the State Department, and of Karl Lott Rankin, American ambassador to Nationalist China.

After the signing of the treaty, the papers of Dulles, Smith, Merchant, and Rankin are less focused on Japan, but virtually any matter relating to American foreign policy in relationship to Japan will be covered in these papers--most notably the 1954 Mutual Defense Agreement, the Manila Conference of 1955, and the Specialist 3 William S. Girard case regarding jurisdiction for crimes committed by servicemen overseas (for which the Justice Harlan Papers provide the Supreme Court's reasoning and arguments). Scholars should know that the Mudd Library not only houses the Dulles' personal papers, but also the Dulles Oral History Project, copies of Dulles' State Department files at the Eisenhower Presidential Library, a set of restricted microfilm of State Department documents filmed during the Dulles secretoryship, and the soon-to-be-acquired Ann Whitman-John Foster Dulles file. One should note also that one of Dulles' chief assistants during the first Eisenhower term, John Allison, was subsequently named ambassador to Japan, and his correspondence with Dulles should be reviewed. Another possible resource for the Eisenhower years is the Adlai Stevenson world tour in 1953 which included a stop in Japan.

**Other Sources and Finding Aids**

Finally, I would be remiss if I did not mention the extremely valuable secondary resources available at the Mudd Library in the form of Princeton senior theses, master's theses, and doctoral dissertations, all of which are housed in the University Archives. The Woodrow Wilson School's unpublished Policy Conferences and other publications are another source for the study of Japan that are housed in the Archives.

All of the resources mentioned in this paper, and more on a litany of topics, may be accessed at the collection level through the Research Libraries Information Network available at most academic libraries. In addition, the recently published *Guide to Modern Manuscripts in the Princeton University Library* (in two volumes) provides the same access in book form. You may also dial up the LITMSS manuscript catalog which is constantly updated regarding information on all Princeton Libraries manuscript holdings at both the collection, folder, and item levels by calling (609) 258-2850. There are few folder and item level descriptions for the Mudd Library, but the Library does have extensive finding aids for most of the collections. Access to the manuscripts catalog is provided through "folio" and there is no charge for searching.