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JAPANESE COLLECTIONS LOCATED OVERSEAS AS INTERPRETED FROM A LITERACY HISTORY PERSPECTIVE*

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Introduction

It is generally assumed that the justification for the existence (raison d'être) of Japanese collections built overseas is to provide the world with information on Japanese culture, science and technology. Using circulation data for the material within these Japanese collections, we can analyse library usage patterns from the perspective of literacy history. This approach has been developed by Prof. Atsuhiko Wada in his award-winning book *Shomotsu no Nichi-Bei kankei* [The Japan-US Relationship Viewed from Book Circulation: Toward a Literacy History]¹⁻⁵. However, in this paper I would like to take up some issues besides those handled in Prof. Wada's book. In these pages I propose an advancement in the study of literacy history that could include not only printed materials but also other media representing a wide range of intellectual and creative activities of human beings, suggesting that the conventional notion of literacy history should be interpreted much more broadly than in the studies of book circulation and collection building that have been done up to this point.

1) A New Development of the Literacy History of *The Tale of Genji*

The year of 2008 marked the one thousandth anniversary of the writing of *The Tale of Genji* by Murasaki Shikibu at Ishiyamadera Temple, a famous historical site near Kyoto. Various events commemorating *The Tale of Genji* were organized not only in Japan but also in many other countries of the world. In Canada, for example, in August 2008, the Cheng Yu Tung East Asian Library of the University of Toronto organized an exhibition of both picture-scrolls and the texts of *The Tale of Genji* under the theme of "A Millenium Exhibition of *The Tale of Genji*." At the University of British Columbia, the UBC Museum of Anthropology and the Canadian Society of Asian Arts, as part of the programme Asian Illuminations 2008, sponsored a public lecture by Prof. Joshua Mostow of the Asian Studies Department under the title "*The Tale of Genji* and Making of Modern Japanese Femininity" on October 19, 2008. The same two organizations also presented "Enchantment of Genji: Music Inspired by Poems from *The Tale of Genji*" at the Japanese-Canadian National Museum and Nikkei Heritage Centre, Burnaby, B.C. on October 25, 2008. Lastly, in Toronto, the Library of the Japan Foundation Toronto Office organized an exhibition entitled "A Millenium of *The Tale of Genji*: Colour and the Four Seasons in Japan a Thousand Years Ago," which ran from October 27 to December 19 of 2008. This exhibition explored the fascinating world of life and love in the aristocratic Heian Court of *The Tale of Genji*, displaying how the taste of the court was expressed through colours and images of the four seasons. The highlight of the exhibition was the naturally dyed fabrics used in the Heian period and samples of Juni-Hitoe (twelve layered ceremonial robes worn by court ladies). In addition, the exhibition presented various paintings depicting scenes from *The Tale of Genji* and selected library books on *Genji*.

The Tale of Genji, which is often called the first novel in the world, not only fascinated the aristocrats of the Japanese Imperial Court in the Heian period (795-1185), but also had great influence on the commoner culture in the Edo period (1600-1868). On the one hand *The Tale of Genji* played a role in satisfying the elite literary interests of the aristocrats, and, on the other hand, it also helped improve the literacy of Edo commoners mainly through the pictorial versions of the *Genji* story (Eiri Genji-bon), which were very

*This is a revised English version of my original Japanese article,³² which appeared in *Riterashi shi kenkyu* [Journal of Literacy History], No. 2, 2009.

popular and widely available from private lending-book libraries (Kashihonya). Edo commoners, having received a basic education at Temple Schools (Terakoya), could easily read these popular versions of *Genji*, and in the end, their love for this story raised the level of their culture. Seen from the perspective of literacy history, the high literacy rate of the common people that was achieved in the Edo period through the popularity of such texts as *The Tale of Genji* was a driving force in the swift construction of modern Japan after the Meiji restoration in 1868, when Japan abandoned the seclusion policy and opened her doors to the World.

It is widely accepted by fine arts scholars in Japan that so many beautiful pictorial versions of *The Tale of Genji* were created not only to represent the aesthetic values of the aristocrats in the Heian period (795-1185) but also to symbolize the knowledge and authority of the samurai in the Age of Wars (1493-1573). During this era war-lords such as Oda Nobunaga and Toyotomi Hideyoshi used to display colourful scrolls depicting various scenes of *The Tale of Genji* in their main rooms. They viewed them in order to calm their minds after the excitement of battle. This way of appreciating pictorial versions of *Genji* may also be seen as representing the harmony of the two main components of Japanese culture, the graceful feminine aspect (taoyame-sei) and the masculine aspect (masurao-sei). Fine-art historians have asserted that an equal balance between feminine and masculine aspects is a particular feature of Japanese culture. In other words, as observed in the taste of the warriors in the Age of Wars, the identity of Japanese masculinity itself has included a strong feminine component. The late Prof. Kaori Chino of Gakushuin University set forth an idea⁶ like this with respect to the issue of gender⁷ in *The Tale of Genji*. This theory first puzzled me, but after thinking it over I agreed. Thus it could be said that a new way of reading books and/or of appreciating visual materials can also lead to opening up a new perspective in literacy history. It is important to keep this perspective in mind within the framework of literacy history when studying how books are read and collected. Therefore, a comprehensive study of literacy history should consider not only text materials as its research object but also visual materials. We must deal with all the products of creative intellectual activity. Otherwise we cannot expect an advancement of the study of literacy history.

2) Japanese Collections in the U.S.A.

When an American publisher publishes a new book, they are required to deliver two copies of the book to the Library of Congress (LC). This is a legal depository. For its part, LC is required to take care of the depository book by preserving it permanently in good condition and making it available to US congressmen and citizens whenever a request for it is made from them. Thus the Library of Congress serves the needs of the U.S. Congressmen as well as American citizens in its primary capacity as the national library of the U.S. However, LC is also open to the people of the world and also collects foreign books from abroad. The grand total of LC holdings was approximately 30,000,000 volumes as of June 2007. Of these, 1,160,000 volumes were Japanese language books. This is the largest overseas Japanese Collection in the world.

The LC Japanese Collection dates back to 1867, when the second mission of the Tokugawa government to the United States paid its official visit to Washington, D.C. and presented a gift of Japanese books to LC. 2008 marked 150 years since the "Treaty of Amity and Commerce between the United States and Japan" was signed at the Ryosenji Temple in Shimoda on July 29, 1858. Recently LC discovered many old maps entitled *Zen Nihon zu* ("Map of All Japan") surveyed by Ino Tadataka (1745-1818), famous cartographer at Edo. These maps had been unknown, buried among many unprocessed materials at LC. This discovery of Ino Maps in the US was a great surprise to Japanese map librarians and cartographers. These old maps are very accurate and show the high standard of Japanese mathematics, astronomy, and cartography in the Edo period (1600-1868). Their publishing technique also demonstrates a sophisticated advancement over the wood-block printing technique of the old days, which allowed much more information to be delivered on a single map just as in modern maps. Thus, the maps also represent a significant development in literacy history.

At the University of British Columbia, the Rare Books and Special Collections Room (RBSP) at Irving K. Barber Learning Centre of UBC (formerly Main Library) has preserved many original maps of Japan made by the old wood-block print method during the Edo period (1600-1867). This collection is generally called

“Bean’s Collection⁸⁻⁹ of old Japanese maps” after the name of the original collector, the late George H. Beans, President of the Seeds Company in Philadelphia, U.S.A. This prominent collection is well known among collectors of antiquarian maps around the world. From these old maps of Japan, various kinds of information can be gleaned, not only topographical and geographical data such as the length of each main road and total square miles of each province, but also economic information such as the volume of rice production in each fief. Thus, they provided valuable economic data on the gross national production of Edo Japan. Here is another case where visual materials other than books are also important for the literacy history of the Edo period.

Another example of a large collection of Edo maps in an overseas collection is the one held by the University of California at Berkeley, which purchased the former collection of old maps of Japan belonging to the library of the Mitsui Corporation, one of big Japanese industrial conglomerates in the pre-war days. It was sold to UC Berkeley in the late 1940s, when the break-up of big industrial groups such as Mitsui, Mitsubishi, Sumitomo and others was ordered by the General Headquarters of the Supreme Commander for Allied Powers (GHQ-SCAP) during the Occupation Period of Japan (Sept.1945-April 1952). UC Berkeley has approximately 1,500 Edo maps. The Rare Books and Special Collections room at the University of British Columbia has about 920 such maps¹⁰. Although the UBC collection is smaller than the collection at UC Berkeley, the late Prof. Unno Kazutaka, Professor Emeritus of Geography at Osaka University, who came to UBC RBSP in order to evaluate Bean’s Collection in 1985, asserted that UBC Collection was qualitatively better. He based his opinion upon his observation and comparison of these two Collection of Edo maps, during which he found more rare specimens in the UBC collection than in the UC Berkeley collection. For example, one item, a “Map of the World,” produced in the mid-seventeenth century, exists in only two extant copies, one of which is at UBC and the other of which is in the Kobe City Museum.

Japanese Collections at American Institutions were mostly built up in the post-war days in order to support Japanese study programs encouraged by the US Government in the Cold War period between the USA and the USSR. There are approximately fifty US Japanese libraries large and small. Among these the sixteen libraries whose total holdings are more than 100,000 volumes are considered to be the major collections¹¹.

When the Pacific War broke out on December 7, 1941, high officials at the US Department of Defense and Department of State were shocked to find that they had minimal library and information resources on Japan at their disposal and very few people in the USA were able to read and analyze Japanese written materials. As this was a very serious national security issue in wartime, they promptly established Japanese language schools for both the Army and Navy, recruiting first-class university students with a talent for foreign languages, in order to quickly produce intelligence officers. Upon graduation, these information officers were dispatched to the front line of the Pacific Campaign where they engaged in questioning Japanese POWs and deciphering captured military information. During the Pacific War period, the use of English was prohibited in Japan because it was the language of Japan’s enemy, whereas, as we have seen, the U.S. recognized the importance of an enemy language (Japanese) and opened a Japanese school so that expertise in that language could be of strategic benefit to the US. Thus, there was a significant gap in perception of an enemy language between the two countries with respect to mutual literacy history perspective. In the post-war era, many of the military intelligence officers transferred to the private sector and many became academics in the field of East Asian studies. Moreover, during the tense Cold War period, the US Government provided rich scholarship funds for language study and area research in fields of strategic interest to the USA. Accordingly, many Japanese Studies experts emerged in the US as a result of this financial support. In addition, the above-mentioned Japanese collections at major US institutions flourished in the post-war era, as well as mutual exchange programs between American and Japanese intellectuals, which often included the exchange of library books. These Japanese collections played an important role as foundations of the Japan-US cultural exchange programs. They are open not only to academic people but also to members of the general public.

The following are a few examples of how, when, and from whom some major American institutions in the national, public, and private sectors acquired and built up their Japanese Collections in the post-war period.

As noted above, the Library of Congress holds the oldest Japanese Collection in the United States. LC collected Japanese books in the pre-war period under the management of Dr. Shiho Sakanishi, Head of its Oriental Division. Their Japanese Collection at that time numbered 32,000 volumes; in the post-war era it increased rapidly through the acquisition of the various collections described below.

The Japanese Collection (12,000 vols.) of the Japan Institute (Nihon Bunka Kaikan), a private organization directed by Mr. Tamon Maeda in the late 1930s to 40s in New York, was under the management of the US Bureau on the Custody of Enemy Property during World War II due to the policy of freezing enemy assets during the Pacific War period, and the whole collection was temporarily transferred to the Columbia University Library. After the War the collection was purchased by the Library of Congress. LC had further received 270,000 volumes of Japanese books and other materials confiscated by the GHQ-SCAP in occupied Japan after they were reviewed by the Washington Documentation Center. The details of this acquisition are as follows: A few months after the end of the Pacific War, the Washington Documentation Center (WDC) dispatched their group for collection of Japanese materials to Tokyo, where they confiscated approximately 500,000 volumes/pieces of Japanese books, journals, documents, and other materials under the control of the authorities of the GHQ-SCAP. Every weekend these materials were sent to WDC by military air-cargo from US military bases in occupied Japan to Washington, D.C. Upon receipt, these materials were checked against the holdings of the Library of Congress (LC). Duplicate copies were distributed to mainly US universities without charge. This large amount of Japanese materials transferred from Japan to the United States in the post-war period contributed to the increase of holdings of Japanese Collections at the East Asian libraries of these academic institutions. Phrasing it another way, we could say that a huge number of Japanese books were moved to many US academic libraries as an American national information strategy under the administration of US military organization. This project deserves special mention in a literacy history of the Japan-US relationship viewed from book circulation. Later the WDC was dissolved into the National Archives and merged with the Library of Congress.

The entire 100,000 volume holdings of the library of the Tokyo Branch of the South Manchurian Railway Company Limited, including their renowned think-tank Research Department's books, journals, reports, papers, and other miscellaneous documents, were transferred to the Library of Congress through the Washington Documentation Center. The library (50,000 vols.) of the Mitsubishi Heavy Industry Company Limited was transferred in the same fashion. This process of moving big Japanese collections to the U.S.A. was possible because of good library management and operation of WDC and LC, which were then responsible for acquisitions and distributions of confiscated Japanese materials. According to the late Prof. Edgar Wickberg of the History Department of UBC, he once served in the Allied Translator and Interpreter Section (ATIS) of GHQ and worked in the Nippon Yusen Kabushiki Kaisha (N.Y.K.) building in 1946, which was converted to military offices of ATIS right after the War. At that time ATIS was engaged in not only translation and interpretation but also documentation of confiscated Japanese materials by GHQ and was responsible for shipping them to WDC.

The collection of Japanese materials—books and pamphlets (71,000 titles), periodicals (1,3799 titles), newspapers (18,047 titles), news photographs (10,000), maps (640), posters (90) and other archival materials—confiscated and censored (1945-49) by the General Headquarters of the Supreme Commander for Allied Powers in Occupied Japan (1945-52) was transferred between 1949 and 1951 to the University of Maryland (UM). The entire undertaking was planned and proposed by Gordon W. Prange, Prof. of History at UM and Head of the Civil Censorship Detachment of GHQ. Later the collection was officially donated to the UM Library and in 1978 the University named the collection the Gordon W. Prange Collection: the Allied Presence in Japan, 1945-52, in recognition of his distinguished contribution to the GHQ-SCAP. The Collection is presently under the care of Ms. Eiko Sakaguchi, Curator. She has published a bibliography of education books¹² in the Collection and her staff has been systematically cataloguing unprocessed materials. Mr. Eizaburo Okuizumi, presently at the University of Chicago library and former curator of the Prange collection, also compiled a list of periodicals¹³ censored by GHQ, preceded by his bibliographical introduction. Such excellent bibliographical aids by these efficient librarians allow easy access to the Collection by researchers. Generally speaking, Japanese collections in U.S. universities are stronger in the humanities than social sciences, but in the Prange Collection, social science materials exceed the humanities. Thanks to Prof. Prange's foresight and intelligence, valuable original materials from the post-

war history of Japan have been permanently preserved in the Prange Collection in the Hornbake Library of the University of Maryland, College Park, MD, with easy accessibility for visiting library users by subway from the U.S. capital, Washington, D.C. These are essential research materials for the study of a literacy history of post-war Japan.

Aside from the above-mentioned national and state institutions that acquired Japanese materials from confiscation under the administration of the Occupation authorities in Japan, other private and state university libraries acquired their Japanese collections through purchase.

Stanford University, a prominent private institution in California, started collecting Japanese materials by opening the Tokyo Office of the Hoover Institution and Library right after the Pacific War. Herbert Clark Hoover (1874-1964), then assistant professor at Stanford, first established the Hoover Library in 1919. It was reorganized in 1946 and expanded to be a research institution of public policy. It is now a prominent private peace research institution and is officially called the Hoover Institution on War, Revolution and Peace, and is named for Herbert Hoover, the thirty-first President of the United States (1929-1933). The total holdings of the Stanford Japanese Collection as of June 2007 was approximately 180,000 volumes.

Stanford built up the Japanese collection of their Hoover Institution by collecting through their Tokyo Office. It is mainly social sciences materials in political science, economics, sociology, and cultural anthropology—books, journals, newspapers, documents, films and other visual materials collected from both right-wing and left-wing organizations. It is noteworthy that they even collected Kamishibai (street theater for children) and school textbooks, which were useful for a literacy study on juvenile education of Japanese boys and girls in the post-war period. Japanese people who experienced the Pacific War have fond memories of Herbert Hoover, because it was he who saved their lives in the difficult period. Right after the War, Hoover toured Japan. Observing the serious shortages of food and clothing, he quickly made an arrangement with the US government to send supplies of the needed goods to rescue war-worn Japan in 1947. A primary school meals program also was begun in the same year, which saved many malnourished children. His initiative was remembered with much appreciation by Japanese as the program of the Government Aid and Relief in Occupied Areas (GARIOA). He wrote inspection tour reports very critical of the Allied occupation policy, which resulted in realizing the above rescue program for the war-battered Japanese people. Despite their lives of great hardship, many Japanese who were cut off from reading because of the war eagerly went to look for books in second-hand book stores in the Kanda Book District of Tokyo as soon as the war was over. This story has been told from the immediate post-war days to today and shows the intense appetite of Japanese for knowledge. This deserves special mention in the history of literacy in post-war Japan.

The University of California at Berkeley, a state-run institution, first organized a co-operative acquisition system of Japanese books with their neighboring academic institutions such as Stanford and others located in the same West Coast region. Avoiding duplication as much as possible, they tried to build up their Japanese collection focusing on history and literature, with particular emphasis on classical Japanese literature. They successfully increased their holdings by purchasing the former collections of the Mitsui Library—100,000 volumes of Chinese, Japanese, and Korean classics as well as Edo maps—which were on sale by Mitsui & Company through the dispersal of Japanese big industries as one of the Allied Powers post-war reform policies for Japan. The total holdings of the Japanese collections (June 2007) at the University of California Berkeley C.V. Starr East Asian Library was about 360,000 volumes.

The East Asian Library of the University of Pittsburgh received a donation in 2003 of approximately 65,000 volumes of Japanese books on Japanese banking, finance and economy in the twentieth century from Sumitomo-Mitsui Bank, Tokyo. The books had been originally collected by the former Mitsui Bank for their Institute of Banking and Financial Research (est. in 1928). This donation enhanced not only Pittsburgh's holdings but also whole collections on Japanese Studies in the US, in particular works of pre-WW II materials in the social sciences. American collections of Japanese books have always favored the humanities; therefore, this donation helped achieve a balance. In this sense, this can be evaluated as a high point in the "Literacy History" of the Japanese collections in the US. Sachie Noguchi, former Japanese Bibliographer at Pittsburgh (presently at Columbia), made arduous efforts to realize this big

project of the Mitsui donation. The total holdings of the University of Pittsburgh Japanese Collections as of June 2007 was approximately 120,000 volumes.

There are many other institutions which also have major Japanese Collections (statistics as of June 2007), such as Harvard (295,000 vols.), Michigan (290,000 vols.), Columbia (278,000 vols.), Yale (251,000 vols.), Chicago (209,000 vols.), Hawaii (128,000 vols.), and Ohio State (106,000 vols.), which because of limited space I will omit. Among them, the University of Michigan established their Okayama Field Station, 1950-55, similar to Stanford's Tokyo Office, and vigorously collected Japanese research materials. Those who are interested in these institutions should refer to Prof. Atsuhiko Wada's *Shomotsu no Nichi-Bei kankei*¹.

In summing up the previous paragraphs, one common characteristic of a literacy history is that each of the Japanese collections in the United States was built up mainly by the effort of a Japanese librarian through making painstaking book selection within a limited annual budget over many years since 1945. This is the main acquisition method of any Japanese library regardless its mother institution's status, national, state, or private. The other way of increasing the holdings of the Japanese collections in the US—through military acquisitions from Occupied Japan and major donations from Japanese organizations—were occasional and minor events from an overall point of view.

3) Establishment of The Japan Library School

Mr. Don Brown, Head of the Information Division of the Civil Information and Education Section at the GHQ-SCAP, whose duties were concerned with publication and libraries, made the initial proposal to open a library school in post-war Japan because at that time library education for professional librarians at the university level did not exist. In April 1951 the Japan Library School¹⁴ (JLS) was successfully established at Keio University with financial assistance from the GHQ-SCAP, teaching support from North American faculty members, and course materials and library resources supplied by the American Library Association, with Japanese staff members and using the school facilities of Keio University. This can be seen as an educational reform among the democratization policies of the post-war Japan by the GHQ-SCAP. However, behind it we can see a long-range post-war information strategy of the U.S. Government to solve a national security issue from the last war, i.e. a lack of Japanese information resources. Such concomitant circumstances can be interpreted from a literacy history perspective. Many graduates of the JLS are now working or formerly worked at Japanese libraries in the United States. This shows the success of the long-range national information policy intended by the US Government with regard to the establishment of the Japanese collections in the USA. The author is one of these JLS graduates. Mr. Eizaburo Okuizumi, Japanese Librarian at the University of Chicago is a JLS graduate, as well. He described the opening ceremony¹⁵ of the JLS in a journal interview, which I quote below:

In early 1950 the GHQ-SCAP planned to open a library school in Japan in order to produce professional librarians for new American style open-stack libraries to be built in various cities all across Japan. Among a few candidate institutions, Keio was selected as the best possible one. Support from the State Department and the Defense Department (Pentagon) was vital in funding as well as were teaching materials and faculty from the American Library Association. According to JLS records, the national anthem of the USA was played by a US military band at the opening ceremony of the JLS.

Playing the national anthem symbolized a celebration prelude/overture of inaugurating the ship of the post-war US national information policy and also best wishes for future successful development of her Japan-American line.

4) Foreign Bibliophiles' Book Collections on Japan and the Japanese

Some of the Japanese collections located overseas are legacies of former private collections of long-time foreign residents in Japan who loved collecting books on Japan and the Japanese. A few such good book

collections are those of William E. Griffis (1843-1928), English teacher in the Japanese Government service (Oyatoi Gaikokujin), now kept by the Special Collections Division of Rutgers University Library, New Jersey; the Hawley Collection at the University of Hawaii in Honolulu, which is composed of books on the Ryukyu Islands (Okinawa) originally collected by Frank Hawley (1906-1961); private documents of Sir Ernest Satow (1843-1929), British Minister to Japan during the early Meiji period (1868-1912), now at the Public Record Office in London, and the Japanese classical books collected by him and now kept by Cambridge University Library; the Chamberlain Collection of Basil Hall Chamberlain (1850-1935), author of *Things Japanese: Being Notes on Various Subjects Connected with Japan (1890)* and *Practical introduction to the study of Japanese writings (Moji no shirube)* (1905), kept by Aichi University of Education, Kariya City; the Siebold Collections, composed of many Japanese traditional stitched-binding books, fine art objects of Japan, and samples of Japanese fauna and flora, which were originally collected by Franz von Siebold (1796-1866) while he was serving on Dutch Trading House at Nagasaki as its medical officer, and which are now on display at Siebold Huis in Leiden, Netherland. Other old Japanese materials collected by early Jesuit missionaries (1549-1630) from Portugal and Spain, and also by foreign teachers engaged by the Japanese Government in the Meiji period (1868-1912), who were from Europe and the U.S.A., are scattered and their whereabouts are not well known. The literacy history research on these collections has not yet been conducted. In particular, whereabouts of the Japanese Collections located in East Europe, Scandinavia, and the far eastern areas of Russia are unknown, although some history books have noted limited existence of Japanese books in these countries since the eighteenth century. Fact-finding field research on these Japanese collections is expected to be conducted by young scholars and librarians in the future.

As for a typical book-lover's collection on Japan (mainly in English) by an American and preserved in Japan, the Don Brown Collection¹⁶⁻¹⁸ is a good example. The collection has been well taken care of at Yokohama Kaiko Shiriyokan (Yokohama Archives of History). Don Beckman Brown (1905-1980) was a long-time foreign resident in Japan. In the pre-war days he was active as a journalist of *The Japan Advertiser*, one of a few English language newspapers for foreigners residing in Japan. During the Pacific War period he was engaged in producing anti-Japan war posters at the United States Office of War Information to be used as a psychological war strategy against the Japanese people. In the post-war days he served as Head of the Information Division of the Civil Information and Education Section for the GHQ-SCAP. He was also President of the Asiatic Society of Japan (ASJ) as well as Editor-in-Chief of its *Transactions of ASJ* for many years. The journal was established at the Yokohama Foreign Settlement in 1871 with the aforementioned Ernest Satow and B. H. Chamberlain as editors. Since Don Brown was an avid collector of books on Japan and the Japanese written in English, from a point of view of a literacy history, it is worth noting the value of his book collection and archives.

In the early Showa period (around 1925) Jiro Shirasu also was working as a reporter of *The Japan Advertiser*, predecessor of the present *The Japan Times*. He was a Cambridge graduate and once served on the Liaison Office of the Foreign Ministry between the Japanese Government and the GHQ-SCAP. He was a perfect speaker of Oxbridge English and played an important role as a special adviser to then Foreign Minister, Shigeru Yoshida and also a liaison officer with GHQ, when the post-war new constitution of Japan was being made in 1946-47. Since he went to England to study right after graduation from middle school in Kobe, his Japanese was not ever fluent, but his King's English was perfect. There was an interesting episode that, when he was negotiating with GHQ, one of their high American officials praised his excellent command of British English, upon which Mr. Shirasu responded to him that you could also master it if you try hard. He was a man of discipline and also one of a rare few with such English language ability among Japanese in the post-war days.

As described previously, Don Brown was an initiator and planner of the Japan Library School (JLS). I inquired of the Yokohama Archives of History about any historical documents and/or records with regard to the opening of JLS in their Brown Collection. However, their reply was negative. One of the urgent items of post-war US national information policy was to build up Japanese collections and to employ professional librarians able to handle Japanese language materials, an aspect of literacy history learned from their bitter experience of very limited Japanese information resources during the Pacific War. Brown often discussed this with his long-time friend, Robert E. Kingery, a librarian at New York Public Library. From the correspondence¹⁹ between them, researchers can deduce the outline of the above national information

plan of the USA. Furthermore, behind Brown's initiation of a library school in Japan we can see the long-range national intelligence strategy of the US government. This also is significant in a literacy history, in which it is important to analyze ongoing facts and events to identify what is hidden under the surface.

5) Japanese Collections located Overseas under Japanese Legal Administration

The present status of the many Japanese collections once located in overseas territories under Japanese legal administration in the pre-war period, such as South Saghalien (Sakhalin) (1907-45), Manchuria (1932-45), Kwantung Leased Territory (1905-45), Chosen (Korea) (1910-45), Taiwan (1895-1945), and South Seas (Pacific) Islands such as Northern Mariana, Parao, Marshall, Micronesia under mandate by the League of Nations (1920-45), is unclear. Little research has been done on them yet. Some known cases are discussed below.

The South Manchurian Railway Company Ltd. (Mantetsu, 1906-45) originally built up its Central Library at Hoten (Shenyang) in the pre-war days; the complete collection of a variety of Mantetsu publications has been reorganized in the post-war era as the Mantetsu Historical Archives at Changchun by the Academy of Social Sciences of Jilin Province, People's Republic of China (PRC). The Research department of Mantetsu, which published most of these printed materials in the Collection, was considered at that time to be the first class think-tank dealing with a wide range of subjects in economics, political science, commerce, sociology, history, culture as well as science, technology and medicine of China, Japan, Korea, Manchuria, Mongolia and Russia in the first half of the twentieth century. An incomplete collection of Mantetsu publications can be found in the following libraries: LC, Washington, D.C., NDL, Tokyo (Microfilm edition of LC's collection), Mantetsu Archives at Dalian of the Academy of Sciences, PRC, Heilongjiang Provincial Library at Ha'erbin and Tianjin City Library. This present situation of the Mantetsu Collection well proves its significant historical literacy value in China, Japan and the U.S.A.

However, detailed research by Japanese librarians and scholars on the status quo (quantity and structure) of these former Japanese collections is still wanting. Likewise, Japanese research has yet to be done in fieldwork of literacy history on government, academic, and commercial publications in these areas, as well as the libraries that collected them. As preliminary research in this area, the author has tried to learn the pre-war state condition of South Saghalien (Sakhalin) through searches on Google, with the following results: As of 1941: Population, 400,000; Media: 13 newspapers and several radio stations; Education, 1 Medical College, 2 Teacher's Colleges, 6 Boy's High Schools, 8 Girl's Junior High Schools, many Primary Schools, etc. From these statistics, we can conclude that the social structures for daily lives in terms of Japanese literacy were well established.

Further research on social condition of South Saghalien (Sakhalin) could lead to the discovery of various commercial and industrial activities relating to literacy history there. For instance, the main industry of Saghalien was pulp and paper making by utilizing deposits of local coniferous forests, which reseeded themselves every 30-40 years. They supplied pulp and paper products to print and publication companies, media and advertisement agencies, distribution companies, educational organizations, community centres and libraries, and so on. From this we can see that paper and literacy are closely associated. The Japanese population of other overseas areas was larger than that of Saghalien except for the South Pacific Islands, and dissemination of Japanese language and literacy were sufficient. Research on literacy histories of libraries, museums, and fine arts galleries are expected to be conducted at the same time. Then, a wide perspective of the development of the Japanese language communication community in the pre-war days will be able to be culturally identified in a literacy history.

If historical field research on positive aspects of social infrastructure such as railroads, highways, dams, generation of electricity, power lines, telephone and telegram lines, city planning, education facilities and so on, that Japan once constructed in her overseas territories from 1895 to 1945, is jointly conducted with people of each country today in the historical context of reconciliation for the past and peace-making for the future, new mutual understanding and good-will will be firmly established.

We really hope that young lovers of learning, Japanese or non-Japanese, with fresh constructive minds, will take up the challenge of these new projects. Then we can expect to see a light at the end of a long tunnel of the last war one day in the future, when there will be a new development and prospering of literacy history as well as a realization of a peacefully co-existing world community through a literacy history.

6) E.H. Norman, a Canadian diplomat and a Japanologist

Lastly I would like to describe the E. H. Norman collection, a private collection of books and documents which were donated to the UBC Library in 1961 as a bequest from the estate of the late Egerton Herbert Norman (1907-1957), by his widow, Irene Norman. The gift was composed of approximately 200 monographs on Japan and the Japanese and about 450 unbound journals, half in English and half in Japanese. Irving K. Barber Learning Centre (formerly UBC Main Library) houses English monographs and periodicals, and Norman's letters and other archival materials are kept in its Rare Book and Special Collections Room²⁰. The Asian Library houses Norman's collection of Japanese books and journals.

E. H. Norman, the second son of a Canadian missionary, was born in Nagano, Japan, and grew up playing freely with Japanese country children. He was a lover of peace with deep affection for lesser-known people. He became an outstanding Canadian diplomat and a prominent Japanologist. Immediately after the war, in August 1946, Norman was posted to Tokyo as Head of the Canadian Liaison Mission (later he became Minister). At the same time he was appointed to work for the Counter Intelligence Corps of the GHQ-SCAP as Head of its Research and Analysis Section. Unfortunately, when he was serving as Canadian Ambassador to Egypt, on April 4 1957, he committed suicide, a victim of McCarthyism, which destroyed many intellectuals in North America in the late 1950s, because of his academic interest in Marxism and his participation in student movements at Cambridge in the 1930s. Later, the Canadian government gave Norman an official examination and declared that he was loyal to his mother country. The complete works²¹ of E.H. Norman in Japanese was published by Iwanami Shoten, Tokyo, in 1989 in four volumes. As yet no complete version of Norman's English works has been published. In 1979, responding to an inquiry from Prof. Roger Bowen, an authority on E.H. Norman, regarding Japanese books that once belonged to him, I compiled a list²² of about 100 volumes of books in Japanese donated by the Norman Family (about 80 % Japanese history, 10 % Japanese economy and 10% Japanese law and politics). If the list is useful to any researchers on Norman, a copy of it is available from the Rare Books and Special Collections Room at UBC. If a researcher would examine books from Norman's former private collection and archives more carefully, I am sure that they could make new discoveries about Norman's literacy from his works, judging from the heavily used condition and multiple notes and comments jotted on pages and in the margins of many of his former books. It may lead to a new research field of literacy history.

Norman's first book, *Japan's Emergence as a Modern State*²³ (1940), based on his PhD thesis at Columbia, was a valuable academic work, which reflected his profound analysis and interpretation of Japan. Prof. John Dower, an American scholar of Japanese history at MIT, has said in his book²⁴ that Norman's book ". . . was courteously shelved by his American successors and was ignored and little used in the classroom by some American universities during the McCarthy period in the 1950s," a sad Cold War chapter on politicized scholarship in the U.S. As a librarian I regret that such censorship of an academic work ever happened in a democratic country like the United States. In Canada Norman's book has been highly evaluated in academic institutions, and UBC Press re-published the 60th year anniversary edition²⁵ of his *Emergence* in 2000. Here we can see a big chasm between Canada and the US concerning a literacy perception of Norman's first scholastic book.

The ultimate goal of librarians who are engaged in collecting, preserving, and providing books is to eventually contribute to the peaceful co-existence of world peoples through free distribution of knowledge and information as the result of human creativity and intelligence. We librarians believe that this would be a new development of literacy history with its many facets of publication, media, books and reading, free expression and communication.

7) Japanese Collections in Canada^{2 6}

Major Japanese collections in Canada are found at the University of Toronto (U of T) and the University of British Columbia (UBC). The Cheng Yu Tung East Asian Library at U of T has the largest collection (167,000 vols.) and the Asian Library of UBC has the second largest (148,000 vols.)²⁷⁻²⁸ as of June 2007. UBC is the Canadian depository centre of Japanese Government Publications (JGP), and is one of 15 full depository libraries of JGP in the world designated by the National Diet Library (NDL) in Tokyo, Japan. This depository designation is based on reciprocal international exchange of the central government publications of each country involved in this program. The NDL was granted the same status as a full depository library of the Canadian federal government publications printed in her official languages, English and French. In North America, the Library of Congress is the only other such full depository of JGP. Bibliothèque et Archives Nationales du Québec at Montreal in Canada and the State of California in the U.S.A set up a gift exchange program of their provincial and state publications with selected JGP between them and the NDL. According to guidelines of the exchange, Centre d'études de l'Asie de l'Est, Université de Montréal (UM), and the C.V. Starr East Asian Library of the University of California Berkeley were assigned to receive shipments of selected JGP from the NDL, Tokyo. Since the mid-1970s Centre d'études de l'Asie de l'Est, Université de Montréal (UM) has been building up its Japanese Collection (approx. total 17,000 volumes: 7,000 vols. in Japanese and 10,000 vols. in English and French as of 2009) with the help of Japanese librarians with French language ability dispatched by the National Diet Library, Tokyo. Since their University's official language is French, their Japanese books must also be processed according to their French system (Romanization and assigning subject headings). In the literacy history of North America, where English is dominant, the presence of these Japanese items catalogued in French is unique. For this reason they need assistance from the NDL. One of a dozen such NDL librarians up to the present time is Norihiro Kato²⁹, who served at UM from 1978 to 1982 and was a regular attendant of the AAS-CEAL annual conference during that time. Later he became an academic and also a topnotch literature critic. He is now teaching modern Japanese literature at the School of International Liberal Studies of Waseda University. He has been active as a Japanese literature critic at the same time and has been a recipient of the prominent Ito Sei Award of Literature Criticism and several other similar awards. He also was in charge of the *Bungei Jihyo* [Comments Column on Contemporary Literature] of *Asahi Shinbun*, one of five leading national newspapers in Japan, from April 2006 to March 2008 and is the author of about thirty books. The spring of 2009 he was in residence at Princeton University as a visiting Professor of contemporary Japanese literature. Seen from a literacy history perspective, his movement from a being librarian to a faculty member is an example of a constructive intercourse between these two academic fields both intimately involved with books and reading. It should also encourage more co-operative interdisciplinary research and study between them in the coming years.

Closing Remarks

What is a primary reason that the national library of each country in the world such as the Library of Congress in the USA, the British Library in the UK, and the National Diet Library of Japan, collects not only their own country's publications but also foreign books published in other countries and builds up each of their national collections? The first purpose is to accumulate enough information resources for the benefit of their own citizens and to utilize them for the development and prosperity of their own countries. The second purpose is to establish an international global community through the presentation of information about each country's culture and science and also to promote mutual understanding and good will. Global international exchange programs of government publications are based upon this goal.

This rule also can be applied to the justification of the existence (raison d'être) of Japanese collections built overseas. Thus, pondering the significance of Japanese collections located abroad is a noteworthy approach in a literacy history. In this paper I have analyzed concrete cases of literacy history. Further detailed literacy history studies await the investigation of many more librarians and scholars. We hope that such interdisciplinary, cooperative research will prove fruitful.

When I had nearly finished writing a draft of this paper, I happened to encounter the book *Popular Literacy in Early Modern Japan*³⁰⁻³¹ by Richard Rubinger. Because of limitations of space in this paper, I cannot go into detail about this interesting, stimulating book. However, I found the following points made by the author with regard to a literacy history contrary to my own study. Rubinger claims that though it is commonly asserted that there was a high rate of literacy in Japan in the early modern period (1600-1912), in fact the figures do not necessarily support such a conclusion, because rudimentary literacy did not spread everywhere in Japan, and pockets of illiteracy always remained, although he admitted that basic education had reached even poor farmers in remote regions through the medium of Temple Schools. This raises a question about the generally recognized historical notion of the “high literacy” of Edo commoners and deeming this a significant factor contributing to building up the modern Japanese state in the Meiji era (see the paragraph beginning at the bottom of page 21), with which I agree. I hope that future research on a literacy study of Japan will be able to clear up this debated aspect of Japanese literacy.

What I have written above are my brief thoughts³² as a librarian on a literacy history of Japanese Collections located overseas, mainly those in North America. As for the Collections to be found in Asia, Europe, and the Southern Hemisphere, I hope upcoming researchers will investigate and make reports about them in the near future. Comments and suggestions from all are welcome.

As can be learned from the example of Norihiro Kato, from now on CEAL should encourage our scholar librarians to make more bridges between librarians and faculty and to promote further interactive academic exchanges between them. These make more work for busy scholar librarians, but it is an honorable and necessary service. In administration, too, CEAL used to have a faculty member on its executive committee in the early 1970s. Faculty members have been invited to sit on the standing committee of the North American Coordinating Council on Japanese Library Resources (NCC) since its establishment in the 1980s. CEAL also has always invited scholars to its annual conference, e.g. Atsuhiko Wada was a guest speaker at the 2008 meeting.

In closing, judging from my conversation with Norihiro Kato, and books by Richard Rubinger and Atsuhiko Wada on literacy history, I foresee that the study of literacy history from now on will be expanded into all the fields of human intellectual activities, compared to the present limited category of “library and books.” I wish all who are involved in literacy history projects all the best for further development and prosperity of their research and study.

Lastly, as you can see in the Notes below, I try to write in both English and Japanese as much as possible, following the Canadian national multi-language policy. This is a good practice in the literacy history of multi-ethnic and multi-cultural Canada.

NOTES

1) Atsuhiko Wada. *Shomotsu no Nichi-Bei kankei: Riterashi shi ni mukete* [The Japan-US Relationship: Viewed from Book Circulation toward a Literacy History] (Tokyo: Shinyosha, 2007).

This book received the following three prominent Japanese publication awards:

- i) The 2007 Award of the Japan Society of Library and Information Science
- ii) The 2008 Award of the Japan Society of Publishing Studies
- iii) The 2008 Yushodo Gesner Award

2) Tsuneharu Gonnami. "Waseda Daigaku Wada Atsuhiko Kyoju UBC toshokan homonki," *Vancouver Shinpo*, Vol. 30, No. 7, February 14, 2008, pp.18-19.

3) Tsuneharu Gonnami. Review of *Shomotsu no Nich-Bei kankei: Riterashi shi ni mukete* [The Japan-US relationship viewed from book-circulation: toward a literacy history]. Atsuhiko Wada. Tokyo: Shinyosha, 2007. *Journal of East Asian Libraries*, No. 146, October 2008, pp. 95-98.

4) Tsuneharu Gonnami. "Waseda University Prof. Atsuhiko Wada's visit to UBC Libraries, Part I," *Bulletin of the Greater Vancouver Japanese-Canadian Citizens Association*, October 2008, pp. 7-8.

5) Tsuneharu Gonnami. "Waseda University Prof. Atsuhiko Wada's visit to UBC Libraries, Part II," *Bulletin of the Greater Vancouver Japanese-Canadian Citizens Association*, November 2008, pp. 11-13.

6) Kaori Chino. "Nihon bijutsu no jenda," *Bijutsu-shi*, No. 136, March 1994.

7) Fusae Kawazoe; Kokubungaku Kenkyu Shiryokan, ed. "Heian bunka to jenda," *Jenda no seisei: Kokinshu kara Kyoka made* (Kyoto: Rinsen Shoten, 2002), pp. 70-73.

8) George H. Beans. *List of Japanese Maps of the Tokugawa Era* (Jenkintown [Pa.], Tall Tree Library Press, 1951-53). 4 volumes.

9) Frances M. Woodward. "300 Years of Japanese Tourism: A Look at the Collection in the University of British Columbia," *WAML Information*, Vol. 24, No. 3 (1993), pp. 161-174.

10) Tsuneharu Gonnami. "Images of Foreigners in Edo Period Maps and Prints," *Journal of East Asian Libraries*, No. 116, 1998, pp. 5-18.

11) "Holdings of East Asian Materials in North American Institutions," *Journal of East Asian Libraries*, No. 144 (Feb. 2008), pp. 44-45.

12) Akemi Noda and Eiko Sakaguchi ed. *Merirando Daigaku Toshokan shozo Godon W. Purange Bunko kyoiku tosho mokuroku: senryo ki kenetsu kyoiku kankei tosho 1945-1949: Guide to the Gordon W. Prange Collection: occupation period censored books 1945-1949: the University of Maryland Libraries* (Tokyo: Bunsei Shoin, 2007).

13) Eizaburo Okuizumi, ed. *Senryogun kenetsu zasshi mokuroku: kaidai - Merirando Daigaku zo - Showa 20 nen - Showa 24 nen*. (Tokyo: Yushodo Shoten, 1982).

14) Robert Gitler, and Michael Buckland, ed. *Robert Gitler and the Japan Library School: An Autobiographical Narrative* (Lanham, Maryland, and London: The Scarecrow Press, 1999).

15) Eizaburo Okuizumi, Personal Interview. "Okuizumi Eizaburo-san: Shikago Daigaku Toshokan Nihon kenkyubumon shunin shisho," *Brilliant People [Kagayaiteiru hito]*, Vol. 26, 2008.

16) *Yokohama Kaiko Shiriyokan shozo Don Buraun Korekushon shoseki mokuroku (Don Brown Collection: a catalog of books)* (Yokohama: Yokohama Kaiko Shiriyokan, 2004).

17) Yokohama Kokusai Kankeishi Kenkyukai, ed. *Zusetsu Don Buraun to Showa no Nihon: Korekushon de miru senji, senryo seisaku* (Yokohama: Yurindo, 2005).

18) Kanami Nakatake. "Don Buraun no mohitotsu no kao - Nihon kankei tosho no shushu." Refer to pp. 107-114 of #17 above.

19) Kanami Nakatake. "Don Brown and E.H. Norman - From Don Brown Letters" *Yokohama Kaiko Kinenkan Kiyō*, No. 19, 2001, pp. 103-149.

Note: 54 letters written in 1945-46 from Brown mainly to his best friend, Kingery. These are valuable historical materials that can tell us about occupation policies and their implementation. Detailed examination of their correspondence might lead to a new discovery of the post-war literacy history previously buried in the past. Brown met Shigeto Tsuru and Gitaro Hirano, post-war intelligentsia in Japan, through Norman's introduction.

20) Tsuneharu Gonnami. "Norman from a Librarian's Perspective," in *Japanese Communication Program, ed., Between Cultures: a Selection of Public Lectures: 1900-2000* (Vancouver, B.C. Japanese Culture and Communication Program David See-Chai Lam Centre for International Communication, Simon Fraser University at Harbour Centre, 2000), pp. 171-174.

21) Genji Okubo, ed. *Zoho Habato Noman zenshu*. (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1989). 4 volumes.

22) Tsuneharu Gonnami. "E. Herbert Norman and Japan: Hero of an International Tragedy: From the Perspective of a Custodian of Norman's Collection of Japanese Books," Lecture given at Simon Fraser University, Harbour Centre, April 18, 1999.

Note: The folder of E.H. Norman materials prepared for this lecture contains the following:
List of Gift Books in Japanese from the Family of Dr. Herbert Norman ...
Rare Books and Special Collections Pamphlet File. UBC Main Library: SPAM 24835

23) E. Herbert Norman. *Japan's Emergence as a Modern State: Political and Economic Problems of the Meiji Period*. (New York: International Secretariat, Institute of Pacific Relations, 1940).

24) John Dower, ed. *Origins of the Modern Japanese State: Selected Writings of E.H. Norman* (New York: Random House, 1975), p. 31.

25) E. Herbert Norman and Lawrence T. Woods, eds. *Japan's Emergence as a Modern State: Political and Economic Problems of the Meiji Period*. 60th Anniversary Edition. (Vancouver, B.C.: UBC Press, 2000).

26) Two articles on Japanese Collections in Canada previously appeared in earlier issues of the *Journal*: Tsuneharu Gonnami, "Japanese Collections in Canadian Libraries," *Bulletin of the Committee on East Asian Libraries*, No. 89, February 1990, pp. 24-32; and Tsuneharu Gonnami, "Canadian Japanese Studies Librarians Library Colloquium," *Journal of East Asian Libraries*, No. 121, June 2000, pp. 41-43, although the statistics in them are now obsolete. I hope that one day in the near future these articles will be updated by a new researcher.

27) Tsuneharu Gonnami. "Japanese Collections at UBC Libraries: A Retrospective Overview (1959-2002)," *Journal of East Asian Libraries*, No. 131, 2003, pp. 51-67.

28) Tsuneharu Gonnami. "Buritissu Koronbia Daigaku Toshokan Nihongo zosho kaiko gaikan(1959-2002)," *Daigaku Toshokan Kenkyu* [Journal of College and University Libraries], No. 79, March 2007, pp. 53-61.

29) Norihiro Kato. "Dai toshokan no chiisana hanashi 2: Montorioru no yujin," *Chikuma*, No. 450, September 2008, p. 78.

30) Richard Rubinger. *Popular Literacy in Early Modern Japan* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i, 2007).

31) Richard Rubinger, and Hajime Kawamura, trans. *Nihonjin no riterashi (1600-1900)* (Tokyo: Kashiwa Shobo, 2008).

32) Tsuneharu Gonnami. "Kaigai zai Nihongo zosho o riterashi shi no shiten kara yomitoku," *Riterashi shi kenkyu* [Journal of Literacy History], No. 2, 2009, pp. 43-56.