

**A Mathematician Abroad:  
Professor Fujisawa and the American Press  
in 1922**

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(Draft)

## Abstract

A quarter of the third volume of *Collected Works of Rikitaro Fujisawa* is devoted to his American lectures in the year of 1922 at the Williamstown Institute titled as *The Recent Aims and Political Development of Japan*. This paper tries to give approaches to evaluate the impact of his lectures through the twenty-four photocopies of American press's reports of his speeches. While it is concluded that the press did a seemingly admirable job of reporting on his lectures, we point out messages disregarded in the press. He had hoped his series of lectures might serve to help Americans better understand Japan and the Japanese government. Though his voice proved to be too small to have any major effect on public opinion in the United States his efforts, in retrospect can be appreciated.

## Introduction

As we move into the beginning of the 21 century, Japan and the United States of America have moved near the 150th year of their usually peaceful but at times troubled relationship. These countries, so important in the modern world, have historically had a difficult time in developing a sense of understanding the other's culture and it is our belief that at times the media has played a role in the problem of developing cultural understanding between the two nations and their peoples . This lack in understanding, of course, can lead to the development of friction, or increase the friction between the nations, making the development of an enduring and trusting friendship between the nations problematic.

In 1922, as the traditional European powers and America struggled to learn the lessons of what is now known as the First World War, Japan was seen by many in Europe and America as rising to a point of military predominance in North East Asia. Some in the western world, feeling threatened by this rise in Japanese power, were voicing warnings against Japanese militarism and Japan's apparent policies of militarism and expansion. During this period Prof. Rikitaro Fujisawa -a recently retired University of Tokyo professor of mathematics- was invited to give a series of lectures that might serve to help Americans better understand Japan and the Japanese government. Fujisawa, though ill at the time and described in the American press as "...one little, quiet, elderly man, in spectacles, a professor, an invalid, who had made the whole journey of thousands on thousands of miles from Tokio ..."[1] accepted the invitation to visit America that he "might tell America what Japan really is and how she feels toward this nation (The United States),"[2] and gave a series of six lectures at the Williams Institute of Politics where the audience consisted of professors, statesmen, journalists and other interested members of the American populace. In this paper we will briefly discuss Prof. Fujisawa's life and achievements; give a report of his speeches and finally show how the reporting of his speeches in the American press was far from complete. And, instead of promoting understanding as Fujisawa wished, show how the press could have without intent helped to increase the feelings of mistrust extant at the time between the Japanese and American peoples.

## 1 Academic Life and American Lectures

Prof. Rikitaro Fujisawa was born in 1861 in Niigata as a son of a direct vassal of the Tokugawa shogunate. In 1878 he entered the University of Tokyo, Faculty of Science, where he studied physics, and graduated 1882. After graduation he was ordered to England and Germany to complete his education. In 1886 he obtained a doctorate by presenting a thesis on the infinite series applying function theory to Strassburg Kaiser-Wilhelm University. He returned from overseas in May, 1887, and in the next month was appointed as a professor of the newly built Faculty of Mathematics, University of Tokyo. He held his seat till 1921, having reached the traditional retirement age, and in 1922 he delivered the American lectures discussed in this paper. In 1924 he was appointed as a member of Peers. He finished his distinguished life in 1933.

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In his youth Fujisawa lived in Niigata, a harbor which had been appointed as one of the open ports in the trade contracts with America, Holland and etc. His father studied Dutch and English and had taken service in Tokyo for the Ministry of Home Affairs, as a director of the Bureau of Temples and Shrines. His relationship with bureaucrats through his father, familiarity with foreign languages, which were rarely possible for a youth to learn at the time, combined with the opportunity to stay in western countries for an extended period would be important in his ability to make the lectures abroad discussed in this paper.

Besides the professional fields of mathematics and mathematics education he had poured his efforts into a special area, the establishment of the Japanese insurance industry. There have been many mathematicians that have referred to his insurance achievements but unfortunately without any comments regarding his foreign lectures.

One of the authors tried to evaluate the first life table published by Fujisawa in 1888, which to summarize; Fujisawa might have thought that he needed a purely Japanese life table based on the western tables and with some distance reflecting the power level of the nation.[3]

His American lectures were arranged by Kijuro Shidehara, who was appointed as ambassador to America in 1919 and was an ambassador plenipotentiary of the disarmament conference in Washington in 1921. Shidehara reflected that he recommended Fujisawa for the Political Institute as he had read his “Reflections on Japanese international affairs” which was handed over to Takaaki Kato, a friend of Fujisawa and whom later became the prime minister of Japan in 1924[4].

Harry Augustus Garfield, a son of President James Abram Garfield, started a summer lecture at the Williamstown Political Institute in 1921 financially supported by Bernard M. Baruch, a business executive, and the first lecturer was James Bryce.

In 1922 arrangement was carried out to invite Georges Clemenceau, John V. Morley, Yan Hui-Qin and Fujisawa but they could not appear and, with the exception of Fujisawa, and they were later replaced on the schedule.

Fujisawa left Yokohama on the Taiyomaru on July 4, 1922. He was accompanied by Mr. Chimaki Kageyama, a graduate of Clark University and a professor of Waseda Kotou-Gakuin. Mr.Kageyama acted as his personal assistant during the lectures. Furthermore, due to Fujisawa’s ill health he was accompanied by Dr. Tohru Hayashi, who acted as his personal physician. The Institute “defrayed the travel expenses of one person other than the lecturer.”[5] His lecture *The Recent Aims and Political Development of Japan* was published from the Yale University Press and is included in a collected works.[6].

According to his writing he was invited to deliver a speech after the Williamstown lecture on September 15, 1922 at the Chatauqua Literary and Science Circle, where President Harding was to talk but due to a large scale alliance strike all plans of his appearing were canceled.

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Fujisawa prepared his complete manuscript which was to be published afterwards and would have been a very useful document for our work but unfortunately it was burned in the Great Kanto Earthquake of 1923.

Fujisawa reflected many times on the American lectures with some satisfactory feeling. He described his intention of the final lecture on August 23 as follows: "It is desperately hopeless to realize the assimilation of west and east, if the west waits submission of the east arrogantly and contemptingly. I am not saying that both of them should compromise but if the west steps out one tenth of the distance between them and the east nine tenth, it means provided the west has any possibility to make concession then there would be break out of the misfortune situation." "After the lecture an indian came to my room impressed strongly, grovelled on the floor, expressing his highest gratitude for my speech." [7]

We had four types of documents available for this study, a text of the lectures, the text of a speech his memory, a letter between the Japanese Embassy and the institute regarding travel arrangements, and the other is a collection of American newspaper clipping photocopies kindly sent to us from the Special Collection Library, Williams College, Williamstown, Massachusetts. A table in the appendix shows all headings of the press. Based on these documents we have tried to give some approaches to evaluate his American lectures not only his intention but also the sound which was passed to the American public by American journalists.

## 2 Lectures and Press

### 2.1 Messages reported and disregarded

What message did those in attendance receive? By looking at the writings of the journalists of the time that attended the lectures and interviewed Prof. Fujisawa it is possible to receive a clear picture of what those listening to his speeches thought were the important points in his lectures. The four main points of Professor Fujisawa as perceived by the journalists of the time were; possible Japanese militarism and expansionism; explaining the continued development of the Japanese Government; explaining the character of the Japanese people; and the meaning of Democracy as he believed it should be viewed. By reading his speeches it is apparent that the American press, although doing a fairly good job of reporting on his lectures, missed some

rather important points that Prof. Fujisawa was hoping to impart on those listening. (This is something that Prof. Fujisawa would have expected. He made the point of mentioning "the power of journalism and the need for journalists to provide unbiased accounts of events if the reader were to be able to properly formulate opinions on current events.") The points seemingly underreported on were; comparing Japanese activities in Asia to past activities of the Western powers in foreign countries; the differences between Japanese democracy and the western democracies due to inherent differences in the Japanese psyche and/or political reality; and perhaps most importantly --due to the fact that it consisted of background information essential to understanding of then present day Japanese political processes and thinking-- Prof. Fujisawa's discourse (the first four lectures) regarding the history of Japanese politics and political figures.

His first lecture on August 2, 1922 began with him thanking the Institute of Politics for inviting him to participate and then he briefly discussed civil courage quoting M.Clemenceau, that “there is courage as great as that of the soldier who dies for his country, and that is civil courage for which there is seldom any glory.” [8], and stating “...I am one of those who are old fashioned enough to stick stubbornly to the notion of holding cultural education the highest ideal and aim of the colleges and universities...”. [9] Seemingly he had chosen to give his series of lectures in the hope of provide his listeners with a greater understanding of the inner workers of Japanese culture both political and otherwise. This reason for speaking was not mentioned in the press reports but perhaps should have been. For without this mention it could have been easy to believe that Prof. Fujisawa’s aim was to defend Japan rather than educate his audience.

For the purpose of brevity Prof. Fujisawa’s first four lectures will be treated together. The four lectures were basically a history lesson through the eyes of a contemporary of those that participated in the Meiji restoration and those that were currently active in Japanese politics.

## **2.2 Details of statesmen: Takashi Hara, Sigenobu Okuma and Aritomo Yamagata**

During his first lecture; Premier Hara, Marquis Okuma, and Prince Yamagata, all recently deceased, were singled out as figures of importance, and their lives were covered with considerable detail. Premier Hara was described as being “the Great Commoner, who had ..lived and died a plain man.” [10] His importance was that he was one of the founders of the Seiyukai party and the history of this party is described up until his unfortunate assassination on Nov. 4, 1921. His dissolution of the Lower House following his governments victory in defeating a resolution by the opposing party for manhood suffrage. The dissolution of the Lower House was greatly criticized at the time and Hara said the reason was, “...the desire on the part of the Government that, although the Government had secured a victory such a vital issue should be referred to the judgment of the whole people.” [11] According to Fujisawa he had shortly before written his will which is described by Fujisawa as something, “...in Japan one does not usually make his will unless there is a special motive for doing so.” [12] What Professor Fujisawa was saying was that in order to defeat the fight the bureaucracy he had in effect given his life.

Marquis Okuma was described as an idealist supporting the idea of a “safe world for democracy, whose life had been devoted absolutely and unreservedly to both the Emperor and his people.” [13] Marquis Okuma’s greatest achievements were, according to Fujisawa, his leading Japan to declare war against Germany in 1914 and his founding of Waseda University which to this day continues to greatly influence Japanese politics due to efforts of its graduates from its school of journalism.

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The last figure discussed was Prince Yamagata, who was described as a kind of counterfoil to Marquis Okuma, and in counterpoint to Okuma, was said to have believed in “safe democracy for the world”.[14] He was further described as, “...the most potent subject in the realm, wielding an influence which has never been surpassed and will, most likely, never be surpassed. due to his position as the President of the Privy Council and Senior Genro.”[15]

According to Prof. Fujisawa his political thinking was inspired by the “aggressive militarism of the West, knocking roughly at the closed gates of the land.” However, instead of being militaristic in turn, Prince Yamagata is described as being against militarism and was a believer in “defense against militarism through the use of conscription instead of a privileged professional fighting class. He helped achieve this by being instrumental in the forming of the then modern Japanese army.”[16]

Further more Prof. Fujisawa provided a long quote from a letter to Mr. Poulney Bigelow -an acquaintance of Prince Yamagata- which was Prince Yamagata’s only public utterance directed at the United States and Prof. Fujisawa’s first comment in regards to possible militarism. Stating, “Some Americans seem to think that Japan is scheming in the hopes of becoming a law unto herself... Japan entertains no such ambition, which is as quixotic as it is anachronistic. Our actions in Siberia and Shantung may give occasion for misinterpretation, but I feel that here time will tell that misunderstanding will be cleared away, and that the world will appreciate the fact that Japan has never entertained sinister ambitions in those quarters.”[17] This letter in effect states that Prince Yamagata was concerned with the trend of America and Japan drifting apart.

### **2.3 Taciturnity and the role of the press**

The second lecture started with a discussion of what Prof. Fujisawa described as the Japanese peoples natural inclination to be taciturn, or have “...an inclination to silence.” [18] He further stated that he believed “...in Western countries men of few words are exceptions, while in Japan men of many words are extremely rare exceptions.”[19] He further states “...the major part of the constructive work of modern Japan have been done thus far, and is being still done, by men of deeds and not by men of words.”[20]

Prof. Fujisawa chose to discuss Japanese taciturnity because he believed that many in the west misunderstood Japanese taciturnity for secretiveness. However he pointed out the difference as he saw it and uses the words of Theodore Roosevelt to support his argument. Roosevelt, according to Fujisawa, understood Japanese taciturnity and he quoted a letter written by Roosevelt following the Portsmouth peace negotiations. “I am bound to say that the Japs have impressed me most favorably...They have always told the truth. They are very secretive people...but so far whenever they have actually committed themselves I have been

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able to count absolutely on their doing what they said they would.” [21] Prof. Fujisawa explains that what Roosevelt called secrecy he called taciturnity, without concealment, and that it was the result of Japanese sincerity and singleness of purpose, rather than a conscious withholding of information for political gain. An eminent contemporary Japanese folklorist Mr. Kunio Yanagita described the Japanese mentality in regards to anger in bashfulness in a different way. Yanagita stated in his book. “History of Meiji and Taisho Era: Social Conditions” that, “the expression of anger, such as a quarrel or fight, was to be sociable.” Fujisawa was instead stating the social environment in the higher levels of society rather than the general public.

The second point of this lecture was a brief history of the Japanese government and its early development. He said that unlike that in most countries, the democratization of Japan commenced with the Throne as the center of the movement. The Coronation Oath is given as the beginning of Japanese democracy. This was followed by the Imperial Edict of April 14, 1875 which organized a Senate for legislative purposes and the Proclamation of October 12, 1881 that declared the Emperor would call a national assembly in 1890, which would consist of people selected by the Emperor himself. Following a study of European governments a constitution was promulgated on Feb. 11, 1889. Prof. Fujisawa then describes the constitution as being, “elastic so as to develop from a very conservative monarchy to a very liberal one, without necessitating a change of the wording of the constitution. and, approximate more closely to the English Constitutional monarchy than to anything else. Both monarchs stand aside from the actual work of the government.”[22] He also mentions that the “transition of Japan from an absolute monarchy which emerged from feudalism only a comparatively short time ago to a constitutional form of monarchy was as a matter of course attended by many dangers and difficulties.”[23] Furthermore, he discussed that this transition was, as of yet, incomplete. With the political situation in Japan being very much in a state of continual change.

The second lecture ends with a harsh condemnation of the press. The foreign press is singled out as doing much harm with its reportage of the political situation in Japan. In particular the “... transition from the Okuma Ministry to that of Count Masatake Terauchi on Oct. 4, 1916 was misunderstood by the foreign press.”[24] This misrepresentation of facts by the foreign press was held up as being responsible for much of the misunderstandings between Japan and America.

#### **2.4 Terauchi ministry, a coalition government**

The third lecture started with an explanation of the transition Okuma Ministry to that of Count Masatake Terauchi, with brief mention of the influence of the Genro on Japanese politics. The point that caused confusion among westerners was the Emperor’s appointment of Count Terauchi instead of Viscount Kato, who had been recommended by the outgoing Premier Okuma. This according to Prof. Fujisawa was the cause of merciless unnecessary attacks on Japanese constitutionalism. Instead, he describes Terauchi Ministry as being “... a



form of coalition government that was appropriate for the nation in a time of war, a whole nation

cabinet.”[25]After the transition was described Prof. Fujisawa defended Terauchi, who was often reported in the west as being associated with the military party. While admitting Japan and most western nations had military parties, ‘consisting of jingoists, jingoistic elements in the military committed to capitalistic imperialism.”[26] He reported that the military party in Japan was on the wane. Further more, he explained that its power may be misunderstood because “... many Japanese when trying to explain the way the Japanese government functioned without becoming vague or illogical would simply say, Well, they are the doing of the military party. And, that the military party has been ... made the scapegoat of irrelevancies and contradictions may partly account for the fantastic influence with which it is embellished in the eyes of the outside world.”[27] Terauchi, instead, was described as the one who harnessed the military party to keep it within proper bounds.

After discussing the transition to the Terauchi Ministry, the move towards complete manhood - the main topic of the lecture- was discussed. Manhood suffrage was described as the goal of the government and the history of the gradual lowering of property and income requirements is detailed. At the time a “Japanese male that paid three yen a year in taxes and had lived in his district for over a year was eligible to vote, ...this made up approximately 2.5% of the population.”[28] Prof. Fujisawa further explained that it was hoped that in the future these requirements would be dropped and that it was a simple process requiring no changes in the constitution. However, he warns that, in his opinion, as of yet the nation was unprepared for this step due to the taciturnity of Japan’s men of merit and therefore the possibility of the masses to be unable to make rational choices in regards to government.

The fourth speech started by provided the listener with a description of the Upper House. The House of Peers is described as consisting of members of the two highest orders of nobility, elected members of the lower nobility and the fifteen largest taxpayers from each prefecture. A few life members were also present that were nominated by the Premier in consideration of their knowledge and experience, or their administrative experience. He also mentions that recently knowledge had been overlooked in favor of those with experience and as a result the prestige and quality of the Upper House was decidedly deteriorating. As a result, he mentions that there has been “much talk of reform or reconstruction of the House of Peers, with the purpose of improving the abilities of the Upper House, but keeping the Lower House as the dominant chamber”.[29]

Prof. Fujisawa then discussed the fourteenth general election of May 10, 1920, calling it a turning point in the history of the political development of Japan. He explained that Japanese politics had been dominated by a struggle between the bureaucracy and militarists on one side and the political parties and press on the other. He stated that the election resulted in a coming together of two political factions as the government moved towards the middle ground. This was reportedly the result of efforts by Premier Hara who was described as

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having great influence over people. The purpose of the government was to strive towards constitutionalism, summarized as follows: (1) The elevation of the Throne even higher above the plane of practical politics and political struggle; (2) the establishment sooner or later of party government accountable to the Diet.[30]

Finally the Genro and their influence were discussed. The Genro or Elder Statesmen were described as having great influence despite their lack of constitutional status. The Genro were Yamagata, Matsukata, Saionji, and Okuma each of whom had done great service to the State and had achieved honors putting them above normal men. All of them had done service on or around the restoration and thought to be beyond coveting earthly things and entirely dedicated to the nation. Their purpose was to provide advice to the Emperor. In particular when it was time to name a new Premier. Their influence Prof. Fujisawa further related was much as if, “They are our American political convention..., providing the Emperor with advice after taking the wishes of the people into consideration.”[31]

## **2.5 Kato ministry, hope of improving international relation**

The fourth lecture concluded with a brief discussion of the then current Kato Ministry and further mention of the influence of the press. He described this Cabinet as being very liberally intentioned with the hope of improving international relations. The decision to remove Japanese troops from Siberia immediately was given as evidence of this liberal thinking. The press were described as “improperly claiming the cabinet had, a reckless disregard of public and the spirit of the age, and described as, a retrogression of constitutionalism”. Fujisawa then stated that, “in the past Japan was regarded by the world according to the actions of its leaders. But, now was regarded according to the ravings of the press that was either ill informed or politically motivated to report falsely.”[32]

The first four speeches unfortunately received relatively little press attention in America. The coverage that did exist was rather brief and tended to sensationalize Fujisawa’s quotation from Prince Yamagata letter to Poultney Bigelow. One paper wrongly reported Professor Fujisawa describing that Japans activities in Siberia and Manchuria may give occasion for misinterpretation. This should have instead been attributed to Prince Yamagata. With a headline proclaiming “Japanese Statesman Calls Talk of War With US Utter Nonsense”[33], little mention is given at all to Professor Fujisawa’s talk about the recently deceased figures in Japanese politics which was the purpose of the lecture. However a few articles did provide readers with parts of Fujisawa’s text from the second and fourth lectures, that were edited to shorten them, but provided the gist of what Prof. Fujisawa was trying to convey.[34] This lack of coverage was unfortunate because Prof. Fujisawa was discussing the powers extant in current Japanese politics, with whom he was a contemporary. Without an understanding of the history of Japanese political development, and its influential figures, since the Meiji restoration it would have perhaps be difficult for readers to understand the way Japanese politics functioned in 1922 and therefore the following lectures.

## 2.6 Democracy and militarism

The meaning of democracy and comparative militarism were the topics of Fujisawa's fifth lecture. This lecture started with him admitting that no word in the English vocabulary puzzled him more than democracy with the explanation that it was used synonymously with republic. He further stated that in his opinion, "all countries which survived the World War are democratic states." Commenting that in the Japanese mind the words of John Locke, "...the majority having the power of the community, may employ all that power in making laws and executing these; and, there the form of government is a perfect democracy." serve as the definition of democracy.[35] However he caged his statement with another quote from John Locke that warned of the difference between an ideal democracy and a true democracy, "...there are two kinds of democracy, the ideal and the true; one, that no people yet has known, that remains to be discovered; and the other, which most of the modern States practice under various forms....can be roughly defined as a parliamentary or plutocratic individualism. Japan is already so far on the parliamentary and plutocratic way."[36]

He further explained that in his mind democracy is the state of existence of a nation in which equal opportunity is given to each individual. He supported this definition with quotes from diverse sources including Napoleon, Pasteur and Dr. Walter Williams from the Univ. of Missouri. Using the above definitions Fujisawa explained that in many ways the current situation in Japan was an exceptional democracy pushing every man up to a brave ideal. Instead, of as in many western nations, pulling every man down to a barren equality. With the extension of the electorate and the education of the populus the way to improve Japans democracy. Education, he stated, is the only means of obtaining a good government.[37]

On the topic of Militarism, Prof. Fujisawa first clearly explained that when Americans accuse the Japanese of militarism an effective discussion is impossible because of what he described as American militarism. Saying, "The well-meaning big boy may not be conscious that he is aggressive, but his advice often sounds like mockery to his small playfellow."[38] He followed with a brief history of the international activities of America following its independence. Texas, Cuba, Hawaii, Panama, and other American international excursions were mentioned. Clearly he was inferring that before Americans accuse another country of militarism it would be best if they look at themselves first. These statements were perhaps not original in nature, but based on his knowledge of Japan's official position regarding the issue. At this time it seems that he may have been following a secret document from the Foreign Ministry. This document, "American Imperialistic Policy, March 1922, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Division of Europe and America", is now available to researchers in the library of Foreign Ministry Documents. <<footnote>>However, regardless of his knowledge of Japans' official position, he softened his message by supplying a quote from Lord Bryce's Modern Democracies, "No State possessed of gigantic power has shown in recent years so little disposition to abuse it".[39]

He then stated that “historically Japan has a record of peace, that would be cause for envy in many nations, before the arrival of Commodore Perry.”[40] After this he briefly discussed Japan’s relationship with China and Russia. Japan’s troubles with China are described as being misunderstood. With Chinese actions leading to conflict rather than Japanese. Chinese encroachment on Formosa and the neutral territory along the Chinese-Korean border are explained as being the reasons for trouble rather than Japanese incursions into Chinese territory and the China-Japan War was a defensive war for Japan. The Russo-Japanese War was treated in a similar manner. With Prof. Fujisawa explaining that Japan was defending itself from Russian control of the sea of Japan by keeping the Russians out of Korea.

Current Japanese activities were also described as being defensive in nature. The war with Russia had ended more in a draw than in victory, according to Fujisawa, and “Japan needed to remain vigilant in order to protect its territory and interests from Russia that was actively expanding railroads and in Siberia and near the Amur River.” Also, although China had been defeated, Japan had actually “acted comparatively easily with China making no claims on Chinese territory; instead, only retaining what were territories of contention in border areas.”[41] In ending he admits that Japan might have begun to suffer from a swelled head following her military victories and in view of her accomplishments following the Meiji restoration, but this was a thing of the past. Never had Japan had been militaristic in the same sense as pre-World War Germany with its dreaming of world domination. Any ideas that Japan was under the control of militarists and seeking to expand its boundaries was mistaken.

## **2.7 Aims of Japan, his hope**

The last lecture, the briefest of those given, was titled The Aims of Japan. However, Fujisawa did not discuss the future or current aims of Japan, claiming that he was basically an elderly man who was not privy to the thinking of those in Japan that were in a position to determine governmental policy. Instead, he chose to give his thoughts on what he hoped would happen in the future and why he believed it might be possible.

In regards to how he hoped America would act internationally he quotes Theodore Roosevelt, “The American people do not intend to give up the Monroe Doctrine. Let civilized Europe and Asia introduce some kind of police system in the weak and disorderly countries at their threshold...Finally, make it perfectly clear that we (Americans) do not intend to make a position of an international Mettlesome Matty.”[42]

He then quoted from a speech by Okuma following the war with Russia, to show how he hoped Japan would act on the international stage. “...Japan has never been an advocate of war, and will never draw her sword from its sheath unless compelled to do so by the pressure of foreign powers... The late war was not one of race against race, or religion against religion, and the victory of Japan pints to the ultimate blending into one harmonious whole of the ancient and modern civilizations of East and West.” He further quotes Okuma to explain that “Asia had lain dormant for centuries as the European powers grew into dominance, but before that it was Asia that, did hold torches of civilization in the East when the West

slumbered in darkness..., and it was Japan that, ...broke through her walls of old habits in a night and came out triumphant...Japan has sent forth her word over Asia, that the old seed has the life germ in it, only it has to be planted in the soil of the new age.”[43]

Prof. Fujisawa also explained the need for East and West to work together as equals for peace in the world. Saying the General Haig well understood the need for equality when he said, “Only by raising all other civilizations to the level of ours can we make it possible for us and them to live side by side in peace...Only thus can the terrible pressure of economic competitions be prevented from driving whole continents into war.

He ended his series of lectures by explaining that “next to America, stands Japan, to which Asia, if not the world, looks up for leadership in the great task of fusion of Oriental and Occidental cultures as a basis of permanent peace. And, all that is essential to assure the permanency of peace between East and West is good will which is a societal necessity and mutual understanding which can be cultivated.”[44]

## **2.8 Points in the American press**

Unlike the first four lectures, the last two received considerable coverage from the American print media. However, despite the many topics and concerns touched upon by Prof. Fujisawa, the media mainly concentrating on reporting on his utterances concerning Japanese militarism and the idea that Japan’s victory over Russia had caused “swelled heads” within the country but that militarism was for the most part a thing of the past. His idea of the goals of democracy, the need for Japan and the United States to work together to maintain peace and prosperity in Asia were regrettably not covered in detail.

Despite the fact that they also covered Prof. Fujisawa’s discussion of democracy and his argument that Europe and the USA could be viewed as more militaristic if the same standard of judgement was used, in virtually all of the stories began with headlines that concerned the charge of militarism. “Tokio Lecturer Declares Japan Not Militaristic, Land Is No More So Than Other Nations” was the headline of the Knickerbocker Press [45], in a story that actually had more coverage of his ideas of what democracy is and how it should be understood in the world and reported the idea that Europe could be seen as more militaristic . The Springfield Republican led off with, “Militaristic Era Passed In Japan”, in a story that also was more concerned with the announcement that the results of the war with Japan had gone to Japan’s head but had since been reevaluated by those in Japan.[46] This trend continued with the a story in the Pittsfield Eagle, “Defends Japan On Militarism Charge” was the headline in a story that began with his discussion of democracy and only afterwards discussed the fact that the victory over Russia had gone to Japan’s head.[47]

The New York Herald and the Boston Christian Science Monitor were the two newspapers that provided a more balanced coverage of the lectures. The Christian Science Monitor led off its story with, "Amity Between East And West Is Put Up To Japan And America", and followed it with large quotations from Prof. Fujisawa's lectures that concerned the need for cooperation between the US and Japan if there is to be peace in Asia. After discussing the roles of the USA and Japan as powers in Asia, the story explained his idea of viewing Europe and the USA in particular as being more militaristic with attention payed to his brief review of past American military actions that were militaristic in nature.[48] The article in the New York Herald began with, "Japan Declared Nation of Peace No More Militaristic Than Other Powers... Swelled Head Going Down" and, after discussing the way Japan had gotten beyond the swelled head caused by their victory over the Russians, reported on Prof. Fujisawa's observation that Japan's actions in Manchuria underwent severe inspection when compared to the activities of other countries. Later in the story his comparison of American activity in the Philippines and Japanese activity in Manchuria are evaluated by standards that are unfair to the Japanese.[49]

### 3 Conclusion

In conclusion, it would look like some of Professor Fujisawa's fear of an inaccurate press were realized. It is true that after all of his lectures headlines in newspapers proclaimed in a number of ways that Professor Fujisawa had denied Japan was militaristic and that Japan was a country of peace. With the papers reporting that Professor Fujisawa had described that Japan's activities in Siberia and Manchuria may give occasion for misinterpretation. Of interest is how Prof. Fujisawa chose to explain his argument. He claimed, and it was reported correctly that Japan indeed had been leaning towards militarism following her defeat of Russia in the 1905 conflict, but now was being over observe and criticized for its activities: However, only briefly mentioned was that he had suggested that Japan was being evaluated using a different set of standards than the traditional European powers and America were held to. The Boston Transcript alone reported that in regards to Japan in Manchuria Prof. Fujisawa gave this clarification, "In regard to Japan's doings in Manchuria, it may be observed that every act of Japan was subjected to an exceptionally severe scrutiny, and other nations behaved as though they expected her to live up to a standard of quixotic idealism." [50] This discussion of being held to different standards isn't usually the main point of newspaper articles; as Professor Fujisawa was intending, instead the claims of non militarism tends to predominate with little mention made of the need to hold all nations to a similar standard of conduct.

The second point so often mentioned in the American press was Prof. Fujisawa's attempting to educate his listeners as to how the Japanese government functions, and may very well have been the major point that Prof. Fujisawa was trying to impart to his audience. When discussing this issue the press often compares the working of the Japanese government with how the governments of America and England operate; and the possible reasons for the differences and the implications of the differences. However, the differences and their

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implications can surely be better understood if one increases one's understanding of the historical reasons for the differences that exist. But, very little was reported regarding the development of the then modern Japanese government from absolute monarchy to a constitutional form of government, which was the main focus of the first four speeches given by Fujisawa, and was mainly ignored by the press.

The meaning of democracy is a topic open to debate and the American press did a good job of reporting Prof. Fujisawa's interpretation and afterwards compared it to how the meaning of democracy was interpreted in American political circles. Fujisawa's interpretation is cited as being much different than that held in the West, and the political implications of this differing interpretations are discussed. However, again the press provided little detail regarding the historical development of the modern Japanese government as was provided by Prof. Fujisawa's lectures. Also gone unmentioned was how Japan's different political development served as a factor in his and other Japanese' view of democracy.

Overall, the coverage of the American press can be described as being informative but lacking in detail and does not explain some of the points that Prof. Fujisawa was hoping to impart to his audience. However, this was almost certainly not the result of ill intent or malice, instead it was simply a matter of cultural differences, which interestingly was one of the things Fujisawa was trying to express. Simply stated: Prof. Fujisawa was a product of Meiji culture while his audience had a completely different cultural paradigm that was dominated by Rooseveltian thought and memories of the terrible human price of World War One. Full reporting of Fujisawa's lectures certainly couldn't have completely turned the tide of American public opinion, but it is a shame that more people weren't able to take notice of the very real differences between how the two nations viewed the political differences that were then beginning to cause the relationship between the two countries to grow increasingly adversarial.

This is regrettable because, as history shows, the relationship between Japan and The United States would grow to become more and more difficult as time passed, with the final outcome of the misunderstanding between the two countries being the outbreak of the Pacific War in 1941.

## 4 References

- [1] Boston Post, July 30, 1922, Olin Downes.
- [2] A speech of Kijuro Shidehara, *Memory of Fujisawa*, p.628.
- [3] Keiji Yajima, Evaluation of the First Life Table Published in 1881 in Japan, *From Data to Knowledge*, W. Gall and D. Pfeifer: Editors, Springer, pp. 124-130, 1996.
- [4] A speech of Kijuro Shidehara, *Memory of Fujisawa*, 1928, p.208.
- [5] A letter from the McLaren (Political Institute) to S. Saburi (Japanese Embassy).
- [6] *Fujisawa's Collected Works*, Three Volumes, 1928.
- [7] *ibid*, Volumn Two, p.171 translated by Keiji Yajima.
- [8] *ibid*, Volumn Three, p.358.
- [9] *ibid.*, p.358.
- [10] *ibid.*, p.366.
- [11] *ibid.*, p.369.
- [12] *ibid.*, p.369.

- [13]*ibid.*, p.375.  
 [14]*ibid.*, p.375.  
 [15]*ibid.*, p.378.  
 [16]*ibid.*, pp.378-379.  
 [17]*ibid.*, p.383.  
 [18]*ibid.*, p.388.  
 [19]*ibid.*, p.384  
 [20]*ibid.*, p.390.  
 [21]*ibid.*, p.391.  
 [22]*ibid.*, pp.394-396.  
 [23]*ibid.*, p.397.  
 [24]*ibid.*, pp.406-409.  
 [25]*ibid.*, pp.411-412.  
 [26]*ibid.*, p.416.  
 [27]*ibid.*, p.417.  
 [28]*ibid.*, pp.419-422.  
 [29]*ibid.*, pp.429-431.  
 [30]*ibid.*, pp.431-433.  
 [31]*ibid.*, pp.436-438.  
 [32]*ibid.*, pp.446-447.  
 [33]No.7. Appendix Table.  
 [34]No.7, No.10, Appendix Table.  
 [35]*Fujisawa's Collected Works*, Volumn Three, p.,455-456.  
 [36]*ibid.*, p.457.  
 [37]*ibid.*, p.470.  
 [38]*ibid.*, p.470.  
 [39]*ibid.*, p.476.  
 [40]*ibid.*, p.478.  
 [41]*ibid.*, pp.478-493.  
 [42]*ibid.*, p.497.  
 [43]*ibid.*, p.498-500.  
 [44]*ibid.*, pp.504-507.  
 [45]No.15 Appendix Table.  
 [46]No.17 Appendix Table.  
 [47]No.16 Appendix Table.  
 [48]No.19 Appendix Table.  
 [49]No.18 Appendix Table.  
 [50]*Fujisawa's Collected Works*, Volumn Three, p.,486.

## Appendix

**Table: Newspaper Headings on Fujisawa Lectures**

No	Date	Press No and Headings
1	Jul 30	(1) Japanese Statesman Calls Talk of War With U.S. "Utter Nonsense"
2	Aug 1	(2) JAPANESE SCHOLAR AT INSTITUTE Rikitaro Fujisawa Makes First Appearance in Lecture in Chapin Hall LECTURES WELL ATTENDED
3	Aug 2	(3) Some Americans Have Wrong Idea of Japan And Her Aims, Dr. Fujisawa Says in Lectures, NOT SCHEMING FOR FAR EAST, Nippon Has No Such Ambition, Lecturer Says, THREE GREAT MEN, Professor of Mathematics Eulogizes Hara, Okuma and Prince Yamagata Nationalism



No	Date	Press No and Headings
4	Aug 10	(3) DEEP-ROOTED TACITURNITY Is the Japanese Mental Attitude FUJISAWA SAYS Lecturer Says Progress and Destiny Are Worked Out by Men of Silence
5	Aug 10	(4) Nippon Folks Prefer Acts To Words, Says Professor Dr. Fhujisawa Declares Tacinity Is Not Result Of Desire To Conceal Thoughts, But Is Characteristic of His Race.
6	Aug 11	(3) Rise of Liberal and Democratic Ideas Twin Brother of Growth of Nationalism
7	Aug 14	(3) HOW JAPANESE HOLD ELECTIONS Dr. Fujisawa Defines System Now in Vogue, MILITARY PARTY, References to Different Political Groups, Made in Institute this Morning
8	Aug 14	(5) Testing Democracy in Japan, Net is Clutches of the Jingo's Rapid Growth of Suffrage, Must be Worth \$1.49 to Vote, Turning Point Came in 1920
9	Aug 17	(6) Journalism Again Discussed
10	Aug 17	(3) WHAT THE GENRO IS TO JAPANESE, Dr. Fujisawa Explains Functions of Council of Elder Statesmen
11	Aug 21	(5) Fujisawa Says Japan Is Not Jingo, Japanese Speaker at the Institute of Politics Admits his Country Had "Swelled Head" After Defeating Russia—The Lessons of the World War, However, Have Been Read Aright
12	Aug 21	(3) GIVES VIEWS ON DEMOCRACY, Dr. Fujisawa Differs From Countrymen AS TO MEANING, Japanese Lecturer Dissects Word and Draws Conclusions This Morning
13	Aug 21	(6) INSTITUTE OF POLITICS ENTERS FINAL WEEK OF DELIBERATIONS Members Keenly Expectant of Attaining Clarified Outlook on International Problems Which Demand Solution
14	Aug 22	(7) FUJISAWA DEFENDS JAPAN'S POLICIES BEFORE INSTITUTE Educator Says Militarism No Longer Controls Her Relations Abroad
15	Aug 22	(8) TOKIO LECTURER DECLARES JAPAN NOT MILITARISTIC Land Is No More So Than Other Nations, Declares Dr. Fujisawa Tells Institute Electroates' Teaching Is Needed to Perfect Democracy
16	Aug 22	(9) DEFENDS JAPAN ON MILITARISM CHANGE Admits That the Results of the Russian War went to Japan's Head
17	Aug 22	(10) MILITARISTIC ERA PASSED IN JAPAN Nation Gave Way to "Swelled Head" After Russian War, Dr. Fujisawa Says at Institute
18	Aug 22	(11) Japan Declared Nation of Peace No More Militaristic Than Other Powers, Dr. Fujisawa Says at Williamstown---"Swelled Head" Going Down.
19	Aug 23	(6) AMITY BETWEEN EAST AND WEST IS PUT UP TO JAPAN AND AMERICA Dr. Fujisawa, in Final Institute of Politics Lecture, Declares Upon Them Desolves Task of Keeping Peace.
20	Aug 23	(3) JAPAN NEXT TO UNITED STATES As Leader in Asia, Fujisawa Says IN FINAL LECTURE Declares Whole World is Still in "A Molten State"

No	Date	Press No and Headings
21	Aug 23	(12) SAYS AMERICA MUST MOULD WORLD PEACE Japanese Leader Claims United States Should Make Supreme Effort.
22	Aug 23	(13) JAPANESE SCHOLAR LAUDS U. S. IDEALS Says His Country Is Next to United States in Spirit of Progress.
23	Aug 24	(11) Fujisawa Sees Japan the U. S. of Asia Williams Lecturer Says Status of Two Nations Similar in own Spheres- Says Kipling Was Wrong
24	Aug 24	(14) HISTORY PINS HOPE ON U.S. So Declares Dr. Fujisawa at Meeting of Institute of Politics

**Press No**

(1)Boston Press, (2)North Adams Herald, (3)North Adams (Mass) Transcript, (4)Baltimore Evening Sun, (5)Boston Evening Transcript, (6)Boston Christian Science Monitor, (7)New Haven Jour-Courier, (8)Albany N.Y. Knickerbocker Press, (9)Pittsfield Eagle, (10)Springfield Republican, (11)New York Herald, (12)Pawtucket Rhode Island Times, (13)Rutland (Vt) Herald, (14)Boston Herald.