

Portrait of Yone Noguchi given to Charles Warren Stoddard, 1897.
Courtesy of Huntington Library, San Marino, California.

Miss Morning Glory:

Orientalism and Misogyny in the Queer Writings of Yone Noguchi

Amy Sueyoshi

In 1898 a young Japanese man in his early twenties sat depressed about his new life in America. Low-wage jobs could neither pay for housing nor adequate food for Yone Noguchi. He had grown exhausted from doing domestic work for Americans whom he thought smelled like rotting cheese. He considered giving up on life itself when letters from acclaimed Western writer Charles Warren Stoddard arrived just in time. Upon seeing Stoddard's handwriting, Noguchi's bosom trembled with delight. Sweet letters full of affection and love would boost him to heavenly bliss. Noguchi lavished kisses on the letters and pored over them repeatedly basking in Stoddard's love. Noguchi would then detail his affair with Stoddard, along with his frustrations living in America, in a book titled *The American Diary of a Japanese Girl*. Under the pen name Miss Morning Glory, Noguchi may have produced Asian America's earliest queer works.

As transgressive as this text may appear, *Diary* more poignantly reveals how Asian American authors could reinscribe restrictive ideologies of gender, race, and sexuality even as they hoped to protest their marginalized existence. While Noguchi aimed to critique Orientalism, he produced a work that promoted America's appropriative romance with Japan. He took on a specific female persona to appeal to American readers and created a frivolous, child-like maiden. With this protagonist Noguchi then enacted his same-sex love through the cover of a heterosexual affair. His life and writing powerfully reflect the complicated and contra-

AMY SUEYOSHI is an Associate Professor in Race and Resistance Studies and Sexuality Studies at San Francisco State University. She has published on topics ranging from cross-dressing, same-sex marriage, and Asian American pornography. Her book titled *Queer Compulsions: Race, Nation, and Sexuality in the Affairs of Yone Noguchi* will be out in 2012 with University of Hawai'i Press.

dictory ways in which those perceived as not-American forged unconventional intimacies and professional achievement while facing daunting social forces. Noguchi would reinforce the very ideas about Japan that he hoped to critique, while American interest in Japan took off with the birth of Japonisme, a form of Orientalism that specifically focused on Japan as an aesthetic fetish.¹ Noguchi, the Orientalist who had intended to be an anti-Orientalist, forwarded fantastic notions of Japanese femininity in a queer narrative he rendered nearly impossible to read as queer.

An Orientalist or an Anti-Orientalist?

Existing works discussing Noguchi and *Diary's* sociocultural significance debate whether he subscribed to or pushed against Japonisme. In 1991, Susan Napier summarized Noguchi's publications generally as "using Japan as an exotic Other, a 'fairly land,' as he himself would put it, peopled by characters closer to those of the 'Mikado' than to human beings."² In contrast, Laura Franey described *Diary* as a satire of American misperceptions and thus a critique of Orientalist fiction. According to Franey, Noguchi projected a more authentic Japan. Edward Marx additionally pointed to *Diary* as evidence of how Noguchi saw beyond rigid definitions of gender. Though literary historian Cathryn Halverson described Miss Morning Glory as "no feminist heroine," Marx in the same year declared Noguchi as a "tireless opponent of gender stereotyping."³ In 2007, Temple University Press more seriously invested in what they believed to be a revolutionary text when they reprinted *Diary*, which was described as "a groundbreaking work of Asian American fiction."⁴

While the debate over Noguchi and *Diary's* significance seems unsettled among literary critics, Asian Americanists have largely ignored the Japanese immigrant whom some have declared as an "important modernist writer."⁵ Noguchi remains excluded from the ranks of acclaimed Asian America writers such as Sui Sin Far, who directly challenged unfair depictions of Chinese in America.⁶ Perceptions of Noguchi's work as propagating exotic depictions of Japan as well as his less than ten-year residence in the United States present him as a traveling Japanese national rather than a Japanese American. Within Asian American Studies, a discipline dedicated to underscoring ways in which people struggled with or resisted discrimination, an Asian in America who may have participated in reinforcing existing stereotypes about himself would likely not hold much appeal as a subject of study. Yet No-

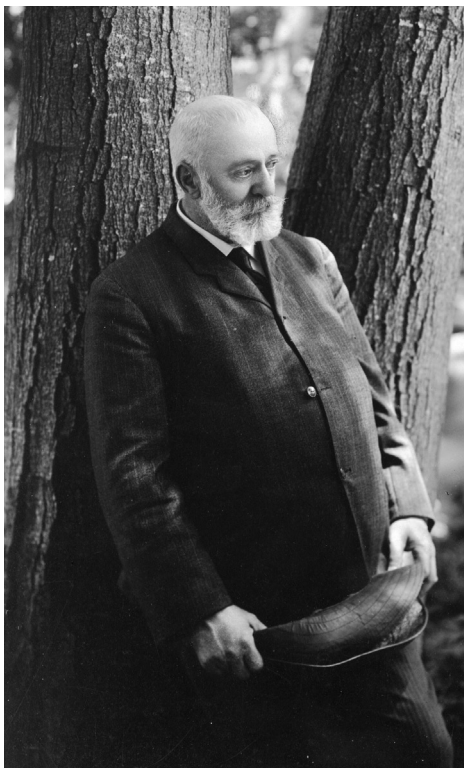
guchi's intimate life and writings aptly reflect how Orientalism, and in particular, Japonisme, compelled immigrants who cultivated intimacy with white Americans to do so in conflicted ways.

While numerous publications by historians such as Robert Lee, Nayan Shah, and George Anthony Pfeffer trace how racism and xenophobia created a discourse of pathological sexuality for Chinese men and women at the turn of the century, few works discuss how an aesthetic fascination for the "Orient" would also shape and be shaped by Asian American sexuality.⁷ Noguchi made significant headway into America's literary and arts community, growing intimate with an internationalist bohemian community that embraced Japan as artful, while much of the nation found the Japanese to be repulsive.⁸ In addition to the charged characterizations that Japonisme produced, Noguchi's own actions illuminate how Orientalism enacted by "Orientals" themselves would come to shape early American notions of Asian gender and sexuality.

Love

Noguchi came to the United States in 1893 in hopes of becoming an English-language poet. He found refuge in the home of essayist Joaquin Miller in Oakland, as did other young Japanese men. He fell in love with Stoddard as he began writing to him while living with Miller. In the decades that followed, Noguchi worked towards becoming an internationally recognized poet bridging East and West. By the time of his death in 1947, he had published close to one hundred books in both English and Japanese on a variety of topics on art and culture.⁹

Yet in the late 1890s, Noguchi still remained relatively unknown. He missed Japan and felt incurably depressed. Stoddard's attention brought relief to Noguchi's unending loneliness. In emotional letters, Noguchi opened his heart to Stoddard. Noguchi declared, "Have my love and kisses to thee!" Stoddard was as sweet as "honey," and Noguchi thanked God for their "divine" relationship—an interaction so beautiful that it would make the entire world "warm and kind." Noguchi suspected that even the angels must be jealous of their relationship.¹⁰ "Pray, write me often!" Noguchi pleaded on October 8, 1897. "Oh love! I love you," he declared three weeks later. Stoddard's letters brought Noguchi "unspeakable pleasure." So excitedly did Noguchi write that he sent off responses to Stoddard's letters on the very same day he received them. Letters from Stoddard thrilled Noguchi to tears.¹¹



Portrait of Charles Warren Stoddard, c. 1890s.

Courtesy of Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley

When Stoddard invited Noguchi to visit him at his home in Washington, D.C., Noguchi answered ecstatically, "Of course I like to see you—how I long to see you, how I long to see you!—I must go to Washington to enjoy with you!" He looked forward to "a new life of love." Stoddard's wish to have him by his side proved to be worthy enough reason to move. "If you command me that I must be with you I will come to you—That's all!—That's all!—That's all indeed!" The promise of pursuing a more intimate relationship with Stoddard was something he could not forsake. Noguchi's mind overflowed with all the possibilities of what the move might mean for their relationship. "To see you, to understand you more, to love you, to live in perfect poetry with you—and—and—and—what must I say when they come at once?"¹²

Stoddard in turn adored the youthful Japanese boy. Noguchi's race mesmerized Stoddard, who was more than thirty years Noguchi's senior, reminding him of his lovers during his young-

er years when he gallivanted across the "South Seas" in search of same-sex affection. Early in their correspondence, Stoddard confessed, "[l]ong I have waited to hear from you: always, from the first knowledge of you, I have wanted to know you, to meet you, to be with you in closest sympathy." Though he barely knew Noguchi, Stoddard yearned to grow more intimate. "How I wish you were here: I have so much to say to you; I so long to see you, to understand you better and know you more and more." Stoddard requested a copy of Noguchi's book of poems and commanded that he include a message on the fly leaf so that he might treasure it always.¹³ Upon hearing of Noguchi's literary success in London, Stoddard trembled all over with delight. He gazed at the "most beautiful picture" of his Noguchi, which he had placed on his desk to keep it constantly by his side. Noguchi's "sweet sad face," "too sensitive mouth," "delicate chin," and "beautiful hands" all called to Stoddard for care and love. And he would willingly oblige.¹⁴

On February 2, 1903 when Stoddard found that Yone had dedicated his latest book to him, he became so wild with excitement that he hardly knew what to do with himself. Stoddard wrote to Yone, "[m]y love was great that had you been here I must have held you in my lap all day long, fondling you, as my very own." In the darkness of night he would have folded Yone in his arms and embraced him. The two would have fallen asleep upon one pillow and Stoddard would have held Noguchi until morning. Stoddard called to Noguchi, "come, place your lips to mine in one long rapturous kiss."¹⁵ He longed to hold and caress Noguchi's hands as well as feel their caresses. Stoddard craved to see more of Noguchi, in fact all of him as "God made him—naked and not ashamed." Noguchi was a "dream child," "as clear as glass—as pure as water—as sweet as milk."¹⁶

Noguchi's and Stoddard's mutual affection grew just as Japan and America sparked a romance of their own. The two nations struggled to satisfy their deepest desires through each other. A modernizing Japan, which had previously feared foreign imperialism, sought to make ties with the West in its realization that it could no longer maintain its isolationism. Many Japanese embraced American technology, styles, and values in hopes of adopting the "progress" of the West. For Americans, Japan offered a cure to a cultural malaise brought on by industrialization. Victorian intellectuals felt that the quality of life had somehow declined, despite "progress" or economic growth. America

turned to Japan to satisfy its hunger for a purer, spiritual civilization rooted in an appreciation for nature.¹⁷ Art historian William Hosley noted, “[l]ike lovers, Japan and the West were eventually drawn to one another by a yearning for wholeness and fulfillment.”¹⁸ Perceptions of the United States as civilized and Japan as beautifully primitive fueled Stoddard’s and Noguchi’s affair. In passionate letters to one another, they eroticized their generational and cultural differences with gendered and racialized language. The “sensual” “boy poet” from the “Orient” who seemed to be made of “ivory” grew intimate with his “Dad” Stoddard, an “honest sweet gentleman” who would assist him in becoming a “good” English language poet.¹⁹

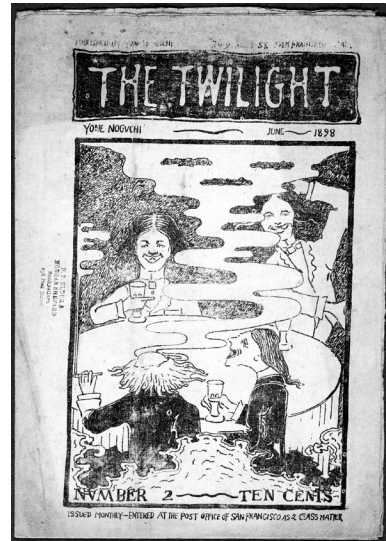
An Anti-Orientalist

When Noguchi made his literary debut, he adamantly refused to allow whites to racialize him. In 1896, as Noguchi answered requests for his pictures, he made it a point not to be photographed in his “native dress.” Joaquin Miller explained to the *San Francisco Chronicle*, “He objects to that sort of interest, saying that he wants to write for America, and depend solely on the value of his work.”²⁰ Noguchi hoped his work would receive merit as exceptional poetry, rather than poetry exceptional for its Japanese origin. In his earliest publications, he resisted evoking predictable images of the “Orient.” In Noguchi’s first book of poetry *Seen and Unseen*, published in 1897, not one out of fifty poems made explicit reference to Japan, nor evoked metaphors easily associated with Japan.²¹ In *Voice of the Valley* (1897) as well, Noguchi evoked minimal Japanese imagery or metaphors.²² When Noguchi embarked with Japanese immigrant artist Kosen Takahashi on his own journal titled *Twilight* in 1898, illustrations and text in the two recovered issues lacked any stereotypically Japanese imagery. In the June 1898 issue, an illustration likely of Noguchi and Takahashi with chin-length black hair appeared dressed in Western suits. The cover of an additional issue from the same year featured what appears to be a Japanese woman in kimono with large yet closed eyes, unbridled wavy hair, and an angled nose. Both illustrations diverged from the usual markers of slanted, slit-like eyes and more traditional hairstyles from an earlier period of Japan. Prose and poetry in these issues also built upon topics not particularly “Oriental,” such as life in an American prison and fantastic “moonlit” adventures.²³

Noguchi vocally protested insulting appropriations of Japan. Two musical productions, *The Mikado* and *The Geisha*, outraged

Cover of *The Twilight*, 1898.

Courtesy of Huntington Library,
San Marino, California



him because of their ridiculous treatments of Japan. When *The Mikado* arrived in San Francisco in the early 1890s, theatergoers enjoyed white actors' enactment of a Japanese love triangle between Nanki-Poo, Ko-Ko, and Yum-Yum. Englishman W.S. Gilbert, the author of *The Mikado*, poked fun at Japan with his silly names and outlandish story line.²⁴ *The Geisha*, which opened later at San Francisco's Tivoli Theater in fall 1897, presented white women in yellow face portraying dainty, girlish Japanese women enjoying the romantic overtures with English men. As the opera house filled to capacity nightly, critics predicted a long run for the "sparkling musical comedy."²⁵ As Noguchi noted, "the vogue of *The Mikado* or *The Geisha*, a comic opera, made my true Japanese heart pained, as I thought it was a blasphemy against Japan; how often I wished to shout from the pit or gallery on its absurdity."²⁶ He added, "Miss What's-her-name" acted "ridiculously" in *The Geisha*. Her "absurd" appearance reminded Noguchi of a "smiling puppet." Some white Americans even blurted out the nonsensical theme song of the musical to Noguchi in a goodwill effort to connect with his ethnicity. Noguchi found the practice annoying and declared the musical as a grave injustice upon Japan.²⁷

In 1902, Noguchi even more scathingly criticized the novel *Madame Butterfly*, which reflected pervasive American views of Japanese culture and femininity in its romantic tragedy between a U.S. Naval officer stationed in Nagasaki and a self-sacrificing

Japanese maiden who kills herself after suffering from a broken heart. The Orientalist classic articulated unequal power relationships between East and West through the dynamics of gender.²⁸ Purchasing the popular book, according to Noguchi, would be a certain mistake. Noguchi sardonically called the author of the book, John Luther Long, “Mr. Wrong” to highlight his inaccurate depiction of Japan in a work “full of lies” and “craziness.” Long would be better off sweeping streets than writing such “a completely sad affair.” The female protagonist was a “Nippon character” that hardly appeared Japanese. Noguchi imagined jettisoning the book from a transcontinental train ride for the Nevada mountain lions to cherish.²⁹

Even the play *A Japanese Nightingale* by Onoto Watanna, a woman who claimed to be Japanese, did not escape his criticism. Watanna, the pseudonym of Winnifred Eaton, whose mother was Chinese and whose father was a white Canadian, deliberately passed as Japanese for her literary career; Winnifred Eaton was in fact the sister of Edith Eaton, who, writing under the pen name Sui Sin Far, more boldly asserted the humanity of Chinese Americans when it was unpopular to do so.³⁰ Noguchi noted, “Onoto Watanna’s Japanese play made such a mess. I wouldn’t go at all.”³¹ *The Mikado*, *The Geisha*, *Madame Butterfly*, and *A Japanese Nightingale*—nearly all the major works of Japonisme infuriated Noguchi in their misrepresentation of and insult to Japan.

In spring 1899, Noguchi “tired of [San Francisco]” tramped to Los Angeles. Though he found only the drudgery of menial labor in southern California, new inspiration came to him in the idea of a novel titled *The American Diary of a Japanese Girl*. He found within himself the delicately feminine Japanese maiden, and he imagined a diary of her adventures in America. Dissatisfied with existing works on Japan, Noguchi determined to assert *Diary* as a more accurate portrayal.³² *Diary* worked against texts of Japonisme by foregrounding Americans—rather than the Japanese—as alien, unattractive, and nonsensical. Morning Glory recounted how as soon as she stepped off her boat in San Francisco, uncouth Americans swarmed her and tugged at the silk sleeves of her kimono. She believed wavy hair to be “bad luck.” Morning Glory could also never imagine herself being covered, in particular, with red hair, a color associated with the hair of the red demon in Jigoku or Hell. American women’s mouths appeared large, “something like that of an alligator.” Blue eyes reminded Morning Glory of a “dead fish’s eyes.” She disapproved of “savage” earrings and

“haughtily cold” diamonds, accessories that allegedly made American women beautiful.³³ Further pages critiqued American habits in art, leisure, child care, consumerism, and conversation, concluding “Americans were eminently “freakish.”³⁴

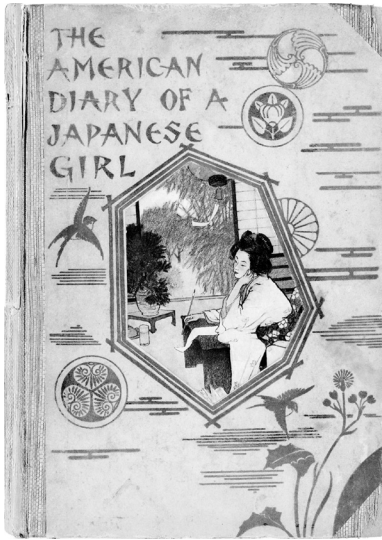
Morning Glory explicitly refused the superficial “love” of Americans, rooted merely in a fancy for paper lanterns. When Americans entreated Morning Glory to share a bit of Japan, she refused to accommodate their racial fantasy. “[T]hey implored me to sing some Japanese ditty. I’ll not play any sensational role for any price.” She preferred not to accept the insincere attentions of Americans who could see little beyond the surface of their own expectations of Japan.³⁵

An Orientalist

As much as Morning Glory may have appeared to be a “mad Asian bitch,” a protofeminist single-handedly creating a radical Asian American critique, she was not.³⁶ All of the criticisms sat immersed in flowery, exotic, and finally misogynistic language, so much so that the statements that might have destabilized American supremacy would hardly have the potency that they carried in their assemblage above. While approximately 31 pages of her 261-page publication openly critiqued American norms and exposed cultural relativism, more than 85 pages explicitly articulated Orientalist themes that not only painted Japan as inordinately mystical at times to the point of barbarism, but also portrayed its women as hopelessly trivial.

In the center of *Diary’s* hardbound cover, a Japanese woman in kimono leaned on her left elbow as her hand delicately supported her chin. Her right hand stood poised with brush in hand as if to write, yet she held the brush upside down with the hairs facing up. A bonsai tree in a vase sat to her side, a red paper lantern swung from above, while rice paper doors opened to reveal a yard filled with green bamboo. Around the illustration, Japanese designs of lotus blossoms, wildflowers, and birds imprinted in yellow ink decorated the cover. The yellow imprint would be carried through the entire book on every page as it set a picture frame of Japanese birds and plant life for the text. In the left corner of the cover, the title of the book appeared in chop suey letters.³⁷

Diary’s descriptions of Japan, for the most part, highlighted its difference as an aesthetic, exotic, and alien nation. For instance, Morning Glory described bamboo at her home in Japan brushing against her window, “Sara! Sara! Sara!” as it whis-



Noguchi sought to more explicitly evoke "Oriental" images in his later publications. Cover of *The American Diary of a Japanese Girl*, 1902.

Courtesy of Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley

pered "sayonara." Wooden slippers would also sing "karan coron" as she walked, "like rhythmic prayer unto the sky."³⁸ *Diary* also positioned Japan as barbaric in comparison to the United States. While political cartoons could freely poke fun at the "big-hearted" president in America, those who mocked the nation's leader in Japan would be "beheaded." In romance, the "Jap gentleman," with little understanding of love entrenched in "old barbarity," saw "girls" as "wares" for trading. In contrast, "gallant" San Francisco men would never permit "ladies. . .to stand in the car." Japanese men could never join the ranks of more civilized Americans and Japanese women remained extremely behind the times as opposed to "free-born," "modern" American women. "Oriental rhetoric" in its "oppressive" nature "palsie[d] the spirit."³⁹

Diary also projected a diminutive Morning Glory. When turning on the light with the single push of a button, she trivialized herself in the face of a greater power: "I look upon my finger wondering how such an Oriental little thing can make itself potent like the mighty thumb of Mr. Edison." In particular, Morning Glory infantilized herself by talking to plants and dolls in a child-like manner. When she moved out of her Oakland Hills cottage, she tended to her plants one last time declaring, "I watered my friend Miss Poppy with love. Bye-bye, little girl!" Likewise, Morning Glory recounted, "I squeezed my ear to the dolly, fancying I might hear a few scratches of human voice. I

kissed it. I laughed, saying that the doll was the thing for my starting to learn how to kiss."⁴⁰ Through Morning Glory, Noguchi deliberately set out to portray a sense of femininity different from that of everyday America, one that embodied "novelty, poetry, and "beauty." But in doing so, he projected images not so different from existing characterizations.⁴¹

Images of "pretty teahouse girls" and "doll-like" Japanese women strikingly similar to Morning Glory proliferated in print media.⁴² Morning Glory's ignorance of kissing closely paralleled passages in the musical Noguchi protested, *The Geisha*, in which Japanese "girls" implored Englishmen to teach them how to kiss.⁴³ Morning Glory's vanity also paralleled Yum-Yum's obsession with her own beauty in the musical that Noguchi detested, *The Mikado*. As Yum-Yum in *The Mikado* prepared for her wedding, she scrutinized herself in the mirror: "Sometimes I sit and wonder in my artless Japanese way, why is it that I am so much more attractive than anybody else in the whole world? Can this be vanity? No! Nature is lovely and rejoices in her loveliness."⁴⁴ Similar to Yum-Yum, Morning Glory too reveled in her beauty. She cherished her "sweet little" feet and "shapely" mouth, traits that made Japanese women uniquely beautiful according to Morning Glory. She believed that every man who met her would fall in love with her.⁴⁵ Despite Noguchi's original aim to present *Diary* as a protest against Orientalist works, the text became one more addition to the growing number of works of Japonisme. In fact, Orientalism expert David Ewick empowered Noguchi's involvement further by citing him as "centrally important in fashioning" the literary movement.⁴⁶

While Ewick characterizes Noguchi as "interpreting. . . the spirit of his own land" to American authors, Japanese critics have, conversely, elaborated on the inaccuracy of Noguchi's depictions as well as his opportunistic embrace of Japonisme. For example, Hiroaki Sato has noted that Noguchi had "negligible" or "non-existent" knowledge of the deep significance of things Japanese, having left the country at nineteen. Noguchi had found "catchy things convenient for 'advertisement'." Keiko Wada has similarly asserted that Noguchi deliberately used Japan to ride the tide of Japonisme. Sadly for Noguchi's pocketbook, though, *Diary* faltered in its ability to hold long-term appeal even among whites hungry for Japan: Sales that started well declined disappointingly by 1903.⁴⁷

A Queer Diary

More remarkably, *Diary* may serve as one of Asian America's earliest queer texts.⁴⁸ Morning Glory's affair with her love interest Oscar took on distinct parallels with Noguchi's own exchanges with Stoddard. For starters, Morning Glory became engrossed in Oscar's letters in the same way that Noguchi appeared possessed by Stoddard's correspondence. For both Morning Glory and Noguchi, thoughts of their loves would occupy them deep into the night. Morning Glory and Noguchi also used portraits of themselves to further their respective loves; in the book, for instance, Oscar's painting of Miss Morning Glory's portrait became a site of intimacy between the two, because Morning Glory had never previously allowed such "close scrutiny" of her face. As Oscar painted, he confessed to liking "Oriental" women more than American women. Noguchi similarly used portraiture to express his affection for Stoddard. After dreaming of Stoddard one night, Noguchi, in September 1897, hoped to call on the studio of Joseph Dwight Strong the next day for a sketch of his face that he would send to Stoddard. Stoddard, similar to Oscar, also preferred lovers from the Pacific Rim, specifically Japanese and Native Hawaiians.⁴⁹ Morning Glory's tale of herself and Oscar as two winged lovers, similar yet vastly different, a dragonfly and butterfly being forever separated by obstacles in nature, was akin to Noguchi's description of his pairing with Stoddard as "two shy stars" doomed due to differences in their backgrounds, "East versus West."⁵⁰

The novel compiled multiple moments of separation anxiety between Stoddard and Noguchi, reflecting their real-life romance. When Morning Glory announced her departure from Los Angeles to Oscar in the book, he took the news as if he had just suffered from a stroke. Oscar protested that they had just begun "to understand each other" as the air between them "grew tragic." Morning Glory explained that she was a "bird of passage" that she must continue "flying." The fictional narrative parallels how Noguchi declared that he could no longer bear to be apart as he had come "rather lately to understand" Stoddard.⁵¹ When Noguchi considered marrying a woman, Stoddard insisted that Noguchi as a poet should be "free" and "remain free of encumbrances" so long as he lived. Stoddard additionally grieved over the thought of never seeing Noguchi again when Noguchi announced his plans to return to Japan. Similar metaphors and

rhetorical tools for expressing intimacy signaled how Noguchi's affair with Stoddard powerfully served as the inspiration for articulating Morning Glory's and Oscar's romance.

Even more suggestive are the instances of same-sex affection in *Diary* that charged the text with queer implications. When Morning Glory dressed her friend Ada in a kimono, the two laughed at Ada's enactment of "supposed-to-be Japanese chic" and quickly grew physically affectionate. Ada caught Morning Glory's neck and lavished kisses fully on her lips. "It was my first taste of the kiss," reported Morning Glory. "We two young ladies in wanton garments rolled down happily on the floor."⁵² As Morning Glory passed by laborers in a quarry, she admired their rippling bodies and prodded her beau Oscar to do so as well. She declared, "O Oscar, look at their muscles!"⁵³ By pressing Oscar to admire male bodies, Morning Glory imagines an erotic same-sex gaze that could be decidedly queer, if not entirely gay. According to cultural critic Tracy Morgan, men admiring other men's muscles held significant homoerotic and homosexual overtones.⁵⁴ Moreover, Noguchi's later public confession that Miss Morning Glory was in fact him and the narrative was about his own life may have prompted those longing for more public representations of same-sex romance to read Morning Glory's affair with artist Oscar as one between a man and a man, rather than between a woman and a man.⁵⁵ *Diary*, as a secretly gay text, employed similar techniques of subtext and gender inversion of key characters that other turn-of-the-century publications used to assert male same-sex sexuality in covert ways.⁵⁶ The queer *Diary*, then, highlights not only Noguchi's intention to depict same-sex attachments in a creative format, but also his deliberate move to express same-sex romance under the cover of heterosexuality.

Diary's "campy" quality also marked the work as queer. As an aesthetic style, exaggerated comments about women, Japan, and America could be read as "camp."⁵⁷ Noguchi portrayed Morning Glory as outrageously mindless, calling herself a "trivial Jap, only acquainted with cherry blossoms and lanterns" as she explored America. Morning Glory declared, "I must remain an Oriental girl, like a cherry blossom smiling softly in the spring moonlight." In her mind, an eternally cheerful demeanor would be the most important contribution that an "Oriental girl" could make.⁵⁸ Morning Glory's vanity reached hyperbolic heights when she imagined a squirrel by her window going home to write in his journal that "[m]y neighbouring Jap Girl is rather attractive isn't she?"⁵⁹ Such

extreme passages appeared implausible in their purportedly serious portrayal of Japanese culture and women. So much did Morning Glory enjoy eating raw fish, for example, that, after she finished her own serving, she grabbed her more hesitant American friend Ada's dish to slurp down her sushi, just after reassuring Ada to take her time finishing her meal.⁶⁰ What's more, Morning Glory's disdain for women appeared over the top when she outlined the virtues of domestic violence: "Do you know how interesting it is to be beaten by a husband? I well-nigh fixed my mind never to affiance with a man too genteel to hit me. Woman is a revolting little bit of thing."⁶¹ Japanese literary critic Junya Yokota called the text "*wazatorashi*" or theatrical and unnatural.⁶²

Still, readers generally interpreted the representations as true. In the winter months of 1902 to 1903, enchanted reviewers believed in the authenticity of the book. Described as "charming," "dainty," "artistic," and even "naïve," *Diary* would serve as a uniquely interesting "Christmas gift," ideal particularly for women.⁶³ Few appeared aware of the scathing critique of American Orientalism, let alone misogyny, nestled in its pages. Indeed, only one out of forty recovered book reviews seemed to pick up on Noguchi's biting commentary; Brooklyn's *Citizen* noted Morning Glory's observations as "shrewd, satirical, and amusing."⁶⁴ From his vantage point, Stoddard found *Diary* an "extreme delight": "I am most impressed with it than ever. It is something unique in literature. There are many naïve, wise and witty sayings in it." Stoddard believed the work so absolutely authentic, representative of not just Japanese women, but American women as well. "It seems to me that you thoroughly comprehend the nature of the girl—be she Japanese or American. There are touches here and there that show great art—many hints of intuition."⁶⁵ The *Herald* of Los Angeles wrote, "[w]e all love you Miss Morning Glory."⁶⁶

The illegibility of Noguchi's outrageous accounts of Japanese culture and gender representations only reinforced, rather than refuted, presumptions about the Far East for an audience unaccustomed to satire in Orientalist texts and that was even less familiar with Japan. If *Diary* might be evaluated for its successful use of "camp," if understood as the exaggeration of cultural stereotypes as a political challenge, the work failed at subverting norms or existing ideologies.⁶⁷ Instead, Noguchi's work left turn-of-the-century Americans reveling in the magic of the "Orient." *Diary* more appropriately indulged America with material they hoped to read—gendered and racialized writings that

fulfilled fantasies of Japan—rather than challenge readers about their preconceived notions of Japan through a clever literary work of identity crossings.

In 1915, Noguchi expressed embracing Japonisme as an opportunity for creative freedom rather than a vehicle to insult Japan as he began to promote the productivity of Orientalism as understood by the West. According to Noguchi, one could justifiably project a variety of images of Japan, no matter if they proved a bit exaggerated. As long as the imagery appeared “positive” in its flattery, Noguchi stood unopposed to Japan’s commodification. Noguchi declared delight with painter James Whistler’s “à la Japonaise” pictures since they revealed his “interesting personality. . .and his point of view,” even though critics had called them “a confusion of absurdities as Japanese pictures.”⁶⁸ Poetry took precedence over reality.⁶⁹

A Misogynist

Moreover, *Diary* shed light on how Noguchi’s views about women were mired in pejorative assumptions about female nature. Noguchi scholar Ikuko Atsumi described Noguchi as similar to most men of his era in his romanticization of the beauty of women. For these men, who glorified women as aesthetic objects, imagining the female gender as having any significant intellect or skill as active participants in society became impossible.⁷⁰ His personal correspondence explicitly revealed his unflattering sentiments of women. In March 1900, Noguchi wrote to Stoddard about meeting writer Onoto Watanna in Chicago and included his thoughts on her deficiencies as a woman: “She is artfully clever, but she has no sound mind and sweet philosophy. She is woman afterall!”⁷¹ In other personal letters, he wrote, “wom[e]n [are] very revengeful” and that “woman is the most difficult creature in existence.”⁷²

For Noguchi, nature, not women, more likely embodied the best of feminine qualities. Using feminine pronouns to refer to mountains, waterfalls, and trees as symbols of beauty and power, references to women, however, diverged from nature as Noguchi described their stupidity and inexplicable logic.⁷³ His move to adopt and enact femininity in *Diary* demonstrated his male privilege to take on femininity to enhance his fictional persona.⁷⁴ Noguchi believed *Diary*’s very “girlish quality” would make his work a financial success. In effect, he used the racialized Japanese female form to his advantage as he more definitively began

to capitalize on his ethnicity.⁷⁵ By using an abject female protagonist to narrate his same-sex affair with Stoddard, the misogynist Noguchi may signal his own discomfort with loving a man who valued him largely for the exotic implications of his race.⁷⁶

American Pressures

Some literary critics argue that Noguchi's "performance" as Morning Glory points to his "protean identity," playing with malleable ethnic, gender, and class identities as he saw fit.⁷⁷ His impersonation, however, more tellingly signaled the rigid realities of ethnic, gender, and class positions. Precisely because of the constraints of existing ideologies of ethnicity, gender, and class, Noguchi resorted to adopting a specifically well-to-do Japanese female persona—the embodiment of a dainty, exotic, and therefore appealing femininity—to make his critique about Americans.⁷⁸

By the time *Diary* reached American readers, Noguchi had completed a second book titled *The American Letters of a Japanese Parlor-Maid*, in which Morning Glory worked as a domestic to learn more about American life.⁷⁹ This second publication took the form of letters from Morning Glory to her friend Matsubasan and more obviously revealed Noguchi's authorship. On the cover, authorship was attributed to "Miss Morning Glory (Yone Noguchi)." *Letters* articulated many themes similar to its predecessor *Diary*, such as the way "charming" Morning Glory delivered her criticisms of America with exotic depictions of Japan.⁸⁰ By critiquing and catering to American ideas of Japan, both *Diary* and its sequel *Letters* revealed Noguchi's own dilemma in producing a work with mainstream appeal that would simultaneously express his opposition.

Sometime around 1901 Noguchi took a new set of photographs which he hoped to send off to publishers and other literary figures. Tellingly, these pictures featured him in a kimono, even though he had previously insisted on only distributing images of himself in Western suits.⁸¹ The move proved astutely strategic. In May 1901, the publisher Funk & Wagnalls Company returned Noguchi's previous photograph in a suit and requested the newer version to keep "on file." They politely inquired, "Would you be so good as to favor us with one of your new photographs, the one you mention in your esteemed favor as being taken in your Japanese kimono?"⁸² Requests for performing Japanese likely pushed Noguchi to take a more practical approach in presenting his ethnicity. As Noguchi more deliberately evoked

the “Orient,” he worked strategically to promote his work. If this strategy was less conscious, however, Noguchi would become an example of how even America’s newest people of color could not escape how white Americans perceived them.

American ideas of race significantly informed Noguchi’s writings, as demonstrated in the pejorative comments on African Americans and the Chinese in not just *The American Diary of a Japanese Girl*, but also *Story of Yone Noguchi* and *Eibei no Jyusan-nen*. When Noguchi gazed upon African Americans for the first time, he called them “horrid” and worried over what standard of beauty existed “in their tribe.” He looked up “coon” in his dictionary eager to understand more about Blacks in America, but was dissatisfied with the definition, concluding that “ever so-kind American don’t consider them, I am certain, as animals allied to the bear.”⁸³ Noguchi would make additional references to buying a Chinese girl for “a pile of coins” and the “savagery” of Chinese women’s “deformed” feet. When Noguchi as Morning Glory debated names to assign his new doll, he recoiled at the thought of “Charley” since “every Chinese. . . is named one Charley.”⁸⁴

Almost all of his comments about people of color had origins in a distinctly American context. Noguchi noted that even a “black servant” is on the “honorable list of ladies” to whom “San Francisco gentlemen” would give up their seat on a street car. When Noguchi criticized white women for their feigned devotion to Christianity, he noted that they would rather “mumble a nigger song than a chapter from the bible.”⁸⁵ The one group whose plight with whom Noguchi did sympathize, albeit with condescension, proved to be Native Americans, as did many bohemians at the time who romanticized American Indians as noble savages on the verge of extinction. Noguchi made additional observations about “famous Jewish noses,” “European” nannies imparting “grammatical hodge podge” to the babies of “New York ladies,” and “poor” Italian organ grinders who “don’t know one thing but turning the handle.”⁸⁶ All of these characterizations point to how ideas of race home-grown in the United States informed Noguchi’s view of ethnic Americans.

In the summer of 1903, Noguchi opened a “Japanese bazaar” at the Madison Square Roof Garden in New York City. He literally profited from his ethnic identity as he sold trinkets from Japan and made seven to twelve dollars each night.⁸⁷ A savvy opportunist, he rode the tide of exotic Japan while living in the United States. But then back in Japan, he marketed himself as a westerner in the

Japanese press to promote his English language expertise. He underwent another strategic move to identify simply as Japanese while living in Tokyo when Japan's relationship with the West became tense in the 1930s.⁸⁸ Social pressures and barriers no doubt compelled him to make the most of his situation.

Conclusion

As part of the earliest wave of Japanese immigrants to America, Yone Noguchi negotiated multiple pressures of racism, Japonisme, and heteronormativity, as he sought out both personal fulfillment and professional achievement. Noguchi, who faced daily acts of violent racism, relished more favorable attention from adoring bohemians. Still, he grew disgusted with white Americans valuing him for his race and all of its exotic connotations. Through *The American Diary of a Japanese Girl*, Noguchi hoped to critique American Japonisme. The book pointed out short-sighted presumptions held even by Americans sympathetic to Japanese and also served as a covert treatise on Noguchi's same-sex intimacies. The book, however, only reinscribed the mystique and exoticism of Japan, trivialized Japanese women, and highlighted Japan's backwardness in relation to the West. In the end, Noguchi's renderings proved not so different from his contemporaries' texts published in the Japonisme tradition. Even as Noguchi insisted that he presented a truly "Japanese" Japan, he ultimately articulated an Asian American perspective—one informed by some Japanese, but mostly white American ideas of Japan.

In its reception, the text reflects the precarious crevasse that Asians face writing for white and heteronormative America. When readers understood the text literally, Noguchi's work as a critique of American stereotypes of Japan vanished. An audience that could only see meaningful coupling as a relationship between a man and a woman would never be able to imagine *Diary* as a window into Noguchi's same-sex affair. Furthermore, to those unfamiliar with the culture of excess, decadence, and satire that permeated turn-of-the-century fraternal networks of writers and artists, *Diary's* "campy" tone became indiscernible. Despite Noguchi's careful consideration in creating an engaging yet incisive narrative, his intention to have *Diary* serve as a protest piece became impossible with the vast majority of his readers.

In the midst of its apparently disturbing Orientalism, misogyny, and all-too covert same-sex sexuality, Noguchi's *Diary* reminds us of how larger cultural and social forces shape our most per-

sonal decisions and its resulting implications for love and work. These paths both deliberately taken and foisted upon us are often riddled with conflicting desires and competing values. Noguchi and his queer writings testify to the difficulties of navigating Western imperialism, racism, heteronormativity, and male privilege in the struggle for self-determination and financial stability.

In his most intimate life, Noguchi yearned for something less laden with socio-cultural implications. He preferred to be cherished for the value of his character rather than the signifiers of his ethnicity. In three recovered photographs from 1897 to 1903, Noguchi sent personalized images of himself in Western rather than Japanese dress to Stoddard, even though the latter had already explicitly stated his preference to see him in a kimono. On July 4, 1897, Noguchi inscribed "For my dearest Stoddard" on a photograph of himself wearing a bow tie, jacket, and vest. In April 1903, Noguchi took two more pictures in a necktie, jacket, and vest, and sent them off to Stoddard.⁸⁹ After Noguchi returned to Japan in 1904, he continued to write Stoddard letters of love, inviting him to come live with him in Japan. Stoddard, however, remained in the United States, taking up correspondence with other young Japanese men who migrated to America such as Issio Kuge. In January 1909, Stoddard died from a heart attack without seeing Yone again.⁹⁰

Notes

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- 1 For more on Orientalism see Edward Said, *Orientalism* (New York: Vintage Books, 1978). For Japonisme, see Julia Meech and Gabriel P. Weisberg, *Japonisme Comes to America: The Japanese Impact on the Graphic Arts, 1876-1925* (New York: Harry Abrams, 1990).
- 2 Susan Napier, "Selected English Writings of Yone Noguchi: An East-West Literary Assimilation," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 54:3 (1991): 627-628.
- 3 Yone Noguchi, *The American Diary of a Japanese Girl, An Annotated Edition*, Edward Marx and Laura E. Franey, eds. (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2007): vi, xi, xii, xviii, 149; Cathryn Halverson, "'Typical Tokyo Smile': Bad American Books and Bewitching Japanese Girls," *Arizona Quarterly* 63:1 (Spring 2007): 72.
- 4 See http://www.temple.edu/tempress/titles/1765_reg.html (accessed October 22, 2006).

5. *Ibid.*
6. Sui Sin Far, a mixed-heritage Chinese Canadian, is a contemporary of Noguchi who humanized Chinese in America with her sympathetic short stories on San Francisco Chinatown. Annette White-Parks, *Sui Sin Far / Edith Maude Eaton* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1995).
7. Robert Lee, *Orientalists: Asian Americans in Popular Culture* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1999); Nayan Shah, *Contagious Divides: Epidemics and Race in San Francisco's Chinatown* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001); George Anthony Pepper, *If They Don't Bring Their Women Here: Chinese Female Immigration Before Exclusion* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1999).
8. Without a doubt, acceptance defined by the confines of Japonisme was limited. It more aptly signaled America's cultural consumption of Japanese feminine gentility rather than a commitment to Japanese American equality.
9. [n.a.], [n.t.], [n.d.], Scrapbook of Yone Noguchi, Keio Special Collections, Keio University, Tokyo, Japan (hereafter cited as KSC); Nobuo Shiga, "Noguchi Yonejirō to Isamu Noguchi: Futari no Nijyūkōkusekisha," *Kaigai Ijyō* 592 (March 2000): 23; Yone Noguchi, *Collected English Letters*, no. 9, Ikuko Atsumi, ed. (Tokyo: The Yone Noguchi Society, 1975) (all letters from the collection will be hereafter cited as CEL); Yoshinobu Hakutani, "Noguchi, Yone," John A. Garraty and Mark C. Carnes, eds., *American National Biography* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999): 478.
10. Yone Noguchi to Charles Warren Stoddard, May 12, 1898, HM37905, Huntington Manuscripts (San Marino: Huntington Library) (all Huntington Manuscripts will be hereafter cited as Huntington MSS); Yone Noguchi, The Heights, Dimond, CA to Charles Warren Stoddard, July 4, 1898, HM37906, Huntington MSS; Yone Noguchi, The Heights, Dimond, CA to Charles Warren Stoddard, August 6, 1898, HM37909, Huntington MSS.
11. Yone Noguchi to Charles Warren Stoddard, October 8(?), 1897, HM37895, Huntington MSS; Yone Noguchi, San Francisco to Charles Warren Stoddard, October 30(?), 1897, HM37896, Huntington MSS; Yone Noguchi to Charles Warren Stoddard, May 12, 1898, HM37905, Huntington MSS.
12. Yone Noguchi, San Francisco to Charles Warren Stoddard, August 18, 1897, HM37890, Huntington MSS.
13. Charles Warren Stoddard, Washington, D.C. to Yone Noguchi, April 1897, CEL, no. 4.
14. Charles Warren Stoddard, Washington, D.C. to Yone Noguchi, London, 31 January 1903, CEL, no. 154.
15. Charles Warren Stoddard, Washington, D.C. to Yone Noguchi, London, 2 February 1903, CEL, no. 153.
16. Charles Warren Stoddard, Washington, D.C. to Yone Noguchi, London, January 31, 1903, CEL, no. 154; Charles Warren Stoddard, "Notes Wise, Unwise and Otherwise," 1900, Charles Warren Stoddard Papers, BANC MSS C-H 53 (Berkeley: Bancroft Library Special Collections) (all papers from the Bancroft Library Special Collections will be hereafter cited as BSC).
17. William Hosley, *The Japan Idea: Art and Life in Victorian America* (Hartford: Wadsworth Atheneum, 1990); Toshio Watanabe, *High Victorian Japonisme*

- (New York: Herbert and Cie Lang AG, 1991); Mari Yoshihara, *Embracing the East: White Women and American Orientalism* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2003).
18. Hosley, 29.
 19. For more on the significance of their interracial, bicultural, and intergenerational affair see Amy Sueyoshi, "Intimate Inequalities: Interracial Affection and Same-Sex Love in the 'Heterosexual' Life of Yone Noguchi, 1897-1909," *Journal of American Ethnic History* 29:4 (Summer 2010): 22-44.
 20. [n.t.], *San Francisco Chronicle*, November 22, 1896, Scrapbook of Yone Noguchi, KSC.
 21. Yone Noguchi, *Seen and Unseen: Monologues of a Homeless Snail* (San Francisco: Gelett Burgess and Porter Barnett, 1897): nos. 1, 3, 19, 24, 43, 50.
 22. Out of 51 pages, he used Orientalist language just twice, referring to himself as a "muse from the Orient" in one poem and as "a heathen idol" in another. Yone Noguchi, *Voice of the Valley* (San Francisco: William Doxey, 1897): 16, 42.
 23. Yone Noguchi, *Twilight* (May 1898), Huntington MSS; Yone Noguchi, *Twilight* (June 1898), Huntington MSS.
 24. W.S. Gilbert, *The Mikado* (New York, 1917).
 25. "Through the Opera Glass," *Wasp*, October 30, 1897, 14-15; "A Musical Comedy," *San Francisco Chronicle*, October 17, 1897, 5; "Dramatic and Musical Review," *San Francisco Chronicle*, November 7, 1897, 5; Owen Hall, *The Geisha* (London, 1896).
 26. Yone Noguchi, *The Story of Yone Noguchi Told by Himself* (Philadelphia: George W. Jacobs, 1915): 16.
 27. Miss Morning Glory (Yone Noguchi), *The American Diary of a Japanese Girl* (New York: F.A. Stokes, Co., 1902): 60, 75, 80.
 28. Mari Yoshihara, "The Flight of Japanese Butterfly: Orientalism, Nationalism, and Performances of Japanese Womanhood," *American Quarterly* 56:4 (2004): 975-1001.
 29. Miss Morning Glory, *Diary*, 238-40.
 30. Diana Birchall, *Onoto Watanna: The Story of Winnifred Eaton* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2001).
 31. Yone Noguchi, New York to Charles Warren Stoddard, 1903(?), HM37937, Huntington MSS.
 32. Yone Noguchi, Dimond to Charles Warren Stoddard, August 26, 1899, HM37916, Huntington MSS.
 33. Miss Morning Glory, *Diary*, 36, 50, 56, 101-102, 105, 126.
 34. *Ibid.*, 73-74, 78, 121, 125, 135, 152, 167, 229, 230, 258.
 35. *Ibid.*, 14, 229-230.
 36. I borrow the term "mad Asian bitch" from performance artist Denise Uyehara, who satirically protests stereotypes of Asian America and Asian American woman in her one-woman play. Denise Uyehara, "Hello (Sex)

Kitty: Mad Asian Bitch on Wheels," Holly Hughes and David Román, eds., *O Solo Homo: The New Queer Performance* (New York: Grove Press, 1998): 375-409.

37. Miss Morning Glory, *Diary*, cover. One critic picked up on the "absurd" lettering's deliberate attempt to evoke the "Orient." Frederick W. Goodkin, *The Chicago Evening Post*, November 29, 1902.
38. Miss Morning Glory, *Diary*, 4, 6, 14. Laura Franey asserts an alternative interpretation that Noguchi likely hoped to project authenticity by more aggressively inserting Japanese, in contrast to contemporary novels, in which an occasional "sayonara" or "shoji" appeared in the midst of a profusion of pidgin English. Noguchi, *Diary, Annotated Edition*, xviii.
39. Miss Morning Glory, *Diary*, 10, 11, 53, 61, 96, 160, 242.
40. *Ibid.*, 46, 64, 129, 237.
41. Yone Noguchi to Blanche Partington, 1899(?), CEL, no. 49.
42. Invariably these delicate women in the *San Francisco Chronicle*, *Wasp*, and *Overland Monthly*, who poured tea for white men cheerfully fell dead by the conclusion of the text. Amy Sueyoshi, "Race-ing Sex: The Competition for Gender and Sexual Identity in Multi-Ethnic San Francisco, 1897-1924" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of California, Los Angeles, 2002): 31-34.
43. Owen Hall, *The Geisha* (London: Ascherberg, Hopwood & Crew, 1896): 8. Morning Glory, even more bashful about intimacy than the characters in *The Geisha*, could only blush when her friend Miss Ada inquired about her "honourable love story." Miss Morning Glory, *Diary*, 66.
44. Gilbert, 32.
45. Miss Morning Glory, *Diary*, 4, 6, 7, 57, 88, 92, 98, 122.
46. See <http://themargins.net/bib/D/d15.html> (accessed June 8, 2011).
47. Hiroaki Sato, "Yone Noguchi: Accomplishments & Roles," *Journal of American and Canadian Studies* 13 (1995): 8; Wada, 56; Noguchi, *Diary, Annotated Edition*, 134-144.
48. *Diary* even predated Stoddard's *For the Pleasure of His Company*, cited by Roger Austen as San Francisco's "first gay novel." See Roger Austen, *Genteel Pagan: The Double Life of Charles Warren Stoddard*, John W. Crowley, ed. (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1991). Stoddard in fact wrote to Noguchi of how *Diary* inspired him.
49. Miss Morning Glory, *Diary*, 127-128; Yone Noguchi, San Francisco to Charles Warren Stoddard, September 1897, HM37891, Huntington MSS; Austen, 46.
50. Charles Warren Stoddard, Cambridge, MA, to Yone Noguchi, August 1, 1904, CEL, no. 356; Miss Morning Glory, *Diary*, 191-92, 205, 215; Yone Noguchi, San Francisco to Charles Warren Stoddard, September 1897, HM37891, Huntington MSS.
51. Miss Morning Glory, *Diary*, 136. Yone Noguchi, San Francisco to Charles Warren Stoddard, August 18, 1897, HM37890, Huntington MSS; Yone Noguchi to Charles Warren Stoddard, May 12, 1898, HM37905, Huntington MSS.

52. Miss Morning Glory, *Diary*, 60. For more on reading Miss Morning Glory's interaction with Miss Ada as homoerotic, see Halverson, 69.
53. Miss Morning Glory, *Diary*, 175.
54. Tracy D. Morgan, "Pages of Whiteness: Race, Physique Magazines, and the Emergence of Public Gay Culture," Brett Beemyn and Mickey Eliason, eds., *Queer Studies: A Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, and Transgender Anthology* (New York: New York University Press, 1996): 282-290.
55. For Noguchi discussing the book as autobiographical, see Yonejirō Noguchi, *Yonejirō Noguchi Senshū*, 64. Such likeness did *Diary* have with Noguchi's real life that editor Frank Leslie chose not to include the section of the Japanese girl living with Joaquin Miller in a condensed article form of *Diary*, even though Noguchi had used a pseudonym for Miller because it would likely reveal the identity of the author before the book came out. Yone Noguchi, Dimond to Charles Warren Stoddard, September 11, 1899, HM37917, Huntington MSS; Yone Noguchi, Bayonne, N.J. to Charles Warren Stoddard, Washington, D.C., November 5, 1901, CEL, no. 100.
56. Roger Austen, *Playing the Game: The Homosexual Novel in America* (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1977).
57. Susan Sontag, "Notes on Camp," 1964; available online at: http://interglacial.com/~sburke/pub/prose/Susan_Sontag_-_Notes_on_Camp.html; Fabio Cleto, ed., *Camp: Queer Aesthetics and the Performing Subject* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1999). I thank Eng-Beng Lim for raising this question of "camp" in *Diary* at the Asian American Sexualities conference at the University of Chicago in March 2009.
58. Miss Morning Glory, *Diary*, 183, 69.
59. *Ibid.*, 221. For additional examples on Morning Glory's obsession with her appearance see 5, 8, 9, 15, 50, 65, 110, 113, 119.
60. *Ibid.*, 152.
61. *Ibid.*, 175. To his credit, Noguchi perhaps included a handful of critiques of Japanese masculinity. He pointed to Japanese men's lack of romance, their overblown sense of male superiority, and the submissive position of women. Yet comments in this vein totaling five pages would hardly make him a trumpeter of women's equal status. Miss Morning Glory, *Diary*, 11, 61, 167-169.
62. Junya Yokota, "Noguchi, Yonejirō to Shin Seiki," *Kosho Wandārando* 66 (2001), 77.
63. For examples of positive reviews see *Worcester (MA) Gazette*, October 20, 1902, Scrapbook of Yone Noguchi, KSC; *Albany (NY) Times Union*, November 15, 1902, Scrapbook of Yone Noguchi, KSC; *Philadelphia Presbyterian Journal*, December 4, 1902, Scrapbook of Yone Noguchi, KSC; *New York Weekly Independence*, December 18, 1902, Scrapbook of Yone Noguchi, KSC.
64. *Brooklyn (NY) Citizen*, January 11, 1903, Scrapbook of Yone Noguchi, KSC. A handful did more critically declare the book as artificially Japanese. See *Providence Journal*, October 26 1902, Scrapbook of Yone Noguchi, KSC; *Dallas News*, December 8, 1902, Scrapbook of Yone Noguchi, KSC; *Philadelphia Press*, December 13, 1902, Scrapbook of Yone Noguchi, KSC.

65. Charles Warren Stoddard, Washington, D.C. to Yone Noguchi, New York City, November 7, 1902, CEL, no. 124.
66. *Los Angeles Herald*, December 28, 1902, Scrapbook of Yone Noguchi, KSC.
67. For “camp” as a political tool see Moe Meyer, ed., *The Politics and Poetics of Camp* (New York: Routledge, 1994); Pamela Robertson, *Guilty Pleasures: Feminist Camp from Mae West to Madonna* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1996).
68. Yone Noguchi, *The Story of Yone Noguchi Told by Himself*, 81.
69. *Ibid.*, 80-81.
70. Ikuko Atsumi, “Yone Noguchi ‘Waga Ananberu Li’ Eseru Āmusu ni tsuite,” *Ippan Kyōiku Bukai Ronshu* 17 (1996): 83; Cathryn Halverson also described *Diary* as reflecting Noguchi’s views about American as well as Japanese women. Halverson, 64.
71. Yone Noguchi to Charles Warren Stoddard, March 19, 1900, BSC.
72. Yone Noguchi to Léonie Gilmour, July 1901, CEL, no. 84; Yone Noguchi, Avon, NY to Blanche Partington, Oakland, CA, August 17, 1900, CEL, no. 58.
73. Yone Noguchi, *Seen or Unseen: Monologues of Homeless Snail* (San Francisco, 1897); Yone Noguchi, *The Voice of the Valley*.
74. Cathryn Halverson elaborated on how Noguchi capitalized on the “vogue for beautiful girls” at the turn of the century; see Halverson, 51.
75. Yone Noguchi, Bayonne, N.J. to Charles Warren Stoddard, Washington, D.C., November 5, 1901, CEL, no. 100.
76. I thank Tina Takemoto for pointing to this possibility.
77. The argument asserting Noguchi’s “protean identity” appears in Noguchi, *Diary, Annotated Edition*, xiv.
78. At the turn of the century, a laboring Chinese fisherman journaling his travels through America would have drawn fewer readers to *Diary*. Sui Sin Far wrote of how being of specifically Chinese descent had unbearably negative connotations, so much so that mixed race individuals of Chinese and white parents would claim to be Japanese and white or simply Mexican; see Birchall.
79. Edward Marx, “‘A Different Mode of Speech’: Yone Noguchi in Meiji America,” Josephine Lee, Imogene Lim, and Yuko Matsukawa, eds., *Re-Collecting Early Asian America: Essays in Cultural History* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2002): 303; Miss Morning Glory (Yone Noguchi), *The American Letters of a Japanese Parlor-Maid* (Tokyo: Fuzanbo, 1905).
80. For examples of criticism, see Miss Morning Glory, 4, 53, 57, 96, 104, 115-116, 118, 185. For examples of exotic depictions, see *ibid.*, 3, 19, 27, 54, 55, 56, 63, 98.
81. Helen Bridyman, Brooklyn to Yone Noguchi, New York, May 1, 1904, CEL, no. 322.
82. Funk & Wagnalls Company, New York City to Yone Noguchi, May 3, 1901, CEL, no. 66.
83. Miss Morning Glory, *Diary*, 44-45.

84. *Ibid.*, 102, 105, 129.
85. *Ibid.*, 61, 89.
86. *Ibid.*, 129, 172, 258, 259. For additional pejorative comments about other people of color, see Miss Morning Glory, *Diary*, 63, 78, 151, 223; Yone Noguchi, *Story of Yone Noguchi*, 93-94, 103; Yone Noguchi, *Eibei no Jyūsannen*, 59, 63-66. While Noguchi clearly articulated American ideas of race, Japan would also provide Noguchi's earliest lessons of racism in valuing fairer skin, though not necessarily white people. Kazutoshi Nakazawa, "Meiji Kikou no Kangeki," *Shinchō* 45 6:7 (1987): 188. Paul Spickard, *Mixed Blood: Intermarriage and Ethnic Identity in Twentieth Century America* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1989).
87. Yone Noguchi, New York City to Léonie Gilmour, July 5, 1903, CEL, no. 217.
88. Yonejirō Noguchi, *Ware Nihonjin Nari* (Tokyo: Takemura Shobō, 1938); Keiko Wada, "Noguchi Yonejirō no Rondon: Ayamekai no Naifun," *Osaka Gakuin Daigaku Gaikokugo Ronshu* 41 (March 2000): 14.
89. Photograph of Yone Noguchi, July 4, 1897, Huntington MSS; two photographs of Yone Noguchi, April 1903, Huntington MSS.
90. Yone Noguchi, Tokyo to Charles Warren Stoddard, January 27, 1905, CEL, no. 365; Issio Kuge, "The Heights" to Charles Warren Stoddard, November 21, 1905, Charles Warren Stoddard Papers, BANC MSS C-H 53, BSC; Austen, 167.