

Doubleness: American Images of Japanese Men in Silent Spy Films

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INTRODUCTION

Japanese men have been depicted as spies in many movies made outside Japan. In this context, many people might recall the “fth James Bond “Im You Only Live Twice(Lewis Gilbert, 1967), in which the Japanese secret spy association helps Bond to save the world, or “lms about Ninja such as Revenge of Ninja(Sam Fursteinberg, 1983) starring the Japanese actor Sho Kosugi. A ninja, according to Richard Deacon•s de“nition, is •asamurai who [has] mastered the art of making himself invisible through some arti“ce and is chie”y engaged in espionage . . . [and] resembles a combination of James Bond and Batman.Ž We can trace the origin of these depictions of Japanese men as spies or spy-like characters in the silent era of motion pictures: ten out of “fty-four “lms listed under the subject heading •Japan and the JapaneseŽ from 1910 till 1920 in thAmerican Film Institute Catalog were spy “lms.²

The actor most closely associated with the tradition of the Japanese spy in motion pictures is Sessue Hayakawa, who was a popular star in the U.S. from 1914 until 1922³. According to the AFI Catalog he appeared in thirty-four “lms from 1914 until 1919, “ve of which were spy “lms. Moreover, he achieved popular recognition for the “rst time when he played the role of a Japanese spy in the “l“The Typhoon

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(Reginald Barker, Oct. 1914). An article about the film in the *Milwaukee News* called Hayakawa “a movie star.”⁴

Why have Japanese men been depicted as spies many times in movies made outside Japan since the beginning of silent era? Is it because some aspects of images of Japanese men have been particularly suited to the spy film genre? If so, what are these particular aspects? Though there have been a great many essays about spy films and films in which Japanese men appear, none of them have explained this notable connection between Japanese men and spies in the movies. The purpose of this essay, therefore, is to historicize the point of intersection between the spy film genre and films in which Japanese men appear, in terms of socio-cultural context. The socio-cultural discourse of Orientalism seems to have played an important role in this intersection.

According to Edward W. Said, Orientalism is “a Western style for dominating, restructuring, and having authority over the Orient.” Said writes:

One of the important developments in nineteenth-century Orientalism was the distillation of essential ideas about the Orient—its sensuality, its tendency to despotism, its aberrant mentality, its habits of inaccuracy, its backwardness—into a separate and unchallenged coherence.⁵

This essay mainly deals with the relationship between spy films in which Japanese men appear and Orientalism.

Moreover, this essay tries to present a more complicated version of the nature of otherness than have the monolithic discourses of Orientalism. That is, racial or cultural otherness has been conventionally presented in terms of a femininity enforced by Western colonists or a modern hierarchy in which European countries and the United States have supremacy. This essay discusses American images of Japanese men in terms not only of the femininity ascribed to Japanese men by the Orientalist construction of the Asian other but also of the masculinity ascribed to Japanese men at the same time. In other words, this essay is meant to reveal the fact that American people have identified Japanese men with a complex Orientalist image that involves an ambiguous masculinity as well as the more conventional femininity. Japanese men have had a complex and ambivalent masculine image. To American people, Japanese men could be both sexually attractive and sexually threatening. Japanese men could be not only a political

and economic threat but also a threat to the American ideal masculinity.

Before specifically examining American images of Japanese men in silent spy films, let us take a look briefly at the beginning of the spy film genre and the genre's notable characteristics, as an overview. Motion pictures have been using spies and espionage as a topic since the very beginning. As James Robert Parish and Michael R. Pitts point out:

As long as there have been motion pictures, the phenomenon of espionage has been used to entertain as well as to propagandize for national or governmental causes. Thus the spy film has been an intricate part of the motion picture industry, justly ranking in popularity with the western, detective film, musical, horror movie, and comedy as a popular cinema form.⁶

According to Parish and Pitts, “one of the first films to use the spy motif seriously was the 1914 Universal serial, *Lucille Love, Girl of Mystery*,” which “dealt with a man who becomes an international spy in order to revenge the loss of the girl he loved, by stealing defense plans from the man who had won her.”⁷ However, the spy motif was used considerably earlier than 1914. The *AFI Catalog* lists eighteen films under the subject “spies” from 1898 until 1910, and 156 from 1911 until 1920.⁸ It is clear that the motion picture spy genre was born in the very early period of the medium.

In 1898 Sigmund Lubin distributed a film titled *Execution of the Spanish Spy*.⁹ According to the *AFI Catalog*, this was the first film to depict a spy.¹⁰ In March 1907, the Vitagraph Company of America produced *The Spy, a Romantic Story of the Civil War*. The story is about a Union spy captured and sentenced to death who changes clothes with his devoted wife and escapes to complete his mission.¹¹ David W. Griffith, “the father of American cinema,” directed *The Prussian Spy* at the American Mutoscope and Biograph Company in March 1909. This is a tragedy based on the international love between a French girl and a Prussian spy, who is killed by a jealous French officer.¹² The characteristic theme of the spy genre movies at that time was, in many cases, a tragedy caused by the very nature of espionage: disguised identities and international deception.

As long as there have been motion pictures, there have been “exploitation films.” According to Robert Sklar, the term “exploitation film”

has had two meanings, one to do with promotion methods and the other to do with taboo content matter. Sklar writes:

In the lexicon of the film industry, the term “exploitation” originally described special forms of publicity or promotion—for example, people dressed in costumes standing outside theaters to attract attention. Since the 1930s, however, a second meaning for the term has become dominant: low-budget independent films dealing with subjects made taboo by the Production Code, such as drugs and sex hygiene.¹³

Sklar insists that the second meaning became dominant under the rule of the Production Code, after 1934, but in the pre-Code era, many exploitation films made were not necessarily “low-budget independent films.” In those films, certain kinds of phenomena, such as drug addiction or odd sexual behavior, which were made taboo by the Production Code, appeared frequently. Those subjects were sometimes related to people coming to the U.S. from outside or still living far outside of the U.S., like Asians or Africans. Those people were depicted eccentrically or stereotypically to entertain American spectators as well as to propagandize national or governmental causes. These depictions of foreign peoples did not necessarily have any connection with their realities. Exploitation is a word with strong connotations of power abuse, and exploitation films like these were made by those who had political and economic power over the people or phenomena depicted in their films.

Even before motion pictures appeared in the U.S., there were these kind of “exploitations.” According to Charles Musser, illustrated lectures, which used lithographic and photographic slides, often explored differences of class, ethnicity, race, and even gender within the framework of the travel genre in order to appeal to two particular cultural groups in American life in the mid 1890s, the so-called Progressive era. The first of those groups was that which identified itself with the refined culture associated with *Harper’s Weekly* and polite literature, and the second consisted of members of church-based institutions.¹⁴

Japan was one of the favorite subjects for these illustrated lectures. Popular lecturers such as John Stoddard and E. Burton Holms, for example, included sessions on Japan.¹⁵ Beautiful Japanese scenery or the unfamiliar behavior of Japanese people were considered exotic enough to attract American audiences within the terms of the travel genre. Motion Pictures also dealt with Japanese people as a subject of exploitation from the very beginning. In 1894, the Edison Manu-

factoring Company produced a film titled *Imperial Japanese Dance*, which was “a charming representation of the Mikado dance by three beautiful Japanese ladies in full costume.”¹⁶ After that, many films depicting exotic Japanese scenes such as the dances of geisha girls, sumo wrestling, or festivals were made. The *AFI Catalog* lists ninety-three films under the subject “Japan and the Japanese” from 1894 until 1910 and fifty-one from 1911 until 1920.¹⁷ Japanese people were one of the central subjects of exploitation films in the early period of motion pictures.

The popularity of films about Japanese people can be explained within several scholarly discourses, including the socio-cultural discourse of Orientalism. An exotic image, which was sometimes also erotic, appealed to European and American curiosity about other cultures. For instance, one of the functions of nineteenth-century French paintings by Jean-Léon Gérôme or Eugène Delacroix was “to certify that the people encapsulated by, or defined by its [sic] presence, are irredeemably different from, more backward than and culturally inferior to those who construct and consume the picturesque product.”¹⁸

According to Nick Browne, within the field of American culture in the early phase of the silent film period, “the popular assimilation of Orientalism worked . . . in two major interlinked cultural registers of pleasure and of power.”¹⁹ If Browne is correct, how did the “pleasure” and “power” of Orientalism relate to the spy film genre? Specifically, in the discourse of Orientalism, the spy film genre seems to have been related to the popular discourse surrounding Japan. That is, ambivalent images of Japan, involving both a positive craze for Japonisme and negative anti-Japanese sentiments, existed in Americans’ minds.

In my discussion of silent spy films that feature Japanese spies, I am mainly concentrating on films made in the U.S. This is partly because of the stronger economic and aesthetic influence of the American cinema compared with that of other nations, and partly because of the limited availability of materials. My argument is mainly based on analyses of articles and advertisements from film trade magazines, except for a few textual analyses of films that I was able to watch. The fact that this has forced me to be more descriptive than analytical, particularly in the discussion of particular films, is problematic. Nonetheless, this approach of mine might be the starting point for more analytical study of this theme in the future when more film texts become available through continuing efforts in film preservation. In this argument,

World War One will play an important role, because of the great influence that the war had not only upon the intersection between the spy film genre and the exploitation films of Japan but also upon U.S. film culture itself. Therefore, I have divided this essay into three parts: pre-World War One, during World War One, and post-World War One.

I IMAGES OF JAPANESE MEN IN PRE-WORLD WAR ONE SPY FILMS

In July 1904, five months after the February 8 beginning of the Russo-Japanese war, the Edison Company and the Klein Optical Company distributed a film titled *Capture and Execution of Spies by Russians*. According to the *AFI Catalog*, this was the first film in which a Japanese spy appeared.²⁰ According to Klein's publicity department summary, in this film, two Japanese spies, disguised as coolies, fail to dynamite railway trucks in Russia and, after a chase, are captured and sentenced to death. The spies give three cheers for their Emperor, and are shot dead.²¹

In September 1910 the Kalem Company produced a film titled *The Japanese Spy*. According to the *Moving Picture World*, this film tells the story of a Japanese spy who secures secret information concerning the latest maneuvers of the United States Army. He leaves his wife and children in Japan, and, in America, disguised as a peddler, he pursues his mission. He is finally captured, and "dies like a Samurai, committing hari-kari."²² These early short films portrayed Japanese spies with particular characteristics: they were disguised, they represented a certain threat to the U.S., and they suffered a peculiarly or exotically dignified death.

The first feature film to use these characteristics more dramatically was *The Typhoon*, in which Sessue Hayakawa appears.²³ The film was based on the play *Taifun*, written by a Hungarian, Menyhert Lengyel, which had been successful in Berlin, Paris, London, and the U.S. Dr. Tokoramo (Hayakawa), a young Japanese diplomat in Paris, lives a refined life surrounded by exotic and luxurious Japanese furniture. He has a French sweetheart, who is more attracted to Tokoramo than to her American fiancé. Tokoramo is actually on a secret mission, creating a confidential report on the French military forces based on documents leaked from the French government. His French sweetheart finds out that he has been seeing another woman, and, furious, calls him a "yellow whining rat" and Japan "a yellow blot on the ocean." In

response, Tokoramo kills her. He wants to confess to the crime, but he has to complete his mission, and so his countrymen sacrifice a boy who pleads guilty to the murder and is guillotined. In the end, Tokoramo follows his conscience by committing suicide in a dignified manner.²⁴

This storyline and the movie's characterizations, Richard A. Oehling argues, "strongly suggested deviousness and duplicity on the part of the Japanese and, at least by inference, condemned interracial love affairs as being disastrous and tragic from their very inception."²⁵

Indeed, this film can be interpreted as depicting Japanese men, in this case Tokoramo, as spies disguised as men of respectable position, emblems of both an exotic culture attractive especially to European and American women and a threat to the U.S.

The Typhoon was a huge success, and this success seems to have led to Hayakawa playing Japanese spies in his next two films. The first was *The Ambassador's Envoy* (Thomas H. Ince, 1914), in which Kamura (Hayakawa), a Japanese spy, is defeated by a clever Caucasian woman.²⁶ The plot and the characteristics of the Japanese spy in this film seem similar to those of *The Typhoon*. The second was *The Clue* (James Neil and Frank Reichert, July 1915), in which Russian brothers Count Boris and Alexis Rabourdin obtain a map of the permanent mines and coastline defenses of Japan and plan to sell it to German secret agents in London. Passing through America, Alexis plans to marry the wealthy Eve Bertram, who loves him. Boris, meanwhile, falls in love with Christine Lesley, Eve's neighbor, whom Eve's brother Guy, an amateur inventor experimenting with explosives, also loves. Nogi (Hayakawa), a Japanese spy sent to obtain the explosives, and who serves as Guy's valet, plots to destroy the map. As Boris prepares to leave for London, he gives Christine an old Russian coin as a keepsake. To show Guy that she does not care for Boris, Christine attaches the coin to Guy's watch chain. That night Christine discovers Alexis's dead body. Grief stricken, Eve summons Detective Williams, who finds the coin near the body. Guy, who had fought with Alexis because he objected to him marrying his sister, and who had then left the injured man, thinks that he killed him. After Christine agrees to marry Boris in exchange for his silence, Guy considers suicide, but during a fight, Nogi sets off an explosion that kills Boris. Badly injured, Nogi confesses to killing Alexis by jujitsu and dies as he watches Christine destroy the map.²⁷

In *The Clue*, a Japanese spy is a disguised servant who embodies exotic culture in his practice of jujitsu and his dignified acceptance of death, and is a threat to the U.S. The *Moving Picture World* writes “The part of a Japanese is taken by a genuine son of the Mikado and is on the whole taken well. The man succeeds in creating and sustaining to the last the atmosphere of *mystery*” (italics mine). The critic may have used the word “mystery” not only because of Hayakawa’s disguise, but also because the critic wanted to imply that Japanese men were mysterious.²⁸ *Variety* insists that “Had this picture shown more of the Jap Secret Service with more Japs and their devious ways, it would have been vastly more interesting.” What do “their devious ways” mean? Had the critic of *Variety* been more satisfied if a Japanese spy seduces a Caucasian woman in this film?²⁹

A Japanese spy disguised as a servant and representing a threat to the U.S. appeared in yet another film, *A Trade Secret* (William Haddock, July 1915), which was based on a novelette of the same title by Ernest M. Poate that had been published in the *All-Story Cavalier Weekly* (10 Apr. 1915). This novelette shows that the intersection between spy fiction and exploitation fiction relating to Japan was not limited to films but also pervaded other areas of popular culture of the period. Complete plot information is not available for this film, but the basic outline seems to be that after a chemist discovers a process for manufacturing synthetic quinine, his Japanese servant, really an agent for the drug trust, steals the formula, and blows up his master’s palatial houseboat. In the end, the chemist’s fiancée recovers the paper.³⁰

Japanese spies appearing in pre-World War One films had an image of “doubleness”: often disguised as servants in American households, they were ambivalent embodiments of both attractive exotic culture and threat. Probably, spies were chosen to depict this ambivalent image of Japanese men. Since spies are secret agents, it is almost inevitable that they have double identities. The disguises of the typical Japanese characters in those films mean that their actual double identities reflect the double image of Japanese men held by American audiences. What was the socio-cultural background that caused these emphasized images of doubleness? The doubleness here refers not only to a two-sided (disguised, double) character—i.e. servant and enemy—but also to the two-sided (ambivalent, contradictory) image that American audiences had of Japanese men—i.e. exotic, attractive and threatening, betraying.

Because of several factors, such as regulation of nickelodeons, whose main audiences were the working class people, and in which many middle class people believed that many crimes were committed by the working class people, enactment of state laws of censorship to the contents of films, construction of new movie theaters for sophisticated audience as substitutes for nickelodeons, and production of feature films, film audiences in the U.S. in the 1910s are considered to have become largely middle class.³¹

On one hand, middle-class Americans had a certain admiration for exotic and luxurious Japanese woodblock prints, objets d'art, theater arts, and philosophy, and Japanese culture in general. This admiration had been strengthened by a craze for Japonaiserie (the word was coined by Baudelaire in 1861) or Japonisme in Europe, and the Japanese pavilions at the World Exhibitions in Paris, Vienna, Philadelphia, London, Brussels and Chicago. This admiration was exploited by particular companies or forms of advertising which associated the Oriental image with luxury.³² Tiffany & Co., for example, sold Japanese artifacts such as ceramics, lacquer ware and bronzes.³³ *The Mikado*, Gilbert and Sullivan's popular opera, was first performed in 1885, and after *The Mikado* many plays set in Japan appeared, including Sir Edwin Arnold's *Adzuma: Or the Japanese Wife* (1893). The Kabuki drama *Tsuchigumo*, or *The Spider Play*, was performed at the Saint Louis fair of 1904.³⁴ The U.S. tour of Japanese stage actress Hanako in 1907 achieved remarkable success.³⁵ Zen philosophy was introduced to America in 1906.³⁶

On the other hand, fear of Japanese expansion or invasion into the Philippines and the U.S. appeared among the middle classes after Japan's defeat of Russia in 1905. The words "yellow peril" appeared in magazines such as the *Outlook*, the *Nation*, and the *North American Review*.³⁷ However, for much of the middle class Japan was an ambiguous threat, and it was not yet a serious "yellow peril."³⁸ This might have been partly because the number of the Japanese residents in the U.S. was limited, except in the Pacific states, and the economic threat of the Japanese immigrants was not yet a nationally perceived problem.³⁹

After the turn of the century, Americans became gradually aware of and interested in the development of the actual Japanese spy system. For instance, in 1904 Walter Dening's biography of Toyotomi Hideyoshi, the man who unified Japan as a nation at the end of the six-

teenth century, portrayed Hideyoshi as a spymaster employing a huge army of spies. He writes: “the whole empire was one network of espionage.”⁴⁰

Japan’s defeat of Russia seems also to have played a part in attracting more Western attention to the Japanese spy system. In Britain in 1907 General Sir Ian Hamilton, who was attached to the Japanese First Army as a British military observer, wrote:

The Japanese realized the weakness of Russia much better than any American or European observers. The British believed that Russia was in Manchuria to stay. Japan weighed the evidence—superior intelligence—and came to a precisely contrary conclusion. . . . The Japanese accept what their experts tell them.⁴¹

Another British officer, Colonel Immanuel (his first name is not written) also attributed the swiftness of the Japanese victory over Russia to “superior intelligence—especially on the naval side” in a report to the German General Staff in 1908.⁴² In the U.S. in 1907 *Harper’s Weekly* wrote:

During the war between Russia and Japan, Manchuria was inhabited by spies and soldiers. . . . We shall not know how the Japs did in their conduct of the elaborate spy system, save as the Russians tell of it in their present discussion. . . . The Japanese . . . were able to use the Russian spies for Japanese purposes, and in the end to outwit the Russians at every turn.⁴³

Actually, by the middle of 1905, Colonel Motojiro Akashi, the supreme Japanese intelligence officer in Europe, who worked as a Japanese attaché, according to his own claim had seven spies and five assistants working for him on a regular basis, within a network that extended to Paris, Zurich, Geneva, Copenhagen, Rome, Lisbon and even Warsaw.⁴⁴ In addition, from 1900 onwards Japan increasingly directed its Intelligence Services to take a keener interest in the U.S. From time to time Japanese warships and fishing vessels carried out extensive surveying, charting and photography off the American Pacific coast. In photographic intelligence work Japan was far ahead of either Britain or America. Occasionally there was an “accidental” grounding by one of these vessels. In one such incident in 1908 a number of Japanese officers took the opportunity to wade ashore and explore the whole area.⁴⁵ The U.S. Army and Navy started paying attention to these probes.

According to Richard Deacon, the Japanese approach to intelligence work has always tended to be more direct and straightforward than that of the Western powers.⁴⁶ Since reopening their borders to foreign intercourse in the mid-nineteenth century, the Japanese have never taken a narrow view as to what a national espionage organization should concentrate on, but have regarded it as embracing all kinds of knowledge. Besides, according to Deacon, the Japanese also upheld the code of "bushido," traditional Japanese chivalry or the unwritten code of ethics and behavior developed in the feudal warrior society, which laid down that espionage was an honorable and highly patriotic duty. Lord Grey of Fallodon, British Foreign Secretary in the pre-World War One years, seems to have taken a similar view of the Japanese attitude. He writes that during the whole of his eleven years in office Japan never exploited unfairly the advantages it might have claimed from the Alliance, and that its government and ambassadors were honorable and loyal.⁴⁷

According to Deacon, this emphasis on patriotism as a motive in espionage was not paralleled in Europe and the U.S. in this period.⁴⁸ In both the U.S. and Britain secret service work was regarded as something rather disreputable, and never officially acknowledged. This seems to have been the reason why all eighteen of the films listed under the category of "spy" in the *AFI Catalog 1893-1910* deal with either the theme of spies' executions or the spy stories of non-Caucasian or female people, who were placed in socially lower positions under the so-called white-male supremacy of the period. The general emphasis on the Japanese secret service's successful activities was not, therefore, entirely favorable for Japan's image in American and European eyes, and it could for this reason have become the basis of the exaggerated image of doubleness of Japanese men who become spies in films. Colonel Akashi, who was both a poet and a painter, was described by Hamilton as "most conscientious, hard-working, considerate . . . a trifle over-careful, ponderous and precise from the military attache point of view, but obviously upright and reliable in every sense," and became a favorite in the European salons. However, his task, as mentioned above, was to spy on foreign nations.⁴⁹ He was probably one of the models for Dr. Tokoramo in *The Typhoon*.

II IMAGES OF JAPANESE MEN IN SPY FILMS DURING WORLD WAR ONE

The impact of World War One on film has long been recognized and discussed in the study of film history. Studies have shown that the European production of movies, interrupted and altered by the war, could not meet the demands of a worldwide market for cinema, and by the end of the 1910s U.S. products were dominating the worldwide market. In the U.S. the film industry did its part for the war effort by making propaganda movies, and by 1919 it had gained respectability.⁵⁰ These discussions in the study of film history, however, have so far overlooked the aesthetics of films made during the war, forgotten to ask questions about film reception, and ignored business precedents, production strategies and industry tactics. It can be said that substantial studies of the impact of World War One on film have only just started.⁵¹

As Parish and Pitts point out, “Obviously, spy movies are prevalent usually during a time of national involvement in war.”⁵² The U.S. declared war on Germany on April 6, 1917. The *AFI Catalog* lists in 1917 thirty-two and in 1918 sixty-five films under the subject “Spies” compared with only fifteen in 1916.⁵³ The *New York Dramatic Mirror* wrote in December 1917 “In these days when the papers daily bare the plots of spies, film audiences will find much to interest them” in spy films.⁵⁴

Nevertheless, the number of films in which Japanese spies appear decreased in this period. According to the *AFI Catalog*, only two such films were produced in 1917 after the U.S. became involved in the war, and only one in 1918.⁵⁵ Moreover, the characteristics of Japanese spies in these films were different from those in pre-World War One films. They were no longer emblems of exaggerated doubleness. Lewis Jacobs writes:

The crisis of the [First] World War . . . led to a new policy regarding all minorities. . . . ‘Yellow peril’ agitation against the Japanese and Chinese disappeared from the screen, since these groups were now with the Allies. The Japanese were represented not only humanly [sic] and sympathetically but romantically.⁵⁶

The fate of a propaganda film which the International Film Service Corporation had been producing since 1916, in other words, since U.S.

participation in World War One, provides a good example of this shift in emphasis. The film was a fifteen-chapter serial called *Patria*, featuring the dancer Irene Castle, the plot dealing with a girl's adventures as a U.S. secret agent involved in an attack on the U.S. by Japan and Mexico.⁵⁷ William Randolph Hearst, one of the founders of the Corporation, had the express purpose in making this film of helping to drag the U.S. out of isolationism and into the thick of World War One by the portrayal of a rather daring display of zealous patriotism, as the title indicated, and by making the villains, the Japanese and the Mexicans, tools of the Kaiser. However, when this film was shown in Washington D.C. in 1917, President Woodrow Wilson asked the producers to withdraw it from circulation so as not to stir up hostility against Japan.⁵⁸

The Museum of Modern Art in New York has a 16mm film of one episode of *Patria*, which includes a synopsis presented before the film: Patria Channing, heiress and owner of the great Channing munition works, organizes her employees, according to the Plattsburg idea, after Mexican plotters have incited a strike and caused a fire that destroyed the Channing munition docks. The Museum of Modern Art episode goes like this: Summoned from Newport by her guardian, Patria Channing reaches New York at dawn. Donald Parr of the United States Secret Service, who aided Patria escape from enemy hands during the trip, is with her. Senor Manuel Morales, confidential advisor of Senor DeLima, of Mexico, reaches his New York apartment after a hurried night's journey from Newport. This episode ends with the murder of the guardian.

According to Charles Silver, a supervisor at the film study center at the Museum of Modern Art, the subtitles must have been replaced when it was exhibited in 1917 so as not to stir up anti-Japanese sentiments.⁵⁹ Thus, there is no longer a Japanese spy in *Patria*. Senor Manuel Morales, a secret agent, who looks like Charlie Chan, lives in a Japanese-style house furnished with tatami, fusuma, shoji, a wood-block print, and chrysanthemums, drinks green tea, smokes a Japanese style pipe, wears a Japanese kimono, has a servant with the Japanese sounding name Hurita, who wears a similar kimono to that of his boss, is now, according to the subtitles, a Mexican spy. According to Parish and Pitts, he was named Baron Huroki in the original.⁶⁰ It seems that he was named after Baron Kuroki, Commander-in-Chief of the First Japanese Army.⁶¹ It is obvious from the film itself that he represents

the sort of Japanese spy familiar in pre-World War One films.

According to Benjamin B. Hampton, three to six months might have elapsed between the start of production and the release date of a film at that time.⁶² If Hampton is correct, *Yankee Pluck* (George Archainbaud, May 1917) is a film produced before the U.S. proclamation of war and shown after it. According to film magazines, the film features a refined Japanese diplomat, actually a Japanese spy, who is trying to obtain valuable government plans relating to a new U.S. airplane and a submarine. When the theft of the plans is discovered by the heroine, he attacks her and she shoots him in the shoulder and seizes the documents.⁶³ This film, again, emphasized the conventional doubleness of the Japanese spy: disguise as a diplomat, refined attractiveness, and a threat to the U.S. This was because although *Yankee Pluck* was produced before the U.S. government's proclamation of the war, it was only due to open after the U.S. had entered the war, and this film was therefore confronted with the same censorship problem as *Patria* had been. That is, the U.S. government disliked its being shown as it was. The *Exhibitor's Trade Review* summarizes the controversy surrounding the film:

But why should any producer at this critical stage of our relations with foreign powers deliberately represent as a conspirator against the United States Government a nation which ranks as one of our allies in the world war? There is absolutely no excuse for such exercise of bad judgement and violation of all the ethics which the spirit of patriotism holds as sacred. . . . But for some reason best known to themselves, the executives responsible for this picture seemingly preferred to dare State and Federal authorities to accept the challenge offered. If the various censors pass "Yankee Pluck" in its present shape, there is no limit to what may be expected in the way of pictures transgressing accepted rulings by the authorities under present war conditions.⁶⁴

The tendency of the wartime period not to emphasize the doubleness of Japanese spies is much clearer in *The Secret Game* (William C. DeMille, Dec. 1917) featuring Sessue Hayakawa as a Japanese secret service agent. This is partly because this film was produced later than the two films mentioned above, eight months after the U.S. joined the war. *Moving Picture World* calls this film "the first story of the new United States-Japanese entente," and writes:

Finely exemplifying the change in international relations as regards

Japan and the United States is "The Secret Game," the Lasky release of December 3. In this story the representatives of the two countries are not odds [sic], they are working hand in hand against a common enemy—Germany. Sessue Hayakawa has a role of a member of a Japanese secret service organization, co-operating with the United States authorities in an effort to uncover the work of the sleepless Teutons.⁶⁵

In *The Secret Game*, a leak has been discovered in the office of Major Northfield, the Pacific Coast quartermaster, a leak which may endanger the safety of American transports that are secretly carrying troops across the Pacific. Nara-Nara (Hayakawa), a Japanese secret service agent, is assigned to the case because his country has guaranteed safety to these transport ships. Nara-Nara believes that Northfield is guilty, although in reality it is Northfield's secretary Kitty Little, a girl of German ancestry, who is passing information to Dr. Ebell Smith, a German agent. Kitty is suffering from her enforced mission from the beginning, but cannot help delivering a message to Smith's house. Nara-Nara follows and kills Smith. Nara-Nara discovers that Kitty is the leak in the quartermaster's office. He rebukes her for betraying her country and points a knife at her; but he cannot kill her, because she is, according to the subtitle, "too beautiful." Tempted, Nara-Nara threatens Kitty by saying that "If you come to Japan with me, I am not going to turn you over to the police." Kitty answers "Then, you are a traitor." Nara-Nara soon realizes that he is bringing dishonor to his mission, because consequently he has charged Northfield falsely for the leak of information. Nara-Nara releases her immediately and chooses death to wipe off the stain on his family name. Kitty finally realizes that it was a serious mistake to have betrayed her country. She marries the vindicated Northfield.⁶⁶

Hayakawa's role in this film was thus somewhat different from the one he had in *The Typhoon*, despite both roles being of Japanese spies. In *The Secret Game*, as a Japanese spy working for the U.S., Hayakawa's character does not cunningly disguise his identity as a servant nor a diplomat, but is a heroic detective loyally serving the U.S.-Japan Alliance. The first scene in which Nara-Nara appears in this film demonstrates this change in characterization. Following the subtitle "Nara-Nara: A sincere friend of America and a patriot of Japan," Nara-Nara picks up tiny national flags of Japan and the U.S. and pins them on his suit. While Nara-Nara is being assigned to the secret mission, Kitty is being forced to steal documents from Northfield by a vil-

lainous German agent. These two scenes are shown at the same time through parallel editing, and, in comparison with the villain and the suffering girl, Nara-Nara looks strong-willed and valiant. As *Motion Picture News* writes, “Hayakawa’s Nara-Nara, the Japanese spy who works in behalf of the United States, is an admired figure” in *The Secret Game*.⁶⁷

The sequence in which Nara-Nara briefly threatens the Caucasian girl seems the maximum compromise between the wartime policy of depicting Japanese spies as neither sexually attractive nor threatening and the star image of Hayakawa, which relied on the tension between sensuality and threat. Nara-Nara, who takes advantage of Kitty, even threatening her at knifepoint, easily reminds the audience of Hayakawa’s villainous character in *The Cheat* (Cecil B. DeMille, Dec. 1915), a role which made him a star overnight. In *The Cheat* a wealthy Japanese merchant, played by Hayakawa, attempts to lend the heroine money that she desperately needs, in exchange for her body. When she refuses, he brutally brands her on the shoulder. This sequence can be interpreted, on the one hand, as the climax of the Hayakawa character’s sensuality, and, on the other hand, as his representation of a sexual threat to the U.S. In contrast, the parallel character Hayakawa plays in *The Secret Game*, Nara-Nara, comes to realize the dishonor of his actions and chooses to die in order to preserve the honor of Japan and the U.S. Nara-Nara is presented completely differently from Hayakawa’s character in *The Cheat*, who stays a sensual villain until the end. Therefore, it is possible to say that doubleness of the Japanese spy in *The Secret Game* is not so exaggerated.

His Birthright (William Worthington, Sep. 1918) was another spy film featuring Hayakawa made during the World War One period. Though the plot of this film was similar to that of *The Secret Game*, in this film Hayakawa’s character was not even a spy himself, but was forced to help a German spy out of love.

In *His Birthright*, Yukio (Hayakawa), the son of an American father, Admiral John Milton, and a Japanese mother, Saki-san, is reared in Japan by an old man who tells him that Milton was responsible for Saki-san’s suicide. Determined to avenge her death, Yukio sails to America as a cabin boy, bearing the blood stained knife used by his mother to kill herself. In the U.S. he becomes involved with a beautiful adventuress named Edna Kingston. Edna asks Yukio to obtain some papers from Milton in return for her love, but after he gives her

the documents, she rejects him. His shame is heightened when he discovers that she is a tool of Adolph Meyer and some German spies, and, in a furious struggle with the entire group, he retrieves the papers. Milton bursts into the room with the police and rescues his son, after which he welcomes the young man into his home. Milton explains that he always loved Saki-san, and Yukio joins the army to fight for the American cause.⁶⁸

Hayakawa's role in this film is in a sense that of a disguised spy, because he pretends to be a cabin boy, and steals confidential documents at one point, but actually he was only being used by a German spy, and in the end he becomes patriotic to the U.S. He is not a threat to the U.S. at all. It is, therefore, difficult to say that the doubleness of the Japanese spy was emphasized in this film. Since it was the first film produced by Hayakawa's own filmmaking company, Haworth Pictures Corporation, established in April 1918, this film was publicized on a large scale.⁶⁹ For instance, the *Exhibitor's Trade Review* printed a four-page advertisement for the film, which proclaimed that "'HIS BIRTHRIGHT' . . . is one of the best things he [Hayakawa] has done, and promises well for future Hayakawa pictures under this management."⁷⁰

Bonds of Honor (William Worthington, Jan. 1919), another Hayakawa feature film, which should have been completed before the war ended, was also a spy film. In this film, Yamashito (also known as Yamashiro; played by Hayakawa), the son of Count Sakurai, is loyal and courageous, while his wayward twin brother, Sasamoto (also called Sadao; also played by Hayakawa), lives a refined life and, as a result, sinks deeply into debt due to his gambling. During World War One, Sasamoto plans to pay off a gambling debt to a German spy, Paul Berkowitz, by stealing the alliance's fortification plans prepared by Yamashito and his father, but is caught during the attempt. Instead of committing hara-kiri, as prescribed by the Japanese code of honor, Sasamoto escapes to Russia with his German co-conspirators, where he becomes a drunkard. Yamashito, as a secret agent charged with bringing his brother to justice, poses as Sasamoto in Russia and exposes the spies. Sasamoto finally commits hara-kiri, and Yamashito marries the girl both brothers have loved, Toku-ko.⁷¹

This film represents the maximum compromise in depicting a Japanese spy during the war. At the same time, Hayakawa played a good spy loyal to the alliance, and a refined but bad man, used by a

German spy, who was a threat to the alliance. Hayakawa's double role allowed the filmmakers to suggest the familiar attractive but threatening doubleness of the Japanese spy figure while at the same time presenting an acceptable wartime scenario involving a loyal Japanese ally. The bad man has the doubleness which Hayakawa embodied in pre-World War One films. The bad man is punished by the loyal, good spy in the end, though the good spy, because he is a spy, also has a double identity. *Wid's*, therefore, could write "There is nothing it [sic] to offend racial prejudice."⁷²

Nevertheless, even though these Hayakawa films were successful in avoiding offensive racial stereotyping, they were not commercially successful. *Variety* wrote about *The Secret Game* that "the interest that attaches to anything in the nature of a picture or story dealing with the present war situation naturally accentuates the value of 'The Secret Game,'" but the representation of the Japanese spy in this film was not favored by its audience.⁷³ For instance, the *Los Angeles Examiner* wrote that Hayakawa's role in this film would not be particularly important in his career and that it gave "him small chance to display his remarkable cinema art."⁷⁴ Concerning *His Birthright*, the *Moving Picture World* calls it "the first of the Haworth productions[,] in which Sessue Hayakawa is somewhat at a loss to convince the spectator of high qualifications from a dramatic viewpoint," while the *New York Dramatic Mirror*'s film critic considers it "a poor story," and writes "I like silent, mysterious and cold-hearted Sessue."⁷⁵ These articles imply that audiences were not satisfied with the heroic Japanese spies. *Bonds of Honor* was generally well-received in contrast to the former two, because of its compromise of having Hayakawa play the two roles of hero and villain at the same time. Nonetheless, *Wid's* complains about that very concession: "Sessue Hayakawa is a difficult star to fit with screen material. So many things are of necessity eliminated, for social or political reason."⁷⁶

It seems that while the U.S. was taking part in World War One the points of intersection between the spy film genre and the exploitation films of Japan were more especially complex than usual. The characterization of a Japanese spy as the embodiment of doubleness, emphasized in order to attract audiences, became problematic because of government intervention in the industry caused by concern with sustaining the alliance with Japan. That is, the U.S. government's war policy forced the film industry to produce propaganda films, and the

spy film genre and films in which Japanese men appeared were directly influenced by this war policy. It is obvious that some of the filmmakers were not willing to accept this policy at first, for economic reasons, as the representation of the Japanese men in *Patria*, for instance, clearly shows. Why, they must have wondered, did they have to change the characterization of Japanese men, when most of the films that included that characterization were doing very well at the box office? Nonetheless, it is also obvious that those filmmakers had to follow the government's war policy, as the case of *Patria*'s added subtitles clearly indicates.

Propaganda is likely to be a one-side communication, in which speakers do not say what listeners want to hear, but just what they want to say. Propaganda is, therefore, unlikely to convey the truth but is, on the contrary, intended to create the truth. Of course, the film industry's characterization of Japanese men does not necessarily have any connection with Japanese men in reality, even if it was heroic or it had a double identity; it was just an image that American people had.

The audiences of the spy films in which Japanese spies appeared did not accept the "truth" concerning this Japanese spy matter created by the war policy. They were not satisfied with the representation of Japanese spies as heroes without doubleness, even if they understood that Japan was on their side during the war.

III IMAGES OF JAPANESE MEN IN POST-WORLD WAR ONE SPY FILMS

During World War One Japan started its imperialist expansion into the Asian Continent and the Pacific Ocean with moves such as the making of the "Twenty-one Demands" to China. The Japanese representatives acted boldly at a peace conference in Paris, requesting the insertion of a "racial equality resolution" into the agreement of the League of Nations. The Japanese government sent more armed forces than any other country to Siberia, and the Japanese army clashed with the U.S. Army. Many Americans came to consider the Japanese an actual economic menace to the U.S. Anti-Japanese sentiment spread nationwide for the first time.⁷⁷ This was the background of the Japanese Exclusion Act of 1924.

Under these conditions and following the dissolution of the wartime alliance, a revival of the genre of spy films in which Japanese spies

with emphasized doubleness appeared was likely to occur. Actually, however, only one such film was produced. This suggests that filmmakers were not willing to produce that kind of movie after the war. The only film of this period in which Japanese spies appear was *Who's Your Servant?* (Clarence Payne, Feb. 1920), which opens with Rear Admiral Bancroft discovering that the plans for his new battlecruiser are missing, and suspicion falling on Lieutenant Clifford Bruce of the U.S. Navy, his daughter Madeline's suitor, who was seen climbing out of the Admiral's window. In reality, Bruce, attempting to keep his courtship with Madeline a secret, had been retrieving a love letter that he had written her. Madeline, suspecting Ito, the house servant, of stealing the plans, takes advantage of the fact that the servant is in love with her and visits his room that night. He shows her a sword belonging to an ancestor, used for committing "hara kiri," and also the plans, which he boasts will bring him a fortune so that the two can elope. He urges her to fly with him. Madeline then attempts to gain possession of the papers, and in the ensuing struggle, Ito is stabbed to death. The supposition that he has committed "hara kiri" avoids any further investigation, the plans are returned, and the lieutenant wins the consent of the Admiral to marry Madeline.⁷⁸

The theme of a Japanese spy's doubleness resulting from disguise reappeared comprehensively in this film: the Japanese spy is disguised as a servant, demonstrates refined exoticism and is a threat especially to a Caucasian female. However, this film was a critical failure and probably also a financial one. This indicates that the audiences did not want this kind of film any more. Wid's writes that its "production flaws are obvious. . . . Good visualists can build up sequences of gripping power in the development of the business between the girl and the Jap. Here was an opportunity to bring in a climax to rival the time-honored denouement in 'The Cheat'." Wid's attributes this flaw to the Japanese actor Yukio Aoyama's weak acting; he "possesses neither force nor polish in his work."⁷⁹ However, this flaw should rather be ascribed to the fact that a plot like that of *The Cheat*'s, providing Japanese men with double identities, was no longer thrilling nor up-to-date. For instance, the *Exhibitor's Trade Review* writes:

Whenever you see a soft-footed Jap gliding unobtrusively around in the background of a picture whose plot turns upon the theft of U.S. Navy official documents, it is a fairly safe bet that the slant-eyed son of the

Orient is the guilty party. Therefore, it does not come as much of a surprise when one learns that the honorable Ito, realistically portrayed by Yukio Aoyama, is the low-down cuss who copped the naval plans from Admiral Bancroft and incidentally brewed a pack of trouble for the hero and heroine.⁸⁰

After this film, no more such films were produced during the silent era. Filmmakers stopped making films like this that had no financial potential. If audiences did not want any more films featuring cunning Japanese spies, it was useless to produce them. Interestingly, *Who's Your Servant?* was produced at the Robertson-Cole Corporation, which had produced and distributed Hayakawa's films, but Hayakawa never played the role of a Japanese spy again after the war.

One of the reasons for films featuring cunning Japanese spies disappeared may be the fact the threat of Japan became clearer than ever to American people under the conditions mentioned above. The "doublessness" image of Japanese men relied on a vulnerable balance between the worship of exotic Japanese arts and the fear of a potential threat. When the political, economic and military threat of Japan became visible in actual international relations after World War One, that vulnerable balance broke down and Japanese men turned out to be too threatening to be represented through the image of doubleness.

What were some of the other reasons that filmmakers stopped making films in which Japanese spies appeared, and audiences lost interest in watching them? This situation occurred partly because American interest in, and worship of, exotic Japanese arts and culture declined. The *Reader's Guide to Periodical Literature* lists in "Art—Japan" forty-four essays from 1910–14, but only eleven from 1919–21.⁸¹ The number of films in which Japanese actors appeared decreased, and most of them went back to Japan during that time. According to the *AFI Catalog*, in contrast to ten films in 1918, in 1920 only five films about Japan were produced.⁸² The decreasing popularity of Sessue Hayakawa after World War One also reflects this situation. In popularity contests run by the *Motion Picture Story Magazine*, Hayakawa fell from number 44 in 1918 to number 124 in 1920.⁸³ *Photoplay Journal* could not give a convincing answer to a question from a female fan asking "I have not seen Sessue Hayakawa featured very much lately. . . . he is a great favorite of mine. . . . Is his popularity decreasing or is it because of his nationality that he is held back?" As this question

indicates, Hayakawa's decline seems to have had something to do with the fact that he was considered to be a representative of Japan. Indeed, the *Moving Picture World*⁸⁴ wrote that the "essential character of Mr. Hayakawa . . . is representative of his race."⁸⁵ In the post-war period, moreover, the disillusionment of many Americans with Europe and with Wilson's internationalism heightened a mood of narrow-minded nationalism, and a certain tension was caused by the sharp post-war economic slump in the U.S. For example, the secret Ku Klux Klan association, which was reconstituted in 1915 to advocate "one hundred percent Americanism," expanded its influence nationwide at that time. This condition also caused the decline of popularity of the spy film genre itself. Parish and Pitts write:

With the end of the war, the public quickly tired of spy movies. . . . As the Great War ended and the Roaring Twenties took over, the reaction against war-like subjects resulted in reduced numbers of spy films being produced. The global conflict had left the moviegoing public with such a great distaste of war pictures that even romantic dramas which relied on a spy motif were affected.⁸⁶

According to the *AFI Catalog*, in contrast to the sixty-five spy films made in 1918, in 1919 fifteen and in 1920 only five spy films were produced.⁸⁷

CONCLUSION

In many cases, a spy has a double identity, and, in general, American people have despised the occupation of spies. These mental conditions became connected to the pre-existing ambivalent image of Japanese men: the embodiment of doubleness, which was, on one hand, worshipful exotic arts and culture, and, on the other hand, a potential threat to the Western world. The Hollywood image of Japanese men does not necessarily have any connection with Japanese men in reality. The attractive and threatening image, which was often presented sexually, was simply a displaced articulation of a wider American ambivalence towards Japanese men. The connection between a double identity of a spy and the "doubleness" image of Japanese men was one origin of the intersection between the spy film genre and the Japanese exploitation films in the silent era. As long as Japan stayed within the realm of the distant, a safe fantasy far away

from being an actual political, economic and military threat, American spectators were able to be absorbed in the visual “pleasure” of observing the exotic Japanese spies’ conspiracies and deaths on screen. However, as we have seen, the basis of this fantasy was vulnerable. When Japan started acting as an imperialist nation after World War One, this fantasy gave way in the face of the actual and visible threat of Japan, and both the film industry and spectators could no longer continue enjoying the fantasy of the “doubleness” image of Japanese men.

Interestingly, the “doubleness” image of Japanese men within American fantasy was taken over by other peoples. For instance, after Sessue Hayakawa lost his popularity in the early 1920s, filmmakers gave almost the same star image to the Latin actor Rudolph Valentino. The image given to Valentino was that of an exotic, sensual and sinful male character. For example, in *The Eagle* (Clarence Brown, 1925) Valentino played a Russian spy with almost the same air of doubleness that Japanese spies had had in movies for many years. That is, Valentino’s character is both sexually attractive and threatening to American masculinity, because although he is not a conventional macho-type, he is able to seduce Caucasian women with a feminine kind of masculinity, and captivate American female audiences. In Valentino’s case, contrary to Hayakawa’s case after World War One, American audiences were able to be absorbed in the fantasy of the “doubleness” image without being disturbed by the actual political, economic and military threat.

In addition, this stereotypical view, the “doubleness” image of Japanese men established in the silent era, seems to have survived in the movies. Big budget movies, as a popular and powerful medium of culture, seem to have had an influence on reinforcing various racial and ethnic images all over the world. For example, in *You Only Live Twice* James Bond visits Japan for the first time, and disguises himself not only as a killer of his colleague Henderson but as a Japanese fisherman. In Japan, Bond, who has a renowned public identity, conceals his identity physically for the first time in the series.⁸⁸

NOTES

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¹ Richard Deacon, *Kempei Tai: A History of the Japanese Secret Service* (New York: Beaufort, 1983) 6.

² Many other films listed under the subject heading “Japan and the Japanese” dealt with or touched upon geisha girls. The image of Japanese women could not be detached from geisha girls. That is, almost the only images of Japanese people were of spies or geisha girls. Elias Savada, comp., *The American Film Institute Catalog of Motion Pictures Produced in the United States: Film beginnings, 1893–1910* (Metuchen, NJ: Scarecrow, 1995) index 350, 439; Savada, comp., *The American Film Institute Catalog of Motion Picture Produced in the United States: Feature Films, 1911–1920* (Metuchen, NJ: Scarecrow, 1988) index 338, 406–7.

³ See Daisuke Miyao, “Sessue Hayakawa a Movie Star: Early Hollywood and the Japanese,” *Amerika Kenkyū* 30 (Mar. 1996): 227–46.

⁴ “He Found Acting Easier When Talking Japanese,” *Milwaukee News* 13 Oct. 1914, *Sessue Hayakawa Envelope*, Robinson Locke Collection, Library and Museum of the Performing Arts, New York Public Library at Lincoln Center (I will call this SHE from here).

⁵ Edward W. Said, *Orientalism* (1978; New York: Vintage, 1979) 3, 205.

⁶ James Robert Parish and Michael R. Pitts, *The Great Spy Pictures* (Metuchen, NJ: Scarecrow, 1974) 10.

⁷ Parish and Pitts 10.

⁸ 1893–1910 index 439; 1911–1920 index 407–8.

⁹ *New York Clipper* 2 July 1898: 302.

¹⁰ 1893–1910 320–21.

¹¹ *New York Clipper* 9 Mar. 1907: 96; 16 Mar. 1907: 124.

¹² *Moving Picture World* 27 Feb. 1909: 246; 6 Mar. 1909: 269; *New York Dramatic Mirror* 13 Mar. 1909: 16.

¹³ Robert Sklar, *Film: An International History of the Medium* (New York: Abrams, 1993) 424.

¹⁴ Charles Musser, *The Emergence of Cinema: The American Screen to 1907* (1990; Berkeley: U of California P, 1994) 40–42.

¹⁵ Musser 38–39.

¹⁶ *Image* 8.3 (Sep. 1959): 159.

¹⁷ 1893–1910 index 350; 1911–1920 index 338.

¹⁸ Linda Nochlin, “The Imaginary Orient,” *Art in America* 91 (May 1983): 127.

¹⁹ Nick Browne, “Orientalism as an Ideological Form: American Film Theory in the Silent Period,” *Wide Angle* 11.4 (1989): 29.

²⁰ 1893–1910 152–53.

²¹ *Klein Optical Company Catalog* (Nov. 1905): 339.

²² *Moving Picture World* 24 Sep. 1910: 701.

²³ “In May 1910 . . . a reel was defined as not less than 700 feet and not more than 1,050 feet. . . . over the next five years, the term ‘feature’ could be applied to a film of two to eight reels. . . .” See Eileen Bowser, *The Transformation of Cinema 1907–1915* (New York: Scribner’s, 1990) 191.

²⁴ *Moving Picture World* 10 Oct. 1914: 253; *Variety* 27 Nov. 1914: 24.

²⁵ Randall M. Miller, ed., *The Kaleidoscopic Lens: How Hollywood Views Ethnic Groups* (Englewood, NJ: Ozer, 1980) 189.

²⁶ Dewitt Bodeen, "Sessue Hayakawa: First International Japanese Star," *Films in Review* 27.4 (Apr. 1976): 201.

²⁷ *Motion Picture News* 12.4 (31 July 1915): 77; *Moving Picture World* 24 July 1915: 732.

²⁸ *Moving Picture World* 24 July 1915: 670.

²⁹ *Variety* 16 July 1915: 17.

³⁰ *Motion Picture News* 11.24 (19 June 1915): 91; 11.26 (3 July 1915): 104; *Motography* 14.3 (17 July 1915): 106; *New York Times* 17 June 1915: 11, 16.

³¹ John Izod, *Hollywood and the Box Office, 1895–1986* (New York: Columbia UP, 1988) 33–42; Garth S. Jowett, *Film: The Democratic Art* (Boston: Little, 1976) 111–34; Lary May, *Screening Out the Past: The Birth of Mass Culture and the Motion Picture Industry* (New York: Oxford UP, 1980) 147–99; Robert Sklar, *Movie-Made America: A Cultural History of American Movies* (1975; New York: Vintage, 1994) 33–64, 122–57.

³² Endymion Wilkinson, *Japan Versus the West: Image and Reality* (London: Penguin, 1980) 110.

³³ Robert S. Schwantes, *Japanese and Americans: A Century of Cultural Relations* (New York: Harper, 1955) 245.

³⁴ Clay Lancaster, *The Japanese Influence in America* (New York: Abbeville, 1983) 258, 262.

³⁵ Donald Keene, *Appreciations of Japanese Culture* (Tokyo: Kodansha International, 1971) 250–58.

³⁶ Lancaster xvii.

³⁷ For instance, *Outlook* 9 July 1910: 539; *Nation* 101.2634 (23 Dec. 1915): s-5; *North American Review* 197 (June 1913): 721–60.

³⁸ For instance, the Alien Land Act of California in 1913, which prohibited people who did not have qualifications to get citizenship (primarily, the Japanese) from purchasing land, was strongly criticized by the people in the eastern states and never nationally supported. See Roger Daniels, *The Politics of Prejudice: The Anti-Japanese Movement in California and the Struggle for Japanese Exclusion* (Berkeley: U of California P, 1962) 65.

³⁹ The Japanese population in the U.S.: 148(1880), 2,038(1890), 24,326(1900), 72,157(1910), 111,010(1920), 138,834(1930), 126,948(1940). Harry H. L. Kitano, *Japanese Americans* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice, 1969) 162–63. A percentage of the Japanese population in the Pacific states: 75(1900), 80(1910), 83(1920). A percentage of the Japanese population in California: 42(1900), 57(1910), 65(1920). Daniels, *Asian America: Chinese and Japanese in the United States since 1850* (Seattle: U of Washington P, 1988) 153; Payson J. Treat, *Japan and the United States* (Stanford: Stanford UP, 1928) 190.

⁴⁰ Walter Dening, *A New Life of Toyotomi Hideyoshi* (Tokyo: Kyobunkan, 1904) (qtd. in Deacon 11).

⁴¹ Lieut.-General Sir Ian Hamilton, *A Staff Officer's Scrapbook during the Russo-Japanese War* (London: Arnold, 1907) (qtd. in Deacon 53).

⁴² Deacon 60.

⁴³ "Chinamen as Spies," *Harper's Weekly* 11.2637 (6 July 1907): 995.

⁴⁴ Deacon 55. Akashi followed the Japanese espionage system by which information was passed to and fro, providing each spy with at least three runners to pass messages. The sequence of the Japanese spies passing information in *Spione* (Fritz Lang, 1927)

was, therefore, based on the actuality, though the film's depiction of hara-kiri, a Japanese spy commits after his failure in his mission because he was seduced by a Caucasian girl, was one of the most exotic and exploitative scenes ever made about Japan.

⁴⁵ Deacon 84.

⁴⁶ Deacon 34–35.

⁴⁷ Lord Grey of Fallodon, *Twenty-Five Years* (London: Hodder, 1929) (qtd. in Deacon 92–93).

⁴⁸ Deacon 35.

⁴⁹ Deacon 79.

⁵⁰ For instance, see Lewis Jacobs, *The Rise of the American Film: A Critical History* (1939; New York: Teachers College P, 1967) 280–81.

⁵¹ For instance, see Leslie Midkiff DeBauche, "Practical Patriotism: The United States Film Industry in World War I," diss., U of Wisconsin-Madison, 1987; Karel Dibbets and Bert Hogenkamp, ed., *Film and the First World War* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam UP, 1995).

⁵² Parish and Pitts 10.

⁵³ 1911–1920 index 407.

⁵⁴ *New York Dramatic Mirror* 8 Dec. 1917: 18.

⁵⁵ 1911–1920 index 338.

⁵⁶ Jacobs 280–81.

⁵⁷ In subtitles in the version at the Museum of Modern Art, the dancer's name is not Irene but Vernon, who attained great fame as Irene's dancing partner. Parish and Pitts 13, 372.

⁵⁸ William L. Neumann, *America Encounters Japan: From Perry to MacArthur* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins P, 1963) 148.

⁵⁹ Charles Silver, personal interview at the Museum of Modern Art, New York City, 29 Sep. 1995.

⁶⁰ Parish and Pitts 374.

⁶¹ Jean-Pierre Lehmann, *The Image of Japan: From Feudal Isolation to World Power, 1850–1905* (London: Allen, 1978) 144–45.

⁶² Benjamin B. Hampton, *A History of the Movies* (New York: Covici, 1931) 173.

⁶³ *Exhibitor's Trade Review* 19 May 1917: 1680; *Motion Picture News* 15.21 (26 May 1917): 3312; *Moving Picture World* 26 May 1917: 1298, 1340; *Wid's* 24 May 1917: 328.

⁶⁴ *Exhibitor's Trade Review* 19 May 1917: 1680.

⁶⁵ *Moving Picture World* 15 Dec. 1917: 1643; 29 Dec. 1917: 1995.

⁶⁶ *Exhibitor's Trade Review* 8 Dec. 1917: 60; *Moving Picture World* 15 Dec. 1917: 1684.

⁶⁷ *Motion Picture News* 16.24 (15 Dec. 1917): 4224.

⁶⁸ *Exhibitor's Trade Review* 24 Aug. 1918: 1018; 31 Aug. 1918: 1987; *Moving Picture World* 14 Sep. 1918: 1612; *Variety* 20 Sep. 1918: 45; *Wid's* 15 Sep. 1918: 23–24.

⁶⁹ *Moving Picture World* 9 Mar. 1918: 1332; 16 Mar. 1918: 1497; 6 July 1918: 31–34, 76.

⁷⁰ *Exhibitor's Trade Review* 24 Aug. 1918: 1003–6, 1018.

⁷¹ *Motion Picture News* 19.6 (8 Feb. 1919): 919, 924; *Moving Picture World* 25 Jan. 1919: 541–42; *Variety* 7 Feb. 1919: 53.

⁷² *Wid's* 26 Jan. 1919: 23.

⁷³ *Variety* 7 Dec. 1917: 50.

⁷⁴ *Wid's* 6 Dec. 1917: 775; *Los Angeles Examiner* 3 Dec. 1917, SHE.

⁷⁵ *Moving Picture World* 24 Aug. 1918: 1153–54; *New York Dramatic Mirror* 14 Sep. 1918: 412; 19/26 Oct. 1918: n.p., SHE.

⁷⁶ *Wid's* 26 Jan. 1919: 23.

⁷⁷ Daniels, *Asian America* 150; John Higham, *Strangers in the Land: Patterns of American Nativism, 1860–1925* (1955; New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers UP, 1988) 265.

⁷⁸ *Motion Picture News* 14 Feb. 1920: 1712–13; *Moving Picture World* 13 Mar. 1920: 1841.

⁷⁹ *Wid's* 14 Mar. 1920: 17.

⁸⁰ *Exhibitor's Trade Review* 6 Mar. 1920: 1442.

⁸¹ *Reader's Guide to Periodical Literature* 3 (1910–1914) (New York: Wilson, 1900–): 126; 5 (1919–1921): 77.

⁸² 1911–1920 index 338.

⁸³ “The Motion Picture Hall of fame,” *Motion Picture Story Magazine* 16.11 (Dec. 1918): 12; “Popularity Contest,” *Motion Picture Story Magazine* 20.11 (Dec. 1920): 94.

⁸⁴ *Photoplay Journal* July 1919, SHE.

⁸⁵ *Moving Picture World* 15 June 1918: 1615.

⁸⁶ Parish and Pitts 14–15.

⁸⁷ 1911–1920 index 407.

⁸⁸ Another interesting stereotypical aspect in the film is the fact that Bond's life is saved by Japanese women several times. This may stem from a stereotype of devoted Japanese women. Another is a volcano, which not only appears in the sensual title-back but occupies an important place in the film's narrative. One of the first feature-length silent films which depicted Japan was *The Wrath of the Gods* (Reginald Barker, 1914), a story of an eruption of a volcano in Japan.