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The Social Perception of Skin Color in Japan

LONG BEFORE any sustained contact with either Caucasoid Europeans or dark-skinned Africans or Indians, the Japanese valued "white" skin as beautiful and deprecated "black" skin as ugly. Their spontaneous responses to the white skin of Caucasoid Europeans and the black skin of Negroid people were an extension of values deeply embedded in Japanese concepts of beauty.[1] From past to present, the Japanese have always associated skin color symbolically with other physical characteristics that signify degrees of spiritual refinement or primitiveness. Skin color has been related to a whole complex of attractive or objectionable social traits. It might strike some as curious that the Japanese have traditionally used the word *white* (*shiroi*) to describe lighter shades of their own skin color. The social perception of the West has been that the Chinese and Japanese belong to a so-called "yellow" race, while the Japanese themselves have rarely used the color yellow to describe their skin.

I

"White" skin has been considered an essential characteristic of feminine beauty in Japan since recorded time. An old Japanese proverb states that "white skin makes up for seven defects"; a woman's light skin causes one to overlook the absence of other desired physical features.[2]

During the Nara period (710-793), court ladies made ample use of cosmetics and liberally applied white powder to the face.[3] Cheeks were rouged. Red beauty spots were painted on between the eyebrows and at the outer corners of both the eyes and the lips. Eyelids and lips were given a red tinge.[4] Both men and women removed their natural eyebrows and penciled in long, thick

lines emulating a Chinese style. The custom of blackening teeth spread among the aristocratic ladies.[5] In the next period (794-1185), when the court was moved to the new capital of Heian (Kyoto), countless references were made in both illustration and writing to round-faced, plump women with white, smooth skin. Necessary to beauty was long, black, straight hair that draped over the back and shoulders without being tied.[6] One can illustrate this conception of white skin as a mark of beauty from *The Tale of Genji* by Lady Murasaki, a romance of the first decade of the eleventh century:

> Her color of skin was very white and she was plump with an attractive face. Her hair grew thick but was cut so as to hang on a level with her shoulders—very beautiful.
>
> Her color was very white and although she was emaciated and looked noble, there still was a certain fulness in her cheek.[7]

In her personal diary, the same author depicted portraits of several court ladies:

> Lady Dainagon is very small but as she is white and beautifully round, she has a taller appearance. Her hair is three inches longer than her height.
>
> Lady Senji is a small and slender person. The texture of her hair is fine, delicate and glossy and reaches a foot longer than her height.
>
> Lady Naiji has beauty and purity, a fragrant white skin with which no one else can compete.[8]

Writing about the year 1002 in essays called *The Pillow Book*, the court lady Sei Shōnagon described how she despised "hair not smooth and straight" and envied "beautiful, very long hair."[9] In *The Tale of Glory*, presumably written in 1120 by Akazome Emon, a court lady, two beautiful women of the prosperous Fujiwara family are depicted: one with "her hair seven or eight inches longer than her height," and the other with "her hair about two feet longer than her height and her skin white and beautiful."[10] From the eighth to the twelfth century, the bearers of Japanese cultural refinement were the court nobility who idled their lives away in romantic love affairs, practicing the arts of music and poetry. The whiteness of untanned skin was the symbol of this privileged class which was spared any form of outdoor labor. From the eleventh century on, men of the aristocracy applied powder to their faces just as the court ladies did.[11]

In 1184, the warriors took the reins of government away from the effete courtiers and abruptly ended the court's rather decadent era. To protect the *samurai* virtues of simplicity, frugality, and bravery, the warriors set up headquarters in the frontier town of Kamakura located far away from the capital. The warriors maintained Spartan standards, as is evidenced in the many portrait paintings showing rather florid or swarthy countenances. Women still continued, however, the practices of toiletry established previously in the court. In 1333 the warriors' government was moved from Kamakura back to Kyoto, where the Ashikaga Shogunate family emulated court life and re-established an atmosphere of luxury among the ruling class.

Standards of feminine beauty still emphasized corpulence of body, white skin, and black hair, which in this period was worn in a chignon. Preference was voiced for a woman with a round face, broad forehead, and eyes slightly down-turned at the corners.[12] By this time, the old court custom of penciling eyebrows and blackening teeth had become incorporated into the puberty rites practiced for both boys and girls. Such rites were principally held by the warrior class but were later adopted by commoners.[13] The writing of Yoshida Kenkō, a celebrated poet and court official who became a Buddhist monk in 1324, exemplifies the continuing preoccupation this period had with the white skin of women. Yoshida wrote the following in his *Essays of Idleness:*

> The magician of Kume (as the legend runs) lost his magic power through looking at the white leg of a maiden washing clothes in a river. This may well have been because the white limbs and skin of a woman cleanly plump and fatty are no mere external charms but true beauty and allure.[14]

Following a chaotic political period, the Tokugawa feudal government was established in 1603. It was to last until the modern period of Japan, more than two hundred and fifty years. Changes occurred in the ideals of feminine beauty during this period of continuing peace. Gradually, slim and fragile women with slender faces and up-turned eyes began to be preferred to the plump, pear-shaped ideal that remained dominant until the middle of the eighteenth century.[15] White skin, however, remained an imperative characteristic of feminine beauty. Ibara Saikaku (1642-1693), a novelist who wrote celebrated books about common life during the early Tokugawa period, had the following to say about the type of female beauty to be found in Kyoto and Osaka:

A beautiful woman with a round face, skin with a faint pink color, eyes not too narrow, eyebrows thick, the bridge of her nose not too thin, her mouth small, teeth in excellent shape and shining white.[16]

A woman of twenty-one, white of color, hair beautiful, attired in gentleness.

Thanks to the pure water of Kyoto, women remain attractive from early childhood but they further improve their beauty by steaming their faces, tightening their fingers with rings and wearing leather socks in sleep. They also comb their hair with the juice of the *sanekazura* root.[17]

Another author, depicting the beauties of the middle Tokugawa period of the 1770's, wrote: "A pair of girls wearing red-lacquered thongs on their tender feet, white as snow, sashes around their waists, with forms as slender as willow trees."[18] Tamenaga Shunsui (1789-1843), an author of the late Tokugawa period, never forgot to mention white skin when describing the beautiful women of Edo (Tokyo):

Her hands and arms are whiter than snow.

You are well-featured and your color is so white that you are popular among your audience.

This courtesan had a neck whiter than snow. Her face was shining as she always polished it with powder.[19]

The use of good water and the practice of steaming the face were thought to make skin white and smooth. Rings and socks were worn in sleep to stunt excessive growth of limbs since small hands and feet were valued attributes of feminine charm. The juice of the *sanekazura* root was used to straighten the hair. These practices all confirm the continuous concern with white skin and straight hair. They also suggest, however, the possibility that many women were lacking in such standards of feminine beauty. The following quotation describes what was considered ugly:

Disagreeable features for a woman are a large face, the lack of any tufts of hair under the temple, a big, flat nose, thick lips, black skin, a too plump body, excessive tallness, heavy, strong limbs, brownish wavy hair and a loud, talkative voice.

These were the comments of Yanagi Rikyō, a high-ranking warrior of the Kōriyama fief, who was also a poet, artist, and noted connoisseur of womanhood in the late-eighteenth century. He contrasted these objectionable features with "the amiable features

of a woman, a small and well-shaped face, white skin, gentle manner, an innocent, charming and attentive character."[20] One might speculate that the supposed Polynesian or Melanesian strains, sometimes thought to have entered the Japanese racial mixture, would be responsible for flat noses, thick lips, or brownish, wavy hair. Such features are certainly not rare among Japanese, although they run directly counter to the Japanese image of beauty.

Because Mongoloid skin shows a very quick tendency to tan and to produce "black" skin, the Japanese can maintain lightness of skin only by total avoidance of sunlight. Not surprisingly, Tokugawa women made constant use of parasols or face hoods to hide their skin from sunlight and assiduously applied powder to face, neck, throat, and upper chest.[21] In order to increase the whiteness and smoothness of their skin, women "polished" it in their baths with a cloth bag containing rice bran or the droppings of the Japanese nightingale. Application of other grains such as millet, barley, Deccan grass, and beans was also considered to have some "bleaching" effect on the skin. Juices taken from various flowers were also used for the same purpose,[22] and many medicines were sold that promised "to turn the skin as white as the snow found on the peaks of high mountains."[23]

When a woman's constant care of her skin achieved desired results, she would enjoy such praise as "Her face is so smoothly shiny that it seems ready to reflect," and "Her face can compete with a mirror," or "Her face is so shiny as to make a well polished black lacquered dresser feel ashamed."[24]

From the beginning of the nineteenth century, the Kabuki actors set the standards of men's beauty. A rather feminine type of male with a slender figure, well-formed face, white skin, black hair, and red lips became a favorite object of feminine desire. Men possessing these elements of attractiveness would enjoy such a flattering remark as "You should be a Kabuki actor." By the middle of the nineteenth century, these characteristics began to be considered effeminate. A man with a more dusky skin and a piquantly handsome face became the preferred type.[25]

The word *white* repeatedly used in the quotations taken from these various sources is the same Japanese word *shiroi* that is used to describe snow or white paper. There was no intermediate word between *shiroi* ("white") and *kuroi* ("black") used to describe skin color.[26] When distinctions were made, there would be recourse to such words as *asa guroi* ("light black").

II

Not long after the first globe-circling voyages of Magellan, Westerners appeared on the shores of Japan. Dutch, English, Portuguese, and Spanish traders came to ply their trade in Japanese ports. Both Spanish and Portuguese missionaries sought to establish Christianity in Japan. Before the Tokugawa government sealed off Japan from the West, the Japanese had ample opportunity to observe white men for the first time. In these early contacts, the Portuguese and Spaniards were called *nanban-jin* or *nanban* meaning "southern barbarians," words adopted from the Chinese who had names to designate all the "inferior savages" living to the north, south, east, and west of the Middle Kingdom. The Dutch were called *kōmō-jin* or *kōmō*, "red-haired people."

In several of the colored pictures of the day[27] that included both Japanese and Europeans, the Japanese artists painted the faces of the Portuguese, Spanish, and Japanese men in a flesh color or light brown, but depicted the faces of Japanese women as white in hue. In a few other pictures, however, some Portuguese are given white faces like Japanese women, while other Portuguese are given darker faces. Seemingly, the Japanese artists were sensitive in some instances to some form of color differential among the foreigners. Many Portuguese and Spaniards were actually not so white-skinned as northern Europeans, and after the long sea voyage to Japan, they undoubtedly arrived with rather well-tanned skins. The Dutch in the pictures, on the other hand, seem to be given invariably either gray or white faces. When contrasted with the Japanese women near them, the Japanese feminine face is painted a whiter hue than that of the Dutch.

The differences between the Japanese and the Europeans in these old prints are clearly depicted in hair color and facial characteristics. The Portuguese, Spaniards, and Dutch are all taller than the Japanese and are given somewhat unrealistically large noses. Their double eye folds and their bushy eyebrows and mustaches seem slightly exaggerated. The Portuguese and Spanish hair is painted brown although a few are given black hair. The Dutch hair is usually depicted as either red or reddish-brown in color.[28] Written and pictorial descriptions indicate that the Japanese were more impressed with the height, hair color, general hairiness, big noses and eyes of the foreigners than with their lighter skin color.[29] Some pictures include portraits of the Negro

servants of the Portuguese and Dutch. The faces of Negroes are painted in a leaden- or blackish-gray, and their hair is shown as extremely frizzled. The physiognomy of the Negroes is somewhat caricatured and in some instances closely resembles the devils and demons of Buddhist mythology.

Some Japanese scholars of Dutch science seem to have had a notion that the black skin and frizzled hair of Negro servants were the result of extreme exposure to heat and sunshine in the tropical countries in which they were born. In 1787, such a scholar wrote of what he had learned from his Dutch friends about their Negro servants:

> These black ones on the Dutch boats are the natives of countries in the South. As their countries are close to the sun, they are sun-scorched and become black. By nature they are stupid.
>
> The black ones are found with flat noses. They love a flat nose and they tie children's noses with leather bands to prevent their growth and to keep them flat.
>
> Africa is directly under the equator and the heat there is extreme. Therefore, the natives are black colored. They are uncivilized and vicious in nature.[30]

Another scholar wrote:

> Black ones are impoverished Indians employed by the Dutch. As their country is in the South and the heat is extreme, their body is sun-scorched and their color becomes black. Their hair is burned by the sun and becomes frizzled but they are humans and not monkeys as some mistakenly think.[31]

After the closing of the country by the Tokugawa government in 1639, the only contact of Japanese with Westerners, aside from the Dutch traders, would occur when shipwrecked Japanese sailors would occasionally be picked up by Western ships and taken for a period to a Western country. The reports about the English, Russians, and Spaniards made by these Japanese sailors upon their return commented much more on the hair and eyes of the Occidentals than upon the color of skin.[32]

In 1853 Commodore Perry of the United States Navy came to Japan with his "black ships" and forced Japan to reopen her ports to foreign vessels. When Perry visited Japan for the second time in 1854, there were two American women on board. It was reported in a Japanese document:

> On board is a woman named Shirley, 31 years old and her child Loretta, 5 years old. Their hair is red. They have high noses, white faces

and the pupils of their eyes are brown. They are medium in size and very beautiful.[33]

The portraits of Commodore Perry and five principals of his staff drawn by a Japanese artist show the Americans with noses of exaggerated size, large eyes, and brownish hair. Their faces are painted in a washed-out, whitish-ash color. In other pictures, however, both American and Japanese faces are painted with an identical whitish-gray, although the Americans are given brown hair and bushy beards. In some pictures showing the American settlements in Yokohama and Tokyo of the 1860's, the faces of both American and Japanese women are painted whiter than those of American and Japanese men. It may well be possible that the American men's faces were more sun-tanned and exposed to the elements during the voyage than the faces of the women who, observing canons of beauty much like those held by Japanese women, may have kept themselves out of the sun. Also, the artists may have simply resorted to convention by which women's faces were painted white.[34]

In 1860 the Tokugawa government sent an envoy with an entourage of eighty-three warriors to the United States to ratify a treaty of peace and commerce between the United States and Japan originally signed in 1854. Some of the members of the entourage kept careful diaries and noted their impressions of the United States during their trip to Washington. Upon meeting the President of the United States, one *samurai* wrote: "President Buchanan, about 52 or 53 years of age, is a tall person. His color is white, his hair is white." The *samurai* leaders were surprised to attend formal receptions at which women were included and to find that American men acted toward their women as obliging servants. They were impressed with the daring exposure afforded by the décolletage of the formal evening gowns worn by women at these balls and receptions. In their diaries they noted their appreciation of American beauty, although they continued to express their preference for black hair:

> The women's skin was white and they were charming in their gala dresses decorated with gold and silver but their hair was red and their eyes looked like dog eyes, which was quite disheartening.
>
> Occasionally I saw women with black hair and black eyes. They must have been of some Asian race. Naturally they looked more attractive and beautiful.

Another man expressed his admiration for the President's niece,

Harriet Lane, in true *samurai* fashion by composing a Chinese poem:

> An American belle, her name is Lane,
> Jewels adorn her arms, jade her ears.
> Her rosy face needs no powder or rouge.
> Her exposed shoulders shine as white as snow.[35]

This American belle and her friends had asked another *samurai* at a party which women he liked better, Japanese or American. The *samurai* wrote in his diary:

> I answered that the American women are better because their skin color is whiter than that of the Japanese women. Such a trifling comment of mine obviously pleased the girls. After all, women are women.

After seeing about a hundred American children aged five to nine gathered at a May festival ball, another warrior wrote of his admiration of their beauty:

> The girls did not need to have the help of powder and rouge. Their skin with its natural beauty was whiter than snow and purer than jewels. I wondered if fairies in wonderland would not look something like these children.

On the way back from the United States, the boat carrying the Japanese envoy stopped at a harbor on the African coast, and the *samurai* had a chance to see the black-skinned Africans inhabiting the region. They noted with disapproval their impression of Negroid features:

> The black ones look like devils depicted in pictures.
>
> The faces are black as if painted with ink and their physiognomy reminds me of that of a monkey.[36]

III

In the early Meiji period, the Japanese began their self-conscious imitation of the technology of the West. Less consciously, they also began to alter their perception of feminine beauty. In their writings, they referred with admiration to the white skin of Westerners, but noted with disapproval the hair color and the hairiness of Westerners. Wavy hair was not to the Japanese taste until the mid-1920's. Curly hair was considered to be an animal characteristic. Mrs. Sugimoto, the daughter of a *samurai,* writes in her autobiography that, as a child with curly hair, she had her

hair dressed twice a week with a special treatment to straighten it properly. When she complained, her mother would scold her, saying, "Do you not know that curly hair is like that of animals? A *samurai's* daughter should not be willing to resemble a beast."[37]

The body hair of Caucasian men suggested a somewhat beastly nature to Japanese women, and, probably for reasons of this kind, Japanese women of the late-nineteenth century refused or were reluctant in many instances to become mistresses to Western diplomats.[38]

By the mid-1920's the Japanese had adopted Western customs and fashions, including the singing of American popular songs and dancing in dance halls. They watched motion pictures with delight and made great favorites of Clara Bow, Gloria Swanson, and Greta Garbo. Motion pictures seem to have had a very strong effect in finally changing habits of coiffure and attitudes toward desirable beauty. During this period many Japanese women had their hair cut and, in spite of the exhortations of proud *samurai* tradition, had it waved and curled. They took to wearing long skirts with large hats to emulate styles worn by Greta Garbo. The 1920's was a time of great imitation. Anything Western was considered "modern" and, therefore, superior. This trend lasted until the mid-1930's when, under the pressure of the ultra-nationalist, militarist regime, the ties with Western fads were systematically broken.[39]

Already in 1924, Tanizaki Junichirō depicted a woman who represented a kind of femininity that was appealing to "modern" intellectuals of the time. She was Naomi in *The Love of an Idiot*, and her physical attractiveness had a heavy Western flavor. She was sought after by a man who "wished if ever possible to go to Europe and marry an Occidental woman." Since he could not do so, he decided to marry Naomi, who had such Occidental features. He helped her refine her beauty and educated her so that she would become "a real lady presentable even to the eyes of the Occidentals." She became, instead, a promiscuous, lust-driven woman who turned her mentor-husband into a slave chained to her by his uncontrollable passion. An important aspect of Tanizaki's depiction of this Occidental-looking girl is the whiteness of her skin:

> Against the red gown, her hands and feet stand out purely white like the core of a cabbage.
>
> Her skin was white to an astounding degree. . . . All the exposed parts of her voluptuous body were as white as the meat of an apple.

There is a most interesting passage in this book, however, in which Tanizaki, with a note of disappointment, compares Naomi with a real European woman, a Russian aristocrat living in exile in Japan.

> [The Russian woman's] skin color . . . was so extraordinarily white, an almost ghostly beauty of white skin under which the blood vessels of light violet color were faintly visible like the veining of marble. Compared with this skin, that of Naomi's lacked clearness and shine and was rather dull to the eye.[40]

The subtle, not fully conscious, trend toward an idealization of Western physical features by the Japanese apparently became of increasing importance in the twenties. It remained a hidden subcurrent throughout the last war while Japan, as the "champion of the colored nations," fought against the "whites." In spite of propaganda emphasizing the racial ties between Japanese and other Asians, the "yellowness" of the Japanese was never quite made a point of pride. The rapidity with which Western standards of beauty became idealized after the war attests to the continuous drift that was occurring in spite of ten years of antagonism and military hostilities.

IV

Older Japanese who have lived overseas have been astounded upon visiting postwar Japan. The straight black hair of the past is all but gone. Even most geisha, the preservers of many feminine traditions, have permanents and wave their hair. Among ordinary women, one periodically sees extreme examples of hair that has been bleached with hydrogen peroxide or, more commonly, dyed a purplish or reddish hue. Plastic surgery, especially to alter eye folds and to build up the bridge of the nose, has become almost standardized practice among the younger movie actresses and, indeed, even among some of the male actors. There were examples of plastic surgery to be found before the war, but its wide popularity is something new.[41]

Contemporary Japanese men interviewed in the United States and Japan all agreed in valuing the "whiteness" of skin as a component of beauty in the Japanese woman.[42] Whiteness is very often associated in their minds with womanhood ("Whiteness is a symbol of women, distinguishing them from men"), with chastity and purity ("Whiteness suggests purity and moral virtue"), and

motherhood ("One's mother-image is white"). Linked with concerns for the skin's whiteness are desires that it also be smooth with a close, firm texture, a shiny quality, and no wrinkles, furrows, spots, or flecks. Some informants mentioned the value of a soft, resilient, and subtly damp surface to the skin. This quality, called *mochi-hada* ("skin like pounded rice") in Japanese, has an implicit sexual connotation for some men.[43]

Although many young men accept the primary preference for white skin, they also admit that sun-tanned skin in a young woman is of a "modern" healthy attractiveness. Some men contrasted such healthy charm to that of a "beautiful tuberculosis patient whose skin is pale and almost transparent," a type of helpless beauty that represented tragic charm during the 1930's. Associated with brownish, sun-tanned skin as a beauty type are large Western eyes, a relatively large mouth with bold lips, a well-developed body, and an outgoing, gay personality.

Such a creature with "Western" charm was held in direct contrast to the more traditional femininity of white skin, less conspicuous physique, gentle manner, and quiet character. One finds these contrasts and stereotypes juxtaposed in popular contemporary fiction. There is some ambivalence about light-colored skin in men. Light skin suggests excessive intellectualism, more effeteness, individuals who are impractical and concern themselves with philosophical questions of life, love, and eternity, and those who are unduly ruminative and lack the capacity to act.

Among the women interviewed, there was a general consensus that Japanese women like to be "white-skinned," but that there is a type of modern beauty in women with sun-tanned skin. The women believe that such women, however, when they marry and settle down, "stop being sporty and sun-tanned. Such a girl will take care of her skin and become white."[44]

Several informants with working-class backgrounds said that, as children, they heard their mothers and other adult women talk about the "fragile, white-skinned women" of the wealthier class who did not have to work outside. They remembered a certain tone of both envy and contempt in their mothers' voices. There is a tendency to associate "white" skin with urban and "black" skin with rural living.

In this connection, a Japanese social psychologist who had visited Okinawa several times told us that many Okinawans become self-conscious of their "black" skin when they meet Japanese

from Japan. To Okinawan eyes, the Japanese appear to have "whiter" skin and, therefore, look much more refined and urban than do the Okinawans. There used to be a general association among the Japanese of "white" skin with wealth, "black" skin with lower economic status. The younger generations, however, increasingly tend to consider sun-tanned skin as the sign of the socially privileged people who can afford summer vacations at the seaside or mountain resorts.[45]

With only a few exceptions, the women interviewed voiced the opinion that Japanese women like light-brown-skinned men, seeing them as more masculine than pale-skinned men. Many women distinguished between "a beautiful man" and "an attractive man." A beautiful man (*bi-danshi*) is white-skinned and delicately featured like a Kabuki actor. Although he is admired and appreciated almost aesthetically, he is, at the same time, considered somewhat "too feminine" for a woman to depend upon. There is sometimes a reference to the saying, "A beautiful man lacks money and might." On the other hand, an attractive man (*kō-danshi*) is dusky-skinned, energetic, masculine, and dependable. Women often associate light-brown skin in a man with a dauntless spirit, a capacity for aggressive self-assertion, and a quality of manly sincerity.

A few of the women interviewed parenthetically mentioned that a woman concerned with her own "black" skin might want to marry a white-skinned man, hoping thereby to give birth to light-skinned daughters. A few younger women in favor of white skin in a man said that a white-skinned man is "more hairy" (or perhaps hair stands out better against a light background), and hairiness has a certain sexual appeal. Other women, however, expressed their dislike of body hair on a man. Some women mentioned a liking for copper-brown skin tone. They associated this with manual outdoor labor, strong health, and masculinity, though not with intelligence. A reddish, shining face is thought to suggest lewdness in middle-aged fat men who have acquired wealth through shady activities. Such a figure stands in opposition to concepts of justice, sincerity, and spiritual cleanliness. The reddish face of a drinking man may look satisfied and peaceful to some women, though it is hardly considered attractive.

In these interviews with both men and women, the present attitudes toward Caucasian skin seem to fall into opposites of likes and dislikes depending, seemingly, upon the degree of an individ-

ual's receptivity toward or identification with Western culture. These two opposite attitudes may coexist within an individual, either appearing alternately or being expressed simultaneously. Somewhat more than half of both men and women interviewed in California and about two thirds of those interviewed in Japan considered Caucasian skin to be inferior to the Japanese from the standpoint of texture and regularity. This stereotype was among the negative attitudes expressed in the interviews.

Caucasians' skin tends to be rough in texture, full of wrinkles, spots, and speckles.

If you look at the neck of an old Caucasian woman with furrows and bristles, it reminds you of that of a pig.

When I try to visualize a Caucasian woman, she is associated in my mind with skin of rough texture and unsmooth surface. Pores of her skin may be larger than ours. Young women may have smoother skin, but older women have bad skin.

A Eurasian child will be very attractive if it takes a Japanese parent's skin and a Caucasian parent's facial structure, but the result of an opposite combination could be disastrous.

This notion concerning a Eurasian child seems to be fairly widely held among Japanese. The idea that Caucasian skin is "ugly" is also expressed in the following passage taken from the work of a contemporary Japanese novelist:

When a kissing couple was projected on a large screen in a close-up, then the ugliness unique to Caucasian female skin was magnified. The freckles covering the woman's cheek and throat became clearly visible. . . . On the fingers of a man caressing a woman, gold hairs were seen shining like an animal's bristles.[46]

Some informants who favored Japanese "white" skin but not Caucasian suggested that Caucasian skin is *not white* but *transparent:*

This may be completely unscientific but I feel that when I look at the skin of a Japanese woman I see the whiteness of her skin. When I observe Caucasian skin, what I see is the whiteness of the fat underneath the skin, not the whiteness of the skin itself. Therefore, sometimes I see redness of blood under the transparent skin instead of white fat. Then it doesn't appear white but red.

I have seen Caucasians closely only a few times but my impression is that their skin is very thin, almost transparent, while our skin is thicker and more resilient.

The Caucasian skin is something like the surface of a pork sausage, while the white skin of a Japanese resembles the outside of *kamaboko* [a white, spongy fish cake].

Some men and women commented on the general hairiness of Caucasians. American women do not shave their faces and leave facial hair untouched. This causes the Japanese some discomfort since they are accustomed to a hairless, smooth face. (Japanese women customarily have their entire faces shaved except for the eyebrows.) Some women felt that the whiteness of Caucasian men lowered their appearance of masculinity; others disliked the hairiness of Caucasian men which they thought suggested a certain animality.

Japanese who have had little personal contact with Westerners often associate Caucasians with "strange creatures," if not with animality. Caucasian actors and actresses they constantly see on movie screens and on television may be the subject of their admiration for "manliness," "handsome or beautiful features," or "glamorous look," but "they don't seem to belong to reality." "Real" Caucasians are felt to be basically discontinuous with the Japanese. As one informant said:

When I think of actual Caucasians walking along the street, I feel that they are basically different beings from us. Certainly, they are humans but I don't feel they are the same creatures as we are. There is, in my mind, a definite discontinuity between us and the Caucasians. Somehow, they belong to a different world.

Deep in my mind, it seems, the Caucasians are somehow connected with something animal-like. Especially when I think of a middle-aged Caucasian woman, the first thing which comes up to my mind is a large chunk of boneless ham. This kind of association may not be limited to me. As I recall now, once in an English class at school, our teacher explained the meaning of the word "hog" as a big pig. A boy in our class said loudly, "Oh, I know what it is! It's like a foreign (meaning, Caucasian) woman!" We all laughed and I felt we all agreed with the boy.

For most of the Japanese without much personal contact with Westerners, skin is only one of several characteristics making up the image of a Caucasian. Other components of this image are the shape and color of eyes, hair, height, size, weight of the body, and also hairiness. Japanese feelings toward a Caucasian seem determined by all these factors. Many people interviewed in Japan talked of their difficulty in discussing their feelings toward

Caucasian skin as differentiated from other Caucasian physical characteristics. An image of a Caucasian with white skin, deep-set eyes, wavy hair of a color other than black, a tall, stout, hairy body, and large hands and feet seems to evoke in many Japanese an association with "vitality," "superior energy," "strong sexuality" or "animality," and the feeling that Caucasians are basically discontinuous with Asians.

Positive attitudes toward Caucasian skin center on the idea that Caucasian skin is, in actuality, whiter than the so-called white skin of the Japanese and, therefore, more attractive. Two college students in California who had dated only Caucasian boys said Caucasian white skin meant to them purity, advanced civilization, and spiritual cleanliness. They felt that even white-skinned Japanese men were "not white enough" to attract them. Although there is no basis upon which to generalize, the following report by a student who had a sexual relationship with a white woman may deserve some note:

> Perhaps I was a little drunk. Under an electric light I saw her skin. It was so white that it was somehow incongruent with her nature. Such a pure whiteness and this girl of some questionable reputation.

He associated the whiteness of a woman's skin with purity and chastity, and felt white skin incongruent with the woman's promiscuous tendency.

A Japanese hairdresser married to a Japanese American disagreed with the notion that Caucasian skin is "ugly." She said that Caucasian women tend to have larger facial furrows; these are more visible than smaller wrinkles, but otherwise "their skin is no better or worse than ours." She added, however:

> After attending to several Caucasian customers in a row, when I turn to a Japanese lady, the change in color is very striking. She *is* yellow. It always comes to me as a kind of shock, this yellow color. Does it remind me of my own color?—I don't know. I think I know I am yellow. Do I still want to forget it?—maybe.

A sudden realization that Japanese skin color is darker when compared with the white skin of Caucasians has been the experience of several Japanese men and women in the United States:

> When I stay among Caucasian friends for some time and another Japanese joins the group, I look at him, my fellow countryman, and he looks yellow or even "black" to me. This, in turn, makes me momentarily self-conscious. I mean, I feel myself different in the group.

My daughter is very "white" among the Japanese. Looking at her face, I often say to myself how white she is. As a mother, I feel happy. But when I see her among Caucasian children in a nursery school, alas, my daughter is *yellow* indeed.

It is interesting to note that Japanese who have spent time in the United States acquire the idea that Japanese are "yellow" rather than brown-skinned. Those we met in Japan, with only a few exceptions, hesitate or even refuse to describe their skin as "yellow." They know that the Japanese belong to the "yellow race" (*Ōshoku jinshu*, the technical term for the Mongoloid), but they cannot think of their skin as actually yellow, "unless," as some remarked, "a person comes down with jaundice."

Having few occasions to compare their skin color with that of other races, the Japanese apparently do not have any words available other than *black* and *white* to describe their skin. In modern Japan, *shakudō-iro* ("color of alloy of copper and gold") and *komugi-iro* ("color of wheat") are used to describe sun-tanned skin, but other words for brown and yellow are rarely employed. When I asked a thirty-year-old woman college graduate to describe the color of Japanese skin, she answered spontaneously, "Of course, it is *hada-iro* ['skin color']!" It is not known why the Japanese, after spending time among Caucasians, come to adopt the word *yellow* for their skin. This may be an attempt to adhere to common terminology, or it may be partially a continuation of a distinction between themselves and Southeast Asians, whom they consider to be darker-skinned.[47]

The informant who had told us about the "yellow skin" of her daughter was asked if she felt unhappy about her daughter's "yellowness." Her answer was an emphatic no, although she admitted that the white skin of Caucasian women is beautiful. A college graduate, married to a university professor, she suggested her solution to race problems:

I think there should be three different standards of beauty to be applied separately to three groups of people of different colors. It is a confusion of these standards or the loss of one or two of them that leads to tragedy and frustration.

Many Japanese men, especially those in the United States, admit the beauty of white skin in Caucasian women, but also point out the sense of the inaccessibility of Caucasian women. Although the feeling of "basic discontinuity" between Japanese and Caucasians found among those without much contact with West-

erners may become weakened as the Japanese spend time among the whites, it may sometimes persist in this feeling of basic remoteness and inaccessibility.

Looking at the white skin I feel somehow that it belongs to a different world. People understand each other a great deal but there is something which people of different races cannot quite share. It sounds foolish and irrational, I know, but somehow this is the feeling I have, looking at the white skin of a Caucasian woman.

White skin suggests a certain remoteness. When I went to Mexico, where most women are not white-skinned like the American, I felt more at home seeing them. I felt more comfortable.

Sometimes I feel that the white skin of the Caucasians tells me that after all I am an Oriental and cannot acquire everything Western, however Westernized I might be. It is like the last border I cannot go across and it is symbolized by the white skin. Is this my inferiority feeling toward the white people—I often wonder.

An extreme expression of such inferiority feelings about the Japanese skin color compared with that of the Caucasians is found in *Up to Aden*, a short story by an award-winning, French-educated, Catholic author Endō Shūsaku. Written in 1954 when he was thirty years old, this is Endō Shūsaku's first literary work. In it he emphasizes the basic discontinuity between European tradition and Japanese culture, focusing symbolically upon the hero's somewhat exaggerated feelings about physical differences between a white French woman and himself. The hero, a Japanese student on his way home from France, shares a fourth-class cabin on a cargo boat with a very ill African woman. The story is a beautiful montage of what the student sees and feels on the boat until it reaches Aden and of his reminiscences of his painful love for a French girl while he was still in France. The following are several quotations from the story:

"Race does not make any difference!" the [French] girl said impatiently. "The whites, the yellows or the blacks, they are all the same!" That was what she said. Race does not make any difference. Later she fell in love with me and I did not refuse her love. Because there was this illusion that race does not make any difference. In the beginning, in love, we did not at all take into consideration that her body was white and my skin was yellow. When we kissed for the first time—it was in the evening on our way home from Mabyon where we had gone . . . dancing—I shouted almost unintentionally to the girl who was leaning against the wall with her eyes closed, "Are you sure? Are you sure you don't

mind its being me?" But she simply answered, "Stop talking and hold me in your arms." If race did not make any difference, why on the earth did I have to utter such a miserable question, like a groan, at that time? If love had no frontiers and race did not matter, I should not have felt unself-confident even for a moment. In reality, however, I had to try instinctively not to envisage a certain truth hidden beneath my groan. I was afraid of it. Less than two months after that evening, the day finally came when I had to see the truth. It was in the last winter when the two of us made a trip together from Paris to Lyon. It was in the evening when for the first time we showed our skin to each other. . . . Breathlessly, we remained long in each other's arms. Golden hair had never looked to me more beautiful. Her naked body was of spotless, pure whiteness and her golden hair smoothly flowed down from her shoulders. She was facing toward a door. I was facing toward curtained windows. As the light was on, our naked bodies were visible in a mirror on an *armoire*. In the beginning I could not believe what I had seen in the mirror was really my body. My naked body had been very well proportioned for a Japanese. I was as tall as a European and I was full in chest and limbs. Speaking of the body form, I would not look inharmonious when holding a white woman in my arms. But what I saw reflected in the mirror was something else. Beside the gleaming whiteness of her shoulders and breasts in the lighted room, my body looked dull in a lifeless, dark yellow color. My chest and stomach did not look too bad, but around the neck and shoulders turbid yellow color increased its dullness. The two different colors of our bodies in embrace did not show even a bit of beauty or harmony. It was ugly. I suddenly thought of a worm of a yellow muddy color, clinging to a pure white flower. The color of my body suggested a human secretion, like bile. I wished I could cover my face and body with my hands. Cowardly, I turned off the light to lose my body in darkness. . . . "Hold me tight. We are in love and that is enough," she said to me once when we kissed at a street corner in dusk. But it was not enough that we were in love. By love only, she could not become a yellow woman and I could not become a white man. Love, logic and ideology could not erase differences in skin color. . . . White men had allowed me to enter their world as long as their pride was not hurt. They had allowed me to wear their clothes, drink their wine and love a white woman. They could not accept that a white woman loved me. They could not accept it because white people's skin is white and beautiful and because I am yellow and ugly. They could not stand a white woman falling in love with a man of such lifeless, muddy yellow color. Foolishly enough, I had not known or thought of it at all until this day [when the girl had announced her engagement to a Japanese man only to invite frightened blame and anger from her friends].

Lying down in the fourth class cabin, I watch the feverish dark brown body of a sick African woman in front of my eyes. I truly feel her skin color is ugly. Black color is ugly and yellow turbid color is even more miserable. I and this Negro woman both belong eternally to ugly races.

I do not know why and how only the white people's skin became the standard of beauty. I do not know why and how the standard of human beauty in sculpture and paintings all stemmed from the white body of the Greeks and has been so maintained until today. But what I am sure of is that in regard to the body, those like myself and Negroes can never forget miserable inferiority feelings in front of people possessing white skin, however vexing it might be to admit it.

Three years ago when I came to Europe in high spirits, and when I came through this Suez canal, I had not yet given much thought to the fact that I was yellow. In my passport it was written that I was a Japanese, but at that time in my mind Japanese were the same human beings as white people, both possessing reason and concepts. I had thought, like a Marxian, of class struggle and race conflict but I had never thought of color conflict. Class conflict may be removed but color conflict will remain eternally and eternally, I am yellow and she is white.[48]

Though it seems somewhat painful for most Japanese to be frank about it (and many of them refuse to do so), there is among Japanese intellectuals a more or less unconscious, if not conscious, ambivalence toward the world of white people. Such an attitude is understandable if one takes even a brief glance at Japan's modern history. Japan, at first overwhelmed by an apprehension of the Western world's great power, caught up with the West in an amazingly short time. Then, feeling a sense of rejection over unequal treatment, Japan appointed itself a champion of non-white Asians. In this role, it boldly tried to win a place in the company of white imperialists. Failing disastrously after all, Japan found itself receiving a "democratic education" from its American teachers toward whom it felt the greatest rivalry mixed with admiration.[49]

The diffuse ambivalence toward Western civilization may very well be focalized in the admiration, envy, sense of being overwhelmed or threatened, fear, or disgust that are evoked in the Japanese mind by the image of a hairy giant[50] who, with his great vigor and strong sexuality, can easily satisfy an equally energetic and glamorous creature.[51] Consequently, actual sexual experiences with a white woman may help some Japanese to overcome such feelings of inferiority toward Caucasians.

One of the persons interviewed remarked that his uncle once told him that during Japan's control over Manchuria many Japanese men enjoyed sleeping with white Russian prostitutes:

My uncle said, having a relationship with a white woman made these men feel different, more masculine or something. The feeling is different from that one has after having a relationship with an Asian woman.

Generally, however, Japanese men, as authors of travel books suggest, seem rather overwhelmed and discouraged by the large physique of a white woman. This is well portrayed by author Tamura Taijiō, who is known for his bold description of human sexuality. In his reminiscences on twelve women, he describes a Russian prostitute he met in Shanghai in 1934 after graduating from a university:

> Her stout body of large build also overwhelmed my feelings. . . . My arms were bigger than those of an average Japanese, but hers were much bigger than mine, almost beyond comparison. When I sat next to her, the volume and weight of her whole body made me feel inferiority and think that I was of a race physically smaller and weaker than hers. . . . "Shall we dance?" the woman talked to me perfunctorily. I put my arms around her and again I was frightened. The girth of her chest was all too broad. It did not belong to the category of chest I had known from the Japanese women. It certainly was something which wriggled in an uncanny way, something which made me wonder what she had been eating everyday. . . . "Come on!" she said. Between two heavy cylinders, like logs, covered up to thighs with black stockings, which were the only thing she wore, the central part of the woman swoll in a reddish color. It was a bizarre view. . . . It was no doubt beyond the imagination of the vegetarian Japanese how the meat-diet of these women made their sexual desire burn and blaze violently and irrepressibly.[52]

In contrast to this complex of attitudes about Caucasoid racial traits, the Japanese attitudes toward the black skin and facial characteristics of Negro Americans encountered during the Occupation were generally negative, although a number of Japanese women married Negro men. The Japanese interviewed in California, being intellectuals and living in the United States, were all keenly aware of the recent racial issues. Most of them made such statements as:

> I know people should not feel different about Negroes and I have no negative notions about them.
>
> I have nothing against them. I don't think I have any prejudice against them.

These measured comments would be followed by a "but," and then would come various expressions, usually negative:

> I feel resistance to coming closer to them.
>
> It's almost a physical reaction and has nothing to do with my thinking.
>
> It's almost like a biological repulsion.
>
> It's the feeling of uneasiness and something uncanny.

These were the reactions of the Japanese to Negro features as a total *Gestalt* (eyes, hair, nose, and lips) but particularly to black skin.

I think it is simply a matter of custom or habit. We are not accustomed to black skin. I have a Negro friend, very black. I respect him as a scholar and we are close friends and yet I still feel I am not yet used to his black skin. It's something terribly alien to my entire life. It is much better now than it was two years ago when I first met him.

Coming to this country, I had not known that a Negro's palm was different in color from the back of his hand. I was playing cards with two Americans and one African student and I suddenly noticed the color of this African student's palm. I felt I saw something which I had never seen in my life. All that evening, playing cards, I could not help looking at his hands time after time. . . . I just could not get over it.

A year after my arrival, I was introduced to an American Negro for the first time. He was a very friendly person and immediately extended his hand toward me. At that very brief moment, I hesitated. No. I did not hesitate but my arm did. My arm resisted being extended forward. Like a light flashing through my mind, I said to myself, "there is no reason why I don't want to shake hands with this black man." I did shake hands with him and I do hope he did not sense my momentary hesitation. Since then I have never hesitated to shake hands with a Negro.

The idea that black skin is something novel to the Japanese and only for that reason difficult for them to get used to was also voiced by a Japanese woman married to a Negro American.

Frankly, I felt uneasy about it [black skin] in the beginning, but you see it every day, from morning to evening; there is nothing else you can do except to get used to it. I did get used to it. Especially since he was very nice and kind all the time. Once you get used to it, you no longer see it.

The same idea is stated in a novel by Ariyoshi Sawako, a contemporary Japanese author. Although written as a comment by the heroine, a Japanese woman married to a Negro, it most probably reflects the author's frank feminine reaction to Negroid features:

The Negro's facial features—black skin, round eyes, thick round nose, big thick lips—may very well look animal-like to the eyes of those accustomed only to a yellow or a white face. Living long enough among the Negroes, however, one comes to realize how human their faces are. . . . The color of the Negro skin gives one an overwhelming impression but once one gets over it, one notices how gentle their facial features are.[53]

Incidentally, this novel, with the English subtitle *Not Because of Color,* is of special interest for us. Ariyoshi spent a few years in the United States as a Rockefeller Fellow. She then returned to Japan and wrote this novel, in which she describes the life of a Japanese woman married to a Negro in New York's Harlem. She also depicts a few other uneducated Japanese women married to Negro, Puerto Rican, and Italian Americans, as contrasted with a highly intellectual Japanese woman married to a Jewish college professor and working at the U.N. As suggested by the subtitle, Ariyoshi seemingly wanted to emphasize that—in spite of the prejudiced opinion of many white Americans and Japanese—laziness, apathy, lack of conjugal stability, and many other inferior characteristics attributed to Negro Americans are not racially inherent qualities, but the products of their degraded social status. The author accurately describes common Japanese reactions to Negro-Japanese marriages and their offspring. The heroine's mother, learning that her daughter wants to marry a Negro soldier, says:

> Our family has been honored by its warrior ancestry. Though we were not well-to-do, none of us has ever shamed the name of our family. And you, a member of our respectable family, wish to marry a man of such blackness! How shall we apologize to our ancestors? If you wish to marry an "American," that might be a different matter. But marrying that black man!
>
> Embraced by such a black one, don't you feel disgusted? I am afraid of him. Why don't you feel strange?

When the heroine takes her daughter to downtown Tokyo, people around them loudly voice their reactions to her child with Negro blood:

> Look, the child of a *kuronbo* ["black one"].
>
> Indeed, it's black, even when it is young.
>
> She looks like a rubber doll.
>
> She must have taken only after her father. So black. Poor thing.

Animal Husbandry,[54] written by Ōe Kenzaburō when he was still a French literature student at the University of Tokyo in 1957, is the story of a Negro flyer on a B-29 bomber in World War II. The flier bails out of the plane when it is shot down and lands

on a mountain. Caught by Japanese villagers, he is kept in a stable like an animal. Eventually some of the villagers butcher him because they are afraid.

The story describes not only the village children's fear of an enemy soldier and their association of a Negro with an animal, but also their discovery of his "humanity" and their timid affection for him. As is already clear from the title, the Negro soldier, "with bristle-covered heavy fingers . . . thick rubber-like lips . . . springy black shining skin . . . frizzled short hair . . . and . . . suffocating body odor," was often associated with an animal. For example, "The wet skin of the naked Negro soldier shone like that of a black horse."

A third story to be mentioned here is the work of Matsumoto Seichō, a widely read author of numerous mystery and documentary stories. In this short story, two hundred and fifty Negro soldiers enroute to Korea break out of Jōno Camp in Northern Kyushu one night and attack civilian houses around the camp. Many women are raped. Two other companies of American troops are called out to subdue the disturbances; most of the soldiers are brought back to the barracks within several hours and sent to the Korean front a few days later. A Japanese man whose wife had been assaulted by a group of Negroes divorces his wife and begins working at the Army Grave Registration Service, as a carrier of corpses. One day, he finally finds what he has been looking for: the corpses of two Negro soldiers he remembered by their obscene tattoos. They were among those who raped his wife. Out of his anger, hatred, and desire for revenge, the man stabs the corpses with an autopsy knife. The Negroes in this story are frequently associated with animals and also with the primitive natives of the African jungle:

> The sound of drums at a village festival was heard from far. It reminded them [Negro soldiers] of the rapture of their ancestors, who beat cylindrical and conical drums at ceremonies and in hunting, and whose same blood was running through them. . . . The melody in the distance was following the rhythmic pulsing of the human body. Unavoidably it stimulated their dancing instinct and they began moving their shoulders up and down and waving their hands in fascination. They started breathing hard, with their heads tilted and their nostrils enlarged. . . . Thick sounds and rhythm of drums woke the hunters' blood in them.
>
> Their bodies were all dark like shadows but their eyes shone like patches of white paper. . . . His white eyes shone like the inside of a

sea shell but the rest of his face was black, his nose, cheeks, jaw and all. . . . His thick lips were pink and dull in color. . . . Hair was kinky as if scorched. . . . Their bodies exhaled a strong foul smell of beasts. . . . When he took off his shirt, his upper body looked like that of a rhinoceros, with rich heaps of black flesh. The skin looked almost ready to squeak when moved, like tanned leather of black color. . . . When naked, his body was swollen, abdomen hanging low. It was cylindrical like a monkey's body.[55]

Other Japanese interviewed considered that the Japanese attitude toward black skin is more than just a simple reaction to something novel. According to this view, black skin is associated in the Japanese mind with many undesirable traits; other Negroid features are also the opposite of what Japanese have long valued as desirable physical characteristics:

Blackness is often combined with death, vice, despair and other kinds of negative things. "A black-bellied man" is wicked. "Black mood" is depression.

When something becomes dirty and smeared, it gets black. White skin in our minds symbolizes purity and cleanliness. Then, by an association, black skin is the opposite of purity and cleanliness. . . . Black skin after all suggests something unclean.[56] It is not the natural state of things.

Speaking of a Japanese face, we do not appreciate such features as a pug nose, snub nose, squatting nose, goggle eyes, thick lips, kinky hair. They are despised and often made a laughingstock. They often suggest foolishness or crudity and backwardness among Japanese. What is preferred is all the opposites of these. But just think. Aren't they what the Negroes usually have?

The following report by a graduate student who had sexual relations with a Negro woman shows that guilt feeling over sexuality can become focused on the blackness of skin, conceived as dirty:

I was not in love with her, nor was she with me. It was a play. To say the truth, I was curious about a Negro, after hearing so much about them. When it was over, however, I had to take a shower. The idea shocked me because it was ridiculous but I was caught by an urge. It was almost a sudden compulsion, to wash my body off, and I did.

Unlike the Japanese interviewed in California, those who were questioned in Japan expressed their feelings toward Negro Americans and Africans without reservation. They were undifferentiatedly seen by them as "black men, with inhumanly black skin, goggle eyes, thick lips, kinky hair, strong body odor,[57] and animal-

like sexuality and energy." The feelings toward such an image were invariably negative. Many said that they felt indignation toward the white American discrimination against Negroes. Some were very fond of Negro musicians. Negro baseball players were well liked. And yet, as one said, their "basic feelings are repulsion and disgust toward Negro features"; these feelings were frequently justified as a "physiological reaction, which one's reasoning cannot control."

Such strongly negative attitudes toward Negro physical characteristics certainly pose problems for the mixed-blood children of Negro American fathers and Japanese mothers, although nobody has yet made a systematic study of the lives of these children in postwar Japan. Three lower-class Japanese with less than six years of primary education independently voiced an astonishing notion when interviewed; they believed that if a Japanese woman gave birth to the black baby of a Negro man, her next baby, and probably the third one also, of a Japanese father would show some black tinge on the body. In other words, in the mind of these men, impregnation of a Japanese woman by a Negro man was associated with "blackening" of her womb as though by ink, so that the second and even the third baby conceived in it would become "stained."

The type of Negro the Japanese think attractive or handsome, or the least objectionable, is a light-skinned individual with Caucasian features. For this reason, they all find Hindu Indians with their Caucasoid facial structure generally more acceptable, even though the Hindus' black skin still groups them with African and American Negroes. The Japanese are not ready to appreciate a very Negroid Negro as attractive; the newly emergent trend among the Negro Americans[58] has not yet made any impression in Japan.

The Negro in the Japanese language is either *koku-jin* ("black person") or *kuronbo* ("black ones"); the former is a neutral word, but the latter has a definitely belittling, if not derogatory, tone. According to a philologist, the origin of *kuronbo* is Colombo, a city of Ceylon.[59] In the seventeenth century, Colombo was pronounced by the Japanese as "kuronbo" or abbreviated as "kuro," probably because of the association with the word *black* (*kuro*) since the servants on the Dutch boats, identified as "people from Colombo," were actually black-skinned. The word *bo*, originally meaning a Buddhist priest's lodge and then the priest himself, came also to mean a boy or "sonny." A suffix to certain words with the meaning

of "little one," such as *akan-bo* ("a little red one": "a baby") and *sakuran-bo* ("cherry"), *bo* also creates belittling or even contemptuous connotations in other words, such as *wasuren-bo* ("a forgetful one"), *namaken-bo* ("a lazy one"), or *okorin-bo* ("a quick-tempered one"). By the same token, *kuron-bo* ("a black one") carries the connotation of childishness.

Most Japanese born before 1935 first discovered Negroes by singing "Old Black Joe" and other Stephen Foster melodies in music classes at school or by reading the Japanese translation of *Uncle Tom's Cabin.* Although they might have related the lot of Negro Americans to a vague notion of injustice, such a life remained for most Japanese children a remote world. Another sort of encounter with black people, with more direct reference to their color, was evidenced in a cartoon serialized for many years in a popular magazine for children, *Adventurous Dankichi,* and in a popular song, "The Chief's Daughter," dating from the 1920's. Dankichi was a Japanese boy who put to sea one day to go fishing and, while asleep, drifted to an island somewhere in the South Pacific. On the island, Dankichi outwitted the black natives by his cleverness and ingenuity and became their king. He wore a crown on his head and rode on a white elephant near rivers inhabited by crocodiles.

This fantasy cartoon blended ideas about South Pacific islanders and primitive tribes in Africa. Originally cannibalistic and warlike, these people could become loyal though somewhat simple-minded subjects when tamed and educated. It is worth noting that this was the kind of image of "black people" to which most Japanese children of the prewar period were exposed. "The Chief's Daughter" created an image of carefree South Sea islanders with black skin who danced away their lives under the swaying palm trees.

> My lover is the Chief's daughter.
> Though her color is black
> She is a beauty in the South Seas. . . .
> Let us dance, dance under the palm trees
> Those who don't dance, no girls will care to marry. . . .

In 1958 and 1959, there was a sudden fad for a small plastic doll called *Dakko-chan* ("a caressable one"). It was a jet black and very much caricaturized Negro child of about one foot in height when inflated; its hands extended in such a way that it could cling to a person's arm or a pole. It was so widely sold that almost

every house had one, and the manufacturers could not keep up with the demand. A great many teen-agers as well as younger children carried it around with them on the streets. It was, indeed, a cute little doll, but it did not help the Japanese form an image of a more dignified adult Negro.

V

Since a very early time in history, the Japanese have valued the skin color they consider "white."[60] The Japanese "white" skin is, above all, *unsun-tanned* skin, while Mongoloid skin is, in actuality, very sensitive to the tanning action of the sun. Japanese, particularly the women, tried hard to remain "white," jealously guarding their skin from exposure to the sun. An old Japanese expression observes, "In the provinces where one can see Mt. Fuji, one can hardly see beautiful women."[61] The districts traditionally known for their white, smooth-skinned native beauties are, consequently, Izumo, Niigata, and Akita. These are all located on the Japan Sea coast where in long, snowy winter weather one rarely enjoys sunlight. Conversely, where one can see Mt. Fuji, one also enjoys a warm Pacific climate year-round and a certain continuous sunshine which can tan unguarded skin.

Mainly due to modern Japan's contact with the Western world, the Japanese became aware of the "white" skin of the Caucasians, "whiter" than the "whitest" skin of the Japanese. This could cause disappointment when they compared themselves with the Caucasians, whom they sought to emulate by guided modernization programs of industrialization, as well as in spontaneous leisure-time fads and aesthetic pursuits. During the earlier contact, the charm of the Caucasian white skin was counterbalanced by reactions to light-colored hair and eyes, and body hair—distasteful traits in terms of Japanese aesthetic standards. Under the post-World War II impact of American culture, a preference for Western facial structure and hair style brought the Japanese sense of physical aesthetics ever closer to that of Caucasians. The historical inferiority-superiority complex of this extremely Westernized Eastern nation seems today to reflect mixed attitudes toward Caucasian skin. There is the notion that Caucasian skin is "ugly" in texture and quality, thus maintaining a Japanese skin supremacy, while at the same time admitting the better appearance of the refined Caucasian facial structure.

Up to the present, the color of Negroid skin and other physical features find little favor in Japanese aesthetics. One may argue that it is simply because the Japanese are not accustomed to black skin; but one can also contend that "blackness" has been symbolically associated in the Japanese mind, as elsewhere, with things evil or negative and that the image of a Negro hitherto created in Japan has been that of a primitive, childish, simple-minded native. Relatively little note has been taken to date of the emergence of a new Africa under its modern leaders.

It remains a curious fact of Japanese identity that there is relatively little kinship expressed with any Asian countries other than China, toward which present-day Japan feels less and less cultural debt. Japanese eyes, despite cases of plastic surgery, may keep their Oriental look, but through these eyes Japanese see themselves as part of the modern Western world conceptualized in Western terms. Some Japanese wish to change their physical identity from that of a Japanese to something else, but are countered by a vague sense of resignation that such a change is not possible.

Still in search of their national identity,[62] the Japanese are experiencing some difficulties in maintaining and protecting the standards of Japanese beauty and handsomeness from the onslaughts of standardized images produced by the Western cinema. Preoccupied with changing standards, the Japanese may be slow to note a new convergent perception of beauty entering the West, which includes traditional Japanese aesthetic standards in art, architecture, and even in Mongoloid physical beauty. Physical attractiveness is gradually losing its unitary cultural or racial basis in most societies. Art or beauty cannot be maintained in a fixed, single standard. Each changes with the diversity of experiences.[63]

References

1. The word for skin in contemporary Japanese is either *hifu* or *hada*. *Hifu* is more or less a technical word and is used less frequently in daily conversation than *hada*, which is the abbreviation of *hadae*, originally meaning "vicinity of surface." *Hada* is also used figuratively in expressions such as *hada o yurusu*, a woman "permitting her skin" to a man when she gives herself to him. *Hada* is also used in the sense of temperament or disposition, as in *hada ga awanai*, the skin of two individuals does not fit due to the incompatibility of their characters. A dashing or gallant man may be described as a man of *isami hada* ("braced-up skin") and a research-

minded man as a man of *gakusha hada* ("scholarly skin"). In describing one's skin color, the word *hada* is used more often than *hifu*, as in such expressions as *hada no shiroi hito* ("a white-skinned person"). A more common practice is to use the word *iro* ("color"), as in *iro no shiroi onna* ("a white-colored woman").

2. S. Noguchi (ed.), *Koji Kotowaza Jiten* (Dictionary of Old Sayings and Proverbs; Tokyo, 1963), pp. 40-41.

3. Face powder, which in the Japanese is *o-shiroi* ("honorable white"), was invented, according to some legends, by one of the ancient wise kings of China, Shou of Yin, Wen of Chou, or Mu of Ch'in. Actually, graves of the early Han period (202 B.C. to about A.D. 25) have given up to archaeologists numberless lacquered vessels and metal boxes containing face powder, rouge, and other toilet preparations. Face powder, together with rouge, came to Japan via Korea in the third or fourth century. In 692, a Japanese monk named Kansei, or Kanjō, succeeded in making face powder from lead and was commended by the Court and presented with "fifty lengths of cloth." A powder of glutinous rice and of millet was also used as face powder. Another substance, applied in liquid form, came from the floury seeds of the jalap plant (*o-shiroi-bana*). See T. Ema, "Keshō no hensen" (History of Toiletry), *Nihon Fūzoku Shi* (History of Japanese Customs), Vol. 4 (Tokyo, 1959), pp. 52-78; U. A. Casal, "Japanese Cosmetics and Teeth Blackening," *The Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan*, Third Series, Vol. 9 (May, 1966), pp. 5-27.

4. *Beni*, made from the safflower and of a good but not too luminous red, was used as rouge. It was applied with a soft, short, round brush somewhat over an inch in diameter. It was distributed rather evenly with but slight shading. A more concentrated preparation, *kuchi-beni*, was rubbed on the lips with the third finger, which is still referred to as the *beni-sashi-yubi*, or "rouge-applying finger." The lower lips, rather fleshy with most Japanese, were from early times partly covered by white powder, and the rouge was applied so as to make them appear smaller. See Casal, "Japanese Cosmetics and Teeth Blackening."

5. According to Casal, the blackening of teeth, called *nesshi* in the Japanese, is not found in China. The practice more than likely came from Malayan-mixed people on islands to the south, since teeth were blackened by various people in Southeast Asia and Polynesia. During the Heian period (794-1185), girls generally adopted the custom of teeth-blackening at puberty. From the twelfth century, court nobles dyed their teeth. In the time of the Regents, *de facto* rulers of Japan from 1200 to 1333, followers of the Regents looked upon teeth-blackening as a sign of loyalty to their lords. The custom of teeth-blackening and removal of natural eyebrows lasted until 1868, the beginning of modern Japan. Among the court nobles it appears to have been compulsory. This would seem to be implied in a decree issued on January 30, 1868, stating that nobles were "no longer obliged to paint their teeth black and remove their eyebrows." By March, 1868, the Empress had decided that "henceforth her teeth and eyebrows will be allowed to remain as nature formed them," thereby setting an

example to the nation. The blackening was done with a preparation based on iron acetate and known, therefore, as *tesshō* ("iron juice"). One way of making it was to place iron filings in a small pot with Japanese wine and juice of the snake gourd, letting the mixture simmer near the hearth or exposing it to the sun in summer. Another was to plunge a glowing, red piece of iron into a small portion of rice wine diluted with water, and after five or six days to skim off the scum and keep it in a cup near a fire until warm before adding powdered gallnuts and iron filings for further heating. The resulting dye was applied to the teeth with a brush of soft hair or feathers. See Ema, "Keshō no hensen"; Casal, "Japanese Cosmetics and Teeth Blackening."

6. T. Adachi, *Yūjo Fūzoku Sugata* (Customs of Courtesans; Tokyo, 1956); T. Endo, "Josei to Keppatsu" (Women and Their Hairdos), *Nihon Fūzoku Shi*, Vol. 12 (Tokyo, 1959), pp. 69-102.

7. Murasaki Shikibu, *Genji Monogatari* (Tokyo, 1958), pp. 232, 294.

8. Murasaki Shikibu, *Nikki* (Tokyo, 1957), pp. 182, 184.

9. Sei Shōnagon, *Makura no Sōshi* (Tokyo, 1957), pp. 262, 269.

10. Akazome Emon, *Eiga Monogatari* (Tokyo, 1957), pp. 49, 51.

11. Ema, "Keshō no hensen," p. 65.

12. Adachi, *Yūjo Fūzoku Sugata*, p. 246.

13. T. Ema, *Nihon Fūzoku Zenshi* (Complete History of Japanese Customs), Vol. 1 (Kyoto, 1925), pp. 170-75.

14. Yoshida Kenkō, *Tsure Zure Gusa* (Tokyo, 1958), p. 92.

15. Adachi, *Yūjo Fūzoku Sugata*, p. 248.

16. Ibara Saikaku, *Kōshoku Ichidai Onna* (The Woman Who Spent Her Life at Love Making; Tokyo, 1949), p. 215.

17. Ibara Saikaku, *Kōshoku Ichidai Otoko* (The Man Who Spent His Life at Love Making; Tokyo, 1958), pp. 84, 92.

18. Tanishi Kingyo, *Geisha Yobiko Dori*, quoted in R. Saito, *Edo no Sugata* (Views in Edo; Tokyo, 1936), p. 97

19. Tamenaga Shunsui, *Shunshoku Ume Goyomi* (Tokyo, 1951), pp. 76, 95, 108.

20. Yanagi Rikyō, *Hitori Ne* (Lying Alone), quoted in Adachi, *Yūjo Fūzoku Sugata*, p. 144.

21. During the early part of the Tokugawa period, when the center of culture was in Osaka and Kyoto, and Edo was still very much a frontier, the Kyoto-Osaka custom of women thickly painting their faces and necks white did not reach Edo. Edo women, instead, tended to be proud of the natural smoothness and shine of their unpainted skin, and they used powder very sparingly. After the early-nineteenth century, however, under the influence

of Kyoto-Osaka culture, the make-up of Edo's women became thicker. See R. Saito, *Edo no Sugata,* p. 223; Y. Ikeda, K. Hara, *et al., Sei Fūzoku* (Sexual Mores), Vol. 1 (Tokyo, 1959), p. 229; R. Nishizawa, *Koto Gosui* (Noon Nap in the Imperial Capitol), quoted in E. Mitamura, *Edo Jidai Sama Zama* (Various Aspects of the Edo Period; Tokyo, 1929), p. 460. Edo women also came to paint their lips and fingernails pink and red. See S. Fujioka and K. Hiraido, *Nihon Fūzoku Shi* (History of Japanese Customs; Tokyo, 1900), p. 133. Blackening women's teeth remained as an initiation ceremony at the age of thirteen or fourteen among the warrior class, but a woman of the commoner's status blackened her teeth and removed her eyebrows when she was married. See Ema, *Nihon Fūzoku Zenshi,* p. 179.

22. Ema, "Keshō no hensen," p. 70.

23. K. Hanasaki (ed.), *Ehon Edo Keshō Shi* (Notes on Edo Toiletry, Illustrated; Tokyo, 1955), p. 66.

24. E. Mitamura, *Edo no Onna* (Women of Edo; Tokyo, 1956), p. 28.

25. *Ibid.,* pp. 33-38.

26. The word *kuroi* ("black"), used to describe the swarthy skin of the Japanese, is also used to designate more black objects such as black charcoal or black smoke.

27. B. Smith, *Japan—A History in Art* (New York, 1964).

28. The differences in hair color between the Portuguese and the Dutch were mentioned in a document reporting the arrest of a Portuguese missionary who tried to enter Japan illegally after Christianity had been banned: "His hair is black and not red like that of a Red-haired. His eyes are not like those of the Red-haired but similar to ours. His nose, however, is big and high and certainly different from ours." See *Nagasaki Yawa* (Night Stories of Nagasaki), ed. S. Nishikawa, in *Nanban Kibun Chō* (Rare Stories About Southern Barbarians), ed. S. Mishima (Tokyo, 1929), p. 46.

29. It seems that the Japanese had various wild ideas about the Dutch living in Dejima, Nagasaki. A Japanese physician, Ōtsuki Gentaku, who studied Dutch medicine and, more generally, Western technology, wrote a book to inform readers of foreign life and customs (ranging from wine and bread to making mummies) and to correct their misconceptions. In this book the author refers to public misconceptions that the Dutch have no ankles (seemingly assumed because the Dutch wore shoes with heels), that their eyes are those of beasts, that they lift one leg like a dog to urinate, and that they know a variety of sexual techniques, and are given to taking love potions. The author declares that these beliefs are all laughable nonsense. See G. Ōtsuki, *Ransetsu Benwaku* (Enlightenment of Misconceptions in Regard to the Dutch), ed. Shigeo Ōtsuki (Tokyo, 1911), p. 9.

30. Morishima Chūryō, *Kōmō Zatsuwa* (Chitchats with the Dutch), ed. R. Ono (Tokyo, 1943), pp. 54-55, 92.

31. Ōtsuki, *Ransetsu Benwaku,* p. 16.

32. Shigeo Ōtsuki, "Kinkai Ibun" (News on the Seas Around), *Nanban Kibun Chō*, pp. 217, 225; K. Nara (ed.), "Aboku Shinwa" (News from America), *Nanban Kibun Chō*, pp. 11, 15; N. Kishi (ed.), *Jūkichi Hyōryū Ki* (Story of Jūkichi's Drifting; Tokyo, 1930), p. 51.

33. E. Mitamura, *Edo Jidai Sama Zama*, p. 460.

34. Smith, *Japan—A History in Art.*

35. Lane is pronounced *Rei-en* in the poem and two Chinese characters are used to stand for the sound; one means "cool" (*rei*), the other "charm" (*en*). As there are other characters with the sound of *rei* (for instance, one character means "beauty"), the writer's choice of the particular character with the meaning of "cool" may reflect his feeling toward Miss Lane, that is, he might have felt that she was charming but somehow distant and inaccessible.

36. T. Osatake, *Bakumatsu Tōzai Fūzoku Kan* (The East and West View Each Other's Customs in the Mid-Nineteenth Century), *Nihon Fūzoka Kōza*, Vol. 7 (Tokyo, 1929), pp. 37, 42, 44, 54, 58, 141.

37. E. S. Sugimoto, *A Daughter of the Samurai* (London, 1933), p. 131.

38. T. Tobushi, *Yōshō Shidan* (Historical Stories of Prostitutes Whose Customers Were Foreigners; Tokyo, 1956), pp. 103-24. Adachi, *Yūjo Fūzoku Sugata*, p. 258; T. Nakayama, *Ai Yoku Sanzen-nen Shi* (Three Thousand Years of Love and Lust; Tokyo, 1935), pp. 339-42.

39. T. Wakamori, *Nihon Fūzoku Shi* (History of Japanese Customs), Vol. 2 (Tokyo, 1958), pp. 740-50.

40. J. Tanizaki, *Chijin no Ai, Selected Works of Tanizaki Junichirō*, Vol. 4 (Tokyo, 1950), pp. 30, 58, 59, 140, 183.

41. The writer failed to discover when the traditional preference for narrow eyes in a woman gave way to the new preference for round eyes with double-folded eyelids, which the Japanese must have learned to value from the Western aesthetics. There is a Japanese saying, "A woman's eyes should be bell shaped, and a man's eyes should be like thread," indicating the preference for round big eyes in a woman but for rather narrow eyes in a man. The time of the origin of this saying is unclear to us. Natsume Sōseki (1867-1916), one of the greatest novelists of modern Japan, seems to be among the earliest admirers of the charms of double-folded eyelids in women. For instance, in his first novel of 1907, he describes one of the heroines: "Itoko with white, soft and full fingers and cute eyes with double-folded eyelids." He certainly mentions the whiteness of the girls: "White in color, born in the shadow of a setting moon, she was named Sayo"; "Fujiko's white face shone under her black hair." Natsume Sōseki, *Gubijinsō* (A Field Poppy), *Zenshū* (Collected Works), Vol. 4 (Tokyo, 1963), pp. 74, 112, 119. One evidence of the Japanese woman's strong desire to acquire double-folded eyelids is the popularity of a small tool, widely advertised in the 1930's and 1940's. In shape it somewhat resembles an American eyelash curler, and it helps single eyelids to fold into a

double crease. If such "folding" is repeated time after time, the eyelids, it is believed, will eventually become accustomed to a double fold. Sales of this instrument were revived after the war.

42. The following section is based on a series of informal interviews, the first, in Spring 1965, with twenty-two Japanese men and women in Berkeley, California (graduate students, visiting scholars, their wives, one woman married to a Japanese American, another woman married to a Negro American; their ages ranged from 28 to 50; their stays in the United States varied from two to over ten years); the second, in Fall 1965, with thirty-six men and women in Tokyo and Kobe, Japan, who had varied ages, and educational and socioeconomic backgrounds. The second group shared one common factor: They had never been abroad; they had had little or no personal contact with Caucasians and Negroes.

43. It seems that Japanese men, especially over forty years of age, tend to be concerned more with the skin texture of a Japanese woman than with the measurement of her bust and hips, while the Western men will first think of the "shape" of a woman rather than her skin texture. We might say that the Japanese man's sexual aesthetics is traditionally "surface-oriented," while the Western man's is "structure-oriented." Mishima Yukio, an author known to Western readers through English translations of many of his works, paid attention to the texture of the skin when describing healthy physiques of diving women. "His mother had well sun-tanned rich thighs which did not show even a wrinkle, and their abundant flesh shone almost in amber color. . . . She had skin which could never be called 'white' in color but constantly washed in waves, it was smooth and tight. . . . Every woman diver's breasts were well sun-tanned and had no mysterious whiteness, and did not show veins underneath the skin. The sun, however, nourished a translucent, lustrous color like honey in their sun-tanned skin." Mishima Yukio, *Shiozai* (Sound of Waves), *Mishima Yukio Selected Works*, Vol. 14 (Tokyo, 1954), pp. 64, 67, 120. It should be noted, however, that among the younger generation the "structure-orientation" is replacing the "surface orientation."

44. In summer 1965, *Mainichi*, one of the leading newspapers, serialized a column called "Charm School," which gives advice to women readers on how to increase and keep their feminine beauty. The column of August 2, with the caption, "blessed are those white in color," read, ". . . as the proverb says, white color covers seven defects, and a woman with white skin looks beautiful even if she is not endowed with an attractive look. Healthy white skin is more charming than expensive accessories. How can you become a white-colored beauty? You should be careful not to expose your skin directly to the ultraviolet rays in sunshine. . . . Never forget to carry a parasol when you go out on a summer day, and to apply to your face 'foundation.' . . . It also helps to take orally Vitamin C, and to use milky lotion and cream containing Vitamin C. 'Packing' with flour or rice powder, mixed with several drops of hydrogen peroxide, a spoonful of olive oil, a tablespoonful of powdered milk, and a few drops of lemon juice, also has whitening effects." Another example of the Japanese women's

preoccupation with "white" skin may be assumed from the advertisement of a medicated face shampoo, named "Rozetta Pasta," supposedly effective in whitening skin and removing pimples, spots, freckles, and wrinkles. The advertisement, which frequently appears in newspapers, in magazines, and on television screens, shows an illustrated conversation between Kuroko-san (Miss Black) and Shiroko-san (Miss White). An advertisement for Rozetta Pasta published in *Asahi*, another leading newspaper, on August 14, 1965, read: Shiroko: "I have not seen you for a while. You are as black as ever." Kuroko: "Speaking of color, you have become very white recently. Is there any secret? I am so black that I may have to use bleaching chemicals for cloth." Shiroko: "No. Don't you remember our chemistry teacher at school once said that there are two ways of bleaching, one by reduction, the other by oxidation? Bleaching by reduction does not do any harm to cloth or skin. For instance, chloride of lime bleaches by oxidation, while brown sugar, honey, and sulphur bleach by reduction." Kuroko: "But the bleaching power of brown sugar is too weak for my black skin." Shiroko: "Sulphur, when chemically processed, takes on harmless bleaching power." Kuroko: "Then, sulphur might be used for developing an effective skin lotion, I suppose." Shiroko: "Exactly! That's Rozetta Pasta."

45. In the summer of 1966, sun-bathing became fashionable among the young urban women in Japan. Those who could not afford to go to the seaside or to mountain resorts went instead to already overcrowded swimming pools in cities. These ladies also seemed to have gone swimming after sun-bathing. Newspapers reported complaints of many pool visitors that "the water became very oily from sun-tan lotion and olive oil the ladies had lavishly applied to their skin." On August 14, 1966, *Mainichi* printed a warning by various doctors that "sudden and long exposure of skin to strong summer sunlight does damage to the skin and can also cause various health disturbances such as general fatigue, or even pleura and phthisis," and "it is a questionable tendency that the young women are very eager to have their skin sun-tanned excessively."

46. S. Ariyoshi, *Hishoku* (Not Color; Tokyo, 1964), p. 204.

47. The Japanese interviewed tended to be explicit about the physical differences they believed to exist between themselves and other Asian and Southeast Asian peoples; they also tended to be rather sensitive about Westerners mistaking them for Chinese or Burmese. Corresponding differential images may exist among other nations in the Orient: three American-educated Thai women told me, independently, the stereotypes of the Asian people held by the Thais: The Filipinos, Indonesians, Burmese, Laotians, and Cambodians look physically the same as the Thais, with big round eyes with double-folded eyelids and dark skin of rather rough texture, while the Japanese, Koreans, and Chinese look undistinguishably alike, all possessing narrow eyes and lighter skin of smooth surface. The Vietnamese, they said, fall between these two groups; some look like Thais and others like Chinese.

48. S. Endō, *Aden Made* (Up to Aden), *Shin Nihon Bungaku Zenshū* (Collection of Contemporary Literary Works), Vol. 9 (Tokyo, 1964), pp. 128-42.

49. Minami Hiroshi, an American-educated social psychologist, writes: "For

the Japanese, the foreigners are not only different people of different race and nationality, coming from outside, but they are also people of higher status and stronger power, coming from above. Japanese feel shy toward the foreigners as outsiders and feel inferiority-superiority complex toward the foreigners who come from above." H. Minami, "Nihonjin no Gaikokujin kan" (Japanese Views of Foreigners), *Ningen no Kagaku* (Science of Man), Vol. 2, No. 1 (1964), pp. 14-23.

50. Japanese ambivalence toward a large body and large limbs is reflected in some proverbs: "Wisdom cannot fill up too large a body" (Big body, little wit); "A fool has big feet," or "Seeds of prickly ash are tiny but peppery" (A small man is shrewd and wise).

51. When Japanese men feel a vague sense of annoyance or discomfort at the sight or notion of a Japanese woman marrying a white man, especially an American, the feeling may be related to their unconscious understanding that a Japanese woman, by choosing a white man, is challenging their worth as men and their masculine potency.

52. T. Tamura, *Jo Taku* (A Folio of Women's Rubbed Copies; Tokyo, 1964), pp. 73, 75, 76, 78.

53. Ariyoshi, *Hishoku*.

54. K. Ōe, *Shiiku* (Animal Husbandry; Tokyo, 1963), pp. 317, 310-11, 325.

55. S. Matsumoto, *Kuro-ji no E* (A Picture on the Black Cloth), *Tanpen Senshu* (Selected Short Stories; Tokyo, 1965), pp. 70, 75-77, 81-85, 89.

56. A study of 344 men and women of Tokyo middle-class families in regard to their attitudes toward various nations showed, by means of social-distance scale, that the Negroes were among the "most distant" and "least liked"; they were often described as "dirty" and "ugly." See M. Oka and S. Izumi, "Imminzoku Mondai" (Problems of Foreign Races), *Shakai-teki Kinchō no Kenkyū* (Studies in Social Tensions; Nihon Jinbun Kagakkai [Japan Society of Humanities]; Tokyo, 1953), pp. 423-44. A similar study by Ichiei Azuma, Mihoko Seike, and Ikuyo Yamada, probation officers at Kobe and Osaka Family Court, whose data are still being analyzed, shows that of thirteen nations and races, the Koreans are the least liked by 272 men and women of working- and middle-class background. The Negroes are the second least-liked group. Stereotypes of the Negroes, however, do not seem to show the attributes such as ugly or dirty, but they are frequently described as "athletic," "jovial," and "superstitious."

57. The strong body odor, actually perceived or imagined, of a Negro and sometimes also of a Caucasian was often considered by the Japanese to be a source of their repulsion. Fujishima Taisuke, a writer and one of the classmates of the Crown Prince at the Peers School, wrote a rather depressing essay with the title "We Cannot Marry Negroes" in a widely read and respectable magazine. He emphasized the strong body odor of the African Negroes. "When I arrived at Nairobi Airport," he writes, "I felt the air was filled with a striking smell. It was body odor of the Negroes. Unless one becomes accustomed to it, it is a sickening smell, really strong." After

describing his other experiences with the body odor, Fujishima comes to his conclusion: "The real underlying thought upon which racial discrimination is based, I believe, is primarily derived from the physiological repulsion caused by this striking odor. All the other sophisticated thoughts and logics are justification added later. . . . Humanism is one thing, and the physiological repulsion of human being is another thing." T. Fujishima, "Kokujin to wa kekkon dekinai," *Bungei Shunjū* (February, 1966), pp. 308-13.

58. Harold R. Isaacs, *The New World of Negro Americans* (New York, 1963), pp. 90-96.

59. A document from the late 1670's says, "In the country of Inaba there was a man of seven feet height. He was from the country of 'kuro.' He had been captured at the Korean war and brought over to Japan. His color was that of soot and people called him *kuron-bo*." See K. Ōtsuki, *Daigenkai* (Dictionary of Japanese Language; Tokyo, 1956), p. 565.

60. The thousand years' practice of whitening a face with powder in the Far East might suggest universality of white color preference or the distant result of some past cultural diffusion of early European origin. An extremely interesting subject of inquiry, it is beyond the scope of this paper.

61. S. Shiroyanagi, *Nihon Josei Shiwa* (Stories from the History of Japanese Women; Tokyo, 1934), p. 115.

62. Harold R. Isaacs, "Group Identity and Political Change: The Role of History and Origin," a paper presented at the meeting of the Association for Asian Studies in San Francisco, April 3, 1965, pp. 31-36; R. Lifton, "Youth and History—Individual Changes in Post-War Japan," *Asian Culture Studies,* No. 3 (October, 1962), pp. 115-36; A. M. Rosenthal, "New Japan—Future Beckons to Timorous Giant in Search of an Identity," *The New York Times* (June 24-27, 1963).

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