
The 1927 American-Japanese Friendship Doll Exchange and the Dream of International Peace

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In the introduction to his 1929 book, *Dolls of Friendship*, Sidney L. Gulick quoted an inscription over the gateway to an American kindergarten in France: "We who desire peace must write it in the hearts of children."¹ The dream of permanent peace and friendship among nations was never more alive in the hearts of Americans than in the decade after the armistice that ended World War I. As seen in countless sermons, speeches, articles, and women's club discussions following the "war to end all wars," the desire for lasting peace resonated in the public consciousness. Never before had antiwar activists and would-be diplomats touched off such a frenzy of activity dedicated to international harmony.

The Doll Messengers of Friendship project of Sidney Gulick and the Committee on World Friendship among Children sent hundreds of dolls to Japan in hopes of planting the seeds of peace among its youngest citizens. The project prompted a similar goodwill gesture toward the United States, of whom Miss Tottori, a *torei ningyo* doll in the collection of the South Dakota State Historical Society, is a lovely example. Although the doll exchange was a remarkable success at the popular level, it had little influence on official diplomacy.² In the end,

1. Sidney L. Gulick, *Dolls of Friendship: The Story of a Goodwill Project between the Children of America and Japan* (New York: Friendship Press, 1929), p. xiii.

2. Robert H. Ferrell, *Peace in Their Time: The Origins of the Kellogg-Briand Pact* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1952), pp. 13-15; Rui Kohiyama, "To Clear Up a Cloud Hanging on the Pacific Ocean: The 1927 Japan-U.S. Doll Exchange," *Japanese Journal of American Studies* 16 (2005): 70.

the project did not attain the goals its creators had envisioned, but many of the dolls today remain a testimony to the hope and idealism of ordinary citizens in both countries.

Relations between the United States and Japan had been strained for decades before the Committee on World Friendship among Children began its efforts. The first significant Japanese immigration to the United States occurred in the 1880s when federal legislation ended Chinese immigration, creating a demand for other sources of cheap immigrant labor. Initially, Japanese immigrants worked primarily in the West as agricultural and railroad laborers. By the turn of the twentieth century, however, they had broadened their economic activity and begun to compete with established non-Asians in a range of trades and as landowning farmers. The situation raised alarms among farm, labor, veteran, and nativist organizations, which mounted campaigns to exclude Japanese and Koreans from the United States.³

In 1907–1908, President Theodore Roosevelt negotiated a “Gentlemen’s Agreement” with Japan that ended the immigration of new laborers but continued to allow the families of those already here to enter the country. Between 1910 and 1920, the Japanese population of California increased from 41,356 to 71,952, prompting the introduction of anti-Japanese legislation in every session of the California legislature. In 1920, two-thirds of the state’s voters approved a referendum to restrict Japanese land use. The anti-Japanese feeling became so prevalent that normally moderate organizations like the California Federation of Women’s Clubs and the Loyal Order of the Moose supported more exclusionary federal legislation. Finally, Congress passed

3. Laurie Mercier, “Japanese Americans in the Columbia River Basin,” Columbia River Basin Ethnic History Archive, www.vancouver.wsu.edu/crbeha/ja/ja.htm, accessed 31 Dec. 2005; Isami Arifuku Waugh, Alex Yamato, and Raymond Y. Okamura, “A History of Japanese Americans in California: Immigration,” in *Five Views: An Ethnic Historic Site Survey for California* (California Department of Parks and Recreation, Office of Historic Preservation, 1988), www.cr.nps.gov/history/online_books/5views/5views4a.htm, accessed 11 Jan. 2006; Izumi Hirobe, *Japanese Pride, American Prejudice: Modifying the Exclusion Clause of the 1924 Immigration Act* (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 2001), pp. 3–4, 15–7; Waugh, Yamato, and Okamura, “A History of Japanese Americans in California: Discriminatory Practices,” in *Five Views*, www.cr.nps.gov/history/online_books/5views/5views4d.htm, accessed 31 Dec. 2005.

the National Origins Act of 1924, which ended all Japanese immigration to the United States.⁴

Throughout this period, the Japanese press and public followed the growing hostility towards their countrymen in America with alarm and indignation that culminated in 1924 with demonstrations across Japan. In Tokyo, one man committed *hara-kiri*, or ritual suicide, in front of the former American embassy in a dramatic effort to spur his nation "to avenge the insult." Ranking officers at the Yokosuka naval base talked of war with the United States, and Japanese Ambassador Masanao Hanihara protested the "stigmatizing" of the Japanese people as "unworthy and undesirable."⁵

Retired missionary Sidney Gulick was deeply troubled by the deteriorating relations, which he blamed on American racism.⁶ Gulick had served as a Congregationalist missionary in Japan for twenty-five years and had, according to his biographer Sandra C. Taylor, come to love the Japanese and respect "their intellectual curiosity, their willingness to borrow and adapt, and their ability to modernize."⁷ A third-generation missionary, Gulick was born in Micronesia in 1860. He received his education at Dartmouth College and Union Theological Seminary and, in mid-life, at Yale and Oberlin. In 1887, he married Cara Fisher, the daughter of a missionary to Japan, following a seven-year courtship.⁸

4. John Costello, *The Pacific War* (New York: Rawson, Wade Publishers, 1981), pp. 27, 43; Waugh, Yamato, and Okamura, "Discriminatory Practices;" Sandra C. Taylor, *Advocate of Understanding: Sidney Gulick and the Search for Peace with Japan* (Kent, Ohio: Kent State University Press, 1984); Hirobe, *Japanese Pride, American Prejudice*, pp. 4–6; Waugh, Yamato, and Okamura, "A History of Japanese Americans in California: Patterns of Settlement and Occupational Characteristics," in *Five Views*, www.cr.nps.gov/history/online_books/5views/5views4b.htm, accessed 11 Jan. 2006; John A. Garraty, *The American Nation: A History of the United States* (New York: Harper & Row, 1966), p. 751.

5. Hirobe, *Japanese Pride, American Prejudice*, pp. 1, 8–10, 21–27, 33, quotations on pp. 8, 33.

6. "Sidney Gulick," *Wikipedia*, http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sidney_Gulick, accessed 10 Jan. 2006; Taylor, *Advocate of Understanding*, pp. 209–10, 214.

7. Taylor, *Advocate of Understanding*, p. 210.

8. *Ibid.*, pp. xi, 10–14, 55; "Sidney Gulick," *Wikipedia*; Sidney L. Gulick III, "Friendship between Japan and America through dolls" (lecture to the Japan International Dolls and Toys Research Association, Tokyo, 8 June 1991), p. 1, copy in Miss Tottori Files, Museum of the South Dakota State Historical Society, Pierre; Taylor, *Advocate of Understanding*, pp. 9–15.

Gulick arrived in Japan with his new wife on 1 January 1888, steeped in the New England reform tradition but with a decidedly liberal approach to Christianity. "A follower of the social gospel," his biographer wrote, "he was concerned with improving the lives and minds of his students, and not just with saving their souls."⁹ With Cara at his side, Gulick spent most of the next quarter century in Japan, teaching English, science, and religion, preaching and writing in English and Japanese, and serving as vice-president of the American Peace Society. After narrowly surviving cancer, he returned with his family to the United States in 1913.¹⁰

Gulick's relocation in no way dampened his fervor for serving the Japanese people. Back in the United States, he devoted great energy to writing and lecturing about Japan, hoping that his efforts would ease tensions between the two countries and perhaps contribute to a relaxation of immigration laws.¹¹ Of his work Gulick wrote, "I am as truly a missionary working for Japan as if I were in Japan."¹²

In 1914, the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America (FCCCA) hired Gulick to serve as executive secretary of its Commission on Relations with Japan. Representing thirty-one Protestant denominations, the council was founded in 1908 to promote church unity and liberal theological, social, economic, and political issues. The FCCCA was in the forefront of the peace movement between the world wars, championing disarmament and decrying United States militarism.¹³ Gulick came to serve as executive secretary of the council's Commission on International Justice and Goodwill, which was "committed to unremitting activity until a peace system takes the place of competitive armaments and recurring war."¹⁴ The FCCCA

9. Taylor, *Advocate of Understanding*, pp. xii (quotation), 17.

10. Gulick III, "Friendship between Japan and America," pp. 1-2; Taylor, *Advocate of Understanding*, pp. 73-74; "Sidney Gulick," *Wikipedia*.

11. Kunio Nishimura, "The Friendship Dolls," *Look Japan* 41 (July 1995): 30; Taylor, *Advocate of Understanding*, pp. 78-84, 87-89.

12. Taylor, *Advocate of Understanding*, p. 77.

13. *Ibid.*, pp. 84-85, 90-91; "Federal Council of Churches," *Church Rodent: Rich Tatum's Glossary of Christian History*, <http://tatumweb.com/churchrodent/terms/federalcouncilchurches.htm>, accessed 10 Jan. 2006; Ferrell, *Peace in Their Time*, pp. 24, 26, 50.

14. Ferrell, *Peace in Their Time*, p. 24. See also Taylor, *Advocate of Understanding*, p. 95, and

was an early supporter of outlawing war under international law and threw its support behind the Kellogg-Briand Pact, a treaty that renounced war as an instrument of national policy but lacked any enforcement provisions. The lack of an enforcement mechanism, even to maintain peace, appealed to the organization's idealistic leadership, which preferred the moral force of aroused world opinion for preventing wars. As an example of their unremitting activity, the FCCCA presented the White House with petitions containing 185,333 signatures calling for the pact's prompt ratification.¹⁵

As he worked for peace throughout the world, Gulick continually searched for new ways to promote understanding between the people of the United States and Japan. In the words of Hironori Ohto of the Friends of the Yokohama Foreign Cemetery, "Gulick was the sort of person who believed that whatever discord there might be between nations, citizens will strive to conquer it and make friends."¹⁶ This outlook, coupled with his extensive knowledge of Japanese culture and a confidence in the power of children to be instruments of peace, motivated Gulick to embark on his ambitious doll project.¹⁷

Advocates of international friendship reasoned that an appreciation of other cultures, cultivated through the study and enjoyment of their customs, would contribute to world peace. The exchange of dolls in international costume had long been a favorite means of promoting cultural awareness among children. In early 1926, Gulick launched the Doll Messengers of Friendship project through the newly formed Committee on World Friendship among Children (CWFAC) of the Commission on International Justice and Goodwill. His plan was to collect thousands of dolls from American children to send as messengers of goodwill to the children of Japan for the 1927 girls' doll festival of *Hina Matsuri*.¹⁸

Sidney L. Gulick, Committee on World Friendship among Children, to Lawrence K. Fox, State Historian, 26 Mar. 1929, Fox Correspondence (1929-1930), State Archives, South Dakota State Historical Society, Pierre.

15. Taylor, *Advocate of Understanding*, pp. 175, 178; Ferrell, *Peace in Their Time*, p. 268.

16. Nishimura, "Friendship Dolls," p. 30.

17. Taylor, *Advocate of Understanding*, pp. 44-47, 179-80.

18. *Ibid.*, pp. 179-80; Patricia Appelbaum, "Material Pacifism," Material History of American Religion Project, www.materialreligion.org/journal/appelbaum/appelbaum.html#

As a student of Japanese culture, Gulick would have been well aware of the importance the Japanese place on dolls. He would have known, for example, that in prehistoric Japan dolls were thought to embody a person's spirit and that the ancient Japanese set aside the *sekku*, or annual festival days, when dolls were used as talismans against illness and misfortune.¹⁹ Furthermore, he would have been familiar with the girls' doll festival of *Hina Matsuri*, celebrated every year on 3 March.

More than just a day of fun for Japanese girls, *Hina Matsuri* is an educational tool for teaching social hierarchy, etiquette, and Japanese history. The occasion provides girls an opportunity to gain practical experience in handling delicate objects, overseeing meal preparation, and being gracious hostesses to the many guests who visit their homes at festival time. Almost every family in Japan has a set of dolls specifically intended for display during *Hina Matsuri*, and it is the responsibility of the daughters of the household to take the dolls out of storage, carefully and painstakingly dust them and their tiny possessions, and display them in the arrangement prescribed by traditional Japanese social order.²⁰

Once the dolls are properly installed in places of honor in each home, the visiting begins. Friends and relatives call on each other to admire the doll sets, often bringing additional miniatures to present to the young hostess. The hostess, in turn, is ready to reciprocate with dainty dishes that she has planned and purchased the ingredients for, if not prepared, herself. She receives her guests and under the watchful gaze of her dolls serves special foods and sweet *shirozake* rice wine to her visitors and family. The dolls, however, are served first, their tiny portions placed in tiny dishes intended specifically for their use. All the while, the young hostess smiles calmly and quietly, ever striv-

friendship, accessed 31 Dec. 2005; Gulick to Fox, 26 Mar. 1929; Committee on World Friendship among Children, *Doll Messengers of Friendship* (pamphlet), [1926], n.p., Miss Tottori Files.

19. Terry Hiener, "Miss Kochi: A Prized Doll Captures the Spirit of Japan," *Carnegie Magazine* 58 (July/Aug. 1987): 16-17.

20. Hiener, "Miss Kochi," p. 18; Committee on World Friendship among Children, *The Festival of Dolls* (brochure), [1926], n.p., Miss Tottori Files.

ing to conduct herself in a way that reflects the Japanese feminine social graces.²¹ In explaining the festival to Americans, Gulick described it as a celebration of the “ideal of Japanese womanhood—to be a good and true wife, a wise and loving mother.”²²

The beautiful *Hina Matsuri* dolls are handled with the greatest care, for they are not playthings. There are two common methods for displaying the dolls and their accouterments: Tokyo style and Kyoto style. In the more popular Tokyo style, dolls are arranged on a set of steps that has been placed against a wall in the main room of the house and covered with a *himosen*, or scarlet cloth. The *taishisama*, or imperial prince, and his lady, the *himesama*, occupy the center of the top step. Together, they are called the *dairibina*, or court dolls, and stand in front of a decorated folding screen flanked on each side by a lantern, or *bombori*. On the second step are placed the *kanjo*, or ladies-in-waiting, ready to attend to the imperial couple’s every need. The *hayashi*, or court musicians, sit with their instruments on the third step, while guards and advisors to the emperor stand vigilant watch on the fourth. Entertainers stand ready on the fifth step, and below this cast of characters are arranged their exquisite *dogu*, or household furnishings. The dolls are well provided for, indeed. The imperial lady is mistress of a collection of tiny floor lanterns made of gold lacquer and rice paper, cabinets, chests, mirror stands, screens, clothing racks, vases, writing desks, a tea-ceremony set, flower-arranging tools, eating tables, and a bite-sized assortment of dishes and utensils.²³ The care taken in the arranging of the dolls and the opulence of their possessions are further indications of the importance of dolls in Japanese culture.

To ensure the success of the doll project in Japan, Gulick visited Ambassador Tsuneo Matsudaira to enlist the support of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Ministry of Education. Gulick then wrote of the project to industrialist Viscount Eiichi Shibusawa, president of the America-Japan Society, to express his hope that it would improve United States-Japan relations and lead to an eventual easing of immi-

21. Ibid.

22. *Festival of Dolls*, n.p.

23. Hiener, “Miss Kochi,” p. 18; *Festival of Dolls*, n.p.

gration restrictions. The Ministry of Education agreed to handle logistics and distribute the dolls in Japan, while Shibusawa and the Japanese-American Relations Committee would raise the necessary funds.²⁴

Back in America, the Committee on World Friendship among Children was hard at work distributing information about the project. A brochure sent nationwide encouraged American children, their schools, and their families to learn about Japanese culture and to send American dolls to "visit" the Japanese for the 1927 *Hina Matsuri* celebration.²⁵ The dolls, the brochure specified, should be new, from thirteen to sixteen inches in height, and should resemble "attractive and typical American girls." They were also to be simply and carefully dressed, have a "mama" voice, and cost no more than three dollars.²⁶ Each doll further needed ninety-nine-cent railway and steamship tickets and a one-cent passport with a visa, all of which could be procured by contacting the Doll Travel Bureau of the Committee on World Friendship among Children. Girls, the brochure suggested, should handle the dolls and their personal effects, while boys could act as passport and ticket agents. Finally, the committee asked that each doll be given a farewell party before being sent on her way.²⁷

The committee's publicity drive spurred church groups and organizations across the country into action. All told, over two million people became involved in the project, donating and collecting money to buy the dolls, making doll clothing, and writing letters to send along. A total of 12,739 young "ladies" and "gentlemen," all bright-eyed and ready to travel, was collected.²⁸ The dolls came fresh from farewell parties at which many had been surrounded by *kimono*-clad American

24. Kohiyama, "To Clear Up a Cloud," pp. 64-66, 74n.5; Hirobe, *Japanese Pride, American Prejudice*, pp. 103, 262n.29; Nishimura, "Friendship Dolls," p. 31.

25. *Doll Messengers of Friendship*, n.p.; Gulick, *Dolls of Friendship*, p. 9.

26. *Doll Messengers of Friendship*, n.p.

27. Kohiyama, "To Clear Up a Cloud," p. 61; *Doll Messengers of Friendship*, n.p.

28. Kohiyama, "To Clear Up a Cloud," pp. 60-61; "A Mission of Friendship," Japanese American National Museum, www.janmstore.com/friendol.html, accessed 2 Dec. 2005; Gulick, *Dolls of Friendship*, p. 115. The official Japanese tally is 12,294 dolls distributed. "American Blue-eyed Dolls Locations," Friendship Dolls, <http://wgordon.web.wesleyan.edu/dolls/american/locations/index.htm>, accessed 15 Jan. 2006.

girls who entertained them with Japanese songs, games, and dances in order to prepare the little goodwill messengers for their new lives in Japan. A final farewell party was held for a thousand dolls at the Hotel Plaza in New York City, at which forty-eight dolls were selected to represent the states of the Union and one was designated "Miss America." Dolls from east of the Mississippi River shipped out of New York, while those from the West embarked from San Francisco.²⁹

Each doll left the country with the attached message: "May the United States of America and Japan always stay friends. I am being sent to Japan on a mission of friendship. Please let me join the doll festival on March 3 in your country." Furthermore, their passports announced: "This doll is a good citizen of the United States of America. She will obey all the laws and customs of your country. Please take care of her while she is with you."³⁰ Finally, each doll conveyed a letter from her senders. Girls from Hartford, Connecticut, wrote to the receivers of their envoy, "We love to think that this dolly that we have loved so much is going to tell our little Japanese sisters how much we love them."³¹ Another doll from Liberty, Mississippi, named Betty Jo boarded the steamer "loaded down" with the "love and good wishes" of forty-five members of the Girl Reserves and thirty-one boys from the local Hi-Y Club.³²

A flotilla of small boats and a display of fireworks welcomed the ship carrying the official national and state doll envoys as it entered Yokohama Harbor on 18 February 1927. On board the Nippon Yusen Kaisha liner *Tenyo Maru*, the Committee on International Friendship among Children in Japan hosted a ceremony in which forty-nine American girls presented Miss America and her forty-eight ladies in waiting to a like number of Japanese girls. Motion-picture cameras whirred as the Japanese girls, clad in gay *kimonos*, carried the dolls

29. Louise Chipley Slavicek, "A Gift of Friendship," *American Girl* (Mar./Apr. 1997), <http://wgordon.web.wesleyan.edu/dolls/media/magazine/amgirl.htm>, accessed 21 Dec. 2005; Gulick, *Dolls of Friendship*, p. 25.

30. Nishimura, "Friendship Dolls," p. 31.

31. Gulick, *Dolls of Friendship*, p. 22.

32. *Ibid.*, pp. 28–29.

down the gangplank to the cheers of two thousand schoolchildren waving United States and Japanese flags on the dock below.³³

The girls and dolls were driven to Honmoko School, where the auditorium awaited them festooned with red azaleas and white lilies and crowded with children. After singing both national anthems to the accompaniment of a military band, Betsey Fisher of Yokohama and Miyako Hotta made presentation and acceptance speeches. The two girls shook hands for peace and friendship between Japan and the United States and all nations of the world.³⁴ A Mr. Sekiya of the Ministry of Education remarked on what a "happy and beautiful world" it would be "when the era of universal peace arrives."³⁵ United States Counsel Kemper predicted "an era of peace for the Pacific" and effused, "Dolls always make people have smiling faces, and if all the smiles of all Japan were added to all the smiles of all America, enough smile infection would result to make the whole world smile."³⁶ After the program, the dolls were escorted to Tokyo by students from the primary school of the Tokyo Higher Normal School for Women. As the cars left for the capital, the girls played with their charges by the light of the moon.³⁷

From 25 to 27 February, department stores in Tokyo, Osaka, Kyoto, Kobe, Yokohama, and Nagoya exhibited hundreds of American doll messengers. Over three hundred thousand people viewed the dolls in Tokyo alone. On *Hina Matsuri*, an exclusive grand reception was held for the American dolls at the Japanese Young Men's Hall in the gardens of the Meiji Shrine at Aoyama in Tokyo. The guest list included

33. Mary Rickert Stuecher, "Ambassadors of Friendship: Victims of War," *Doll Reader* (1984), www.dollreader.com/archive/daw/japanchina/friendship.html, accessed 2 Dec. 2005; *Welcome to the American Doll-Messengers* (Tokyo: Committee on International Friendship among Children in Japan, 1927), pp. 16–19; Hiener, "Miss Kochi," p. 18; Gulick, *Dolls of Friendship*, p. 33. *Welcome to the American Doll-Messengers*, p. 16, reports the arrival date as 18 March but notes that the dolls were displayed in department stores across Japan from 25 to 27 February, making arrival on 18 February reasonable to assume.

34. Gulick, *Dolls of Friendship*, pp. 33–34; *Welcome to the American Doll-Messengers*, p. 19.

35. *Welcome to the American Doll-Messengers*, pp. 19–20.

36. Gulick, *Dolls of Friendship*, p. 34.

37. *Welcome to the American Doll-Messengers*, p. 20.

seven princesses of the royal family, girls from noble families, and other elites at *Kazoku Jagokko* (the peeress school) and the primary school of the Tokyo Higher Normal School for Women. The girls representing the United States were from the American School in Tokyo. Betty Ballantine, seven-year-old daughter of the United States Consul General, presented Miss America to seven-year-old Yukiko Tokugawa, granddaughter of Prince Iyesato Tokugawa. The adult invitation list was equally impressive, filled with ambassadors, government ministers, and peers of the realm.³⁸ Among the seven speakers was Eiichi Shibusawa, who rhapsodized, "Good will and friendship thus cultivated in the hearts of children is lasting."³⁹ An even more exclusive audience with Her Majesty the empress and seventeen-month-old Princess Shigeko Teru awaited the official national and state dolls at the Akasaka Palace. From there, the state dolls moved into a swank two-story dollhouse at the Tokyo Educational Museum, courtesy of the empress, while Miss America remained at the palace.⁴⁰

The other American dolls were soon off to more plebeian, although enthusiastic, receptions throughout the Land of Cherry Blossoms. One prefecture built a paper steamship on which the American dolls were displayed on deck or peering from portholes, while Japanese dolls lined the makeshift dock holding United States and Japanese flags. Across the country, children met the dolls at train stations.⁴¹ One country schoolteacher wrote, "My children are so excited over this that they can't sleep nights."⁴² In Tottori Prefecture on the Sea of Japan, two thousand five hundred children and parents welcomed 107 little messengers of friendship.⁴³

The delight of the Japanese people in this American gesture of goodwill spread quickly through the Japanese press.⁴⁴ The dolls in-

38. *Ibid.*, pp. 21, 23, 25, 27–29, 34–35; Kohiyama, "To Clear Up a Cloud," pp. 66–67.

39. *Welcome to the American Doll-Messengers*, pp. 26–27.

40. *Ibid.*, pp. 36–38.

41. Gulick, *Dolls of Friendship*, p. 55; Sidney L. Gulick, "Japan's Christmas Gift to America," *The Mission* (Dec. 1927): 464.

42. Gulick, *Dolls of Friendship*, p. 63.

43. *Ibid.*, p. 65; "American Blue-eyed Dolls Locations."

44. Hiener, "Miss Kochi," p. 12; Hirobe, *Japanese Pride, American Prejudice*, p. 103.

spired a hit song by composer Ujo Noguchi, who wrote of “honorable blue-eyed dolls” crying because they “don’t understand a word of Japanese.”⁴⁵ There were a few sour notes, however. Several Japanese residents of Dairen in Manchuria complained that the government was fawning over a hypocritical gesture of friendship from a country that still excluded Japanese immigrants. Many Japanese, however, interpreted the thousands of doll messengers as a national gesture of reconciliation that might portend a change in United States policy.⁴⁶ They were to be sadly disappointed.

In Japan, when a gift is received there is an *okaeshi*, or obligation, that a gift be given in return. Knowing of this custom, Sidney Gulick had counseled the Japanese to respond with letters.⁴⁷ Children sent thousands of thank-yous, among them one from fifth-grader Nobue Kagebayashi of Nara Prefecture, who wrote, “A thought came to me that we children in America and Japan are really brothers and sisters.”⁴⁸ But to the Japanese this response was not enough. Eiichi Shibusawa and the Committee on International Friendship among Children in Japan decided to reciprocate with Japanese dolls. Over two million Japanese schoolchildren donated one sen (1/2 cent) apiece to help fund *torei ningyo* (dolls of gratitude), and Her Imperial Highness, the infant Princess Teru, made up the difference.⁴⁹

The committee recruited the very best dollmakers in Japan for the project. Tokubei Yamada X, president of Yoshitoku Doll Company and a tenth-generation master dollmaker, organized other masters from the country’s most important dollmaking companies to work on the creations. Fifty-one dolls, representing Japan’s forty-seven prefectures, or states, and four colonies, Chosen (Korea), Kanto-shu (Manchuria), Sakhalin, and Taiwan, were produced in Tokyo. Seven dolls,

45. *Sioux Falls Argus Leader*, 4 Sept. 1978.

46. Kohiyama, “To Clear Up a Cloud,” pp. 65, 68; Hirobe, *Japanese Pride, American Prejudice*, p. 103.

47. “Dr. Sidney Lewis Gulick I: Father of the Doll Exchange,” *Friendship Journal* (conference program, Japanese American Doll Enthusiasts [JADE] convention, Anaheim, Calif., 25–26 July 1997), p. 3.

48. Gulick, *Dolls of Friendship*, p. 69.

49. Hiener, “Miss Kochi,” p. 12; “A Mission of Friendship.”

representing Japan and its six largest cities, Tokyo, Yokohama, Nagoya, Kyoto, Osaka, and Kobe, were made in Kyoto by the Oki Heizo Company (Maruhei).⁵⁰

The dolls were of the type called *ichimatsu*, after the popular seventeenth-century *kabuki* actor Sanogawa Ichimatsu, and were made to appear as little girls dressed in their finest silk *kimonos* for a festival such as *shichi-go-san*.⁵¹ Standing thirty-two inches tall, they were considerably larger than usual, according to contemporary dollmaker Tokubei Yamada XI, in order to “strike a balance” with the greater number of American dolls.⁵²

The *torei ningyo* were sublime *ichimatsu*, representing the height of the Japanese dollmaker’s art and the refinement of Japanese culture. The dolls had articulated arms and legs and human hair styled in a bobbed cut with bangs. The dollmakers cast the hollow body parts in molds from a mixture of kiri wood, sawdust, and wheat paste. They then applied multiple layers of a mixture of pulverized oyster shell and glue called *gofun* to the body and face, sculpting it with a knife. Following the sculpting, the dollmakers cut eye sockets and inserted brown glass eyes. According to tradition, cutting open the eye sockets imbues each doll with a soul. Finally, the dollmakers polished and delicately colored the hardened finish, giving it the appearance of luminescent porcelain. According to some accounts, an additional coating was applied over the *gofun* to protect it from the wet kisses of American children. While the faces of all of the *torei ningyo* are similar, each artist imbued his creation with its own childlike expression.⁵³

The *torei ningyo* in the collection of the South Dakota State Historical Society was a gift to the children of South Dakota from the children of Tottori Prefecture. The prefectural capital, Tottori, is a port city of one hundred fifty thousand people located on western Honshu Is-

50. “A Mission of Friendship”: “Repairer of Friendship Dolls” (Kokusai Bunka Kyokai), Miss Tottori Files; Rosie Skiles, “Reflections on the Fairest Ichimatsu,” *Ningyo Journal* 6 (Spring/Summer 1999):17; Hiener, “Miss Kochi,” p. 12.

51. Nishimura, “Friendship Dolls,” p. 31; Hiener, “Miss Kochi,” pp. 12–13.

52. Nishimura, “Friendship Dolls,” p. 31.

53. Skiles, “Reflections on the Fairest Ichimatsu,” pp. 16–18; Kohiyama, “To Clear Up a Cloud,” pp. 68–69; Yolanda M. Simonelli, “Doll Messengers of Friendship” (unidentified magazine article), p. 8, Miss Tottori Files.

land where the Sendai River empties into the Sea of Japan. A productive rice-growing area, Tottori is also a popular tourist destination with hot springs, scenic beaches, and the spectacular Tottori Sand Dunes in San'in Coast National Park.⁵⁴

The doll known as Miss Tottori was one of twelve *torei ningyo* made by Tokyo master dollmaker Shokensai Toko for the house of Yamada. She is dressed in a layered *kimono* of orange silk crepe on the outside and turquoise silk crepe on the inside; both layers are lined with red silk tissue. Her lovely *kimono* is decorated on the outside with hand-dyed floral bouquet designs. The designs feature chrysanthemums and are augmented by silk satin-stitch embroidery enriched with gold and silver thread. Multicolored *temari* balls decorate the inside layer. Over her *kimono* from her chest to her waist, Miss Tottori wears an *obi*, or sash, of multicolored floral-embroidered silk brocade ornamented with silver thread and tied in the back with a box bow. An *obi-jime*, or cord, of padded silk damask is tied over the *obi*. Tucked into the top of the *obi* is an *obi-age* of tie-dyed red-and-white silk. Miss Tottori's *hadajuban*, or slip, is made of red silk crepe printed with golden butterflies and phoenixes. It has a white silk satin-embroidered collar adorned with pink-and-green designs. While Japanese dolls had not traditionally worn underwear or socks, the *torei ningyo* were dressed in one-piece combination top-and-bottom underwear and *tabi* socks. Mitsukoshi Department Store made the *kimonos* for all of the dolls, while Takashimaya Department Store made the underwear; both stores were located in Tokyo.⁵⁵

Each of the *torei ningyo* traveled with a passport, a steamship ticket, letters from Japanese children, a booklet on doll tea parties, and a wealth of clothing accessories and accouterment for celebrating *Hina Matsuri*. Miss Tottori's extensive accessories include lacquered furniture, trunks, a mirror with case and stand, a China tea set and utensils

54. "Tottori," *Microsoft Encarta Encyclopædia 2005*.

55. Inscription on plaque accompanying Mr. Tottori (trans. John G. Hasegawa), Museum of the South Dakota State Historical Society; "Toko Shokansai," <http://wgordon.web.wesleyan.edu/dolls/japanese/shokansai>, accessed 6 Jan. 2006; Mary Collins, "Silent Envoy: South Dakota's Japanese Friendship Doll" (slide show script), pp. 5-6, Miss Tottori Files; Skiles, "Reflections on the Fairest Ichimatsu," p. 18; Nishimura, "Friendship Dolls," p. 31.

for the tea ceremony, sandals, purses, hair ornaments, a parasol, fans, tiny dolls, and an exquisite red silk crayfish.⁵⁶

The passports and letters are imbued with the missionary zeal for peace and international friendship of the adult organizers of the doll exchange. The Japanese passports proclaimed: "To All Young Friends in the United States: You are Kindly requested to accept the pretty bearer of this Passport of Goodwill as a messenger sent by your young friends in Japan to convey to you their sentiment of warm regard and friendship. Please be good to her, and she will stay with you all her life, always a pleasant companion and a true friend.—All the People of the Land of Cherry Blossoms."⁵⁷

In one of the letters accompanying Miss Tottori, the students of Kyusho Elementary School in Tottori City wrote, "Imagining the day that our efforts will bring prosperity to this earth, we feel our small souls swell."⁵⁸ Another elementary school student, Keiko Takahama, sent the following letter⁵⁹:

October 18, 1927

Dear American girls,

We are very glad to know that America and American girls are moving toward prosperity and peace every day.

We still remember very clearly that day this spring, in the middle of March, when our famous cherry blossoms were in full bloom, when many lovely dolls visited our country through your kindness. We were very excited to have these pretty, unexpected guests.

The doll told us about your kind hearts; . . . we pledged that we would live together peacefully forever.

56. "A Mission of Friendship"; Hiener, "Miss Kochi," p. 13; Collins, "Silent Envoy," pp. 6–9.

57. Simonelli, "Doll Messengers of Friendship," p. 8.

58. Kyusho Elementary School to [American girls], 12 Oct. 1927, Miss Tottori Files.

59. Keiko Takahama to American girls, 18 Oct. 1927, Miss Tottori Files. The letters that accompanied Miss Tottori were translated from Japanese to English in 1994 by Takako Day, a Japanese journalist, and her husband Michael Day, an English professor at the South Dakota School of Mines and Technology in Rapid City. The forty-two letters were written between 10 and 21 October 1927; many had never been opened. "Japanese Journalist Translates 1927 Tottori Letters" (South Dakota State Historical Society press release), 9 Sept. 1994, Miss Tottori Files.



In a gesture of goodwill, Americans sent thousands of "blue-eyed messengers" such as this one to Japan. She wears a flapper-style dress and came with an extra summer dress and black leather shoes.



Miss Tottori wears an outer *kimono* of orange silk crepe with dyed chrysanthemum designs. Her inner *kimono* is turquoise silk crepe with a colorful temari ball design.

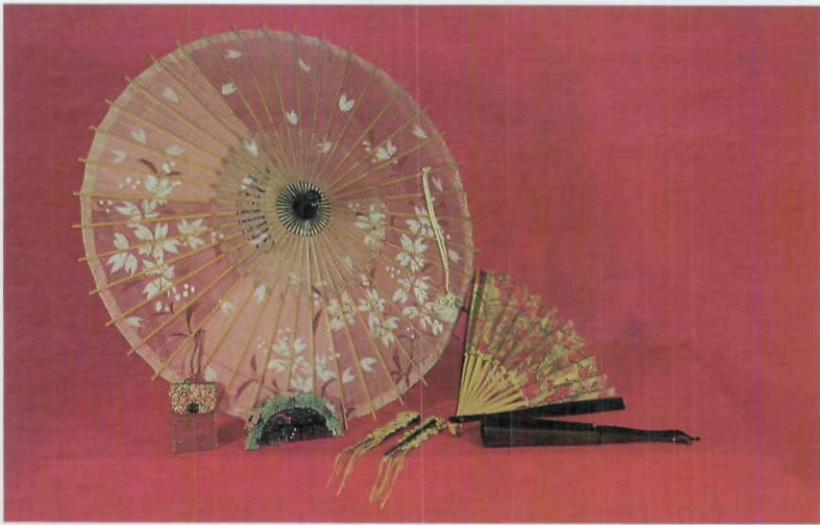


The silk *obi*, or sash, is made of multicolored floral-embroidered brocade embellished with silver thread. It is tied in a box bow for formal wear.



Miss Tottori's face was finely sculpted from *gofun* compound. She has a black human-hair wig and dark brown glass eyes. Each hair of her eyelashes and eye-brows were painted individually.

Unfolded, the *obi* displays its elaborate floral pattern. With this *kimono*, Miss Tottori wears floral brocade shoes with rubber heels.



The doll's parasol is made of silk over bamboo and features hand-painted cherry blossoms. The fan is painted with a garden scene. In the foreground are hair ornaments and a brocade purse.



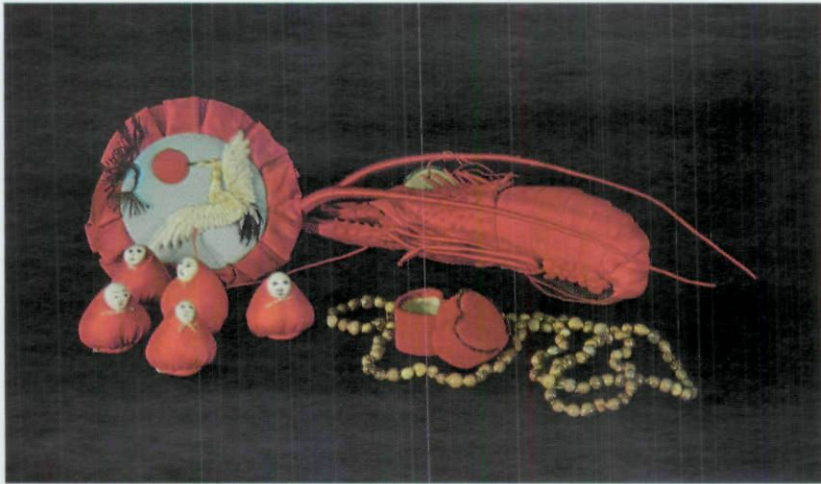
Miss Tottori also came with an elaborate red silk crepe *hadajuban* stenciled with phoenixes and butterflies. The shoes are carved, lacquered, and gilded and have bells in the soles.



These purses and bags exhibit a variety of handcrafting techniques, including patchwork, knotted silk cord, and beading. A knotted silk cord doily is also shown.



In front of these red silk bags and toy ball is a miniature model of a *koto*, a traditional Japanese instrument.



The tilting dolls (left front) are good-luck symbols, while the silk crayfish (back) carries a wish that its owner will live to be old and bent like the crustacean. The purse (left back) is decorated with a crane. Japanese women did not often wear jewelry, but Miss Tottori came with necklaces and bracelets of dried seeds.



The lacquered trunk at left carried letters of friendship from the schoolchildren of Tottori. Also pictured are a mirror and stand and a padded fabric picture frame displaying a postcard from Japan.



Among Miss Tottori's many personal items was this lacquered dresser decorated with gold flowers and vines and a pair of candle lamps with lacquered bases and painted silk shades.



This lacquered shelf holds the dipper, tea caddy, whisk, and other utensils needed for a formal tea ceremony. The set also includes booklets in English describing the elaborate tea ritual.



Painted with blue flowers, this china tea set was designed to fit into the circular covered box. The screen at back is covered with gold paper and formed part of a *Hina Matsuri* display. The mat of woven rushes is a traditional Japanese floor covering.



Mr. Tottori, a gift from the City of Tottori in 1989, wears a dark blue underkimono fastened with *obis* of purple damask and blue-and-gold silk. He also wears a pleated split skirt and carries a white folded paper-and-bamboo fan. The plaque lists the names of his makers.



The back of Mr. Tottori's jacket is decorated with a painted sea eagle and a treasure ship. His coat also features the Tottori city crest.

Now we are sending you our Japanese doll as an envoy of gratitude for your kindness. Her name is Miss Tottori. Although she is only one doll, she represents the souls of all the children in Tottori Prefecture. . . . Her heart represents our hearts.

Keiko Takahama
Representative

Elementary School affiliated with Tottori Teachers' College

The children of Tottori Prefecture bid farewell to Miss Tottori on 22 October 1927 in a program that included speeches by Y. Hosokawa of the prefectural Department of Education and a Mr. Bennett, an American missionary who spoke on friendship between Japan and America. More entertaining, no doubt, were the games and songs by the children of Aishin Kindergarten and Kyusho Elementary School. Miss Tottori stood passively onstage dwarfing the eight American dolls who flanked her.⁶⁰

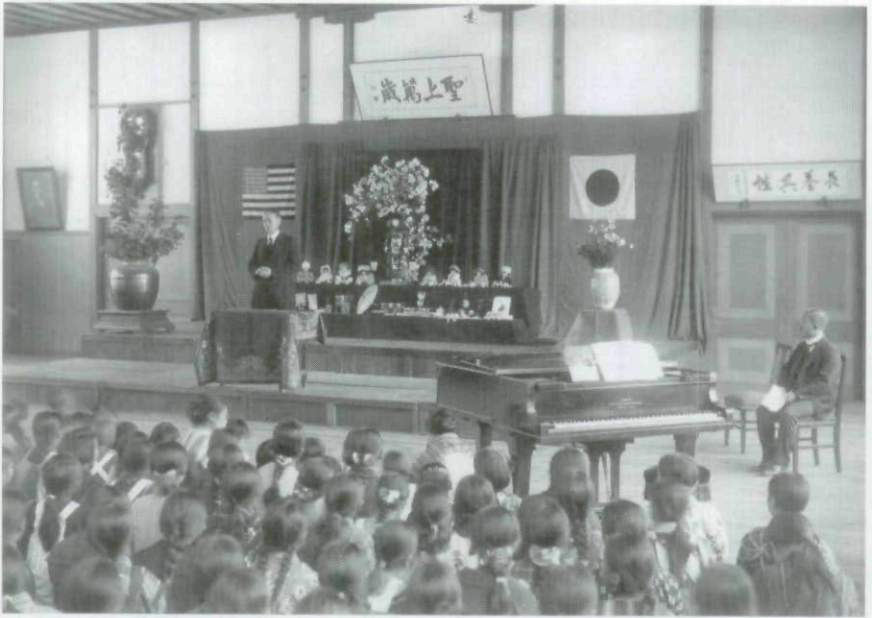
Japan held a national farewell party for the *torei ningyo* at the Nihon Seinenkan in Tokyo on 4 November 1927. Over one thousand persons attended, including the American ambassador and the princesses of the imperial household. On the dock in Yokohama, more than two thousand five hundred schoolgirls witnessed the Miss Japan doll being escorted onto the upper deck of the *Tenyo Maru*, where she was placed amid flower bouquets.⁶¹ The children then sang a farewell song that began "To the Land of Stars from Land of Sun/Our dollies sailing now." As the *Tenyo Maru* pulled away from the dock, brightly colored paper streamers stretched tightly from the hands of schoolgirls to the ship until they snapped and fluttered above the water to the cries of "Banzai!"⁶²

After a four-hour stop in Honolulu, where five thousand people greeted Miss Japan, the *Tenyo Maru* docked in San Francisco on 26 November 1927. Receptions were held in San Francisco, Oakland, and

60. "Album Tottori Ken," acc. no. J.365, Museum of the South Dakota State Historical Society.

61. Hiener, "Miss Kochi," p. 13; Gulick III, "Friendship between Japan and America through Dolls," p. 3.

62. *Everyland* (Feb. 1928), <http://wgordon.web.wesleyan.edu/dolls/media/magazine/everyland2.htm>, accessed 22 Dec. 2005.



Under the watchful gaze of Miss Tottori on the stage, dignitaries addressed the schoolchildren assembled for her farewell party in the fall of 1927.



Miss Tottori occupied the place of honor at her going-away ceremony, surrounded by the accessories that would travel with her and the eight American dolls the city had received.

Berkeley, and the Japanese-American community came out in force to honor the *tori ningyo*.⁶³ At the reception in Oakland, William N. Friends, president of the Oakland Council of Churches, took a Japanese girl and an American girl by the hands and proclaimed, "The children of America and the children of Japan are going to lead these two nations and the nations of the world into the ways of peace."⁶⁴

From the Bay Area, seventeen Japanese dolls traveled east by rail, while the remaining forty-one shipped to New York City through the Panama Canal to reduce costs. In Chicago, the dolls were met at the station by representatives of the Chicago Federation of Churches, Girl Scouts, Camp Fire Girls, YMCA, and YWCA. The dolls went on exhibit for three days at the Art Institute of Chicago and were the featured guests at a luncheon at the Hotel LaSalle. From Chicago, all seventeen traveled to Washington, D.C., on the Capitol Limited, courtesy of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad.⁶⁵

On the morning of 27 December, a welcoming ceremony was held at the National Theater in the capital before a large audience that included former first ladies Lou Hoover, Edith Wilson, and Helen Taft, as well as Madam Sze, wife of the Chinese ambassador. A Boy Scout honor guard received the Japanese ambassador, Baron Matsudaira, who spoke movingly of the Japanese friendship dolls:

The name seems quite fitting, as they aim to fulfill the important task of binding the hearts of our children to those of yours by the silken cord of peace and love. Personally I am particularly delighted to welcome them, because from now on I shall have no less than fifty-eight fellow ambassadors to assist me. They can do what I cannot. They will have an unrestricted entrée to the beautiful world of innocent happiness, disinterested fellowship, an unaffected fraternity—the world of childhood, the doors of which are but slightly open for diplomatic officials. The sympathetic understanding thus fostered in young minds is sure to contribute to international peace and friendship. These dolls are silent, they do not talk, but sometimes silence is more eloquent than

63. *Ibid.*; Simonelli, "Doll Messengers of Friendship," p. 7; Gulick, *Dolls of Friendship*, pp. 88–93.

64. Gulick, *Dolls of Friendship*, p.92.

65. *Ibid.*, pp. 93–94.

speech. When one's heart is filled with emotion, one often loses speech. So these dolls silently but eloquently tell you of the friendly feeling which the children of Japan entertain for the children of America.⁶⁶

Representing the children of Japan, Ambassador Matsudaira's daughter Masa presented the imposing Miss Japan doll to Jane Davis, daughter of the secretary of labor, who accepted the doll for the children of the United States.⁶⁷

Conspicuous by her absence was Grace Coolidge, wife of the president. Reflecting the views of the State Department, Assistant Secretary of State William Castle wrote in his diary, "I wish the Federal Council of Churches had never sent their gift of dolls to Japan because the Japanese were sure to respond and it is very difficult for us to keep

66. *Ibid.*, pp. 95-96.

67. *Ibid.*, pp. 98-99.



American children greet Miss Tottori at one of the stops on her tour of the United States.

out of the picture officially. All the [Japanese] Ambassador wants is to have Mrs. Coolidge see the dolls. . . . I do not quite see how she can graciously refuse to do it."⁶⁸ The first lady ultimately decided not to receive the dolls, leaving Castle to explain matters to the ambassador. Castle worried that the American-Japanese doll exchange was taking on the appearance of a quasi-official diplomatic effort, which might unduly raise Japanese expectations for a change in United States policy and was yet another example of the peace activists' imprudent actions.⁶⁹

From Washington, D.C., the seventeen *torei ningyo* traveled by train to New York City to be reunited with their Panama Canal-traversing sisters. The dolls had a police escort to City Hall for a reception with Mayor Jimmy Walker, showed off their luxurious *kimonos* for ten days at Lord and Taylor's on Fifth Avenue, had box seats for a puppet performance of *Sleeping Beauty*, attended a luncheon reception at the Aldine Club, and were guests of honor at the annual meeting of the Japan Society.⁷⁰

Leaving behind the social whirl of New York, the ambassadors of goodwill were divided into six groups to tour the country. Between January and June 1928, in parties large and small, the Japanese dolls attended over a thousand receptions in 479 cities and towns in all but two states of the Union. In South Dakota, doll ambassadors visited Mitchell and Parker.⁷¹

After six months of travel for the fifty-eight dolls, the Committee on World Friendship among Children determined that it was time to assign them permanent homes. Miss Japan went to the Smithsonian Institution, where she remains today. Museums were the primary recipients of *torei ningyo*, where their presence could serve as a lasting reminder of the goodwill gesture. The committee decided that one doll should be located in each state, although some states received more, and Oklahoma received none. Ohio, for example, acquired

68. Quoted in Hirobe, *Japanese Pride, American Prejudice*, pp. 103-4.

69. *Ibid.*, p. 104; Kohiyama, "To Clear Up a Cloud," p. 70.

70. Gulick, *Dolls of Friendship*, pp. 99-103.

71. *Ibid.*, pp. 104-5, 136.

three Japanese dolls because it had sent the largest number of American dolls to Japan, while Oklahoma had not participated in the project. California may have obtained three dolls because of its large Japanese-American population and because it was the battleground in the fight over Japanese immigration.⁷² South Dakota received Miss Tottori.

But was this *torei ningyo* really Miss Tottori? Each doll came with a wooden stand bearing the doll's name in English and Japanese. With the exception of the six city dolls, which carry the city *mon*, or crest, on their *kimonos*, there are no identifying marks on the dolls or their clothing. While the dolls toured the country, their stands and accessories remained in New York.⁷³ According to a representative of the Committee on World Friendship among Children, "even before the Dolls reached New York, they evidently lost their individual identities by reason of failure to keep the Dolls and their stands together." The passports and steamship tickets, the dolls' only other identification, were slipped into their *kimono* sleeves.⁷⁴ Miss Tottori's passport and steamship tickets are missing. To complicate matters further, while the dolls were touring it is believed that children dressed and undressed them, in some instances mixing up their *kimonos*.⁷⁵ The photographs of Miss Tottori taken at her farewell party in Japan show a different *kimono* and, quite possibly, a different doll.

A welcoming reception for the doll known as Miss Tottori took place at the state capitol in Pierre on the afternoon of 6 March 1929. Harriet Jane Fox, daughter of State Historian Lawrence K. Fox, introduced

72. *Ibid.*, pp. 110–11, 131; "Friendship Doll Locations," www.jadejapandolls.com/location.html, accessed 22 Dec. 2005; Committee on World Friendship among Children (CWFAC), "Concerning the Permanent Location of the Japanese Doll Ambassadors of Goodwill" (memorandum), 5 Sept. 1928, Miss Tottori Files; "Locations of Japanese Friendship Dolls in the United States," *Friendship Journal*, p. 11.

73. Skiles, "Reflections on the Fairest Ichimatsu," p. 18; "'Miss Miye,' I Presume?," University of Nebraska State Museum, www.museum.unl.edu/research/anthropology/asiacoll/eastcoll.html, accessed 16 Jan. 2006; CWFAC, "Concerning the Permanent Location of the Japanese Doll Ambassadors of Goodwill."

74. "'Miss Miye,' I Presume?"

75. "Friendship Forward," *Ningyo Journal* 6 (Spring/Summer 1999):19.

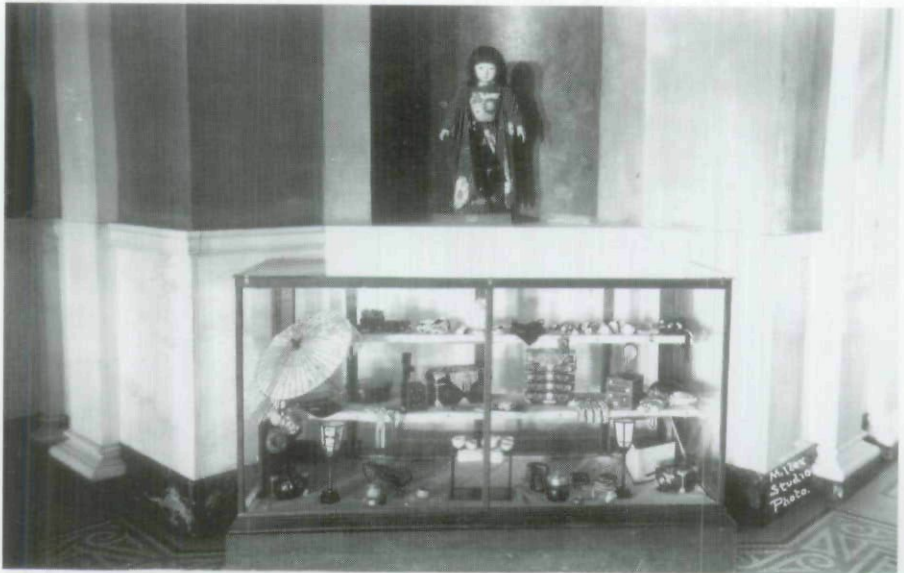
76. *Pierre Daily Capital Journal*, 7 Mar. 1929.



This photograph of Miss Tottori at her farewell party in Japan shows her wearing a different *kimono*, indicating that her costume may have been switched or that South Dakota received a different doll.

Miss Tottori to the six hundred children and adults who attended.⁷⁶ Lawrence Fox announced that Miss Tottori would reside at the State Historical Society museum but would take an occasional trip to other towns. "She is very anxious to meet all of the children in South Dakota," he said.⁷⁷ The extent of Miss Tottori's travels around the state

⁷⁷. "Historical Society Gets Japanese Doll to Exhibit" (unidentified newspaper clipping), 5 Mar. 1929, Miss Tottori Files.



Following a festive welcoming reception in Pierre, Miss Tottori was placed on display in the state capitol.

is not known, but she was escorted to Pierre for the reception by Mrs. A. L. Grebel of Parker, where she had been on display at the Collins Store.⁷⁸

Unbeknownst to those who had participated so enthusiastically in the friendship doll exchanges, Japan and the United States were on an imperialist collision course that had begun with Japan's annexation of Taiwan in 1895 and America's annexation of Hawaii and the Philippines in 1898.⁷⁹ The inexorable descent into World War II could, perhaps, be viewed as a series of collisions: Japan's growing need for raw materials colliding with European hegemony in Asia; Japan's need for trade and the export of surplus population colliding with America's protectionist tariffs and exclusionary immigration policies; and Japanese military expansion in China colliding with American economic expansion there. Within the United States itself, isolationists, peace advocates, and budget cutters in Congress collided with those who

78. *Pierre Daily Capital Journal*, 7 Mar. 1929; *Parker New Era*, 7 Mar. 1929.

79. Hirobe, *Japanese Pride, American Prejudice*, pp. 2-3.

sought military expenditures adequate to provide the “big stick” they believed was needed to back up American diplomatic initiatives. The final crash occurred on 7 December 1941 at Pearl Harbor.⁸⁰

With World War II, American friendship dolls lost the places of honor they had held in Japanese schools and homes. In fact, Japanese primary schools were given the wartime responsibility of training children to sacrifice themselves for the sake of the nation. In 1943, with the war turning against Japan, military authorities ordered that the American dolls be publicly destroyed. Dolls were dragged out onto schoolgrounds, pierced with bamboo spears, doused with gasoline, and ritualistically burned.⁸¹ Miyuki Hoshi remembers “the pain in my heart” when the teachers burned her doll.⁸² According to Sumie Kobayashi, curator of the Yoshitoku Dolls Data Center, “The Japanese have a special attachment to dolls: they empathize with and personify them. . . . The American dolls in Japan became objects of hate because the Japanese personified their country’s feelings of antagonism for America in them.”⁸³

Not all the dolls were destroyed, however. Some were hidden away for the duration of the war behind boxes, in ceilings, and, in one instance, behind a picture of the emperor. Such acts of defiance took considerable courage at a time when neighbors were advised to watch each other for a lack of enthusiasm in supporting the war effort. Across the Pacific Ocean in the United States, *torei ningyo* were taken off exhibit and placed in storage, and, over time, some museums disposed of their dolls. At the North Carolina Museum of Natural Sciences, Miss Kagawa was turned to face the wall and was displayed with a sign renouncing the Japanese aggression but reaffirming the

80. For an overview of the events leading to war with Japan, see Garraty, *American Nation*, pp. 638–40, 749–52, 753–54, 762–64; Taylor, *Advocate of Understanding*, pp. 215–16; and Costello, *Pacific War*, pp. 18–136.

81. Simonelli, “Doll Messengers of Friendship,” p. 9; Haruko Taya Cook and Theodore F. Cook, *Japan at War: An Oral History* (New York: New Press, 1992), p. 172; *Sioux Falls Argus Leader*, 4 Sept. 1978.

82. Simonelli, “Doll Messengers of Friendship,” p. 9.

83. Nishimura, “Friendship Dolls,” p. 32.

84. Simonelli, “Doll Messengers of Friendship,” p. 9; Cook, *Japan at War*, p. 171; Nishimura, “Friendship Dolls,” pp. 32–33.

museum's faith in the inherent goodwill of the Japanese people.⁸⁴

In 1973, Ayako Ishimaru read a news report about a surviving blue-eyed doll treasured by schoolchildren in Kofu, 150 miles from Tokyo. She visited the school, met "Ginella," and began her quest to locate other dolls. By 1978, thirty-three dolls had been found, and twenty were included in a popular exhibit of American friendship dolls at the Mitsukoshi Department Store in Tokyo. The exhibit generated considerable interest throughout Japan in the 1927 doll exchange and led to the *Homecoming Exhibition of Friendship Dolls*, which traveled to Sogo Department Stores in major cities around the country in 1988. The *Homecoming Exhibition* featured thirty-four American friendship dolls and twenty *tori ningyo* from American museums, including Miss Japan and Miss Tottori.⁸⁵

After the exhibit closed, Miss Tottori was restored by Sadakichi Kikuchi and Tohkoh Iwamura under the direction of master dollmaker Tokubei Yamada XI. It was important that Miss Tottori look her best when she returned to her namesake city for a reception at the Tottori Prefectural Museum and display at the *World Toy Exhibition '89* in Tottori in the summer of 1989. Miss Tottori returned to South Dakota later that year.⁸⁶

Imagine their surprise when the staff of the South Dakota State Historical Society Museum opened the crate and found not one doll, but two. Miss Tottori had come back with a brother, Mr. Tottori, a gift of gratitude from the City of Tottori. He was the creation of master dollmaker Shokensai Toko II, son of the maker of Miss Tottori, for Dollmakers Hanafusa. Mr. Tottori is dressed in a dark-blue silk crepe underkimono held in place by a purple damask *obi*, covered by another silk *obi* with gold diamonds on a blue background. He wears a *hangiri*, or pleated skirt, of navy blue and gold silk brocade over which he sports a *haori*, or coat, of dark blue silk fading to light blue, decorated

85. *Sioux Falls Argus Leader*, 4 Sept. 1978; Stuecher, "Ambassadors of Friendship: Victims of War"; Shirlee Funk, "Enduring Friendship: The Story of the Friendship Doll Exchange," *Friendship Journal*, p. 6; "Repairer of Friendship Dolls."

86. Repair/renovation report on Miss Tottori; John G. Hasegawa (Kokusai Bunka Kyokai) to David B. Hartley, 6 Dec. 1988; and T. Sato for John G. Hasegawa to David B. Hartley, 27 Apr. 1989, all in Miss Tottori Files.

with maritime designs and the crest of the City of Tottori. The back of the coat is painted with a sea eagle and a treasure ship. A folded bamboo-and-paper fan is tucked into his *hangiri*.⁸⁷

In 2002, the pair traveled together to Los Angeles, California, for the exhibition *Passports to Friendship: Celebrating 75 Years of the U.S.-Japan Friendship Doll Exchange* at the Japanese American National Museum. The exhibition included six *torei ningyo* from American museums and seven American friendship dolls from schools in Japan. To date, three hundred American friendship dolls have been located in Japan, including two in Tottori Prefecture, at Kawahara-cho Sanki Elementary School and in the city of Yonago. Of the fifty-eight *torei ningyo* sent to the United States, thirty-eight are in public museums, six are in private collections, one was destroyed in a hurricane, and thirteen are missing.⁸⁸

In his study of the Kellogg-Briand Pact, *Peace in Their Time*, Robert H. Ferrell wrote, "If one word was repeated more often than any other during the years after the poignantly memorable Armistice, that word was 'peace.'"⁸⁹ The Doll Messengers of Friendship project of Sidney Gulick and the Committee on World Friendship among Children was a ray of sunshine in an otherwise stormy period of Japanese-United States relations. It created tremendous goodwill in both Japan and the United States, but it could not overcome the forces of economic self-interest, racism, and imperialism. The words of one American in Japan who watched the presentation of a friendship doll at a country school and predicted that "these young folks would not be called on to support large navies or to go to war"⁹⁰ seems, in hindsight, sadly naive. Over a million children would be touched and gladdened by the exchange of friendship dolls, but war would come again.

87. John G. Hasegawa to David B. Hartley, 15 Mar. 1990, and Takako Day to Claudia J. Nicholson, 1 Aug. 1996, both in Miss Tottori Files; Collins, "Silent Envoy," pp. 9-10.

88. Irene Y. Hirano to David Hartley, 11 June 2002, Miss Tottori Files; "American Blue-eyed Dolls Locations"; "Tottori Prefecture History/ Doll Exchange Across the Pacific Ocean," <http://wgordon.web.wesleyan.edu/dolls/american/individual/sanki/index.htm>, accessed 2 Dec. 2005; "Friendship Doll Locations."

89. Ferrell, *Peace in Their Time*, p. 13.

90. Gulick, *Dolls of Friendship*, pp. 57-58.

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