In Japanese-style Gardens of the Pacific West Coast, 8-29. New York: Rizzoli, 1999.

Territories of Play: A Short History of Japanese-Style Gardens In North America

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Artificial By Nature

At the turn of the century, and then again in the early 1960s, America witnessed a Japanese invasion in landscape architecture. So distressed by requests for a "Japanese garden" was garden designer James Rose that he spent much of his 1965 book *Gardens Make Me Laugh* chiding his countrymen for their infatuation with Japanese gardens. This was not a case of sour grapes by a cultural chauvinist: Rose—who had studied gardens in Japan—was a Harvard-trained landscape architect whose modernist work intersects aspects of Japanese design. For Rose, "A Japanese garden is a garden made in Japan. . . . There's no such thing as a garden where its people aren't. That's a *translation*, not a garden."[1] The American habit of reducing gardens—"explaining them away" with words—to design principles and symbolic metaphors is a way of bypassing the real human context and content of gardens. Rose also dismisses the issue of authenticity, writing that even gardens built in America by skilled Japanese landscapers, epitomized by Takuma Tono's 1962 recreation of the Ryōanji stone garden at the Brooklyn Botanic Garden, may "look like the real thing" but are not. Because the life of a garden depends on the way its makers thought about it, even old gardens in Japan are more dead than alive in the modern age. Moreover, Americans see differently from Japanese, speaking different "landscape languages." Because Westerners always use gardens differently from Japanese, the form of Japanese gardens in the West is inherently incongruous with their function. For Rose they are "museum pieces," no more alive than the stuffed dinosaurs in the Museum of Natural History. Attributing the vogue for these artificial gardens to a Western infatuation with Japan, Rose scolds Americans under the spell of Japan: "Why don't you take off that *mental* kimono? It looks silly. This isn't a masquerade. Or is it?"[2]

Rose's argument against nonindigenous design went largely unheeded by private and public patrons as the construction of Japanese gardens in the West increased dramatically from the mid-1960s through the 1980s. The postwar fascination for things Japanese equaled, if not surpassed, the prewar vogue for Japanese gardens, which was central to the broad cultural phenomenon of Japanism born in the late nineteenth century. It is no exaggeration to say that in the twentieth century more large-scale public "Japanese gardens" were built outside Japan than within. The great bulk of these are located in North America, particularly along the Pacific coast. Japanese gardens—or Japanese-style gardens, to extend Rose's reasoning—were ubiquitous in twentieth-century Western landscape design, spanning the globe from Wellington to Anchorage, Honolulu to Sophia. Three gardens constructed in the years just before the outbreak of World War II—when Japan's military aggression made its culture and the genre relatively unpopular—convey how deeply Japanese gardens penetrated the Western cultural landscape. In 1937, developer George W. Clark extended his own large, private garden in Jacksonville, Florida by adding oriental-style structures, bridges, lanterns, and other ornaments, and then opened it to the public as the "Oriental Gardens." In 1938 the Maharaja of Patiala imitated the fashion of great country houses in England by hiring a Japanese architect and landscaper to construct a garden with teahouse at his Motibagh Palace in northwest India. And, in 1939, when garlic pioneer Kiyoshi Hirasaki saw the large temporary pavilion and garden that the Japanese government constructed at San Francisco's Golden Gate Exposition, he decided to have part of the exhibit reconstructed next to a newly built garden at his residence in Gilroy, California, when the fair ended in 1940.

While a handful of landscape designers has adapted the essence rather than the external forms of Japanese gardens to fulfill Rose's idea of indigenous design, far more common has been the imitation of the obvious elements of Japanese gardens—the stone lanterns, torii gates, and arched bridges that appear in botanic gardens and apartment complexes, city parks and Asian restaurants. Despite the ubiquity and even beauty of some Japanese-style gardens, Rose's critique remains valid: most of these gardens are Japanese only in the most perfunctory ways. They may look reasonably Japanese, but they usually neither *feel* nor *act* Japanese. Even when gardens are used for such Japanese activities as the tea ceremony (*chanoyu*) or moon-viewing, the function seems stilted and unnatural—a revival or masquerade akin to an academic exercise or carnival attraction.

Gardens and Ghosts

In the West, and especially in America, where they are most often encountered, Japanese-style gardens exist as a kind of ghost. Japanese gardens are undoubtedly real: the originals are visited by millions annually in Kyoto and other Japanese locales; hundreds of books in Japanese, English, and other languages recount their history, dissect their symbolism and design, give advice on their construction, or simply provide photos testifying to their beauty. The desire to possess them has resulted in Japanese-style gardens in nearly every major city in North America as well as in many other places around the world. While their forms are generally as fixed as stones set in the earth, Japanese-style gardens are strangely vaporous in their meaning. Despite the substantial differences between the cultures which produced gardens in premodern Japan and in the modern West, Japanese-style gardens made in America (whether for an entrepreneur in San Francisco in 1894, an industrialist's wife in Pasadena in 1934, or by a civic board in San Jose in 1964) are often treated as equivalent to gardens made in Japan (whether for aristocrats in 700, Zen priests in 1500, or samurai lords in 1800). It is precisely this radical disjuncture between the form, rhetoric, and actual function of Japanese-style gardens that renders them ghosts—mysterious presences from the unseen past which manifest a physical likeness in our world.

Japanese-style gardens are also apparitional in that their meanings are largely fluid and ambiguous. If the ghost passes through time and through matter, the ostensible "essence" of the Japanese garden passes between cultures and contexts. Yet, that "essence," like the vaporous form of the ghost, is amorphous and vague. The Japanese garden haunts our collective imagination, yet we are not quite sure what to make of it. The Japanese garden becomes whatever we want it to be. From the first the Japanese garden—whether in Kyoto or Kansas City—has stood as a tangible antithesis to Western values. To quote one garden's pamphlet from about 1966, "An Occidental garden attempts to subjugate nature, an Eastern garden accepts it." Where most Western gardens are symmetrical and rational, the Japanese garden is asymmetrical ("each turning in a Japanese Garden path, designed for maximum enjoyment, provokes an aura of mystery and quiet mediation").[3] A half-century earlier the sentiment differed little. In the words of two writers in 1916: "For the native of Japan, a garden is Fancy's Playground, a veritable place of romance . . . holding it as a retreat for contemplation and rest of mind. There associations must be friendly, there no rancor and strife of business must have place. It is, indeed, the lack of romance and mystery in our [Western] gardens which renders them so stupid."[4] The Japanese garden provides the locus of escape from the oppressive modernity of the West. As such, it must always be the ahistorical and essentialized Other, the mirror opposite by which the West both defines itself and seeks release.

Despite its static function as an emblem of the informal, natural space of the East in contradistinction to the formal, artificial space of the West, the idea of the Japanese gardens has evolved to parallel changes in Western design and thought. In the early twentieth century, when Victorian ideas were ascendant, Japanese gardens often represented quaintness and romance, the picturesque assemblage of materials for maximum decorative effect and moral edification. For Edmund Buckley, writing in 1908, "The expression of sentiment and morality widely differentiates the Japanese garden from its Western rival, which confines itself to a purely esthetic purpose. . . ."[5] With the rise of modernism in the mid-twentieth century, the Japanese garden increasingly embodied simplicity, the rejection of materialism, and a kind of philosophical purity. In his influential *Gardens in the Modern Landscape*, published first in 1934 and then again in 1948 and 1950, Christopher Tunnard argues that to find a technique for the contemporary garden, made to complement asymmetrically balanced modern architecture and to express an "affinity with nature," then "it is to the gardens of Kyoto that we must turn. . . ." For Tunnard, "When the sentimental, superficial approach to this oriental art through its merely decorative aspects has been abandoned by the Western mind it will be discovered that the underlying principles may very well serve as part of the basis for a modern technique."[6] Japanese gardens, "made to be seen sitting down," are marked by "extreme simplicity" with emphasis on "form, line and economy of material," "unity of the habitation with its environment," and awareness that man's "identity is not

separate from Nature." Made to carry the ideological freight of its interpreters, in many ways "the Japanese garden" is figuratively a Western construct.

Japanese-style gardens are literally Western constructs. In the language of the spirit world, they are wraiths—apparitions bearing likenesses of the living as seen just before their deaths. Even as modernization was killing off premodern gardens in Japan, they were being reborn in the West. When still built in Japan, they are most often embalmed as remnants of tradition and known self-consciously as a *nihon teien* or "Japanese garden." And in the West they almost always bear the marks of reconstitution in a strange land. Although physically transformed in the process of rebirth, these so-called Japanese gardens retain the appellation of their forbears. Given their great numbers and often distinctive formal as well as functional differences from gardens in Japan, Japanese-style gardens constitute a distinct type of Western garden. Casting these modern gardens as identical to gardens of premodern Japan masks this most central fact of their existence. Although Japanese-style gardens appear most everywhere—a rooftop in Rockefeller Center, a community college in Midland, Michigan, a quarry in San Antonio—they remain phantoms. As "Japanese gardens" they hover dreamlike, beyond our grasp.

They cease to be specters only when we think of these gardens as one genre of Western landscape architecture, their history derived from that of the countries in which they were made and function. Japanese-style gardens materialize as real, living gardens when their ideology, purpose, and function are reunited with their form. No doubt this demystification drains much of the romance from these gardens. Because legend is more compelling than history, shadow more enticing than sunlight, it may be disappointing to think about such gardens as those in this book as American or Canadian gardens rather than Japanese ones. A Japanese-style garden in San Diego is less romantic than a "Japanese garden" in San Diego. Moreover, most of these gardens were built as "Japanese gardens," their rhetoric based on the illusion that when one gazes upon them, one sees Japan; that when one sets foot in a "Japanese garden," be it in Osaka or Orlando, one is in Japan. Central to the rhetoric of the ghost Japanese garden is the idea of "authenticity"—and most every Japanese-style garden claims to be authentic. One book on the principles of Japanese gardens deploys as examples only gardens in the United States. Its basic premise is that spiritual serenity is the essence of gardens in Japan, but because few Americans visit those gardens, they may substitute the "Japanese gardens" in America, which "recreate the Japanese style and provide a venue for experiencing" this spiritual type of landscape.[7]

This book, in contrast, presents Japanese-style gardens on the Pacific coast of the United States and Canada as flesh-and-blood North American gardens rather than as specters of Japanese gardens. In James Rose's terms, it elucidates the "what" of the gardens by returning them to the people who built, funded, and used them. As such it is little concerned with the symbolism or design theory of Japanese gardens. Rather, each of the twenty gardens is discussed in terms of its place in the evolution of Japanese-style gardens, patronage, relation of function to design, and use. These mundane concerns do not deny the beauty or tranquillity found in these gardens. Beauty and tranquillity are better experienced than discussed—and the photos do a very good job of suggesting what words strain to achieve. The experience of the gardens becomes richer when we begin to understand their often complex histories. We make these gardens multidimensional when we take into account the people who struggled for their creation and the people who have deployed them. We bring them more fully alive when we consider their designs not merely the recreations of Japanese prototypes but as the creative acts of designers translating the style of one time and place into very different temporal and spatial dimensions. And we give the gardens real significance when we see them as part of the cultural context of North American attitudes toward Japan.

"Japan" in America

When one culture creates forms and entire places based on those of another culture, and then pretends that the creations are authentic—the real thing rather than recreations—far more is revealed about the culture doing the action than the one being acted upon. Japanese-style gardens in North America tell us more about America and Canada than they do about Japan. As opposed to merely being "Japanese," the gardens evince their patrons' and consumers' particular attitudes toward Japan. In essence both the gardens and their functions present a type of orientalism through which Westerners literally and figuratively construct the Orient of their imagination by exaggerating some aspects of Asian culture while ignoring others. In orientalism, Asian culture is read through the filter of Western desires and fears. These gardens, and their histories, reveal fundamental aspects of a century of North American political, economic, and cultural relations with Japan.

Japanese-style gardens in their construction and consumption constitute one aspect of Japanism—the American cultural fascination with Japanese culture manifest in adopting and adapting aspects of it in art and architecture. In his groundbreaking 1964 book *The Japanese Influence In America*, Clay Lancaster traces in detail American architecture and garden design and, far more briefly, graphic art and decorative art in Japanese or "Japanesque" styles. While subsequent studies have focused on Japanism in painting, prints, decorative arts, and even architecture,[8] gardens have received little attention, apparently considered too close to Japanese models to merit extended analysis. But Japanese-style gardens were born among the cultural confluence that made popular the sketches and paintings of Japan by Robert Blum, the Japanese-theme prints of Helen Hyde, and the Japanesque architecture of Bruce Price and Frank Lloyd

Wright. In the postwar era, the rebirth of Japanese-style gardens took place in the same culture that produced the Japanese-derived architecture of Richard Neutra, the sculpture of Isamu Noguchi, and the painting of Mark Tobey. Where artists and architects often produced work based on their own discrete experiences and interests, and often for small numbers of patrons, most Japanese-style gardens were produced through group efforts and intended for a broad public audience. Part of popular culture, they are directly connected with the vogues for Japan which swept through America in the decades around 1900 and then again in the years since World War II.

Nothing epitomizes America's initial infatuation with Japan as clearly as Madame Butterfly, a cultural phenomenon that kept the romantic "Japanist" view of Japan at the forefront of the American cultural consciousness for more than two decades. In 1895, John Luther Long published *Madame Butterfly*, the most popular of his five novels about Japan.[9] In 1900 in New York and then in London, producer David Belasco turned it into a successful play which in 1903 was adapted by Giacomo Puccini into the famous opera. In 1915 director Adolph Zukor made the story into a movie starring Mary Pickford and filmed in the Japanese-style garden of Phiroz D. Saklatavala in Plainfield, New Jersey. *Madame Butterfly* not only spawned imitators in all artistic forms, but was the direct inspiration for at least one Japanese-style garden—that of Isabel Stine, a founder of the San Francisco Opera Company who staged a performance of *Madama Butterfly* in Hakone, her Japanese-style garden near San Jose. The tale of the wife who sacrifices herself was so closely associated with Japan that in 1934 when the Japanese American daughter-in-law of Gorō Hagiwara—proprietor of the Japanese Tea Garden in Golden Gate Park—killed herself and her infant son by taking a match to their gasoline-drenched bodies, the *San Francisco Call* reported, "The wind in the trees hummed a requiem—like a plaintive refrain from 'Madame Butterfly'—as old Gorō, tears in his eyes, stumbled back to the house."[10]

Less than a decade after the end of World War II, America had rediscovered its infatuation with Japan. But this time the direct experience of many occupation soldiers and their dependents gave Americans a direct and ostensibly more sophisticated knowledge of Japanese culture. By about 1960, Japan was on the itinerary of countless Western writers touring "the Orient." Again popular literature on Japan was ubiquitous, seemingly every writer having his or her say on the culture and, invariably, the gardens. Gardens figure prominently for instance in Nikos Kazantzakis's 1962 study of Japan entitled *The Rock Garden*, Ian Fleming's 1964 James Bond adventure *You Only Live Twice*, set in a Japanese "suicide garden," and Pierre Boulle's 1965 novel *Garden on the Moon*, in which a Japanese scientist builds a rock garden on the lunar surface.[11] An early example of the postwar rediscovery of Japan was Vern Sneider's 1951 novel *The Teahouse of the August Moon*—turned into a Pulitzer Prize–winning play in 1953, then a film in 1956—in which Americans set out to teach democracy to Japan but end up the students of Japanese culture, as symbolized by a teahouse with garden: "Fisby made a mental note to notice and appreciate, then settled back to contemplate his surroundings. He breathed deep, looked at the small pines, looked at the *cha no yu* house resting beneath their overhanging branches, and nodded. Yes sir, it was a fine thing, a garden like this. If more people did it, there wouldn't be so many ulcers and nervous breakdowns. It did something for your system. . . ."[12]

Fascination with Japan was not confined to art and literature, but was translated into design styles appropriate for American homes and gardens. Of the many books, pamphlets, and articles on Japanese aesthetics and landscape architecture, few were as thorough or as influential as the two issues of *House Beautiful* published in August and September 1960. The first, devoted to Japan and bearing the issue title "Shibui, the word for the highest level of beauty," explores the Japanese aesthetics of simplicity and naturalness in architecture, gardens, and other arts. The next issue, "How to be shibui with American things," details many ways in which Americans may adapt Japanese design in their own homes, gardens, and daily life. In contrast to the "quaint and charming" image of exotic Japan prevalent in the prewar decades, characterized here as the "passing passions for miniature gardens, paper parasols, and lanterns," this new wave of Japanese influence was promoted as a more perceptive understanding of the spiritual depths of Japanese culture. For landscape design this usually meant integration of interior and exterior space, asymmetry or irregularity, emphasis on natural materials and effects, muted colors, and a feeling of informal elegance. Japanese garden design was considered ideal for standard suburban houses because it could create a sense of spaciousness and serenity using modest materials. Adapting ideas from David Engel's 1959 book *Japanese Gardens For Today*, articles in the magazine advised Americans in the utilization of fences, rocks, water, and ornaments in the spirit of Japanese aesthetics.

Even as the modernist taste for Japanese design was translated by *House Beautiful*, *Sunset*, and other magazines into a new suburban garden style, and simultaneously manifested in a fashion for "Zen-style" rock-and-sand gardens, both for residences and the public, there also remained the earlier fascination with Japan as the "flowery kingdom" of quaint teahouses and charming women. *Madama Butterfly*, for example, continued to draw audiences and haunt the imaginations of American women. The 1953 sweepstakes winner in Pasadena's Rose Parade was the "Madam [*sic*] Butterfly" float sponsored by the city of Glendale, which later built a Japanese-style garden. At Descanso Gardens in neighboring La Canada, in 1960, the women of the Descanso Guild decided to construct a Japanese garden and for their initial fund-raiser hired a UCLA opera troupe to perform the first act of *Madama Butterfly*. Similarly, when the Lotusland garden in Montecito, California, staged a 1995 fund-raiser in its

Japanese garden, the theme was "Lotusland Celebrates Twilight With *Madama Butterfly.*" The romance, exoticism, and femininity still associated with Japan and its gardens was perhaps best expressed in 1966 when the Federated Garden Clubs of Birmingham, Alabama, held "Operation Kimono," or "K-day," in which club women in colorful kimono stood on downtown street corners soliciting donations for the Japanese garden at the Birmingham Botanical Garden.

In the postwar decades the image of Japan became increasingly complex, as it was dually associated with the chrysanthemum, representing the feminized artistic culture symbolized by Madame Butterfly, and the sword, denoting the ascetic, masculine culture of Zen. Both aspects of Japanese culture found expression in gardens—often at the same time. Increasingly after 1960 these two images were juxtaposed in single gardens which sought to demonstrate not merely the range of Japanese garden styles but to subsume the culture itself by encapsulating its polarities. Nathan Glazer argues that American attitudes toward Japan have been shallow and hastily formed, resulting in contradictory impressions bolstered by the paradoxical character of Japanese culture. Sheila Johnson, in contrast, contends that American conceptions of Japan are situational, changing in response to historical situations.[13] The evidence of Japanese-style gardens suggests that Americans have found in Japan a text whose value lies not so much in what the Japanese have written into it, but rather in the range of meanings Americans may read from it. Japan is thus not so much a given text to be decoded, but a text that is constantly being written. Japanese culture is so compelling because it can be interpreted differentially, meaning virtually whatever best suits a particular audience. Thus the staggering number of Japanese-style gardens—including from 1967 to 1974 a full-scale Japan-themed amusement park, the Japanese Deer Park and Village in Southern California—testifies not merely to the variety and depth of Japanese culture but to the creativity of American culture, which has repeatedly sought, found, and even built the Japan it desires. Japanese Americans and Japanese have often been complicit in this process of fashioning "Japan" in America.

Japanese Americans

Japanese-style gardens do not exist against the "background" or within the "context" of American attitudes toward Japan; rather, they are active agents in creating those attitudes. Moreover, the gardens—like the attitudes—are created not by a homogenous entity known as "Americans" but by individuals. While many of the persons instrumental in the fabrication of gardens were of European descent and long resident in America, they rarely constructed Japanese-style gardens alone. For example, even the kimono-clad, donation-gathering ladies of Birmingham's Federated Garden Clubs were joined by local Japanese women. And the idea for the garden came from Japanese "war bride" Reiko Parsons, who, stricken with an inoperable brain tumor, returned to Japan to die, leaving her husband and young children in Birmingham. Her final request was that a garden be built so they, and all children in the area, would grow up in the presence of something Japanese. The garden was designed by Buffy Murai, a San Francisco–born and Tokyo-raised man who had served as advisor for *Sayonara* and several other films set in Japan. The original teahouse at the garden was donated by the Japanese government after building it first at the 1964 New York World's Fair. The garden was a collaborative effort between the Caucasian establishment in Birmingham, Japanese Americans and Japanese.

It is the rare Japanese-style garden in North America, whether public or private, that was not built, financed in part or whole, maintained, or used by persons of Japanese ancestry. For Americans and Canadians of Japanese descent, the Japanese-style garden has been an important space of cultural production. Gardens are a crucial part of the immigrant experience for many ethnic Japanese in the West, integral in terms of economics and the politics of identity. Japanese-style gardens have frequently served as the most tangible aspect of cultural identity, at times stating Japaneseness and in other instances modifying that identity to represent Japanese Americans or Japanese Canadians. For Japan, Japanese-style gardens have often served as congenial symbols for the most attractive aspects of the nation. As such they have been utilized as long-term cultural ambassadors.

In both the pre- and postwar periods, most large Japanese-style gardens were designed and constructed by Japanese or first-generation (*issei*) Japanese immigrants. In the last decades of the nineteenth century and the first decades of the twentieth century, virtually all Japanese-style gardens were the result of the planning and physical toil of issei men. It is one of the seeming paradoxes of Japanism that garden construction flourished at precisely the time when Japanese immigrants were barred from becoming citizens and, in western states, prohibited from owning land. The "yellow peril" of Japanese immigration was so feared in California that in 1920 James D. Phelan, former governor and founder of the Japanese Exclusion League, ran for the U.S. Senate on the slogans "Save Our State From Oriental Aggression" and "Keep California White." Ironically, Phelan's great estate, Villa Montalvo, near Saratoga, was flanked on the north by Isabel Stine's Japanese-style estate, Hakone, and on the south by Max Cohn's Japanese-style garden, Kotani'an. For such Japanophiles as Stine and Cohn, a Japanese-style garden was emblematic of their interest in Japan and perhaps of their distance from the Eurocentrism of men like Phelan. However, it is likely that most Caucasians who strolled through the Japanese-style gardens at worlds fairs or in civic parks were fascinated with Japanese culture but still uncomfortable with the idea that Japanese people were their equals. Aware of both the hostility facing them and of the popularity of Japanese-style gardens, Japanese immigrants built gardens as a way of smoothing the path of acceptance in American society by emphasizing the most attractive manifestation of

their culture. For instance, in the 1930s in California, Japanese American students and their parents built Japanese-style gardens at Sierra Madre Elementary School in Sierra Madre, Roosevelt High School in east Los Angeles, and Sequoia High School in Redwood City. And, in 1931, a Japanese business organization in the Sawtelle district of west Los Angeles contributed a small civic garden dedicated "to the Public for the Promotion of Better Understanding."

For many issei, building gardens served as a way of defining their Japaneseness and of maintaining ties to the homeland left behind, but also as a means of securing a living and even assimilating into their new country. For proprietors of commercial tea gardens like Makoto Hagiwara—a former restaurateur and, reportedly, brothel owner who ran the Japanese Tea Garden in Golden Gate Park from 1895 to 1925—Japanese culture was largely a commodity. In this regard Hagiwara differed little from his rival George Turner Marsh, who between 1896 and about 1930 built a half-dozen commercial Japanese gardens as part of his oriental antiquities business. Yet for such early-twentieth-century garden builders as Kinzuchi Fujii, Tokutarō Katō, and Takeo Shiota, who worked as farmers, carpenters, or florists to support their families between garden contracts, the Japanese garden was a labor of love by which they simultaneously defined and refined their Japanese identity even as they achieved some measure of success in America. While Katō and Shiota maintained pure Japanese styles, mid-century landscapers like Fujitarō Kubota and Shōgo Myaida (who altered the spelling of his family name so non-Japanese could more easily pronounce it) attempted to adapt Japanese design to the culture in which they lived. When new issei like Nagao Sakurai, Kōichi Kawana, Kimio Kimura, and Takeo Uesugi came to America after the war, they similarly sought to reconcile their patrons' usual desires for "authenticity" and their own interests in landscapes that, like themselves, bridged the two cultures.

Japanese-style gardens were not only built by Japanese Americans, but built for them as well. In the 1930s several successful issei—including flower farmer Zenjūrō Shibata in Hayward and garlic pioneer Kiyoshi Hirasaki in Gilroy—hired Japanese carpenters and landscapers to help them construct Japanese homes and gardens which eased their adjustment to life permanently in America and marked their preeminent status in the Japanese community. In some cases these large residential gardens were sites for picnics and other issei social events. In the years just before Pearl Harbor, the Fukunaga family in central Los Angeles opened their large garden (figure 1) for the annual photos of the princesses chosen for Nisei Week, a newly instituted Japanese American festival. Even when Japanese Americans were relocated away from the Pacific coastal regions in the wake of Pearl Harbor—most forcibly sent to hastily built camps in inhospitable desert locales—garden building continued. In most camps the industrious internees turned desert wasteland into bountiful fields and made life more

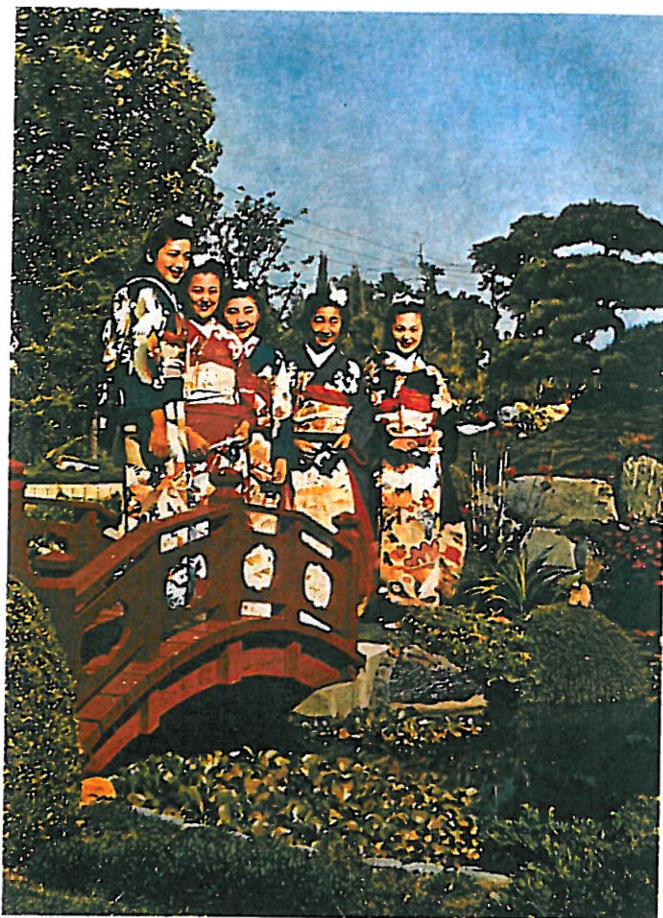

figure 1.
The Fukunaga family garden in Los Angeles served as a backdrop for Japanese American community events in the years just before World War II.

figure 2.
The garden of the Fukuda family at the Minidoka Relocation Camp, Idaho, is one of many gardens built by internees intent on beautifying the barren camp environment.

bearable by forming clubs for everything from Nō drama to swing music. In the camps at Gila River in Arizona, Manzanar and Tule Lake in California, and Minidoka in Idaho (figure 2), where water, plants, and rocks were available, internees built Japanese-style gardens of several types. The flimsy and faceless barracks were often beautified with stones, plants, and even lanterns fashioned out of recycled materials. In communal areas larger gardens featuring waterfalls, ponds, and sometimes stone bridges were lovingly constructed, usually by men who had worked as landscapers, gardeners, or nurserymen. Preserved in a few photographs and the piles of stones which stand as mute reminders of the once vibrant camps, these gardens made familiar the strange land, boosted the esteem of men deprived of their livelihoods, and symbolized the endurance of Japanese Americans in the face of great injustice. Jeanne Wakatsuki Houston describes the effect of looking through a garden at Manzanar toward the crest of the Sierra Nevada: "You could face away from the barracks, look past a tiny rapids toward the darkening mountains, and for a while not be a prisoner at all. You could hang suspended in some odd, almost lovely land you could not escape from yet almost didn't want to leave."[14]

After the war, as Japanese Americans reformed communities and community pride, Japanese-style gardens were built again. Buddhist churches often featured arrangements of pines, stones, and lanterns to signal the congregation's culture. In a few instances, most notably at Buddhist temples in San Jose and Anaheim, full-fledged gardens were made by parishioners in the landscaping business. More emblematic than aesthetic, they parallel the gardens in the yards of many second- and third-generation Japanese Americans intent on preserving their heritage and signaling their presence to the larger community. In some neighborhoods, Chinese and Vietnamese immigrants have imitated these designs—the ubiquitous front-yard lantern and clipped pine becoming a pan-Asian symbol of ethnicity in America. In contrast to these implicit messages, other gardens explicitly enunciate or commemorate Japanese American presence and history. For instance, in 1965 San Joaquin County Japanese Americans built a three-acre garden with teahouse and large pond in Micke Grove Park in Lodi,

California. To celebrate the Canadian centenary in 1967, the Japanese Canadian Citizens' Association in Vernon, British Columbia, constructed a garden in Poulson Park. And, at the small pavilion and garden constructed in 1970 at the courthouse in Santa Ana, California, a commemorative plaque reads: "Dedicated and presented for the pleasure of all people in Orange County by the Japanese American community. A grateful arigato in honor of our pioneer fathers and for the blessings of freedom." In 1979 the Japanese American Cultural and Community Center in the Little Tokyo section of Los Angeles constructed a garden, its three-part watercourse representing the experiences of three generations of Japanese Americans. A Japanese-style garden was built in 1984 on the Salinas Rodeo Grounds, a former relocation assembly center, as part of the redress movement that sought and eventually won a formal government apology for the internment of Japanese Americans. And, in 1990, the Oregon Nikkei League sponsored Robert Murase's design at the Japanese American Historical Plaza in Portland. Composed of a series of stones inscribed with Japanese and English haiku poems on the Japanese immigrant experience and the pain of the relocation camps, this "garden" stands as a powerful testament to the defining event in Japanese American history by using a design which synthesizes Japanese stone gardens and modern Western sculpture—an appropriately multicultural style for a Japanese American monument.[15]

Most of the pre- and postwar issei landscape builders were Japanese citizens. Some settled permanently in North America, often becoming American or Canadian citizens when finally offered the chance, while others eventually returned to Japan. In the competitive world of Japanese-style garden design, the Japanese birth and training of these men were integral to the authenticity typically desired by public and private patrons who sought a "real Japanese garden" for their estate or municipality. Because many early issei garden builders had only limited experience in Japan, American patrons often boosted their own status by falsely claiming that their man was "an Imperial gardener" or inventing some other impressive pedigree. Even more "authentic" than the Japanese immigrant was the Japanese designer commissioned directly from Japan, preferably recommended by the Japanese government or with a university teaching position. As Japanese-style gardens increased in status as the twentieth century wore on, the status of the designer grew in importance. For designers born in America, whether Japanese American like Robert Murase or Caucasians like David Engel, David Slawson, or Ron Herman, a stint in Japan—ideally studying at a major university and apprenticing with a famous Japanese "master"—was nearly requisite in terms of both professional skill and social status. Publishing a book that demonstrated one's training was also an effective way of establishing credentials. Because the rhetoric of Japanese-style gardens conceives of them as Japanese gardens, the basic calculus is that the closer the designer to Japan, the greater the authenticity of the garden.

Japan and America

Despite the dominant discourse on authenticity, on adherence to a putative Japanese tradition, Japan has not simply played the role of the passive original to be copied. The Japanese government, both at the local and national levels, has been active in the construction of Japanese-style gardens abroad. Japanese industry has also played a key role in the foreign dissemination of Japanese landscape design, usually in the form of money contributed to various funding bodies. Most public Japanese-style gardens built between 1950 and 1998 have been aided in part by contributions of money, materials, or labor from Japanese government or business. Roughly half are sister city or friendship gardens in which a Japanese municipality typically helped in supplying materials. In some cases, however, the Japanese city proposed the garden, designed it, provided most materials, and then built it with workers from Japan. Even when the Japanese city contributed only a commemorative stone pagoda or lantern, the fact that the garden is sanctioned by or connected with Japan is key to its rhetoric as a "Japanese garden." In several cases—the Kaizuka Garden in Culver City, California, and Kasugai Garden in Kelowna, British Columbia—the garden is named after the affiliated Japanese town. The Japanese-style garden has provided Japanese cities, and the nation as a whole, with a relatively cost-effective type of long-term advertisement for the aspect of its culture most accessible to and popular with

foreigners. Symbolically, gardens embody economic and political relationships. Moreover, at times when tensions denigrate Japan's image internationally, gardens are an effectively indirect way of creating a positive impression. The beauty, serenity, and age-old tradition of gardens countermand the threatening image of the modern industrial nation and economic competitor trumpeted in newspaper headlines. Even though the great majority of sister city and friendship gardens has been initiated from the North American side of the Pacific, Japan has usually been active in their creation. While these gardens are typically marked by the pastiche design and cliché Japaneseness characteristic of the orientalist fantasy of Japan, Japan itself has often played a role in creating and sanctioning this fiction.

While Japan's role in international affairs in the modern period may well be described as masculine—based on economic strength after the war and on military power before it—the face presented to the world via gardens was very much a feminine one. The first Japanese gardens outside Japan were those sponsored by Japanese government and industry at international expositions. At early expositions—Vienna in 1873, Philadelphia in 1876, and Paris in 1878 and again in 1884—the Japanese government contributed relatively small exhibits with nominal "gardens" that were casual arrangements of plants, fences, and lanterns. Despite their rudimentary form, these gardens and accompanying teahouses or other structures effectively implied that Japan was a country of quaint charm ever devoted to its tradition of craftsmanship. By the end of the nineteenth century, Japan realized that the growing scale and number of international expositions provided a unique opportunity to influence world opinion at the time when Japan's burgeoning industrial and military power was transforming the nation into an international power—a position gradually confirmed by Japan's victories in the Sino-Japanese War of 1894–95, the Russo-Japanese War of 1904–05, the so-called Manchuria Incident of 1931, as well as the 1937 invasion of China.

With the 1893 World's Columbian Exposition in Chicago, Japan began the construction of major pavilions and gardens as well as massive displays in the halls of commerce, industry, agriculture, and education, becoming at most fairs the largest foreign exhibitor. In sharp contrast to its displays of modern technology and industry in the neoclassical exhibition halls, the Japanese government chose to build its national pavilion, the Hōōden, in a historicizing style, adapting the famous eleventh-century Hōōdō of the Byōdōin temple near Kyoto by combining architectural features from the three historical periods thought to best characterize premodern Japanese culture. The structure was surrounded by garden paths winding through thousands of plants brought from Japan. Another garden, with stone lanterns and bronze cranes, flanked the Nippon Tea House. When the Japanese government—then at war in Korea—sat out the 1894 California Midwinter Exposition in San Francisco, Australian entrepreneur G. T. Marsh won the rights for the Japanese Village (later the Japanese Tea Garden in Golden Gate Park). This loss of ability to represent their own culture, and to prosper from doing so, outraged local Japanese businessmen, who soon built a rival tea garden at the fair.

At the Louisiana Purchase Exposition of 1904 in St. Louis, Japan created the sensation of the fair with its 175,000-square-foot compound (figure 3) composed of six "traditional" structures: the Formosa Tea Pavilion (representing Japan's newest colony), the Bellevue Tea House (sponsored by the Central Tea Grower's Association), the Bazaar, Main Pavilion, Commissioner's Residence, and a "replica" of the famous late-fifteenth-century Golden Pavilion in Kyoto. In the center was the Imperial Japanese Garden, also called the "Enchanted Garden," which included an island, arched bridge, iron and stone lanterns, bronze cranes, a variety of blooming plants, and a small teahouse where women served tea. The original plan was for a replica of Nagoya Castle with a small teahouse, but the outbreak of the Russo-Japanese War forced a new plan ostensibly to save money. The more peaceful arrangement of temple-style wooden buildings around a large stroll garden elicited the desired response. In the 1904 article "Some Of The Reasons Why Americans Like The Japanese," Isaac Marcossan explained: "In arrangement and detail the national pavilion shows that, to the achievement of commerce and industry, the Japanese have brought the perfection of landscape beauty, another expression of the genius of a people who, in the art of war and the pursuits of peace, are steadily making their way to a large place in world power. For this is the real significance of the Japanese exhibit in St. Louis."[16]

The Japanese government also deployed exposition gardens in response to regional political concerns. When the organizers of the 1915 Panama-Pacific International Exposition in San Francisco invited Japan to participate in 1912, the government accepted, aware that by skillfully presenting Japanese culture they might offset anti-Japanese sentiment. However, when Californians pressed ahead with the Alien Land Act, banning Japanese from land ownership, Japan withdrew from the fair. Dismayed at the loss of the largest and most popular foreign exhibitor, the fair's backers—San Francisco's leading businessmen—tried to persuade the legislature to postpone a vote on the bill until after the fair. Conservative politicians and newspapers in turn railed against the "tea garden," their shorthand for Japan's participation. James Phelan proclaimed, "Japan may not [choose to] exhibit at our fair, but we cannot sell our birthright for a tea garden." And a *Sacramento Union* editorial opined, "We believe [labor] desires the Japanese burden off its shoulders just as much as it ever desired it, and that it will not be lured from its opposition by promise of the most beautiful tea-garden that the mind of Oriental man has conceived."[17] Japan eventually did participate, building a display similar to that in St. Louis. It featured an entry gate, commissioner's office, two very successful teahouses, and a reception hall bastardizing the Golden Pavilion and housing a

miniature replica of the temples at Nikkō. Roughly half the Japanese space was filled with the "Imperial Japanese Garden," composed of a pond, red bridge, rest pavilions, stones, lanterns, bronze Buddhist statues, bronze storks, and hundreds of imported trees and shrubs. Despite the hostility of many Californians toward Japanese immigrants, most visitors were charmed by the "fairy garden" inhabited by winsome Japanese maidens. Isabel Stine, a devotee of Puccini's *Madame Butterfly*, was so taken with the teahouses that after the fair closed she took a trip to Japan and then commissioned a Japanese house and garden, Hakone, at her estate on the east side of the Santa Cruz Mountains. After the fair William Sesnon, a major exposition backer, and his wife, a member of the women's auxiliary board, also built a Japanese-style garden at their estate in Aptos on the west side of the Santa Cruz Mountains.

Japan's next large-scale garden participation at American expositions came in the 1930s when the Japanese military and political intervention in Manchuria and northern China in 1931, and subsequent invasion of southern China in 1936, antagonized American public opinion. Japan initially declined to participate in Chicago's 1933 Century of Progress Exposition, citing economic depression and her concerns in Manchukuo—the name given to the newly created puppet state, not recognized by the U.S. However, Japan decided to participate when China planned a large pavilion and Chicago businessman William Bendix erected a replica of the Temple of Jehol—a building from an area disputed by the Japanese and Chinese. Although the American government and corporate pavilions as well as those of the few European exhibitors were in the streamline modern style, the Chinese and Japanese built in pseudo-historical styles. The Japanese pavilion featured a teahouse with small tea garden and a main pavilion with entry garden built by Tarō Ōtsuka, a Japanese living in Chicago who had constructed gardens throughout the midwest. Adjacent to the main pavilion was the South Manchurian Railway Hall where the Japanese, in violation of U.S. State Department warnings, attempted to convince fair-goers of their benevolent interest in Manchukuo, disseminating information on military and economic affairs amid kimono-clad maidens, cherry blossoms, and a peaceful garden.

In 1939, as Europe was plunged in war and Japan was bogged down in its "holy war" in China, large expositions opened in New York and San Francisco. Again Japan was one of the few foreign participants. In San Francisco the government erected a stylistically hybrid pavilion broached by a gently arched bridge spanning one corner of a large pond set with stones and decorated with lanterns. The image of serenity and natural beauty established by the exterior landscape was paralleled by interior displays focusing on silk production, culture, tourism, and traditional crafts. In a tearoom visitors could sip tea while gazing at a rock garden. More blatantly propagandistic was the facade of timeless beauty conveyed by the self-consciously traditional garden

figure 3.
Composed of five major structures and a large pond-style stroll garden, the Japanese compound was the largest foreign display at the Louisiana Purchase Exposition, St. Louis, 1904.

and architecture in New York (figure 4). Although the fair's theme was "The World of Tomorrow," manifest in the futuristic Trylon and Persiphere, the Japanese pavilion was an updated version of an ancient shrine, fronted by a rather prosaic garden constructed by Shōgo Myaida, a Japanese who had built gardens in the New York area since 1922. The official Japanese poster summarized the ideology of this pavilion and indeed all those at previous expositions: "Changeless, timeless Japan . . . its enduring charm takes its place naturally in 'The World of Tomorrow.' Visit the Japanese pavilion—a red-white-and-gold replica of a lovely Shinto Shrine—with its exquisite art treasures and displays. Rest awhile in the unique Garden, symbolic of Japan's varied landscapes. When the Fair's modern world bewilders you, remember—and enjoy—the Japanese pavilion!"

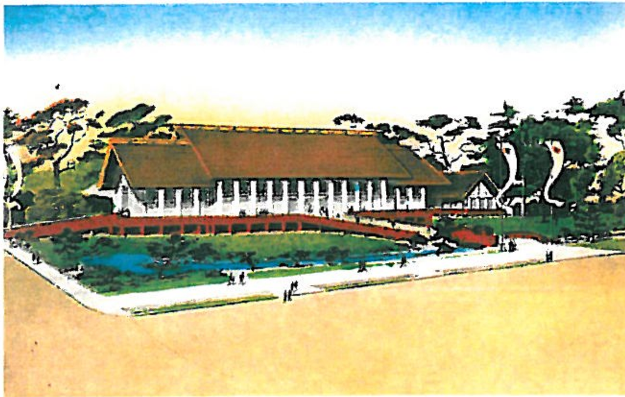

figure 4.
Meant to evoke an image of "changeless, timeless Japan," the Japanese pavilion and garden sharply contrasted with the "World of Tomorrow" theme of the 1939 New York World's Fair.

In the expositions after World War II, Japan adopted modernist design for its pavilions and attached gardens, abandoning the unrepentant historicism of the earlier temple-style structures and large stroll gardens. Now, the gardens—like the structures—were designed to suggest the fusion of Japanese tradition with high modern style. At Seattle's Twenty-first Century World's Fair in 1962, the simple, flat-roofed, steel-girdered Japanese pavilion contained a small rock-and-sand garden. Two years later at the New York World's Fair, the even more minimalist stone-clad Japanese pavilion designed by Kunio Maekawa included a rectangular, exterior garden courtyard containing abstract stone sculptures and a square central pool from which both nonrepresentative sculpture and natural stones emerged. Relative to this extreme abstraction, the pavilion and garden at Montreal's Expo '67 marked a far more conservative approach, seeking to synthesize the minimalism of modern design with the more overtly beautiful aspects of Japanese design. A hybrid garden occupied an area between the third and fourth parts of the four-section pavilion. In its center was a pond fed by a stone-lined stream meandering across a grass lawn. At the edge of the pond a broad "beach" of white gravel was set with stones as well as beds of white and red flowering ground cover. The aesthetic dissonance of this hard-edged abstraction and the more traditional stream suggested a radically condensed version of the multistyle Japanese-style gardens then being built in the United States.[18]

While gardens at postwar international expositions had little impact, those of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries had a tremendous influence on Japanese-style garden building in North America. First, these gardens were seen by millions of visitors and experienced secondhand by millions more who read about them in newspapers and gazed at photos in magazines and illustrated books. Second, the gardens were seen in the context of the fairs, which, for all their entertainment value, were largely considered educational events. Sponsored by the Japanese government, these gardens bore the official imprimatur of the Japanese authorities as well as the gravity of the expositions. Third, most gardens extended their life beyond the several months of each exposition. The Japanese government often maximized

the public relations potential of its exhibitions by donating its pavilions to the host city—an act which not only saved the cost of transporting the buildings and garden ornaments back to Japan, but also obviated the need to pay tax on these commercial import goods. As a result of this largesse, civic Japanese gardens were established in Chicago from 1893, San Francisco from 1895, and San Diego from 1915. Some gardens, particularly the Japanese Tea Garden in Golden Gate Park, were so commercially successful that they launched a vogue for commercial tea gardens, which brought public Japanese-style gardens to all corners of North America. Finally, because of the temporary nature of exposition buildings and gardens (including those in the commercial entertainment sections), when the fairs ended, objects not donated locally were often sold to individuals or businesses. For instance, a teahouse from the 1965 New York World's Fair ended up in Birmingham, Alabama; the silk display room from the 1939 Golden Gate exposition became part of the Hirasaki residence in Gilroy; and in 1908 the monumental gate from the "Fair Japan" concession in St. Louis was moved to Fairmount Park in Philadelphia, where it anchored a newly built garden commemorating the Japanese garden at the 1876 Philadelphia Centennial Exposition. When the gate burned in 1955, park authorities received as a gift the formal, "proto-modern" Japanese residence designed for display in 1954 at the Museum of Modern Art in New York. The display house's rock-and-pond garden was not transported to Philadelphia, so in 1957 Tansai Sano and David Engel built a large pond garden—Fairmount Park's third Japanese-style garden in eighty years.

These temporary exposition gardens, both in original design and in subsequent reconstruction, reveal an active process of making history and culture, a process that lies at the very heart of each Japanese-style garden. The Japanese exposition commissioners, private individuals, and park boards who recycled garden structures, ornaments, and even plants, were in effect playing with the past: plundering a millennium of Japanese landscape and architectural styles, they created gardens that—like Dr. Frankenstein's monster—were new forms combined from various old parts. The literal, physical transportability of garden elements parallels the less obvious but just as real historical transpositions at play when styles from the fifteenth and eighteenth centuries are revived in the twentieth century in gardens that claim, and are generally believed, to be "authentic Japanese gardens." Japanese culture, processed for malleability and portability, has found ready consumers in North America and equally eager producers on both sides of the Pacific. This orientalizing, or self-orientalizing, commodification of culture represented by the Japanese-style garden is based on the idea that gardens can be made to represent the Japanese historical past by collapsing or synthesizing it into a single entity capturing the essence of Japanese culture.

This plundering of the past is based on a view of history that notes differences yet finds an essential core of values. The gardens at the international expositions between 1867 and 1967 testify to a Japanese conception of landscape and indeed cultural history based on a relationship with the West that seeks to isolate and demonstrate a Japanese uniqueness antithetical to the values of Europe and America, but also to uncover the universality of Japanese culture as an equally critical component of its relationship with the West. Japanese garden scholarship in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century was largely concerned with historical texts on garden design and theory. This focus on design principles and aesthetic values is evident in studies of the eleventh-century *Sakuteiki* (Notes on Garden Making), the fifteenth-century *Senzui narabi ni yagyō no zu* (Illustrations for Designing Mountain, Water, and Hillside Field Landscapes), and the eighteenth-century *Tsukiyama teizōden* (Creating Landscape Gardens),[19] as well as in the many books on Japanese garden history. The discreet sociopolitical implications of gardens have received little attention until very recently.[20]

Because the forms of Japanese garden design have not been rigorously viewed as determined by specific historical circumstances, they have been ideologically and functionally free-floating, applicable whenever and wherever they can again be of service, no matter how disparate the original and subsequent uses. At Chicago, in 1893, the Hōōden pavilion adapted the eleventh-century Hōōdō, but the garden made no reference to either the pond-based aristocratic or Pureland-sect Buddhist gardens of the Heian period (798–1184), both of which were inextricably linked formally and functionally with the Hōōdō. Rather, in Chicago the Japanese designers created the informal stroll garden associated with restaurants of the late nineteenth century. Indeed, while the architecture of the early Japanese-style gardens in the West is usually historicized, the gardens tend to follow the rather ornate and synthetic landscape taste of the Meiji period (1868–1912). At the 1904 St. Louis and 1915 San Francisco fairs, the Japanese displays mixed architectural adaptations of the late-fourteenth-century Golden Pavilion with landscaping based on Edo-period (1615–1868) stroll gardens associated with samurai lords, or *daimyō*. The large scale and opulence of the style fit not only late Meiji taste but also the ambiance of the exposition where nations strove to impress with profusion rather than restraint. Moreover, at a time when Japan's military exploits were generally well regarded in the West, the connection made by the architecture and gardens with the shoguns or *daimyō* of Japan's military heritage carried few negative implications. In the smaller gardens built by Japan for the 1930s expos in Chicago, San Francisco, and New York, the landscape was far more intimate. Made to be seen either from within the pavilions or as an adjunct to the architecture when viewed from outside, but never to be entered, these gardens were based loosely upon Edo-period temple gardens. This choice may stem from the quasireligious architecture of the Chicago and San Francisco pavilions and the restricted space of all three plans. At the postwar expositions, when Japan sought to

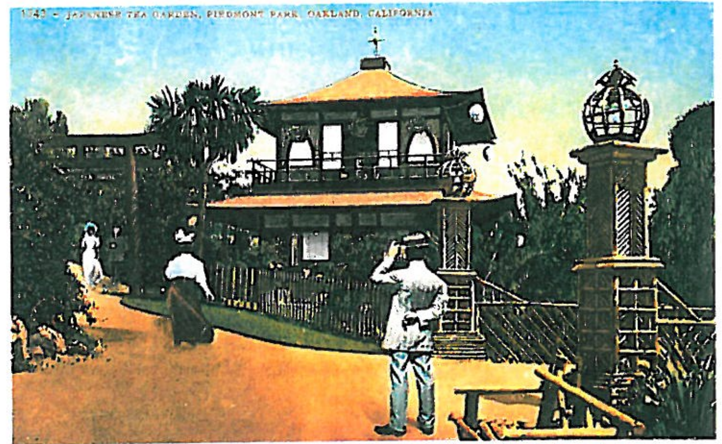

figure 5.
A copy of the fifteenth-century Silver Pavilion in Kyoto was the focal point of the Japanese Tea Garden at Piedmont Park in Oakland, California, ca. 1900.

distance itself from the prewar style and ideology yet maintain its fusion of uniqueness and universality, the abstract modernity of the sand-and-stone gardens associated with Zen temples was an obvious choice.

Despite the different styles and historical models, the exposition gardens were all alike in that each was deracinated, its style uprooted from the nurturing functional and theoretical soil in which it was born. The styles that grew out of the Zen culture of the sixteenth century or from military society in the eighteenth century now represented not so much the values of the priestly or warrior communities, but rather Japan in sum. And this Japan—as it exists in the West and vis-à-vis the West—is, at heart, about ahistorical essences.

North American Garden Types and Functions

The few exposition gardens had a tremendous impact on the hundreds of Japanese-style gardens in North America. Most resemble the exposition gardens in that they generically represent Japan, yet differ because they were not constructed temporarily at the "tournaments of nations," but were built in a wide range of locations to perform a variety of specific functions. And, most importantly, they were usually built by North Americans. Thus these gardens are American or Canadian in both context and function, growing out of the histories of these countries and revelatory of them. The great majority of Japanese-style gardens in the West can be classified as commercial, residential, civic, or cultural. Some cut across categories. For instance, exposition gardens were simultaneously commercial (directly and indirectly selling Japan and Japanese products), civic (gestures of international goodwill), and cultural (meant to teach about Japan). Investigation of Japanese-style gardens within the rubric of these functional categories foregrounds the role of these gardens in North American life. It also illuminates the sociopolitical dimensions of these gardens and indeed the underpinnings of Japanism.

The early exposition gardens had their most immediate impact on North American garden building in terms of commercial tea gardens. The tea pavilions at the fairs in Chicago, San Francisco, and St. Louis, as well as those in Buffalo, Portland, and Seattle, were so successful economically that both Japanese and American entrepreneurs sought to mimic them with commercial tea gardens. In some cases they used the actual structures or plants and ornaments from the Japanese exposition displays. Most gardens were located in resort areas, often at or near large resort hotels where guests sought new sights and experiences. The Japanese-style gardens were exotic—and often slightly erotic due to the presence of kimono-clad women—but safely so. With little effort, risk, or money relative to traveling to Japan, visitors to commercial gardens could feel that they had traveled to a strange, new culture. Because of these functions, it was crucial that the gardens promote themselves as authentic no matter how spurious the claim.

The earliest public Japanese-style garden was likely at a resort in Blair Park in Piedmont, California. Built in 1891 as part of a complex featuring canals and a planned casino, it had lilies, a wisteria arch and a teahouse staffed by Japanese "maidens" in "full native costume." A larger rival garden (figure 5)—boasting a replica of Kyoto's late-fifteenth-century Silver Pavilion, a small pond garden and a hedgerow maze with a pagoda at its center—was constructed around 1900 in nearby Piedmont Park. Far better known is San Francisco's Japanese Tea Garden at Golden Gate Park, an offshoot of the Japanese Village at the 1894 California Midwinter International Exposition. It was run by businessman Makoto Hagiwara from 1895 to 1900, and from 1907 until his death in 1925. From 1900 to 1907 Hagiwara was barred from the garden and, in retaliation, opened the San Francisco Hagiwara Tea Garden near the park. The tea garden at the 1893 Chicago World's Columbian Exposition had been managed by the enterprising Yumindo Kushibiki. The venture was so successful that in 1897 Kushibiki and several partners opened a six-acre commercial tea garden near Boardwalk and Massachusetts Avenue in Atlantic City. After this huge garden closed in 1900, with many of its structures going to private gardens around Philadelphia, Kushibiki opened a tea garden on the rooftop of Madison Square Garden in New York. Featuring Japanese waitresses in "native costume" and a replica of Mt. Fuji, the garden hosted such light opera as *The Mikado* and heavy drama as the murder of famed architect Stanford White in 1906. The latter reportedly

figure 6.
From 1914 to 1922 visitors were fascinated by miniature (foreground) and full size buildings (background pagoda) at the Bernheimer Japanese Gardens in Hollywood, California.

boosted business more than the former. Other commercial tea gardens were run by Kōhachi Handa at Pacific Point near Monterey, California, from circa 1904 to 1918; by Joe Kishida and Harry Takata at Gorge Park in Victoria, British Columbia, from 1907 to 1942; and by Kimi Jingū at Breckenridge Park in San Antonio from 1918 to 1942.

The king of the commercial tea garden was oriental antiquities dealer George Turner Marsh. Marsh, who built the Japanese Village at the 1894 San Francisco fair, constructed a string of tea gardens including a small one at the Hotel Green in Pasadena in 1896, a three-acre garden in Pasadena in 1903 (bought by Henry Huntington in 1911), a large garden erected in 1906 across from the Hotel del Coronado, and from around 1910 a miniature garden at Mission Cliff Park, also in San Diego. The G. T. Marsh and Co. shops in San Diego and Monterey featured courtyard gardens built in the 1920s. And, from 1895, Marsh turned his rural weekend home on Mt. Tamalpais in Mill Valley into a Japanese-style retreat, converting buildings from the Village at the Mid-Winter Fair into bungalows. The complex also included a Japanese open-air wooden bath—Marin County's first hot tub. Nippon Mura, a similar Japanese-theme resort, was built in 1901 in Saratoga by Theodore Morris.

Several hotels across North America featured tea gardens. Notable prewar examples include the Redondo Hotel near Los Angeles, the Huntington Hotel in Pasadena, the Mission Inn in Riverside, the Spring Hotel in French Lick, Indiana, and a rooftop garden at the Ritz-Carleton in New York. Although small Japanese-style gardens were constructed at upscale Japanese restaurants from the 1950s, it was not until the late 1960s that the style was considered sufficiently elegant to appear again at major hotels and resorts. The quasi-Japanese gardens at the Century Plaza Hotel in Los Angeles, Lodge of the Four Seasons at Lake Ozark, Missouri, and the Pagoda Hotel in Honolulu are among the earliest. From 1970 Japanese-theme gardens and architecture appeared at budget motels in the west, countless hotels in Hawaii, and Japanese-owned hotels including rooftop gardens at the New Otani in Los Angeles, Miyako Hotel in San Francisco, and Hotel Nikko properties in Atlanta and Chicago. Japanese-style gardens even turned up at such unlikely locations as the Radisson Inn in Plymouth, Minnesota. Related to hotel gardens are large restaurant gardens, which, in theory, not only suggest the authenticity of the cuisine but transform the experience of the meal into an ersatz trip to Japan. The advertising copy for one famous Los Angeles restaurant with a Japanese-style garden reads "Only minutes away, but a world apart." Representative examples include the elaborate stroll gardens at the Gasho restaurants in Central Valley, Hawthorne, and Hauppage, New York. In Greenville, South Carolina, the Nippon Center Yagoto presents a spectacular sand-and-stone garden visible to diners as well as a large stream garden near the entrance. In stark contrast, Benihana Japanese Village—with talking Buddhas and singing birds—at the Las Vegas Hilton revels in faux exotica that is tacky even in Las Vegas.

Another offshoot of the early commercial tea garden was the large-scale attraction garden, a forerunner of the modern theme park. The earliest and greatest of these gardens were built by Adolph and Eugene Bernheimer. Oriental antiquities dealers from New York, the brothers moved to Los Angeles in 1912 and began to build Yamashiro in the Hollywood Hills. Featuring a twenty-two-room Japanese-style house, which held their art collection, the surrounding garden included a two-story pagoda, gate, and small pavilions as well as a miniature Japanese garden (figure 6). Sold in 1922, it became a private club, a private residence, a boys' school, an apartment house, and is currently a restaurant. In 1925, in Pacific Palisades, Adolph Bernheimer built the Bernheimer Japanese Garden, touted as "Where the Orient meets the Occident." Featuring a Japanese-style gate and residence perched on cliffs above the Pacific, the spacious garden grounds were planted with exotic flora, dotted with oriental statutes, and included miniatures of various Asian architectural wonders on an island in a pond. The Bernheimer Garden was a casualty of World War II, which also spelled the demise of Eagle's Nest Japanese Gardens in Clearwater, Florida. Built in 1938 by Dean Alvord, the huge property included paths with torii gates, shrines, bridges, lanterns, thousands of flowering plants, a five-story pagoda, and a teahouse where kimono-clad women served tea and food.

After the war the commercial potential of Japanese-style gardens reached its apogee. In 1964, Murata Pearl Company opened Murata Pearl Village at Sea World in San Diego. The Village revolved around a lake where female pearl divers from Japan dove for small pearls set in oysters. Visitors could then have their pearl set in jewelry at the gift shop, an adaptation of the ever popular Golden Pavilion. The Japanese ambience of the compound was created by a stroll garden around the lake as well as by a dry garden in one corner. Even more grandiose was the Japanese Village and Deer Park in Buena Park, from 1967 to 1974 providing very slight competition for nearby Knott's Berry Farm and Disneyland. Featuring animal shows, tame deer, and demonstrations of Japanese cultural activities including tea ceremony and martial arts, the Japanese architecture and garden struggled to create the ambience of Japan. The same combination of entertainment and commerce distinguishes the Japanese section of the World Showcase at Disney's EPCOT Center in Orlando, where a Mitsukoshi department store is set in a Japanese-style garden. At the other end of the scale are the small "Japanese gardens" at such southern commercial gardens as Jungle Gardens of Avery Island, Louisiana; Bellingrath Gardens near Mobile, Alabama; Mynelle Gardens in Jackson, Mississippi; Ladew Topiary Gardens in Monkton, Maryland; and Cypress Gardens in Winter Haven, Florida.

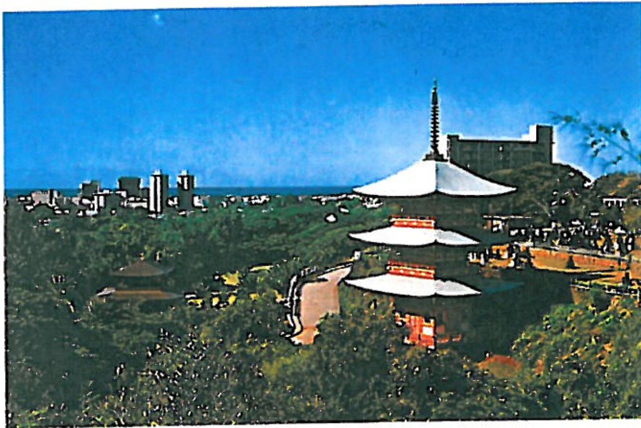

figure 7.
Replicas of the pagoda at Hokkōji in Nara Prefecture and the Silver Pavilion in Kyoto announce the Japanese theme of Kyoto Gardens Memorial Park, Honolulu, Hawaii, 1966.

Japanese-style gardens have also been built to enhance other types of businesses. After Hubert Eaton created the concept of the memorial park at Forest Lawn in Los Angeles, rival cemeteries responded by constructing Japanese-style gardens to create a positive and peaceful environment for visitors. In the formerly segregated cemetery world, a Japanese-style garden suggested that the property was open to Asians. In contrast to the decidedly meager Japanese elements of the garden built in 1959 at Rose Hills in Whittier, California, the 1966 Kyoto Gardens Memorial Park in Honolulu (figure 7) offers a garden setting with "replicas" of the three-story pagoda at Hokkōji in Nara and the Golden Pavilion. Even more elaborate is the Byōdō-in Temple at The Valley of the Temples, also on Oahu. Focused on a concrete replica of the eleventh-century Hōōdō or Phoenix Hall near Kyoto, the complex is approached by a red bridge spanning a koi-filled pool and also includes a meditation house and waterfall.

The serenity and timelessness associated with Japanese gardens make them appropriate for cemeteries. The same qualities inspired Deborah Szekely to choose the style in 1975 when she began rebuilding her famous Golden Door spa near Escondido, California. Adapting the architecture and landscape design of the Japanese *honjin* inn—those reserved for the most distinguished guests in the Edo period—Szekely created a world of tranquillity, naturalness, and spirituality for clients willing to spend thousands of dollars for a week of mental and physical rejuvenation. At least one developer and several corporation presidents sought to lure clients to office parks or to increase employee

productivity by building Japanese-style gardens at office complexes. While Gulf States Paper in Tuscaloosa, Alabama, was the first of these corporate gardens when built in 1970, the most elaborate is developer Jack Naiman's 1982 San Diego Tech Center. Japanese companies have also used Japanese-style gardens to distinguish themselves. The trend among Japanese corporations in North America for Japanese-style gardens began in the mid-1960s when expatriate landscape designer Eijirō Nunokawa fashioned gardens for Japan Airlines at Los Angeles International Airport and for Seibu department store on the roof of its Wilshire Boulevard building. In the 1970s the North American divisions of the auto-makers Nissan and Mazda included small gardens at their corporate headquarters south of Los Angeles in order to comfort Japanese executives transferred to a foreign land and to soften the threat posed by Japanese corporations in America. The garden donated by the Brother Corporation to Bartlett, Tennessee—part of the company's "good neighbor policy"—presents a variation on the earlier model.

Japanese-style gardens have also been part of cultural institutions, primarily museums and universities. Because modern museums often seek to present art within the context of its culture, several museums have featured Japanese-style gardens. In 1909 the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston constructed galleries for its superb Japanese art collection around a courtyard featuring a pond garden. After the pond leaked in the late 1950s—almost ruining the collection of Nō robes stored below it—a dry rock garden took its place. Five years after this was removed, when the galleries were remodeled in 1982, Kyoto garden designer Kinsaku Nakane was selected to build the lavish Tenshin-en garden next to the museum's new I. M. Pei–designed West Wing. Outside the lobby of the Pei-designed East Wing of the National Gallery in Washington, Nakane erected a small stone-and-gravel garden in 1988. Planned as a temporary addition for a Japanese art exhibition, the abstract garden was so well adapted to the architecture that it became part of the permanent design. Interpreted as being virtually analogous to modern sculpture, the stone garden appears at such museums as the Peabody Museum in Salem, Massachusetts; the Huntington Library, Art Collections and Botanical Gardens in San Marino, California; and the Canadian National Museum of Civilization in Hull, Ontario. In Florida, Japanese-style gardens grace the Academy of Four Arts in Palm Beach, the Ormond Beach War Memorial Art Gallery, and the Morikami Museum in Delray Beach. Visitors to the Los Angeles County Museum of Art approach the Pavilion for Japanese Art by a bridge passing over a garden composed of elements—rustic gate, stone basin, lanterns—characteristic of the *roji* or tea garden. A chief attraction of the Carter Presidential Center in Atlanta is Kinsaku Nakane's dramatic waterfall garden of 1982, donated by the Japanese zipper manufacturer YKK. According to a plaque, the "magnificent and dignified" large waterfall represents President Carter while the smaller waterfall symbolizes "the beautiful Mrs. Carter."

Universities have demonstrated their internationalism or multiculturalism by means of Japanese-style gardens since at least the early 1920s, when the University of Missouri erected a torii gate on a pond island and Breneau College in Gainseville, Georgia, hired Shōgo Myaida to design a Japanese-style summer camp. From these humble beginnings the vogue for Japanese gardens accelerated rapidly after 1960, when the University of British Columbia built the large Nitobe Memorial Garden. In the early 1960s pond gardens were built at the Oberlin Conservatory of Music in Ohio, Delta Court Community College in Saginaw, Michigan, and Furman University in Greenville, South Carolina. In 1963 controversy swirled around the Japanese garden at the East-West Center of the University of Hawaii in Honolulu when, in response to an open invitation for American landscape architects to join in its construction, modernist designer Garrett Eckbo wrote a letter to the journal *Landscape Architecture* stating his reasons for declining: "A Japanese garden can only happen in Japan. Anywhere else it is an imitation Japanese garden."[21]

In a July 1964 article in the same journal, other landscape architects rallied to the defense of "the Japanese garden" as a living art relevant to modern Western viewers—particularly at institutions of higher learning. This view prevailed in the late 1970s and early 1980s as gardens were made at Normandale Community College in Minnesota, the University of Alberta's Devonian Botanical Garden, Haverford College in Philadelphia, California State University at Long Beach, and the nearby California State University at Dominguez Hills. In the following decade David Slawson created gardens based on Japanese principles for Carleton College in Northfield, Minnesota, and for Smith College in Northampton, Massachusetts, while Stephen Morrell designed a Japanese-style garden behind the Center for East Asian Studies at Wesleyan University in Middletown, Connecticut. According to their pamphlets, these gardens teach students about Japanese culture. More importantly, they symbolize the institution's cultural sophistication even as they beautify its physical environment. As such, these gardens share the rhetoric and function of Japanese-style gardens constructed by cities and towns across North America.

Civic gardens are so numerous that only a brief overview is possible here, with several stellar examples discussed in the following sections. Whether built at botanical gardens, arboreta, city parks, or as independent sister city gardens, civic gardens in most North American cities constitute part of the urban landscape—encountered as frequently as zoos or drive-in theaters. The genre boomed in the 1960s and 1970s, but even before World War II a dozen or so gardens sprang up in the wake of expositions and commercial tea gardens, usually the gift of a benefactor or the special project of a city official. However, because these gardens were not constructed with community support, most quickly succumbed to neglect or were destroyed during the war as part of the "war at home." For instance, in January 1942, when the city fathers of Memphis voted to bulldoze the

"Japanese Garden" in Overton Park (figure 8), a local newspaper headline wryly announced "Memphis Japanese Garden Falls Without A Shot Fired."

The Memphis garden was built by Park Commission chair Col. Robert Galloway in about 1905, the Colonel explaining that "it will do more for the schoolboy or -girl than any other feature, for it will stimulate interest in a country that will not stop at the Japanese village." Like many prewar gardens it featured a replica of Mt. Fuji. Other pond-style gardens from the 1900s include those built in St. Paul's Como Park and Philadelphia's Fairmount Park. The next decade saw the creation of civic gardens ranging from the exotic orientalism of Bradley Park in Peoria, Illinois, to Takeo Shiota's magnificent "Japanese Garden" at the Brooklyn Botanic Garden. In the 1920s a small garden was constructed at the courthouse in Midland, Michigan, by Takuma Tono, who had just built a residential garden for local chemical magnate Herbert Dow. More typical were the gardens at Terrace Park in Sioux Falls, South Dakota; Swinney Park in Fort Wayne, Indiana; and Fairmount Park in Riverside, California. Despite the chill in Japanese-American political relations after the Manchuria Incident of 1931, the first years of the 1930s witnessed an increase in civic Japanese-style gardens. Examples include gardens in Roger Williams Park in Providence, the Oriental Garden in Jacksonville, the Jewel Box at Forest Park in St. Louis, Roeding Park in Fresno, Liluokalani Park in Hilo, and, most dramatically, at the horticultural center atop the RCA Building at Rockefeller Center in Manhattan.

figure 8.
Built at the turn of the century, the public Japanese Garden at Overton Park in Memphis, Tennessee, was bulldozed just one month after Pearl Harbor.

By 1975 Japanese-style gardens had become part of the fabric of North American cities, appearing either as manifestations of sister city arrangements, exotic sections of botanical gardens, or simply in municipal parks. For botanical gardens and arboreta, a Japanese-style garden offered a fitting location for Asian plants, a type of mysterious yet somehow familiar "natural" landscape architecture, and, in many regions, a way of involving the local Asian community with the institution. Japanese-style gardens at botanical gardens range from the large and elaborate to mere token efforts. Modest but skillfully designed gardens at botanical gardens include those in Nashville, Atlanta, Norfolk, Denver, Chanhassen (near Minneapolis), and Cleveland. Elaborate Japanese-style gardens are found at the botanical gardens in Fort Worth, Birmingham, and Seattle. Best-known are those designed by Kōichi Kawana in Chicago, Memphis, and St. Louis. Seiwa'en ("Garden of Pure, Clear Harmony and Peace") at the Missouri Botanical Garden in St. Louis, the largest Japanese-style garden in North America at fourteen acres, demonstrates the complex parentage and political ramifications of many civic gardens. Conceived in 1972 by Japanese Americans in St. Louis to honor their issei forbears, the Japanese American Citizens' League, Japan America Society, St. Louis-Nagano Sister City Organization, and local ikebana societies were all involved in its creation; funds were also provided by the Japan World Exhibition Commemorative Fund, the National Endowment for the Arts, and the Missouri Department of Natural Resources.

As of 1995, 308 American municipalities and a large number of Canadian cities had sister city relationships with Japan. For both Japanese and North American municipalities, sister city gardens advertise their virtues. While Japanese cities use gardens to present a vision of historical tranquillity to counteract their image of modern vitality, for North American cities the sister city garden is a way of announcing their internationalism and receptivity to cultural diversity. For both sides, gardens cement human connections—good intentions and noble words transformed into stones and plants—but they also reflect local political and economic agendas. Sister city gardens have been generated from three sources: the Japanese city, Americans or Canadians of European descent, and Japanese Americans or Japanese Canadians. Some sense of the vast number of sister city gardens can be gleaned by citing examples of the three types from gardens built in the southern part of California in the mid-1970s. After Culver City hosted women's volleyball players from its sister city, the people of Kaizuka repaid the favor by designing a small garden, which was then transplanted by six Japanese workers to a rectangular space in front of the Culver City library in 1974. In the same year, the Higashi Osaka Garden was built in Glendale's Brand Park. Although many persons contributed to the teahouse and garden, the driving force behind the project was Anabel Neufeld, who, after her first husband's death in World War II, determined to show that nations could coexist peacefully. In 1968 several members of the Japanese American community in Fresno felt a Japanese garden would effectively represent their heritage. After forming a garden committee, and establishing a sister city relationship with the city of Kōchi, in 1974 they began work on the Shin Zen "Friendship" Garden in Woodward Park.

The final type of civic garden is that built in public areas but not at botanical gardens or generated out of sister city arrangements. Typically the product of North American civic groups, the leading example is surely the Japanese Garden of Portland—the result of Portlanders' desires to strengthen economic ties with Japan and beautify their city. Some gardens have been entirely funded and constructed by city governments. The Japanese Garden at the Tillman Water Reclamation Plant, dedicated in 1984 in the San Fernando Valley of Los Angeles, was created by the municipal water district of Los Angeles to demonstrate the use of reclaimed water and to assuage local residents who objected to a sewage treatment facility by their homes. The Japanese (and Chinese) gardens built in 1968 at the Honolulu International Airport provide a calming diversion for passengers while also proclaiming the city's rich ethnic mix. One example of the rare civic garden generated in Japan is at the Admiral Nimitz State Historical Park in Fredericksburg, Texas. When the founders of the museum—which commemorates the life of American Navy Admiral Chester Nimitz and is largely dedicated to America's defeat of Japan—expressed a desire for some Japanese contribution to the museum, in 1976 Japanese leaders donated a "Garden of Peace" composed of a stone-and-sand garden flanked by a reproduction of Japanese Admiral Heihachirō Tōgō's study pavilion. Related is the Miami Friendship Garden (formerly the Ichimura Miami-Japan Garden, and before that the San-Ai-An Garden), given to the city of Miami in 1961 by Kiyoshi Ichimura, founder of Ricoh Corporation, as a token of his esteem for Miami in particular and America in general.

These civic landscapes present the most public examples of the Japanese-style garden and demonstrate its range of functions and patrons. Most gardens, however, were built not for the public but rather created for and by private individuals. Residential gardens provide the best barometer of how deeply Japanese-style gardens have penetrated North American culture. Beginning just before 1900, when the American elite were in the first throes of Japanism—constructing Japanese rooms and, among women, dressing in kimono—Japanese-style gardens began to appear wherever the very rich gathered: Bar Harbor, the Boston suburbs, Newport, Tuxedo Park, the north shore of Long Island, Philadelphia's main line, the north shore of Chicago, the San Francisco peninsula, the Oakland hills, Montecito, and Pasadena. They were commissioned by many of the great names in American commerce: Rockefeller, Gould, McCormick, Armour, Seiberling (founder of Goodyear), Mellon, Mayo, Huntington, and Crocker. They also distinguished the estates of the local gentry in most every city, from Larz and Isabel Anderson's "Weld" and Isabella Stewart Gardner's "Greenhill," both near Boston, to Samuel Mills Damon's "Moanalua" and Alice Cooke Spalding's "Noumealani" in Honolulu. Following the model of the European country house, where Japanese-style gardens were not uncommon, formal French and Italian gardens were usually planted closest to the house, with the Japanese garden set on a distant, low, and watery part of the property. These gardens demonstrated the wealth and sophistication of their owners. More importantly, perhaps, the exotica and nostalgia manifest in these gardens were likely born from a deep antipathy to modernism which found solace in the past and in foreign cultures.[22]

Like antimodernism, the vogue for Japanese-style gardens extended to the middle class. In California, most notably, the many Japanese gardeners coupled with a cultural orientation toward the Pacific meant that Japanese-style gardens were built on lots in the subdivided flatlands as well as on estates in the hills. According to California historian Kevin Starr: "Japanese garden design, together with the ubiquitous Japanese lanterns for outdoor lighting, became increasingly characteristic of domestic landscaping. A generation of Japanese gardeners . . . was slowly coaxing the garden landscape of the Southland into arrangements inspired by the land of the Rising Sun."[23] However, as David Streatfield notes, "despite the area's large Asian population, this was not a regional celebration, but a decorative fascination with the visually exotic and fantastic with little or no appreciation for the spiritual and intellectual dimensions that informed the authentic style."[24] A stellar example of this

figure 9.
This postcard of an unidentified "Japanese Garden of a California Home" reveals the early-twentieth-century vogue for Japan in residential architecture and landscape.

decorativeness is provided in Eugene O. Murmann's 1914 book *California Gardens*, which lists three Japanese garden plans among its fifty models for gardens on "city lot, suburban round, and country estate." Murmann provides photos of Japanese-style gardens at unidentified bungalow courts—proof that craftsman-style bungalows and Japanese-style gardens were considered compatible. The synthesis of oriental and occidental architectural modes, epitomized in the homes of Charles and Henry Greene, was well matched by gardens adapting Japanese forms (figure 9).

Residential Japanese-style gardens were erected until the Japanese bombing at Pearl Harbor, and then, after a hiatus of about fifteen years, began to appear again in the mid-1950s. Once more the wealthy hired experienced landscape designers to create gardens on large estates. Good examples were provided during the late 1950s by Marjorie Merriweather Post's "Hillwood" in Washington, D.C.; in the mid-1960s by Barbara Hutton's "Sumiya" in Cuernavaca; and, in the 1990s, by cybermogul Larry Ellison's two homes near Palo Alto, the first adapting the garden of Katsura Villa to an existing Japanese-style home, the second refashioning the entire Katsura complex.[25] Far more common, however, were gardens at suburban houses (figure 10), made either by the owners or by professionals. Just as many prewar gardens were inspired by Josiah Conder's *Landscape Gardening In Japan*, the techniques, styles, and indeed impetus for postwar gardens were aided and abetted by copious magazine articles and such how-to books as Samuel Newsom's 1939 *Japanese Garden Construction* (republished 1988), Isamu Kashikie's 1961 *The ABC of Japanese Gardens*, *Sunset* magazine's 1968 *Sunset Ideas For Japanese Gardens* (revised 1972), Jack Kramer's 1972 *Gardening With Stone and Sand*, Wendy Murphy's 1979 *Japanese Gardens* (from the *Time-Life Encyclopedia of Gardening* series), Kiyoshi Seiki's 1980 *A Japanese Touch For Your Garden*, and Ortho's 1989 *Creating Japanese Gardens.*

In the 1960s the fascination with Zen led some homeowners to fill in swimming pools and then top them with sand and rocks or otherwise contrive a dry garden. More common have been koi ponds, vermilion bridges, stepping stones, and a few garden ornaments.[26] Some gardens utilize only a "Japanese touch" provided by a lantern, stone arrangement, or even the integration of interior and exterior spaces. In his forward to David Engel's 1959 *Japanese Gardens for Today*, architect Richard Neutra praises the spiritual and temporal aspects of Japan and its gardens, which present "an argument against our vaunted 'progress.'" Neutra finds a useful model in the "humanized naturalism" that dynamically integrates the geometry of modular homes with the "relaxed asymmetry of the garden. . . ."[27] At the close of the century, full-blown and self-proclaimed "Japanese gardens" thrive alongside gardens that, like Neutra houses, seamlessly translate Japanese design into a modern idiom.

The Pacific West Coast

Japanese-style gardens exist in staggering numbers across North America and around the world. According to a 1996 survey of Japanese landscape design firms, Japanese-style gardens have been constructed in India, Indonesia, Korea, Singapore, Thailand, Taiwan, China, the Philippines, Malaysia, Papua New Guinea, Australia, New Zealand, Abu Dhabi, Iraq, Saudi Arabia, Egypt, England, Austria, Switzerland, Germany, Holland, France, Belgium, Norway, Finland, Italy, Bulgaria, Colombia, Chile, Brazil, Peru, Cuba, Canada, and the United States.[28] While rare in most regions, in North America, and particularly along the West Coast, Japanese-style gardens have been built in such large numbers from 1890 on that they constitute an integral part of the region's landscape and its culture. Neutra, for instance, found Southern Californians "mentally footloose" and thus receptive to new things like modern architecture and Japanese design.

The west coast of North America also makes a fitting focus for a study of Japanese-style gardens because of the area's plentiful and high-quality extant public gardens. The gardens in this book were selected based on four criteria. First, with the exception of the Golden Door, which is open only to paying guests, the gardens in the following chapters may be visited by the public. Second, located in major urban areas, the gardens are conveniently accessed by residents of the area or seen easily on a garden pilgrimage. Third, these gardens are large in scale, relatively well designed and skillfully maintained, offering viewers a compelling aesthetic

figure 10.
The postwar fashion for Japanese aesthetics is seen in the architecture and garden of this home in the San Fernando Valley, Los Angeles, ca. 1960s.

experience. Finally, they constitute representative types in the history of Japanese-style gardens in the West, and thus are of historical as well as visual significance.

The twenty gardens presented here make up but a small number of the public Japanese-style landscapes easily accessed along the Pacific coast. The ubiquity and adaptability of the genre is witnessed in the following list of other public Japanese-style gardens, arranged geographically from south to north: Sherman Library and Gardens, Corona del Mar; Costa Mesa City Hall; Santa Ana Civic Center Japanese House and Garden; Anaheim-Mito Sister City Garden; California State University at Dominguez Hills; Rose Hills Memorial Park; Torrance Culture Center; Gardena City Library; Kaizuka Meditation and Friendship Garden, Culver City; Stoner Recreation Center, Los Angeles; Pavilion for Japanese Art, Los Angeles County Museum of Art; New Otani Hotel, Little Tokyo, Los Angeles; Ashiya Park, Montebello; Nachi Park, Monterey Park; City of Hope, Duarate; Descanso Gardens, La Canada-Flintridge; Higashi Osaka Garden, Glendale; Shin Zen Garden, Fresno; Salinas Rodeo Grounds Japanese Garden; Iwata Friendship Garden, Mountain View; Miyako Hotel, San Francisco; Lakeside Park, Oakland; Hakusan Sake Gardens, Napa; Micke Grove Park, Lodi; Shore Acres, Coos Bay, Oregon; Choshi Sister City Garden, Coos Bay; Western Treasure Valley Cultural Center, Ontario; Manito Park Nishinomiya Gardens, Spokane, Washington; Central Washington University, Ellensburg; Pt. Defiance Park, Tacoma; Japanese Garden, Olympia; Seattle University; Yao Park, Bellevue; Hatley Park, Victoria, British Columbia; Butchart Garden, Victoria; Friendship Garden, New Westminster; North Vancouver Japanese Garden; Kasugai Gardens, Kelowna; Poulsen Park, Vernon; and Restaurant Nikko, Anchorage, Alaska.

In his book *Magic Lands*, David Findley observes that for Americans in the twentieth century, the west did not represent "open space" as it had in the nineteenth century. Rather, the American west's "virgin cities" offered new types of urban space.[29] Due to their relative "placelessness," disattachment from community, and rupture from traditional symbols of spirituality, people in western cities were relatively free to explore cultures and landscape patterns different from those dominant in the eastern and midwestern states. The Orient provided one important ingredient in the "mixturesque" urban style that reached its apogee in California. Along with elements of fantasy adapted from the dreamscape architecture of Disneyland and Las Vegas, Japanese-style gardens have helped create the western city as a place of recreation and fantasy where one seems to walk not just in new kinds of spaces, but in other times and in other lands. In this sense, it is precisely because Japanese-style gardens have been cast as "Japanese gardens" that they "materialize escape" and thus fulfill so completely John Dixon-Hunt's idea that "gardens are territories of play—both play as alternative to work or business and play as theater, make-believe, the whole gamut of role playing that is human life. Though this last is not obviously confined to gardens, it flourished there because gardens are special sites of artifice pretending to be nature. . . ."[30] Because Japanese-style gardens are completely artificial by their very nature, they serve so well as "territories of play" within the Western culture that gave rise to them. Indeed this function necessitates the make-believe design and ideology central to the fantasy of the "Japanese garden" in the West.

Notes

1. James C. Rose, *Gardens Make Me Laugh* (Baltimore and London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1965), 53. The following discussion is from Part III, "Ah, Japan."
2. Ibid., 73.
3. "The Japanese Garden in Washington Park," pamphlet by the Japanese Garden Society of Oregon, ca. 1966.
4. J. Fletcher Street and Collier Stevenson, "Japanese Gardens in America," *House and Garden* (June 1916), 11.
5. Edmund Buckley, "Landscape Gardening in Japan," *House and Garden* (July 1908), 4.
6. Christopher Tunnard, *Gardens in the Modern Landscape* (London: The Architectural Press; New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1934; 2nd edition 1948, reprinted 1950), 81–92.
7. Maggie Oster, *Reflections of the Spirit: Japanese Gardens in America* (New York, Dutton Studio Books, 1993), 10.
8. See Julia Meech and Gabriel Weisberg, *Japonisme Comes To America: The Japanese Impact on the Graphic Arts 1876–1925* (New York: Harry Abrams, 1990); *The Japan Idea: Art and Life in Victorian America* (Hartford: Wadsworth Atheneum, 1993); and Kevin Nute, *Frank Lloyd Wright and Japan: Japanese Art and Architecture in the Work of Frank Lloyd Wright* (New York: Van Nostrand Reinhold, 1993). For a broader cultural study, see Ian Littlewood, *The Idea of Japan: Western Images, Western Myths* (Chicago: Ivan R. Dee, 1996). For a related study, see Tomoko Sato and Toshio Watanabe, eds., *Japan and Britain: An Aesthetic Dialogue 1850–1930* (London: Lund Humphries, 1991).
9. For an overview of Japanism in literature, see Earl Miner, *The Japanese Tradition in British and American Literature* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1958).
10. "Kills herself, baby in flaming park pit," *San Francisco Call* (May 25, 1934), 1.
11. Included in this category are James Michener's 1953 *Sayonara*, John Marquand's 1957 *Stopover Tokyo*, James Clavell's 1975 *Shōgun*, James Melville's Superintendent Otani murder mysteries, and the "exotic intrigue" novels of both Eric Lustbader and Marc Olden.
12. Vern Sneider, *The Teahouse of the August Moon* (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1951) 196–97.
13. Nathan Glazer, "From Ruth Benedict to Herman Kahn: The Postwar Japanese Image in the American Mind," in Akira Iriye, ed., *Mutual Images: Essays in American-Japanese Relations* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1975). Sheila K. Johnson, *The Japanese Through American Eyes* (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1988).
14. Jeanne Wakatsuki Houston and James D. Houston, *Farewell To Manzanar* (New York: Houghton Mifflin, 1973), 72.
15. The garden is illustrated and discussed in Mark Sherman and George Katagiri, eds., *Touching The Stones: Tracing One Hundred Years of Japanese American History* (Portland: Oregon Nikkei Endowment, 1994).
16. Isaac Marcossan, "Some Of The Reasons Why Americans Like The Japanese," *The World's Work* (August 1904), 512.
17. James Phelan, quoted in Roger Daniels, *The Politics of Prejudice: The Anti-Japanese Movement in California and the Struggle for Japanese Exclusion* (Berkeley, Calif.: University of California Press, 1962), 60. "Labor Opposes Tea-Garden," *Sacramento Union* (January 11, 1913), 3.
18. For a survey of Japanese pavilions and gardens at international expositions, see Yoshida Mitsukuni, ed., *Bankokuhaku no Nihonkan* (Tokyo: INAX Gyararii, 1990). Smaller gardens were built by the Japanese government or business interests at expositions including those at Portland in 1907, Seattle in 1909, London in 1910, San Diego in 1915, and Philadelphia in 1926.
19. The three works are translated or adapted into English: see Shigemaru Shimoyama, *Sakuteiki: The Book of Gardens* (Tokyo: Town and City Planners, 1976); David Slawson, *Secret Teachings in the Art of Japanese Gardens* (Tokyo and New York: Kodansha International, 1987); and Josiah Conder, *Landscape Gardening in Japan* (London: Kelly and Walsh, 1893; reprinted New York: Dover, 1963).
20. The sociopolitical significance of gardens, present only at the margins of such otherwise fine studies as Loraine Kuck *The Worlds of the Japanese Garden* (New York and Tokyo; Weatherhill, 1968) and Günter Nitschke, *Japanese Gardens, Right Angle and Natural Form* (Cologne: Taschen, 1993), is broached in Wybe Kuitert, *Themes, Scenes, and Taste in the History of Japanese Garden Art* (Amsterdam: J. C. Gieben, 1988).
21. Garrett Eckbo, "Why a 'Japanese Garden' in Hawaii?" *Landscape Architecture* (January 1964), 89. In a follow-up

letter entitled "After Perfection What?" in the July 1965 issue of the same journal, Eckbo argues that because real design "is a specific creative process focused on the here and now," it is inappropriate to try to recreate garden styles of other countries and other historical periods.

22. For studies of American estates, antimodernism and gardens, see Clive Aslet, *The American Country House* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1990), T. J. Jackson Lears, *No Place of Grace: Antimodernism and the Transformation of American Culture 1880–1920* (New York: Pantheon, 1981); M. Christie Klim Doell, *Gardens of the Gilded Age* (Syracuse, N.Y.: Syracuse University Press, 1986); and Mac Griswold and Eleanor Weller, *The Golden Age of American Gardens: Proud Owners, Private Estates* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1991).

23. Kevin Starr, *Material Dreams: Southern California Through the 1920s* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990), 190.

24. David Streatfield, "Western Expansion" in Massachusetts Horticultural Society, ed., *Keeping Eden* (Boston: Little Brown, 1992), 104.

25. Hutton's estate, featuring a pond garden and a Ryōanji replica, is published in *Architectural Digest* (September/October 1971), 9–21. Ellison's first garden is partially illustrated in Alan Deutschman, "The Next Big Info Tech Battle," *Fortune* (November 29, 1993), 38–39.

26. Several of these residential gardens are illustrated in Peggy Landers Rao and Jean Mahoney, *Nature On View: Homes and Gardens Inspired By Japan* (Tokyo and New York: Shufunotomo/Weatherhill, 1993).

27. Richard Neutra, forward to David Engel, *Japanese Gardens For Today* (Rutland, Vt., and Tokyo: Charles E. Tuttle, 1959), xi–xiii.

28. "Nihon no teienbi" ("The Beauty of Japanese Gardens") in *Niwa, The Garden* (October 1996), 133–136.

29. David Findley, *Magic Lands: Western Cityscapes and American Culture After 1940* (Berkeley, Calif.: University of California Press, 1992), 10.

30. John Dixon-Hunt, *Gardens and the Picturesque: Studies in the History of Landscape Architecture* (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1993), 263.