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Author
Sueyoshi, Amy

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Introduction

At the end of the nineteenth century in Oakland, California, love coursed through Yone Noguchi as he climbed up a hillside bursting with spring flowers. Noguchi had just begun corresponding with western writer Charles Warren Stoddard, and he felt intoxicated with affection. Even the air tasted delicious. Moved by thoughts of Stoddard, Noguchi gathered poppies and buttercups into a bouquet and offered them to his new imaginary love. Then, to seal his love for Stoddard, Noguchi threw kisses east toward his bungalow in Washington, DC.[1] Yet, as Noguchi wrote letters of impassioned love to Stoddard, he also impregnated writer Léonie Gilmour and proposed marriage to journalist Ethel Armes, all within a seven-year window. Armes, who later became a prominent Southern intellectual as Alabama's "first historian," notably preferred romantic long-term partnerships with women rather than men. While Noguchi's relationship with Stoddard unveils little known same-sex realities of one prominent Japanese national figure, his intimacies collectively illuminate how Japanese immigrants negotiated America's literary and arts community. As Noguchi maneuvered through cultural and linguistic differences, his affairs additionally assert how Japanese in America could forge romantic fulfillment at the turn of the century, a period historians describe as a moment of extreme sexual deprivation and discrimination for Asians, particularly in California. Moreover, Noguchi's relationships reveal how individuals who engaged in seemingly defiant relationships could exist peaceably within prevailing moral mandates. His unexpected intimacies in fact relied on existing social hierarchies of race, sexuality, gender, and nation that dictated appropriate and inappropriate behavior. Noguchi, Stoddard, Gilmour,

and Armes at various points actively contributed to the ideological forces that compelled their intimate lives. Through the romantic life of Yone Noguchi, *Queer Compulsions* narrates how even the queerest of intimacies can more provocatively serve as a reflection of rather than a revolt from existing social inequality.

By the 1890s Japanese in America numbered over two thousand, and more than half of the population of mostly men resided in California. Though some of the earliest Japanese immigrants came from privileged backgrounds to study briefly in the United States with a government scholarship or sponsorship from a wealthy patron, most came from middling family backgrounds. According to historian Yuji Ichioka, these immigrants arrived in America "penniless" and "indigent" with hopes of gaining an education while working as domestics in private homes. Noguchi, a student-laborer with few resources to move farther east, settled in San Francisco as did many Japanese immigrants.[2]

While a sizable Japanese population provided some of the comfort of an ethnic community, life in America proved far from pleasant for these early immigrants. Japanese faced frequent physical assaults, vandalism on their businesses, as well as formal attempts to curtail their livelihood through legislation at the federal, state, and municipal levels.[3] Historians have further described this time as one of particular hardship due to a disproportionate sex ratio within the Japanese immigrant population. Entire communities of men without Japanese women led lonely lives relegated to frequenting prostitutes or painful abstinence.[4] Thus Japanese men assaulted by racism who then turned to their gender-skewed ethnic communities for support endured an immigrant life of seemingly endless suffering and sexual repression.

As Japanese struggled in their private lives, white Americans enjoyed more sexual freedom than previously. The rise of urban life and leisure gave young adults new venues of socialization and pleasure. Particularly for bohemians, a community of writers and artists within which Noguchi fraternized, the turn of the century marked an end to the sexual prudery and patriarchal families of the Victorian era. To them, modern America would be created by those who repudiated the cumbersome past and experimented in not just art and literature, but also love, friendship, and sexual passion. Same-sex intimacy and an embrace of exotic cultures stood central to the bohemian lifestyle. Their tolerance. however, extended only so far. "Deviant" same-sex sexuality and interracial intimacies hardly met full approval. Still, in cities such as San Francisco alternatives to heterosexuality and antimiscegenation seemed tolerated if not wholly embraced especially within bohemian circles.[5]

Japanese immigrants generally lived in a sociocultural world far from this white and specifically bohemian reality even as they inhabited the same city. Yet a handful of Japanese and bohemian writers and artists crossed paths in hopes of learning from one another. The story of Noguchi's intimate life is likely just one among many undocumented tales of cultural exchange and private intimacies between Japanese immigrants and bohemian America. Noguchi's connections to at least two white women and one white man proved remarkable in their interracial, extramarital, and same-sex content.

By placing Noguchi as the protagonist of this narrative, my work seeks to speak against interracial U.S. histories that frequently place whites as main characters and people of color as supporting actors. By deliberately centering Noguchi's same-sex affair

among his affairs with women, my work additionally hopes to work against heteronormativity that dominates the historical recounting of not just Noguchi but countless other figures who led less than exclusively heterosexual romantic lives. Noguchi and Stoddard's correspondence, which spanned a little over ten years, would end with Stoddard's death in 1909. The two had known each other for only a moment during their respectively longer lifetimes and at most spent only a tenth of that time in each other's physical presence.[6] As their affair unfolded largely across long distances, their passionate letters revealed a remarkable tale of their persevering love.

Historiography

This book grows from two areas of scholarship—biographies of Yone Noguchi and studies of sexuality in turn-of-the-century America and late Meiji Japan. Because of Noguchi's numerous publications and later career as a scholar of English literature at Keio University, studies of Noguchi perhaps naturally focus on his literary life. In the United States, he appears to be better known as the father of the acclaimed Asian American artist Isamu Noguchi. Among the many works, only a handful examine Noguchi's intimate life and only briefly at best. While Noguchi scholars portray Charles as a father figure and literary mentor to Noguchi, only a few mention him possibly playing a more romantically significant role.[7]

In 1996 art historian Robert Maeda and literary critic Keiko Wada may have been the first to point to Charles' same-sex sexual orientation in reference to his relationship to Noguchi. Both Maeda and Wada painted a "homosexual" Stoddard who desperately chased after the young and attractive Noguchi.[8] By implicitly maintaining Noguchi's

heterosexuality, Maeda and Wada safeguarded him from the slander of sexual deviance, while cloaking the most intimate of his personal relationships. Eleven years later in 2007, Laura Franey and Edward Marx boldly called Noguchi a "bisexual" and nodded to Stoddard as the object of his same-sex affection.[9] While *Queer Compulsions* builds on the Noguchi-as-bisexual thesis in bringing more detail to his sexuality, my focus lies less on naming Noguchi's sexual identity and rests more on exploring the significance of intimate struggles that occurred at the intersection of Asian and white, American and foreign-born, second-language and native speakers of English, and finally same-sex and different-sex sexuality.

Among histories of sexuality as well, *Queer Compulsions* more aggressively suggests the presence of Asians particularly in the United States who engaged in same-sex affairs. Studies on late Victorian America center largely on white and to some extent African Americans of marginalized sexualities who carved out vibrant communities. In cities where Noguchi resided such as San Francisco and New York, subcultures appeared to offer numerous venues that tolerated varied sexualities and intimacies. Popular historian Herbert Asbury defined San Francisco as a "city where anything goes." Nan Alamilla Boyd cited San Francisco's sexual reputation as "a wide open town." George Chauncey also wrote of the multiple social outlets in New York where men could seek same-sex intimacy. Bohemians additionally abided by their own sexual standards in the late Victorian period. Eizabeth Wilson and Christine Stansell have documented how this self-defined community built a reputation for sexual freedom if not outright immorality.[10] The numerically fewer historical studies on late Meiji era Japanese male-male intimacy appear less optimistic in tone, yet similarly highlight pockets of same-sex sexuality

across the Pacific. Japan historians such as Gregory Pflugfelder and Osamu Mihashi underlined the lingering existence of male-male erotic culture as they traced its path into marginalization in the early twentieth century.[11]

In contrast, the early history of Asian American sexuality seems to be one devoid of all pleasure with no possibility of self-determination. The standing literature asserts that Asian American sexuality in the late 1890s and early 1900s suffered from brutal repression and exploitation motivated by racism and sexism. Yuji Ichioka documented the initially skewed gender ratios as creating lonely "bachelor societies" among Japanese Americans. Scholars such as Lucie Cheng Hirata also have traced the cruelties early Japanese women immigrants endured when coerced into sex work. While a handful of Asian Americanists such as Jennifer Ting and Madeline Hsu have questioned this heteronormative tale of sexual victimization, suggesting that Chinese immigrant men may have found fulfillment rather than deprivation in these early homosocial communities, narratives in Asian American studies continue to diverge significantly from other histories of sexuality. While the tales of suffering overshadow the former, themes of sexual autonomy reign over the latter.[12]

As *Queer Compulsions* gives additional evidence of love among Japanese men in America, it bridges the fields of Asian American studies and sexuality studies through one particular interracial affair between a white bohemian and a Japanese immigrant poet. Not only does Noguchi bring Asians to the early history of American same-sex sexuality, he also demonstrates how Japanese immigrants engaged in romantic play in the midst of racial discrimination.

Theoretically and methodologically, *Queer Compulsions* follows on the well-trod paths of both female and male friendship studies by historians such as Carroll Smith-Rosenberg and Alan Bray in their use of personal documents as well as literary materials to point to a notably erotic affair illuminated by emotional intimacy rather than explicitly sexual interactions. However, in the midst of a vastly diverse population in the United States, the current scholarship on American friendship, as productive as it has been, hardly considers people of color. Furthermore, nearly all of these histories emphasize how spheres of female and male friendship remained distinctly separate.[13] Noguchi's affairs underscore the significance of actual people of color as well as the discursive use of race that played a central role in defining desire in America's literary and arts community. The love triangles and quadrangles that formed among Noguchi, Stoddard, Gilmour, and Armes demonstrate how "separate spheres" were in fact intimately connected through love, sex, and betrayal.

Queer Compulsions locates itself within the rapidly growing field of U.S. history of sexuality and owes its viability to the vast amount of previously published works in queer studies. It fits into "homosexual" history as defined by Martin Duberman, Martha Vicinus, George Chauncey, and David Halperin in its focus on "intimate friendship" and builds on critical developments in queer theory by examining same-sex and otherwise not-usual desires whether based in personal identity or not.[14] Yet *Queer Compulsions* is also distinguished from much of the current U.S. histories of same-sex sexualities in four ways: in its span over multiple cities and regions of America as well as across the Pacific; in its weaving a narrative without the availability of oral histories, a crucial source in documenting silenced histories of the "dispossessed" for whom few print materials exist;

in its focus on queer desires rather than identities built around same-sex sexual activities; and finally in its placement of race and one particular man of color at center stage in the midst of his overwhelming interactions with whites.[15]

Perhaps most important, *Queer Compulsions* reminds us of the significance of race as it traces Noguchi's same-sex affairs with Stoddard. Not only would Noguchi's intimacies demonstrate how racial difference charged "friendships" in the seemingly all-white world of bohemian America, they also point to how one Japanese in America stretched moral and racial boundaries of turn-of-the-century American sexual ideology. Noguchi articulated same-sex love and interracial marriage during times of increasing animosity toward both and carved out romantic fulfillment even within supposedly debilitating Asian American "bachelor" communities. Newspaper reports and court cases from the first quarter of the twentieth century reveal that Noguchi would not be the only Asian immigrant forging romantic and sexual connections in unconventional ways.[16]

Queer Compulsions additionally builds upon debates about queer cultures and Western imperialism. Theorists Inderpal Grewal and Caren Kaplan have noted how, in many works on sexuality, the "global" is seen as "homogenizing," rendering all gay culture to be similar around the world or as a "neo-colonial movement of ideas and capital from West to non-West."[17] If we imagine turn-of-the-century bohemians as a precursor of more contemporary "gay culture," we can see how Noguchi's own assertions and manipulations of language, culture, and desire echo an increasing number of theoretical works published more recently that propose that non-Western people construct more hybrid sexual identities and actions rather than simply replicating Western mores.[18]

Queer Compulsions may remind those interested in queer and Japanese American histories of John Howard's work on Japanese American internment camps in the American South in which he argues for the liberatory possibilities of internment for "homosexuals" as well as women. Our works run along parallel tracks in uncovering same-sex intimacy in Japanese American history. In Howard's work as in mine there additionally appears a white man inclined toward men from the Asia Pacific region; he appears as Earl Finch in Howard's book and Charles Warren Stoddard in mine. Yet my work diverges significantly from Howard's in centering on one particular queer Japanese American in Japanese American history and in its sustained focus on sexuality throughout the text.[19]

My work may most closely mirror historian Judy Wu's work on Margaret Chung, surgeon and founder of the Chinese Hospital in San Francisco. Wu traced a likely lesbian connection between Margaret and writer Elsa Gidlow and later actor Sophie Tucker during the 1930s and 1940s, when menacing lesbian identity rather than romantic female friendships undergirded passionate relationships between women. Armed with only what others thought of Margaret's sexual orientation, Wu could merely speculate on the nature of her intimacies.[20] In contrast, *Queer Compulsions* uses Noguchi's and his lover's very words to more aggressively engage in and thus make more definitive claims regarding his intimate life. Whereas the contribution of Wu's work lies in her ability to hint at the possibility of same-sex intimacy in earlier Asian American history, the significance of *Queer Compulsions* lays in its explicit exposure and detailed narrative of how one Japanese immigrant found love and affection with another man over a century ago.

Sources

Correspondence to and from Noguchi composes much of the evidence of his intimate affairs. I include in this book all of the recovered correspondence that sheds light on Noguchi's intimate life either in paraphrased or in its original form. Notably, a large number of these letters have languished unpublished because of their seemingly "trivial" content.[21] During certain years, letters from Noguchi to Stoddard appeared with more frequency. However, I found Stoddard's responses only sporadically through their long correspondence. Letters between Noguchi and Gilmour remainavailable only in a published collection of edited letters by Ikuko Atsumi. Finally, I recovered only one letter from Armes to Noguchi and found no letters from Noguchi to Armes. Thus passages below that may appear uneven in voice, illuminating only one perspective, reflect the reality of unrecovered or missing letters.

I use over eight hundred letters, from the Bancroft Library, Huntington Library, Samford University Special Collections, Birmingham Public Library, Isamu Noguchi Museum and Library, Keio University Special Collections, the personal collection of Gary Hobson Dobbs, Jr., and Ikuko Atsumi's published *Collected English Letters of Yone Noguchi.* Letters from both the Huntington Library and Gary Dobbs' personal collection have not been previously cited in recounting Noguchi's life. When citing Noguchi's letters, I have corrected some minor grammatical errors for clarity and ease in reading. While leaving passages in their original form might have more accurately projected Noguchi's actual voice, I deliberately did not do so to avoid fetishizing the nonnative English speaker's idiosyncrasies in language.[22] I hope to highlight Noguchi's experiences of being alienated and racialized in America rather than his linguistic peculiarities as an

alien in America. More important, as an immigrant hoping to become a successful English-language poet, Noguchi preferred to present himself in grammatically correct English and hired editorial assistants to do so for each of his publications.

Furthermore, I incorporate additional sources written in both English and Japanese for further context. Noguchi's own published poems and prose offer important insight, illustrating his philosophies of love and life in over thirty publications. Journal and newspaper articles from the *San Francisco Chronicle, National Magazine, The Nation* and *Yomiuri Shimbun* provided additional context on ideologies of sexuality and race in both American and Japan. Few works on Yone Noguchi, bohemian American history, or Japanese American history have used both English- and Japanese-language sources in such an extensive manner.[23]

Taken individually, the above sources can be interpreted any number of ways with little certainty of their implications. Indeed, the significance of a single letter might be highlighted or downplayed to countless degrees. A metaphor in a single poem could be understood in innumerable ways. One article in a newspaper might merely be an anomalous occurrence. Yet by analyzing correspondence in the context of hundreds of other letters and by juxtaposing poetry and prose with personal accounts and additional publications, one finds that these sources begin to take on more definitive meaning. Although Noguchi interacted with educated individuals historically recognized as passionate and swooning in their correspondence, I argue that he held an intensely moving intimacy with one particular man, Charles Warren Stoddard. It was an intimacy not necessarily made obvious by sex acts, but by what the two men themselves called

"love." This love then testified to the power of passion even during more romantic times and illuminated how "friendships" could be deeply sexual, if not completely homosexual.

On Names

To minimize confusion I cite all names in the text with the first name first followed by the surname, using the usual Western order. In the early twentieth century, Japanese with some connection to the West varied the order of their first and last names based on their personal preference. While some Japanese maintained the more traditional order of listing the surname first, many more living in the United States began citing their first name first. Noguchi himself used "Yone Noguchi" as well as "Noguchi Yone" in his publications from Japan. Later, as his American life grew distant, Noguchi increasingly began using "Noguchi Yonejirō." Moreover, when referring to individuals, I use either first names or last names to reflect their evolving intimacy to Noguchi. Thus while Stoddard's name appears as "Stoddard" in Chapter 1, he becomes "Charlie" in Chapter 2 to shift a mark in Noguchi's form of address as the two grew closer. Though the spelling of Stoddard's name varies from "Charlie" to "Charley" in the sources, I use the more standard spelling of "Charlie" for consistency and ease in reading.

Chapter Outline

Five chapters and an epilogue arranged chronologically trace Noguchi's intimate affairs with Stoddard, Gilmour, and Armes. As *Queer Compulsions* asserts the significance of Noguchi's relationship with Stoddard, it simultaneously underscores how race inextricably infused these bicultural affairs. Not only would Noguchi become racialized

by whites fascinated by the East, he himself would come to use his imaginings of the "Oriental" to promote his professional and personal life. For Noguchi, a Japanese immigrant to the United States, social acceptance may have held as much if not more importance than sexual excitement and romantic possibility. Noguchi thus becomes neither particularly heroic nor hopelessly victimized as he struggles with the usual pressures of culture, desire, and later family in his intimate life. As unique as his relationships may have been, his negotiations ultimately become as mundane as those of any Asian immigrant who simultaneously feels tied to and alienated from both his natal and his adopted country.

Chapter 1, titled "An Ocean Apart," begins by tracing the lives of Yone Noguchi and Charles Warren Stoddard before they met in 1897 in order to highlight differences and similarities they brought to their relationship. The two hailed from starkly different backgrounds and thirty-two years separated them in age. Yet Noguchi's eagerness to write in English would lead him to America and later to writer Joaquin Miller's home in Oakland. Here, Miller would initiate Noguchi into San Francisco's Bohemian Club, introducing him to various artists and writers who drew inspiration from the Japanese Noguchi. Stoddard was one of these writers drawn not only to Japan, but also to the Pacific Islands. By 1900 he had established himself as an expert on the "South Seas," having published essays and books on his travels through various islands. In these narratives, Stoddard unabashedly logged his attraction for brown boys from the Pacific. While Noguchi blazed his own trail to forge interactions with Western poets and writers, Stoddard directed his attention across the Pacific. The duo's common love of poetry would then spark their immediate affection for one another.

Chapter 2, titled “Two Shy Stars,” recounts the beginning of Noguchi and Stoddard’s correspondence in 1897, when Noguchi declared his affections toward Stoddard, and traces their growing intimacy in the context of their bohemian circle of artist and writer friends until 1900. Noguchi’s writing to Stoddard proved unique as compared to correspondence with his other literary colleagues, specifically to correspondence with Blanche Partington, his editorial assistant in San Francisco and arguably the closest colleague Noguchi had in the closing years of the nineteenth century. While past scholarship has attributed Noguchi and Stoddard’s intimacy to a culture of late Victorian bohemian melodrama in which passion among men proved typical rather than exceptional, Chapter 2 argues that in fact their relationship was unique even in this particularly emotionally effusive context.

Chapter 3, titled “To the Bungalow and Beyond,” then traces Noguchi’s journey to meet Stoddard in his Washington, DC, home in 1900 and the intimacies that would evolve from his move east up until 1904, namely, those with Léonie Gilmour and Ethel Armes. Though he declares he is married to Gilmour and proposes marriage to Armes, continued correspondence with Stoddard even in its ebbs and flows suggests infinitely more emotional connection with Stoddard than with the two women to whom Noguchi considered marriage. Their affairs are almost immediately charged by Noguchi’s race, as his white lovers articulate their attraction to Noguchi using metaphors that evoke an exotic and mysterious Japan. Noguchi’s treatment of his own race then also takes a distinct turn as he more explicitly evokes the “Orient” in both his personal and his professional life.

Chapter 4, titled "Queer Intimacies," outlines Noguchi's tumultuous engagement to Armes as well as Stoddard's not-so-silent disapproval of the engagement. Noguchi and Armes become embroiled in an emotionally volatile relationship of epic proportions. As the two careened toward their marriage date, Armes proclaimed love to her close companion Alice Wiggins and declared that she found women more fulfilling than men. Armes' very involvement in intimate female "friendships" additionally illuminates how seemingly separate worlds of male and female "romantic friendships" intertwined with confessions of subdued love as well as high drama.

Chapter 5, titled "Double Crossings," follows Noguchi's return to Japan, his career ascent as an expert on the Occident, his crumbling affairs with Gilmour and Armes, and his renewed affection for Stoddard between 1904 and 1909. Armes breaks her engagement with Noguchi, and though Gilmour sails to Japan to join Noguchi, she struggles financially to raise her son and later her daughter as a single parent. Noguchi remained largely absent not just because of his prolonged retreats at a Buddhist temple, but also because, even before Gilmour's arrival, he had married and maintained a separate household with a Japanese woman, Matsu Takeda. In the midst of these heterosexual entanglements, Noguchi's relationship with Stoddard once again warms. Noguchi made references to Stoddard's gayest works as a source of continual inspiration in lonely Japan and invited him to live with him. Despite his renewed same-sex affections, however, Noguchi's Japanese-language publications begin to proclaim his heterosexuality more explicitly than in his previous writings. Though the shift might seem to point plainly to the social realities of living in a more "backwards" Japan as opposed to the more "advanced" West in terms of attitudes toward same-sex sexuality,

this chapter resists this easy conclusion.[24] In fact, Japan had a long legacy of embracing same-sex affection between men before its later move to pathologize male-male love as the nation sought to "modernize" followingWestern moral codes. Noguchi in an increasingly homophobic society likely felt pressure to maintain respectability and thus heterosexuality as he enjoyed his new-found status as an internationally acclaimed poet. Chapter 5 not only challenges assumptions that necessarily attribute more sexual freedom to the West, but also suggests how individuals considered "normal" rather than "alien" may find their personal lives more circumscribed for fear of losing their privilege.

The epilogue traces the lives of Noguchi, Gilmour, and Armes after Stoddard's death and highlights Noguchi's personal rather than literary significance in bohemian America. While Noguchi dodged racial epithets in the streets of San Francisco, he seemed to have found a haven in California's bohemian community. Yet as inclusive as the group of cosmopolitan writers and artists appeared, their embrace would ultimately be more exploitative than empathetic. Not only would things Asian serve largely as amusing trinkets, same-sex affection that grew too passionate was implicitly taboo. Indeed the terms of Noguchi's acceptable inclusion into bohemia stunted the radical potential of Noguchi and Stoddard's love. While current representations and depictions of Noguchi have largely erased his intimate life, his affairs shed light on how individuals assert themselves in forthright as well as deceptive ways to find romantic fulfillment during desperate times. Though Noguchi loved and lost more than a century ago, his story may not be so different from the issues of xenophobia, racism, and homophobia that continue to inform intimacies today.

Conclusion

In summary, Noguchi's intimate life holds multiple implications in illuminating lived realities of sexuality and race among early-twentieth-century Japanese in the United States. This project suggests how Asian male immigrants could engage in unexpected sexual practices and intimacies. Indeed, Kosen Takahashi and Issio Kuge have also left evidence of their same-sex affections in early Japanese American history. Not only did Noguchi disregard social norms against interracial intimacy in his relationship with two white American women, his public relationship with Stoddard also pushed acceptable boundaries of increasingly scrutinized "romantic friendships" in early-twentieth-century America. Noguchi's life reveals how Asians in America embraced and proactively sought out romantic if not sexual fulfillment in unconventional ways.

While his affairs exhibit romantic self-determination, the engagements came with limitations. As a vibrant homosocial world swirled about, Noguchi ultimately remained an outsider constrained by perceptions of racial, cultural, and linguistic difference. Even in the comforting embrace of Stoddard's affections, Noguchi came to realize that his race and all that it signified would always remain central in his American relationships. After he returned to Japan, familial and professional obligations shaped his domestic life. Still, he forged ahead, at times selfishly, to express his most intimate love within the confines of acceptability. *Queer Compulsions* illuminates not only how people of color could negotiate America's sexual terrain, but also how those sexually marginalized might mediate competing cultural mores.

Introduction

[1] Yone Noguchi, "In the Bungalow with Charles Warren Stoddard: A Protest against Modernism," *National Magazine* (December 1904): 304–307.

[2] The majority of Japanese in America resided in San Francisco until the late 1890s. Yuji Ichioka, *The Issei: The World of the First Generation Japanese Immigrants, 1885–1924* (New York: The Free Press, 1988), 7–9.

[3] Sucheng Chan, *Asian Americans: An Interpretive History* (New York: Twayne Publishers, 1991), 51–52. See also Ronald Takaki, *Strangers from a Different Shore: A History of Asian Americans* (New York: Penguin Books, 1989); and Roger Daniels, *Politics of Prejudice: The Anti-Japanese Movement in California and the Struggle for Japanese Exclusion* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1962).

[4] Yen Le Espiritu, *Asian American Women and Men: Labor, Laws and Love* (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, 1997).

[5] John D'Emilio and Estelle Freedman, *Intimate Matters: A History of Sexuality in America* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1997); Elizabeth Wilson, *Bohemians: Glamorous Outcasts* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2000); Albert Parry, *Garrets and Pretenders* (New York: Covici Friede Publishers, 1933); Christine Stansell, *American Moderns: Bohemian New York and the Creation of a New Century* (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 2000); Martha Hodes, ed., *Sex, Love, Race: Crossing Boundaries in North American History* (New York: New York University Press, 1999).

[6] During their twelve-year acquaintance they lived in the same country for less than five years.

[7] Innumerable works exist on Yone Noguchi, largely in Japanese. The smaller number in English are more likely to discuss his intimate life. Those who address his domestic life such as Usaburo Toyama and Yoshinobu Hakutani typically focus on his lasting marriage to his Japanese wife Matsu Takeda and the many children she bore. Other more detailed works such as that of Ikuko Atsumi also mention his brief engagement to Ethel Armes, while a pregnant Léonie Gilmour carried his illegitimate son. Toyama Usaburō, ***Yone Noguchi kenkyū: ronbunshū,* 2 vols.** (Tokyo: Zōkei Bijutsu Kyōkai Shuppankyoku, 1963–1965); Yoshinobu Hakutani, *Selected English Writings of Yone Noguchi,* 2 vols. (Rutherford: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 1990); Ikuko Atsumi, *Yone Noguchi Collected English Letters* (Tokyo: The Yone Noguchi Society, 1975).

[8] Robert J. Maeda, "From Shape and Shadow: The Mother and Father of Isamu Noguchi," *Amerasia Journal* 22, no.3 (1996): 104–120; Wada Keiko, "Noguchi Yonejirō no Rondon (2)—hajimete no shishū," *Ōsaka Gakuin Daigaku gaikokugo ronshin* 34 (September 1996): 112–114.

[9] Yone Noguchi, *American Diary of a Japanese Girl, an Annotated Edition,* ed. Edward Marx and Laura E. Franey (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2007), xvii, 149.

[10] Herbert Asbury, *Barbary Coast: An Informal History of the San Francisco Underworld* (New York: A. A. Knopf, 1933); Nan Alamilla Boyd, *Wide-Open Town: A History of Queer San Francisco to 1965* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003); George Chauncey, *Gay New York: Gender, Urban Culture, and the Making of a Gay Male World, 1890–1940* (New York: Basic Books, 1994). See also Wilson, *Bohemians;* Stansell, *American Moderns.*

[11] Gregory M. Pflugfelder, *Cartographies of Desire: Male-Male Sexuality in Japanese Discourse, 1600–1950* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1999); Mihashi Osamu, *Meiji no sekushuariti: sabetsu no shinseishi* (Tokyo: Nihon Editasukuru, 1999).

[12] Not until the Gentlemen's Agreement in 1908, four years after Noguchi's returned to Japan, would picture brides arrive to "save" Japanese American sexuality by forming families throughout Hawai`i and the west. Yuji Ichioka, *The Issei;* Yuji Ichioka, "Ameyuki-san: Japanese Prostitutes in Nineteenth Century America," *Amerasia* 4, no. 1 (1977): 1–21; Lucie Cheng Hirata, "Free, Indentured, Enslaved: Chinese Prostitutes in Nineteenth-Century America," *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society* 5, no. 1 (1979): 3–29; Jennifer Ting, "Bachelor Society: Deviant Heterosexuality and Asian American Historiography," in *Privileging Positions: The Sites of Asian American Studies*, ed. Gary Y. Okihiro et al. (Pullman: Washington State University Press, 1995), 271–280; Madeline Y. Hsu, "Unwrapping Orientalism, Unwrapping Orientalist Constraints: Restoring Homosocial Normativity to Chinese American History," *Amerasia Journal* 29, no. 2 (2003): 230–253. For a more detailed account of the history of Asian American sexuality, see Amy Sueyoshi, "Sexuality and Asian Pacific Islander History," Asian Pacific American Collective History Project, 2004 (online); available from http://apachp.net/.

[13] Carroll Smith Rosenberg, "Female World of Love and Ritual," *Signs* 1, no. 1 (1975): 1–29; Alan Bray, *Homosexuality in Renaissance England* (London: Gay Men's, 1982). See also Martha Vicinus, *Intimate Friends: Women Who Loved Women, 1778–1928* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004); Jeffrey Richards, "|st'Passing the Love of

Women': Manly Love and Victorian Society," in *Manliness and Morality: Middle Class Masculinity in Britain and America, 1800–1940,* ed. J.A. Mangan and James Walvin (Manchester, UK: Palgrave Macmillan, 1987): 92–122. For a more detailed historiography on romantic friendship, see Amy Sueyoshi, "Finding Fellatio: Friendship, History and Yone Noguchi," in *Embodying Asian American Sexualities,* ed. Gina Masequesmay and Sean Metzger (Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 2009): 157–172. Lillian Faderman underscores the dearth of people of color in the revised introduction to her 2001 reprint of *Surpassing the Love of Men.* Lillian Faderman, *Surpassing the Love of Men: Romantic Friendship and Love between Women from the Renaissance to the Present* (New York: Perennial, 2001). Literary critic Eve Sedgwick called for more analysis on the relationship between female and male homosocial structures. Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick, *Between Men: English Literature and Male Homosocial Desire* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1984), 18.

[14] Martin Bauml Duberman, Martha Vicinus, and George Chauncey, Jr., eds., *Hidden from History: Reclaiming the Gay and Lesbian Past* (New York: New American Library, 1989); David M. Halperin, "How to Do the History of Homosexuality," *Gay and Lesbian Quarterly* 6, no. 1 (2000): 87–124. See also John Howard, *Men Like That: A Southern Queer History* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1999), xiv.

[15] For essays summarizing the state of U.S. queer histories, see Marc Stein, "Theoretical Politics, Local Communities: The Making of a U.S. LGBT Historiography," *Gay and Lesbian Quarterly* 11, no. 4 (2005):605–625; Nan Alamilla Boyd, "Who Is the Subject? Queer Theory Meets Oral History," *Journal of the History of Sexuality* 17, no. 2 (May 2008): 177–189; Karen E. Lovaas, John P. Elia, and Gust A. Yep, "Shifting Ground(s):

Surveying the Contested Terrain of LGBT Studies," *Journal of Homosexuality* 52, nos. 1/2 (2006): 1–18.

[16] Henry Yu, "Mixing Bodies and Cultures: The Meaning of America's Fascination with Sex between 'Orientals' and 'Whites,'|st" in *Sex, Love, Race: Crossing Boundaries in North American History,* ed. Martha Hodes (New York: New York University Press, 1999), 444–463; Nayan Shah, "Between 'Oriental Depravity' and 'Natural Degenerates': Spatial Borderlands and the Making of Ordinary Americans," *America Quarterly* 57, no. 3 (September 2005): 703–725.

[17] Inderpal Grewal and Caren Kaplan, "Global Identities: Theorizing Transnational Studies of Sexuality," *GLQ* 7, no. 4 (2001): 663–679.

[18] For an excellent example see Eng-Beng Lim, "Glocalqueering in New Asia: The Politics of Performing Gay in Singapore," *Theatre Journal* 57 (2005): 383–405. See also Joseph Massad, "Re-Orienting Desire: The Gay International and the Arab World," *Public Culture* 14, no. 2 (Spring 2002): 361–385.

[19] Howard spotlights Earl Finch in both his introduction and his epilogue and documents only a handful of same-sex intimacies. No doubt, he faced the usual challenges in primary sources that all historians of queer sexuality face. John Howard, *Concentration Camps on the Home Front: Japanese Americans in the House of Jim Crow* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2008).

[20] Judy Tzu-chun Wu, *Doctor Mom Chung of the Fair-Haired Bastards: The Life of a Wartime Celebrity* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2005).

[21] Historian Susan Johnson discusses how sexuality has been marginalized as a serious intellectual endeavor in the field of history. Susan Johnson, "|st'My Own Private Life':

Toward a History of Desire in Gold Rush California," in *Rooted in Barbarous Soil: People, Culture, and Community in Gold Rush California*, ed. Kevin Starr and Richard Orsi (Berkeley: University of California Press for the California Historical Society, 2000), 316–346.

[22] For more on fetishizing language patterns of U.S. people of color within scholarly works, see bell hooks, *Black Looks: Race and Representation* (Boston: South End Press, 1992).

[23] In Japanese American immigration or Issei history specifically, scholars have more often used both Japanese- and English-language sources in their analysis. See Ichioka, *Issei*, as well as Eiichiro Azuma, *Between Two Empires: Race, History, and Transnationalism in Japanese America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2005).

[24] Historian Mark McLelland notes how "backward" and "less liberated" Japan has been seen as borrowing extensively from the "advanced" West. Mark McLelland, *Queer Japan: From the Pacific War to the Internet Age* (New York: Rowman and Littlefield Publishers, 2005), 3, 6–7.