Yone Noguchi in W. B. Yeats's Japan (1)
— The Nō

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Ezra Pound has long been credited with introducing William Butler Yeats to the Nō in 1913, but it was actually the Japanese poet Yone Noguchi (野口米次郎 1875-1947) who first proposed Yeats should study the Nō, as early as 1907.[1] More than five years before Mary Fenollosa pressed her late husband's Nō manuscripts on Pound, Noguchi had already concluded that Yeats would be an ideal bearer of the Nō tradition to the West, and had explored the affinities between the Irish poet's dramatic theories and the practice of Nō at some length in a pair of articles, "With a Foreign Critic at a No Performance" and "Mr. Yeats and the No," published in the *Japan Times,* and reprinted together in the bilingual Japanese magazine *Taiyō* (The Sun) in 1910 under the title "The Japanese Mask Play."[2] The articles represent a key moment of cultural exchange between the two poets, the most significant in a series that began with their first meeting in 1903 and continued through the remainder of their lives.

The connection between Yeats and the Nō was first suggested—according to Noguchi's 1907 articles—during a visit to a Nō performance with an unidentified "foreign critic of art and life" visiting Tokyo who had commented on the plays' resemblance to "the Greek play or the modern Irish plays of Yeats and others." The Nō had often been compared to the Greek drama. But it was the comparison to "the

modern Irish plays of Yeats and others" that provided the starting point for Noguchi's consideration of the Nō's potential significance for Yeats. Noguchi knew Yeats slightly from meetings in London in 1903 and in New York in 1904.[3] These meetings had already inspired him to write the first detailed account of Yeats and his literary projects to be published in Japan. Entitled "A New Trend in English Literature : William Butler Yeats," it had appeared in a Japanese magazine in May of 1904, near the end of Noguchi's eleven-year sojourn in the United States and England.[4] During that period, the work of Yeats and other writers of the Irish Renaissance had begun to profoundly interest a select group of young Japanese writers, who recognized in it a parallel to Japanese cultural nationalism. Japanese cultural forms—literature, drama, and art—had been overwhelmed by Western influences since the 1850s just as Irish cultural forms had been overwhelmed by English influences under centuries of English colonialism, and Japanese writers, like their Irish counterparts, were looking for ways to use literature, drama, and art to strengthen Japanese national culture. The revival of traditional Japanese arts that Ernest Fenollosa had found in near-neglect was rapidly proceeding in tandem with Japan's emergence as a military power in the Sino-Japanese War(1894-5) and Russo-Japanese Wars (1904-5). Militarily, the Japanese were far ahead of the Irish, but in regard to the formation of a national culture, they lagged behind, and the work of Yeats and other writers of the Irish Renaissance offered models of how traditional forms could be revived, reinvented, made relevant to modern audiences, and pressed into service of national culture against what we would now call globalism or cultural imperialism, or what Noguchi called "the encroachments of a uniform civilisation that is destructive [of] national and provincial variations of every kind."[5] This fortified Japanese national culture was not an entirely defensive effort, however : it would also help support Japanese imperialist projects under way in Formosa (Taiwan) and Korea, and, soon, mainland China as well : projects that nearly all Japanese intellectuals, including Noguchi, accepted as both price and

reward of Japan's entry into world politics. Noguchi's mentor, Shigetaka Shiga (志賀重昂 1863-1927), who witnessed firsthand the depredations of Western colonialism in the South Seas, had been an early advocate of Japanese cultural nationalism, arguing for "the preservation of the national essence" (国粋保存) and an end to "worship of the foreign" in his articles for the magazine *Nihonjin,* which he edited in the late 1880s.[6] But for a nation only recently unified under threat of foreign invasion after centuries of isolation, it was only gradually becoming clear what the "national essence" was, and how it might be preserved.

These natural affinities with Irish cultural nationalism would not have taken hold with such powerful force among the young Japanese literati were it not for the powerful encouragement of a certain popular professor at Tokyo University who, as it happened, was half Irish. Lafcadio Hearn's influence on his Japanese students was profound. He had spent much of his youth in Ireland, his father's country. And more importantly, he was a great admirer of Yeats : he had written to him on one occasion, and discussed his work in at least three of his university lectures at Tokyo University, where he taught from 1896 to 1903, and Waseda University, where he taught from 1903 to 1904.[7] Yeats, he declared in a lecture on "Some Symbolic Poetry," was a young poet of "rare excellence" ; in another lecture on "Some Fairy Literature" he recommended the subject as one that might suggest "the possible future value to your own literature of Eastern beliefs that are now passing or likely to pass away."[8] Most of the first generation of Japanese Yeatsians passed through Hearn's classroom. A few months before Noguchi's first article on Yeats had appeared, the first detailed bibliography of Yeats had been published by one of Hearn's most brilliant students, Bin Ueda (上田敏 1874-1916). A few months later, an essay on Yeats by another former Hearn student, Hakuson Kuriyagawa (厨川白村 1880-1923), appeared in *Teikoku bungaku* (Imperial Literature), a prominent literary magazine affiliated with Tokyo University. The following year translations of Yeats by Ueda, Kuriyagawa, and future theatrical impresario Kaoru

Osanai (小山内薫 1881-1928), appeared in the influential literary magazine *Myōjō* (The Morning Star).

Noguchi had hoped to meet Hearn shortly after his return to Japan in September 1904, but when he tried to visit Hearn's office at Waseda, he discovered that Hearn had died two days earlier. At Hearn's funeral, however, Noguchi met many writers and scholars—former Hearn students—with whom he would form enduring connections. These men were impressed by Noguchi's extensive list of foreign publications and literary contacts, but two names in particular were greeted with great respect: W. B. Yeats and Arthur Symons. In 1906, when Noguchi, now a professor of English at Keiō University, tried his hand at founding a new international literary society, he drafted Yeats and Symons as charter members. The Japanese members included Bin Ueda and Kaoru Osanai, along with several well-known poets writing Western-style poetry influenced by the Pre-Raphaelites and French *Symbolistes*. The group, known as the *Ayame-kai* (あやめ会) or Iris Club, published two noteworthy anthologies before its demise.

By 1907 Japanese interest in Yeats was strong enough that Noguchi was prepared to argue, along with William Archer, that the Irish movement was a universal movement in which ethnicity was a merely incidental issue. "The so-called Keltic imagination and temperament do not belong only to the Irish people, . . . the Irish literary revival is not a local movement by any means, but will appeal to the heart all over the world. The great literary power in Mr. Yeats should be properly appreciated, and in him we find our own literary reflection."[9]

Noguchi's letters to Yeats have vanished, and only one copy of a letter from Yeats to Noguchi has survived.[10] But there can hardly be any doubt that "Mr. Yeats and the No" was written for the Irish poet's benefit, and Yeats's dramatic associate Gordon Craig seems to have read "The Japanese Mask Play" version of July 1910, for he borrows a distinctive phrase from it in an October 1910 review in *The Mask*, referring to the Nō as the "supreme example of brevity and fine tradition in

dramatic art" —a phrase derived from the very sentence in which Noguchi had connected Yeats with the Nō: "The No is *the perfection of brevity of dramatic art*; it might be compared with the Greek play or the modern Irish plays of Yeats and others" (emphasis added).[11] If Craig read the article, it is a safe bet that Yeats did as well, and if so, the often-told story of Yeats's encounter with the Japanese Nō must be rewritten. Literary scholars have taken so seriously Oscar Wilde's half-joking formulation that "Japan" was merely a Western invention that it now seems a radical gesture to propose that the Japanese influence in English and American literature may actually have originated in Japan. "Originate" may be too strong a word, however, for as I have already pointed out, Noguchi credits an unnamed "foreign critic of art and life" as the casual producer of this first recorded utterance linking Yeats and Nō.

The identity of this foreign critic and the circumstances under which this important comment may have been produced are problematic. The "foreign critic" was in fact largely a fictional construct based on John La Farge, who had described in *An Artist's Letters from Japan* a visit with Henry Adams to a July 1886 Nō performance at the invitation of William Sturgis Bigelow. (Their friend and frequent companion, Ernest Fenollosa, who had taken his first few lessons in Nō three years earlier, apparently did not join them).[12] Noguchi, who was rather fond of what Western readers might call plagiarism, repeatedly borrows La Farge's words, often verbatim.[13] Below, Noguchi's passage including the Yeats comment is given alongside the source passage in La Farge (common elements are indicated in italics):

La Farge	Noguchi
The *stage* was a pretty little building projecting into the great hall from its long side.	Look at the *stage* with *its own roof*; it has the dignity of its own existence which our western stage has not; and that *long gallery or bridge, along which the* No *actors move* as spectres

It *had its own roof,* and connected with a *long gallery or bridge, along which the actors moved,* as they came on or disappeared, in a *manner new* to us, but which gave a certain natural sequence and made *a beginning and an end,* — a dramatic introduction and conclusion, — and added greatly to the picture when *the magnificent dresses of stiff brocade dragged slowly along to the cadence of the music.* [14]

evoked from an unknown corner with the *newest manner* and attitude, is most satisfying with its suggestion of making *a beginning and ending* there too, you might say, Life and Death, and make the performance complete.

The No is the perfection of brevity and dramatic art ; it might be compared with the Greek play or the modern Irish plays of Yeats and others. Our ordinary Western plays, doubtless, have a certain beauty of confusion ; but we are tired of it. Here we have the No whose monotone makes us perfectly wearied at first, but will be the source of no small delight for many cultured minds. And you have to see the pictorial side of *those magnificent dresses of stiff brocade which the actors wear dragging them along slowly to the cadence of the music* ; what epical dignity of the actors, and what simple grandeur !" [15]

La Farge's description clearly provides the reference points that frame Noguchi's account, but Noguchi's alterations, elaborations, and divergences produce a composite narrative and multilayered "foreign critic" constructed out of multiple and experiences and sources : plagiarism, no doubt, but plagiarism of a complex order. Ethical concerns aside, the vital point is that the idea of comparing of the Nō with "the Greek play or the modern Irish plays of Yeats and others" obviously did not come from La Farge. Whether it was Noguchi's own idea or that of another foreign critic—perhaps Noguchi's half-Irish American wife, Léonie Gilmour, who had arrived in Japan in the Spring of 1907 —remains a mystery.

Return to simplicity

Whoever may have proposed the initial idea of a link between Yeats and the Nō, it was Noguchi who explored its ramifications and developed it into the practical dramatic proposal "Mr. Yeats and the No," published in November 1907. In "With a Foreign Critic at a No Performance," the critic refers to "the modern Irish plays of Yeats and others" in the context of a discussion about theatrical simplicity and economy. In "Mr. Yeats and the No," Noguchi develops this comparison, offering his own consideration of Nō in light of Yeats's aims for his Irish theatre, using as his reference the short preface Yeats had written for his collected edition of *Dramatical Poems* (1907). There, Yeats had written :

> A writer of drama must observe the [dramatical] form as carefully as if it were a sonnet, but he must always deny that there is any subject-matter which is in itself dramatic — any especial round of emotion fitted to the stage, or that a play has no need to await its audience or to create the interest it lives by. Dramatic art is a method of expression, and neither an hair-breadth escape nor a love affair more befits it than the passionate exposition of the most delicate and strange intuitions ; and the dramatist is as free as the painter of good pictures and the writer of good books. All art is passionate, but a flame is not the less flame because we change the candle for a lamp or the lamp for a fire ; and all flame is beautiful.[16]

Noguchi's discussion of Yeats begins confidently with a direct misreading of this intricately-worded argument : "I quite agree with Mr. William Butler Yeats that a drama has not to wait on its audience ; and it would be a poor thing which has not the dignity of independence. The drama is first, the audience has to follow." Noguchi missed the sense of Yeats's convoluted double-negative : Yeats was officially saying that "a writer *must deny*. . . that a play has no need to await its audience." He needed the double negative because a positive statement — that a

writer must actually cater to his audience's interests—would have been abhorrent to his art-for-art's-sake ethos. It was this distaste that Noguchi picked up in his misreading, and his misreading was not far wrong, for Yeats was himself continually vacillating between the opposing demands of audience interest and artistic independence. In the preface, however, Yeats was palpably straining against his art-for-art's-sake impulse in an evident effort to present his plays as audience-friendly. Noguchi had in fact recognized this audience-accommodating side of Yeats in his earlier article, "Yeats and the Irish Revival," where he noted the Irish poet was "undergoing some change of literary ambition and scope; he is attempting to appeal to a greater mass but not in the same style with Kipling." [17] But he was more familiar with the audience-detesting Yeats he had met in New York in 1904, whose conversation he had then recorded:

> laying down his knife, suddenly Yeats told me, "theaters have now become just another business. People go after their evening meal to help their digestion, not to learn about the hidden subtleties of the human heart. My associates who feel the same way as I do wished to build a theater of our own, and it is almost finished. Those who wish to enter that theater must see intuitively what others understand through logic." [18]

Indeed, Yeats proves unable, even in the small space of his three-page *Dramatical Poems* preface, to sustain his strained effort at accommodation, veering off instead toward the "small audience" he has found in Dublin who are "so much interested in Ireland that they have not complained too loudly that my fellow-dramatists at the Abbey Theatre or I myself write of difficult and unfamiliar things."

In the preface to his 1916 Nō-style play, *At the Hawk's Well,* Yeats took these ambivalent feelings about audience as his starting point, relating an experience he had as a spectator at a performance of one of his own plays. He had been seated behind three people he took to be a husband, a wife and a woman friend—the wife evidently an appreciator, the husband clearly bored, the friend moderately so. The

wife, Yeats supposed, had persuaded the others to come, but it was the bored man who always came to his mind's eye, for he recognized he could not afford to stage his plays without drawing "those who prefer light amusement or have no ear for verse." [19] The theatrical simplicity of the Nō model liberated him from the need to cater to the bored husband.

Having established the need for the drama to lead the audience, rather than vice-versa, "Mr. Yeats and the No" then elaborated other aspects of the Nō that Noguchi thought would appeal to Yeats. First, there was opposition to realism. "I should like to say also that the so-called realism is cowardice, and that a drama which can only claim its existence in realism is not poetry by any means," Noguchi writes. "Our No has nothing to do with that realism," he explains; indeed, he was "sometimes afraid it goes too far in the opposite direction."

> It is the No's dignity to command you to believe in its representation, though you may incline to think contrariwise; here you have a No character of a lady whose appearance and voice are not different at all from a man's; but you have no right to quarrel about it, you have only to believe that it is a lady. And if you cannot, you are utterly outside the No realm. Spirit is the main thing; and dramatic art is nothing but a mode of expression.[20]

The Nō's anti-realism was certainly one of its greatest attractions for Yeats, who had frequently criticized theatrical realism. In his introduction to *Certain Noble Plays of Japan,* Yeats derides realism as "created for the common folk," appealing to "all those whose minds educated alone by schoolmasters and newspapers are without the memory of beauty and emotional subtlety." [21] In contrast, Noguchi's emphasis on non-mimetic representation, spirit, and expression linked the Nō to an alternative Symbolist aesthetic.

Noguchi's next point is concerned with the more practical question of theatrical atmosphere. When Noguchi had first written about the Japanese theatre for New York's *Theatre Magazine* in 1904, he had focused mainly on the more popular

kabuki theatre, describing its convivial ambience as an amusing aspect of the theatre-going experience :

> It is not an easy task to reach one's seats and once the family has settled down, nothing but a catastrophe would induce it to leave its box. They eat in it, smoke in it, nurse babies in it, and put themselves thoroughly at their ease. In each box there is a small stove, at which they light the short Japanese pipe, and at their side is the plate of rice and fish with the traditional chop sticks, and a bottle of saka [sic] (rice brandy) and cups of tea, which are filled as often as emptied. The women chew candy and the men partake freely of saka as the play goes on. A man who has been obliged to escort his women relatives is often to be seen fast asleep, for politeness to women is not seriously discussed in Japan. During the intermissions, attendants with cakes, confectionery and tea pass up and down the elevated aisles offering their wares.[22]

Now, three years later, Noguchi viewed the same scene more harshly as the result of theatrical degeneration, offering in its stead the tranquility of the Nō experience :

> I think, as Mr. Yeats once wrote, that the modern stage in the West as in Japan, has been degenerating for some time. I feel happy to think that he would find his own ideal in our No performance, if he should see and study it. Our No is sacred, and it is poetry itself. It is ten times more agreeable to have a thoroughly appreciative audience, however small, than a big house with little attention. I dare say in that respect our Japanese audiences leave much to be desired, as much as the Japanese stage and play ; I believe that I have never seen such an uninterested audience in my life ; if you go into any common Japanese theatre, you see the audience eating, drinking, and even snoring ; it is really too much to see some woman carrying her baby on her lap who may start to cry out at any time. Where is the theatrical dignity ? But the No house is an oasis where your poetical ideal will be perfectly refreshed and

encouraged.[23]

The argument was again, well calculated to appeal to Yeats, who would speak with relief, in his *Certain Noble Plays of Japan* introduction, of having invented a form of drama "having no need of mob or press to pay its way." [24]

For the last thrust of his Nō argument, Noguchi turned to the dream of reviving the art of poetical drama, dear to Yeats and other British poets with frustrated dramatic aspirations. Yeats had closed his *Dramatical Poems* preface by arguing for a theatre of speech : "the speech of the country-side, the eloquence of poets, of rhythm, of style, of proud, living, unwasted words." He would "restore the whole ancient art of passionate speech" in his theatre where the poet's words and rhythm would take precedence over the musical and even dramatic considerations. Noguchi responded,

> I think that I can apply such language to our No without much alteration ; the No performance of speech, though it may not be the "speech of the countryside," appeals to the ear with such a "proud, living, unwasted rhythm of song." And it has such a simplicity in effect of plot and arrangement as Mr. Yeats dreams of simplicity of art and of feeling ; the No is the noblest kind of poem. There are no better examples of lyrical poetry than the No plays ; they fulfil every requisite of epic beauty. There is not a phrase, an image, an incident, too much or too little in either ; not a false note of atmosphere or feeling ; they are exquisite and deathless ; and it is true that their charm of simplicity is even greater as time goes on. In the course from the homogeneous to the complex, it is true that the loss in simplicity is made up by the gain in variety and richness. But you must return to simplicity ever and anon, for repose, and if you want the theatrical regeneration, you may be sure that you have to go through the method of No performance—the theatre of speech and poem.[25]

Yeats took up this "return to simplicity" in his introduction to *Certain Noble Plays*,

describing the practical advantages of the Nō's theatrical simplicity, and explaining that "this simplification is not mere economy," for "with every simplification the voice has recovered something of its importance." [26]

Noguchi's description of the Nō thus hit directly on the points most likely to make a strong appeal on the Irish poet-dramatist, and all were indeed taken up by Yeats in his own writings about the Nō. Noguchi offered Yeats a living, traditional form of poetic drama catering to a small, interested audience, with a decorous theatrical atmosphere, simplicity of production, freedom from realism and the need to cater to the masses, and an aesthetic of spiritual intensity. It was almost too much to hope for. But as for the plays themselves, there were scarcely any specimens available in English. Yeats would have to wait a few years longer.

Awaiting an audience

The thought of how Yeats might take to the Nō was merely one instance of the way in which Noguchi's thoughts were drifting at this time toward England and Ireland. In November of 1909 he began sending articles to the London *Graphic*, a popular large-format weekly eager for articles on Japan accompanied by photographs.[27] In November of 1910, he sent a provocative note to the *Academy* on the subject of Bushidō—claiming that the much-touted "way of the samurai" was in fact "an English discovery" —and soon became a regular contributor to that periodical as well.[28] He was aided by the political winds, for the colossal Japanese-British Exhibition that opened in London in May 1910 was one of the journalistic topics of the day. Timed in anticipation of the renewal of the Anglo-Japanese Alliance in 1911, the exhibition, encouraged by the emperor and extravagantly funded by the Japanese Diet, featured recreations of famous Japanese buildings, two "native" theatres, an exhibition of Japanese art treasures, and, of course, legions of imported, kimono-clad Japanese inhabitants.

Toward the end of 1911, Noguchi produced his second and best-known English

essay on Nō, entitled "The No Plays," published in the January 1912 issue of *Taiyō,* later used, under the title "*No :* The Japanese Play of Silence," as a lecture text at the Royal Asiatic Society in London in 1913, and eventually included in *The Spirit of Japanese Poetry* (1914). Although writing prolifically for the *Academy* and *Graphic* in London, as well as the *Nation* and *Independent* in New York, Noguchi's only Nō-related publication outside of Japan between 1911 and 1913 seems to have been a June 1912 *International Studio* article about Nō-mask carver Seiji Shimomura, whose masks had been displayed at a Tokyo exhibition.[29]

It was the new poet laureate of England, Robert Bridges, who arranged for Noguchi's invitation to lecture at Oxford on Japanese poetry. Bridges, who had met Noguchi in 1903, had written to Laurence Binyon in the spring of 1913 asking whether Noguchi might be a suitable choice for the invitation. Binyon gave his opinion on June 16 after consulting his Japanese acquaintances, advising Bridges that, while Noguchi was not considered to be a man of very great erudition, he was thought of highly as an interpreter of Japanese poetry, and Binyon himself had read enough of Noguchi's articles to feel confident in his knowledge and lecturing abilities.[30]

The visit received a fair amount of press coverage, beginning with the announcement in the London *Times,* on 26 November 1913, that "Mr. Yone Noguchi, the Japanese poet, has left Tokyo for a lecturing tour in England, where he expects to arrive about the middle of December."[31] Noguchi found a warm welcome in literary London. A January 14 lecture on Japanese poetry at the Japan Society "turned out in quite good shape," he wrote his ex-wife Léonie Gilmour ; Professor Joseph Henry Longford had chaired the session, and *Japanese Plays and Playfellows* author Osman Edwards, among others, had engaged him in a lively discussion.[32] There were dinners with the members of the Oriental Club and invitations to the homes of Edmund Gosse, John Masefield, Sarojini Naidu (who a few months earlier had played hostess at Pound's first meeting with Mary

Fenollosa), George Bernard Shaw, and W. B. Yeats.

"Yesterday I was invited by Bernerd [sic] Shaw and tonight am going to take a dinner together with Yeats," Noguchi reported on January 17, 1914. The dinner was presumably the one he described in an article that appeared in *T. P.'s Weekly* (edited by Holbrook Jackson) and in the New York *Bookman*.[33] In that account, Noguchi describes his arrival at Yeats's studio (Yeats was then living in Bloomsbury), where he greets Yeats, "a rather heavy figure, somehow stooped like a dream." The two headed off to a nearby grill-room where the conversation immediately turned to the subject of Nō. Yeats had been working with Pound on the Fenollosa translations since early December; by the middle of that month, Pound had reported to Dorothy Shakespear that he had "cribbed part of a Noh (dramatic eclogue) out of Fenollosa's notes," and that Yeats had called it "charming."[34] This "charming" play was *Kinuta* (砧), in which a merchant's wife, separated from her husband for three years, having died of sorrow just before his return, reappears as a ghost to bewail her fate and is treated to a lecture from the Buddhist chorus on the need to restrain worldly desires. Yeats told Noguchi he was delighted at the way the Nō incorporated what he called "the folk element," which was, in his opinion, "alone worthy of any poetry; by that," he explained, "I mean that the true literature should be a folk literature invigorated, not weakened, by the cultured elements." Yeats was himself attempting a difficult fusion of aristocratic theatre based on Irish folklore. "These two opposite elements," he told Noguchi, "often clash with one another in a poor literary hand; but one who holds the secret or key of the real literature will at once harmonise them, and make them grow more beautiful by their marriage." At the same time, it was critical for Yeats to achieve this marriage of folk and aristocratic elements while remaining true to the idea of a national tradition. "The literature of any country should remain as itself," he told Noguchi, "whatever culture, whatever universality it likes to embrace."[35]

Turning the conversation to Noguchi, Yeats asked, "Tell me about your

literature and Japanese literary life ; above all, whatever do you learn from our Western literature ?" Japan was often criticized for borrowing indiscriminately from the West—Noguchi often said as much himself, as in his vigorous assent to G. Lowes Dickinson's observation at the Oriental Club a few weeks earlier that Japan seemed determined "to uglify herself after the Western fashion." [36] Yeats seemed to be wondering why Noguchi, with his Whitmanesque English poetry, should not be held guilty of the same charge. Noguchi's response was to tell Yeats that Japan's age of transition was "approaching well nigh to its end" and that the Japanese were "busy at present in rearranging or rather destroying what we once learned from the West." Recently, there had been a reaction against Western literature ; Noguchi's view was that "we should keep some Western literature, not because it is new and strange for us, but because we can find our own Japanese passion and imagination more beautifully, more precisely, expressed in it. When we keep your Western symbolism, it is from our desire to strengthen and purify our own old symbolism (or is it to be called allegory ?) by its baptism." [37] This form of borrowing was similar to what Noguchi believed Yeats to be doing in borrowing from a variety of national traditions in his creation of an Irish literature.[38]

The conversation drifted for a while to Irish politics until the two poets were joined by Ezra Pound and his sculptor friend Henri Gaudier-Brzeska, who looked, Noguchi wrote, "delightfully barbarous as if they had left but a moment before their hidden shelter covered by ivy vines," leaving Noguchi almost ashamed of his "stupid formality in a stiff extent of shirt front." Shortly, the company left the hotel restaurant for Yeats's fire-lit studio. There, Pound, "a present day faun in appearance with his uncombed hair where pigeons might like to be nesting, sat on a couch" ; Noguchi was "glad that he knew well the place where he fitted perfectly." Nearby was Gaudier-Brzeska, "who had run away, he said, from army service in France and taken upon his hand the reformation of the dull English mind, artistically." [39]

Where pigeons might like to be nesting

Noguchi had taken an interest in Pound as early as July 1911, around the time *Canzoni of Ezra Pound* was published. The instigating factor was probably their mutual connection to Elkin Mathews : Noguchi and Pound had at that time each published three books with Mathews beginning in 1909. As part of his effort to keep abreast of new developments in English poetry, Noguchi sent off an inquisitive and somewhat ungrammatical letter to Pound with a copy of *The Pilgrimage* (his most recent collection of poems). "I dont quite know what to think about them," Pound confessed to Dorothy Shakespear. "His matter is poetic & his stuff not like everything else, he is doubtless sent to save my artistic future." He replied to Noguchi with an uncharacteristically courteous and encouraging letter, accompanied by his *Exultations* (1909) and *Canzoni* (1911). And he undoubtedly hoped for something warmer than Noguchi's curt three-line postcard reply ("what a difference of your work from mine !") which halted their correspondence on a sour note for Pound.[40] Pound's silence during the conversation at Yeats's studio probably concealed some degree of resentment, and this could only have grown as Yeats, turning to Pound's least favorite topic, the supernatural, began to talk on "spirit and deathlessness." Yeats began by confessing to Noguchi that he was an ancestor-worshipper "almost as if a Japanese," and then grilled Noguchi on the technical details of Japanese ancestor worship, which he compared to the beliefs of his current American medium.[41] But Pound seems to have arranged another dinner with Noguchi, as he reported to his mother in an undated letter, "Yone Noguchi dined with me on Tuesday ; interesting littérateur of the second order. Dont like him so well as Sung, or Coomaraswami. Still you neednt repeat this, as the acquaintance may grow and there's no telling when one will want to go to Japan." [42] The relationship did not, apparently, grow, and Pound wrote to *Poetry* magazine's associate editor Alice Corbin Henderson on January 27, "Yone Noguchi has sent me

two bad jobs which I shall return. If he has anything worse, it may as well come here for rejection." Pound was preparing to launch the first of the Fenollosa translations, his version of *Nishikigi* which, he told Harriet Monroe four days later, would "give us some reason for existing." [43]

"An interesting lecture on the 'No' drama, the Japanese Plays of Silence, was delivered yesterday afternoon in the rooms of the Royal Asiatic Society by Mr. Yone Noguchi," the London *Times* reported on March 11, 1914. In the lecture, Noguchi had given an overview of the historical origins of the dramatic form and the manner of its operation. The *Times* writer offered a synopsis, noting the small size and simple scenery of the Nō stage, and the fact that the members of the audience "listen to them, or rather watch their action, in absolute silence," thanks to "the silent magnetic intercommunion of thought and ideal between actors and audience." The idea seemed to the *Times* writer an appealing alternative to the noisy theatrical excess of contemporary British theatre. "Not even Mr. Granville Barker has as yet attempted to carry contemplation into the theatre to the extent of filling the auditorium with rows of silent 'appreciators,'" the reporter observed, although he thought that Shaw's ban on audience applause might be taken as a small step in that direction. "As a character-forming influence," the writer concluded, "the theatre of contemplation can only succeed on spiritual lines ; the optimist who would venture to run it in latter-day London as a commercial speculation is probably not yet born." [44]

On this last point, the writer was, of course, seriously mistaken. In fact, just such an optimist, in the person of W. B. Yeats, had already begun studying the Nō, and would soon begin work on *At the Hawk's Well,* a Nō-inspired play that would premier in the homes of two prominent society ladies, thereby bypassing the world of theatre managers. He was at that moment lecturing in the United States and thus could not have attended Noguchi's lecture, though he would likely have read it in *The Spirit of Japanese Poetry,* published later that year.

Are you in the Nō ?

In 1916, the successful performance of Yeats's Nō-inspired *At the Hawk's Well* in April and the publication of *Certain Noble Plays of Japan* in June provided the stimulus Noguchi needed to take up more seriously writing about and translating Nō. "It seems that today the word 'Nō' has spread over the general educated class because of the fact that Yeats adopted the Japanese Nō," he wrote in a 1917 letter to Tokuboku Hirata later published as "*Eitsu to Nō*" [Yeats and Nō].[45] Not surprisingly, the letter returned to the old problem Noguchi had treated or mistreated in "The Japanese Mask Play" : Yeats's vacillation between popular arts and aristocratic arts. "If I say that Yeats has changed his principle, you will wonder what I mean. The reason why I apply to him the words, 'has changed his principle', is that he publicly switched over from popular / folk art (he had thought for a long time that Irish true self-awareness needed the revival of popular / folk art) to aristocratic art." [46] Yeats's acknowledged failure, as Noguchi understood it, had been a conflict between political discontent and artistic idealism. The discontent had driven Yeats to become involved in political art, but his idealism made it impossible to achieve his aesthetic goals without compromise. Moreover, his personal orientation was aristocratic, and thus his efforts representing or writing for other classes lacked a certain authenticity. Yeats's Irish literary movement had achieved little politically, although its importance as an international literary movement was unquestionable. Quoting Yeats's *Hawk's Well* preface anecdote about the bored man at the theatre, Noguchi observed that Yeats had "come to accept that it had been a mistake in the first place to demand the understanding of the general public." [47] It was at that point, Noguchi told Hirata, that Yeats had discovered Nō. As for how Yeats had acquired a knowledge of Nō, "he himself writes that he acquired almost all his knowledge from the Nō translation which has come to be regarded as important these days as Fenollosa's posthumous manuscript."

This point would have been of particular interest to Hirata, who was in fact responsible for most of the translation work credited to Fenollosa.[48] Noguchi conceded that Yeats's knowledge was far from perfect, but perhaps adequate: "I know from letters from England that he is quite satisfied with the results." The news was evidently gratifying to Hirata: "I was rather happy," he later wrote, "that my crude, youthful efforts had not entirely been in vain."[49] Noguchi himself, he told Hirata in closing, had "recently translated three or four Nō plays into English and sent them at a request of *Poetry Review,* the poetry magazine in London, and they have already been printed."[50]

Noguchi was something of a novice in the world of Nō scholarship. His English articles generally approach Nō from the standpoint of the spectator and there is no indication that he ever seriously studied *utai,* or Nō chanting. He had translated some of the more easily comprehensible Kyōgen comedies (resulting in the world's first English Kyōgen anthology in 1907) but only one rather short Nō play, *The Morning Glory.*[51] But he was now something of an authority on foreign appreciation of the Nō, and when Nobel laureate Rabindranath Tagore visited Japan in the summer of 1916 amid great public interest, it was Noguchi who accompanied him to a performance of the Nō plays *Hagoromo* and *Yamanba* and wrote up the Indian poet's impressions for *Yōkyokukai* (Nō-Song World), a journal established in 1914.[52] The editors also reprinted Noguchi's "No Play" essay under the title "An Appreciation" as the opening gambit of a year-long effort to market the magazine to foreign enthusiasts on the basis of a short English section consisting mainly of Noguchi's Nō and Kyōgen translations. The effort was no doubt overly optimistic, but Japanese observers must have been surprised at the Nō's sudden popularity abroad and could hardly know what to expect. *At the Hawk's Well,* for example, had received critical attention in such unlikely places as New York's *Vogue* magazine, which printed a full page in July 1916 article under the catchy title: "Are You in the Nō?" featuring a photograph of exotically-dressed Michio Itow

caressing Edmund Dulac's enormous carving of a Japanese-style mask. *Vogue* readers were encouraged to observe that the European war had not completely extinguished English drama, and that women, the magazine's primary readership, had taken over its stewardship in the case of the Yeats play, performed in the drawing rooms of Lady Cunard and Lady Islington—the magazine noting that "Nō plays were, and still are, performed in the garden of a private house, always in the garden and for the appreciation of the elect." [53]

From August 1916 to January 1919 Noguchi published at least seventeen Nō translations in *Poet-Lore, The Poetry Review, The Egoist,* and *The Quest,* as well as in *Yōkyokukai* and other Japanese periodicals and in *The Modern Review* of Calcutta. He published, in English, a new article on "The Japanese Noh Play" in *The Egoist* in 1918 and articles in the *Japan Times* on "Awoi no Uye, a 'No' Play," "Fenollosa on the Noh," and "Yeats and the Noh Play of Japan." In addition, he published articles in Japanese on the new foreign studies of Nō, on Yeats and the Nō, and on Ernest Fenollosa's relationship with Minoru Umewaka. [54]

In December of 1917, Noguchi wrote to Ezra Pound, requesting a copy of his book on Henri Gaudier-Brzeska, the French sculptor Pound had brought along to Yeats's studio, now a casualty of war. Noguchi told Pound he wanted to review it for his weekly *Japan Times* column. "Some months ago I recommended your Noh book to our readers," he told Pound; "also I had written a Japanese article on the book. Your Noh book is now quite well-known in Japan," he added, continuing invitingly: "Perhaps you had seen some specimens of my Noh translation; how did you like one I published in the Egoist? The Quest and the Poetry Review also published my Noh plays. I like to talk about this subject further with you." Noguchi had contributed several essays and poems to the *Egoist* under the assistant editorship of H. D. and Richard Aldington; his revised translation of *Yōkihi* (楊貴妃), a Nō play based on a famous Chinese poem by Po Chü-i, had been reprinted in the October 1917 issue under the assistant editorship of T. S. Eliot. (Eliot had

recently reviewed the Pound-Fenollosa *Noh, or Accomplishment.* He admired the book, but wondered why Pound had made the Japanese characters sound so Irish.)[55]

Noguchi could have used Pound's advice and support, for he was preparing his own collection of translations entitled *Ten Noh Plays.* The manuscript, mailed in November 1918 to his new American publisher, The Four Seas Company in Boston, on the expectation that it would be published early the following year, consisted of ten plays and an introduction cobbled together from the *Egoist* piece and his earlier Nō writings. It was by no means a scholarly edition, and anyone interested in serious study of the plays would have had been frustrated with Noguchi's failure to provide even their Japanese titles, let alone anything resembling stage directions or explanatory notes. Noguchi had also taken extensive poetic license in cutting, rearranging, and sometimes even rewriting them. On the positive side, the resulting versions did communicate the essence of the plays in a readable style that took advantage of Noguchi's talents as a free verse poet. Regardless of their technical shortcomings, the inclusion of many otherwise untranslated plays would have made the collection a useful one. Noguchi was anxious to have the book published before his American lecture tour in the fall of 1919, but by the end of the tour, in late January, the company had only managed to produce proofs of his collection of short poems entitled *Japanese Hokkus.* Four Seas eventually brought out two other Noguchi books, but *Ten Noh Plays* never saw publication, nor was the manuscript ever returned to Noguchi.[56]

This is the first part of a two-part article.

Notes

The author wishes to thank Katsuyuki Terao, Ron Schuchard, Richard Finneran, Ikuko Atsumi, Akiko Murakata, Eri Okuda, and Kentarō Tanabe for their contributions to this essay.

Japanese names throughout are reversed according to English usage. Spelling of Japanese names follows current Japanese transliteration style except in bibliographical citations, where the

published spelling is used, or where an alternative spelling is in common use (i. e. Michio Itow rather than Itō).

1) The most extensive discussion of Yone Noguchi's relationship with Yeats may be found in Shotaro Oshima, *W. B. Yeats and Japan* (Tokyo : Hokuseidō, 1965). The suggestion that Noguchi significantly influenced Yeats's conception of the Nō has been made by Yōko Chiba in "Ezra Pound's Versions of Fenollosa's Noh Manuscripts and Yeats's Unpublished 'Suggestions & Corrections,' "*Yeats Annual* 4 (1986) : 121-23, and by Yoshinobu Hakutani in "W. B. Yeats, Modernity, and the Noh Play," *Modernity in East-West Literary Criticism : New Readings* (London : Associated University Presses, 2001), 23-40.

2) "With a Foreign Critic at a No Performance," *Japan Times,* 27 Oct. 1907, 6 ; "Mr. Yeats and the No," *Japan Times,* 3 Nov. 1907, 6 ; "The Japanese Mask Play," *Taiyō* 16 : 10 (Jul. 1910) : 5.

3) The 1903 meeting is noted in Noguchi's letter to Léonie Gilmour, 24 Feb. 1903, in Yone Noguchi, *Collected English Letters,* ed. Ikuko Atsumi (Tokyo : Yone Noguchi Society, 1975) : 175.

4) 「英文学の新潮流・ウヰルアム・バトラー・イーツ」[*Ei-bungaku no shin-chōryū-Uwiruamu Batorā Ītsu*], 『英文新誌』[*Eibun Shinshi*] 1 (May 1904) : 25-26, rpt. in 『英米の十三年』[*Eibei no jūsan nen*] (Thirteen years [sic] in England and America) (Tokyo : 春陽堂 [Shun'yodō], 1905) : 175-85. Shōtaro Ōshima comments on the article in *Yeats and Japan,* 179.

5) "Yeats and the Irish Revival," *Japan Times,* 28 Apr. 1907, 6. Another version of the article appeared as "The Poet Yeats," *Teikoku Bungaku* 14 : 16 (10 Jun. 1908) : 783-87.

6) Kenneth B. Pyle, *The New Generation in Meiji Japan : Problems of Cultural Identity, 1885-1895* (Stanford : Stanford Univ. Press, 1969) : 58.

7) George Hughes, "W. B. Yeats and Lafcadio Hearn : Negotiating with Ghosts," in *Rediscovering Lafcadio Hearn : Japanese Legends Life and Culture,* ed. Sukehiro Hirakawa (Folkestone, Kent : Global Oriental, 1997) : 115-6.

8) Lafcadio Hearn, *On Poetry* (Tokyo : Hokuseido, 1934), 145, 267.

9) "Yeats and the Irish Revival," 6.

10) Yeats's library does contain six inscribed presentation copies of books given or sent to him by Noguchi between 1913 and 1921. See Edward O'Shea, *A Descriptive Catalog of W. B. Yeats's Library* (New York : Garland, 1985), 191-92.

11) "The Japanese Mask Play" is a three-part article combining the text of "With a Foreign Critic

at a No Performance," "Mr. Yeats and the Nō," and a third section giving a brief history of the plays and several examples. [Gordon Craig], "The Japanese Dance," *The Mask* 3 (Oct. 1910) : 90. A slight but crucial change of wording between the *Japan Times* and *Taiyō* versions indicates that Craig's "supreme example of brevity and fine tradition in dramatic art" was derived from the *Taiyō* "perfection of brevity and dramatic art" rather that the *Japan Times* "perfection of brevity of dramatic art." Noguchi apparently sent "The Japanese Mask Play" to the London *Graphic,* which published a section of the third part of the article as "The Japanese Mask Plays," *Graphic* 82 (13 Aug. 1910) : 256.

12) John La Farge, *An Artist's Letters from Japan* (New York : Century, 1897). The section recounting La Farge's Nō visit first appeared in *Century Magazine* 74 (Feb. 1890) : 488-90.

13) Charges of plagiarism had surfaced early on in Noguchi's career when he was accused of plagiarizing in his poetry from Poe ; Noguchi's defense then had been "I was glad for having the moment when I felt the same thought with Poe, and I could not understand why I could not say the same thing if I wanted to say it." See *The Story of Yone Noguchi* (London : Chatto and Windus, 1914) : 19.

14) La Farge, "An Artist's Letters from Japan," *Century Magazine,* 488.

15) Noguchi, "With a Foreign Critic," 6.

16) W. B. Yeats, *Dramatical Poems,* vol. 2 of *The Poetical Works of W. B. Yeats* (New York : Macmillan, 1907) : v-vi.

17) Noguchi, "Yeats and the Irish Revival," 6.

18) Noguchi, "*Ei-bungaku no shin-chōryū,*" 175-76.

19) W. B. Yeats, *The Variorum Edition of the Plays of W. B. Yeats,* ed. Russell K. Alspach (London : Macmillan, 1966) : 415.

20) Noguchi, "Mr. Yeats and the No," 6. Fenollosa also compares the anti-realism of Nō with the more realistic Kabuki. See Ezra Pound and Ernest Fenollosa, *The Classic Nō Theatre of Japan* (New York : New Directions, 1959), 61.

21) W. B. Yeats, *Essays and Introductions* (London and New York : Macmillan, 1961) : 226-27.

22) "Theatres and Theatre-Going in Japan," *Theatre Magazine* 4 (July 1904) : 169.

23) Noguchi, "Mr. Yeats and the No," 6.

24) Yeats, *Essays and Introductions,* 221.

25) Noguchi, "Mr. Yeats and the No," 6.

26) Yeats, *Essays and Introductions,* 222.

27) Noguchi contributed around thirty articles to the *Graphic* between 1909 and 1914, including

"The Japanese Mask Plays" (see previous note). Other articles concerned with Japanese drama include "The Artistic Interchange of East and West," *Graphic* 83 (18 Feb. 1911) : 248 (about a Tokyo production of Shaw's *The Horse Thief*) ; "Shakespeare à la Japonaise," *Graphic* 84 (12 Aug. 1911) : 246-247 ; and "Ibsen in the Extreme East," *Graphic* 87 (15 Feb 1913) : 246.

28) Noguchi made twenty-two contributions to the *Academy* between 1910 and 1913, including "A Japanese Note on Yeats," *Academy* 82 (6 Jan. 1912) : 22-23. Many of the essays, including the one on Yeats, were collected in *Through the Torii* (London : Elkin Mathews, 1914).

29) "No Mask," *International Studio* 46 (June 1912) : 335-37.

30) Laurence Binyon to Robert Bridges, 16 June 1913, Berg Collection, New York Public Library.

31) London *Times,* 26 Nov. 1913, p. 11, col. 1.

32) See Noguchi, "Japanese Poetry," *Transactions of the Japan Society of London* 12 (1914) : 86-109.

33) Noguchi's reminiscence of the 1914 meeting first appeared in Japanese as「詩人エーツと相見るの記」[*Shijin Eitsu to ai miru no ki*] (Chronicle of a meeting with the poet Yeats),『時事新報』[*Jiji Shinpō*], 10, 11, 14, 15 Aug. 1914. It appeared in English as "W. B. Yeats," *T. P.'s Weekly* 25 (9 Jan. 1915) : 35 and in slightly longer form as "A Japanese Poet on W. B. Yeats," *Bookman* (New York) 43 (June 1916) : 431-33.

34) Pound to Shakespear, 16 Dec. 1913, *Ezra Pound and Dorothy Shakespear : Their Letters, 1909-1914*, ed. Omar Pound and A. Walton Litz (New York : New Directions, 1984) : 287.

35) "A Japanese Poet on W. B. Yeats," 431.

36) "A Few English Clubs," *Japan Times,* 21 Aug. 1917, p. 4.

37) Ibid., 432.

38) See「イエーツと能」[*Ieitsu to Nō*],『野口米次郎選集』[*Noguchi Yonejirō Senshū*] (Selected Works of Yonejirō Noguchi) v. 2 (Tokyo : クレス[Kress], 1998) : 460.

39) "A Japanese Poet on W. B. Yeats," 432.

40) Noguchi to Pound, 16 July 1911, in Sanehide Kodama, ed., *Ezra Pound and Japan : Letters & Essays* (Redding Ridge, CT : Black Swan Books, 1987), 4. Pound to Shakespear, Aug. 1911, in *Ezra Pound and Dorothy Shakespear, Their Letters, 1909-1914*, ed. Omar Pound and A. Walton Litz, eds. (New York : New Directions, 1984), 44. Noguchi to Pound, 22 Oct. 1911, in Kodama, *Pound and Japan,* 5.

41) The American medium Etta Wriedt had begun channeling the spirit of sixteenth century Spanish Arab explorer Leo Africanus to Yeats at their first meeting in May of 1912. Yeats

wanted to learn from Noguchi whether this mode of spirit attachment ("when we have no particular ancestor to whom we are bound to go, we will go quite freely to any dead spirit if our own choice") had any analogue in Japanese ancestor worship. Noguchi informed him that Japanese ancestor worship was more restrictive, but that he personally thought Yeats's view "more true and real." "A Japanese Poet on W. B. Yeats," 433. On Wriedt, see R. F. Foster, *W. B. Yeats : A Life,* v. 1 (Oxford : Oxford Univ. Press, 1998), 464-66.

42) Kodama, *Ezra Pound & Japan*, 216. As Pound mentions that the dinner took place on a Tuesday, it was presumably not the Yeats dinner mentioned by Noguchi as taking place on January 17, a Saturday.

43) Pound to Henderson, 27 Jan. 1914, in Ezra Pound, *The Letters of Ezra Pound to Alice Corbin Henderson,* ed. Ira B. Nadel (Austin : Univ. of Texas Press, 1993) : 66. Pound to Monroe, 31 Jan. 1914, *Selected Letters of Ezra Pound, 1907-1941,* ed. D. D. Paige (London : Faber and Faber, 1971), 30.

44) "Drama of Silence," London *Times,* 11 Mar. 1914, p. 10.

45) Although evidently written in the latter half of 1917 (Yeats is described as having just turned 52), the first known publication of "*Eitsu to Nō*" is in『敵を愛せ』[*Teki wo aise*] (Love the enemy) (Tokyo : Genbunsha, 1922) ; it also appears in『能楽の鑑賞』[*Nōgaku no kanshō*] (Appreciation of the Nō) (Tokyo : Daiichi Shobō, 1925). The recipient is referred to as "H-kun" (roughly, "my dear H.") whom I take to be Hirata based on the content of the letter and the circumstances of his relationship with Noguchi at this time. Mary Fenollosa also refers to Hirata, in her letters to Pound, as "little Mr. H."

46) "*Eitsu to Nō,*" 458. Noguchi's explanation in Japanese is problematic because the term *minshū geijutsu* (民衆芸術) means both "popular art" and "folk art," whereas these terms are quite distinct in English and certainly had different connotations for Yeats.

47) "*Eitsu to Nō,*" 463.

48) Akiko Murakata provides a very useful account of Fenollosa's dependent relationship with Hirata in "Ernest F. Fenollosa's Studies of *Nō,*"『アーネスト・F・フェノロサ資料・ハーヴァード大学ホウトン・ライブラリー蔵』[*Ānesuto F. Fenorosa shiryō : Hāvādo Daigaku Hōton Raiburarī-zō*] (Ernest F. Fenollosa Papers : Houghton Library, Harvard University), ed. Akiko Murakata [村形明子], vol. 3 (Tokyo : ミューズィアム出版 [Museum Press], 1987) : 228-48.

49) Hirata Tokuboku,「フェノロサ先生」[Fenorosa sensei] (Prof. Fenollosa), *Bungei shunju* 16 (Sept. 1938) : 41-43, trans. in Murakata, *Ānesuto F. Fenorosa shiryō,* 246.

50) "The Shower : The Moon," *Poetry Review* 8 (July-Aug. 1917) : 189-193 ; "The Tears of the Birds," *Poetry Review* 9 (Mar. -Apr. 1918) : 80-84.

51) Two of Noguchi's Kyōgen translations appeared in *Poet Lore* : "The Melon Thief," *Poet Lore* 15 (Mar. 1904) : 40-42 and "The Demon's Shell," *Poet Lore* 17 (Sept. 1906) : 44-49 ; four others appeared in *Taiyō* and *Waseda Bungaku* in 1906 and 1907. Noguchi's *Ten Kiogen in English* (Tokyo : Tozaisha, 1907) is exceedingly rare ; Arthur Waley must have consulted a variant version of it, however, as he lists Noguchi's *Twelve Kyōgen* in the bibliography of his *Nō Plays of Japan* (London : Allen and Unwin, 1921), 260. Noguchi's first Nō translation, "The Morning Glory," first appeared in *Mita bungaku* 1 : 1 (1 May 1910) : 9-11 ; it was reprinted in the *Nation* (London) 9 : 5 (29 Apr. 1911) : 169 and in *The Spirit of Japanese Poetry,* 68-70.

52) 「タゴール氏と能」[*Tagōrushi to Nō*] (Mr. Tagore and the Nō), *Yōkyokukai* 5 : 1 (Jul. 1916) : 50-52.

53) "Are you in the Nō ?" *Vogue,* 1 July 1916, p. 69.

54) Yonejirō Noguchi, 「フェノロサと梅若實」[*Fenorosa to Umewaka Minoru*] (Fenollosa and Minoru Umewaka), 『学鐙』[*Gakutō*] 21 : 6 (20 Mar. 1917) : 1-8 ; 「外國に於ける能の研究」[*Gaikoku ni okeru Nō no kenkyū*] (Foreign Nō studies), *Yomiuri Shinbun* 28, 29, 30 Mar. 1917. Both are reprinted in *Nōgaku no kanshō.*

55) The *Yōkihi* translation, "The Everlasting Sorrow," first appeared in the *Nation* (London) 17 : 6 (8 May 1915) : 174 ; the revised version appeared as "The Everlasting Sorrow : A Japanese Noh Play," *Egoist* 4 (Oct. 1917) : 141-2. Eliot's review, "The Noh and the Image," had appeared in *Egoist* 4 (Aug. 1917) : 102-3.

56) The manuscript is now in the Bancroft Library, University of California at Berkeley.