

The Japanese Tea Garden In Golden Gate Park (1893-1942)

Tanso Ishihara and Gloria Wickham



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(1893-1942)



in Golden Gate Park

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Photography by John Brennan

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Frontispiece: The two teahouses—the
restaurant *tei* on the north and the *hōjio-chaya*
to the east—in the Japanese Tea Garden.
(late 1920's)

Design by David Bullen.

Historical photographs: courtesy of Mr. George
Hagiwara and Mrs. Sada Yamamoto.

Exposition photographs: I. W. Taber, Official
Photographer of the California Midwinter
International Exposition, 1894.

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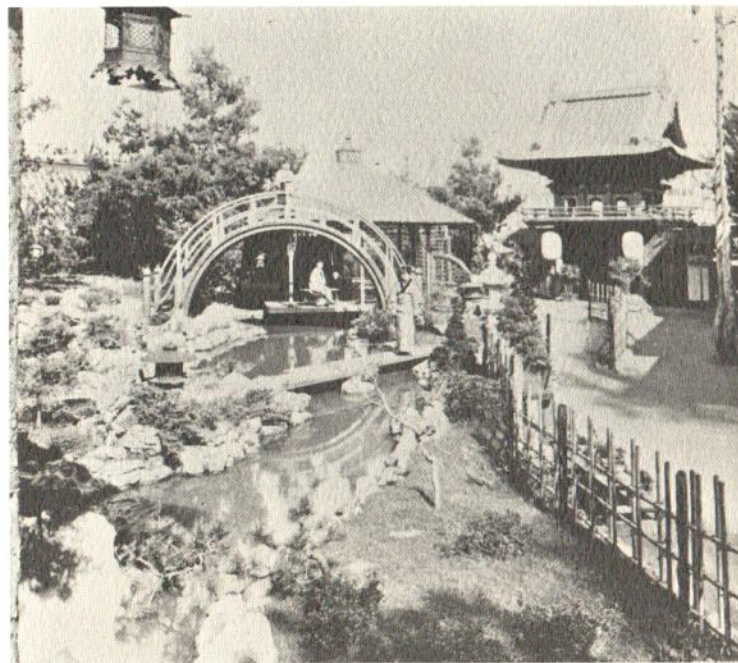
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The Japanese Village, California Midwinter International Exposition, Golden Gate Park, 1894.

In Memory of Sada Takeshita Yamamoto (1888-1978)



Sada Takeshita Yamamoto (1888-1978).

A Japanese *haiku* tells us that the “three loveliest things” are cherry blossoms, the moon and snow, and in Japan each in its appropriate season is a subject for viewing. Since late summer is the season of the moon’s greatest beauty, two moon viewings take place at this time—the *Jugoya*, around August 15, and the *Jusanya*, around September 11, depending on the lunar calendar.

The rising of the moon is then an occasion for reverence, not only because the moon in late summer is at its most beautiful, bringing also the promise of harvest, but because it is through the contemplation of the loveliest forms of nature than man’s awareness of his relationship to the world around him is deepened.

For these three reasons—the contemplation of the loveliest forms of nature, the promise of harvest and the deepening of awareness—the authors present during this season of the *Jusanya* a brief summary of their forthcoming history of the Japanese Tea Garden, a summary dedicated to Sada Takeshita Yamamoto, the adopted daughter of Makoto Hagiwara, who for forty years presided over the service of tea in the Japanese Tea Garden in Golden Gate Park.

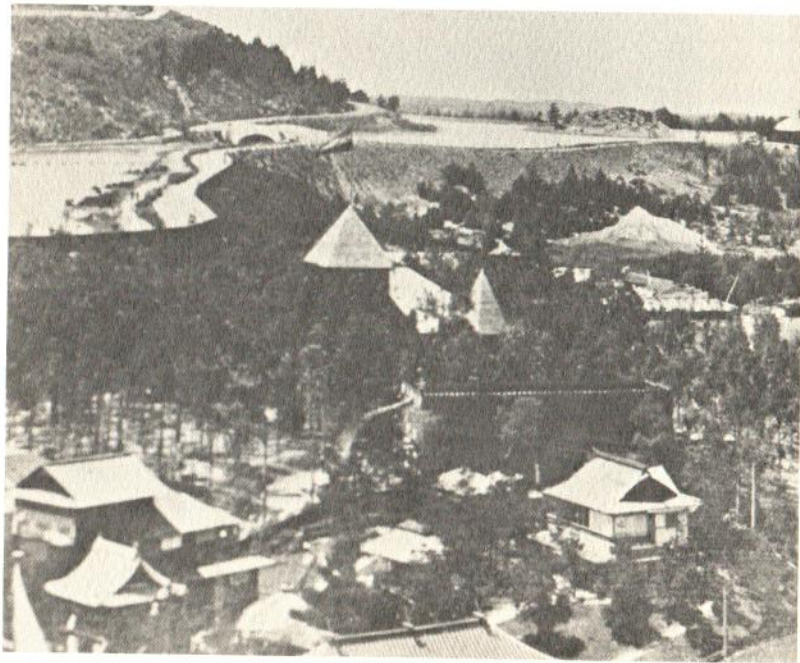
The passing of Mrs. Yamamoto on March 26, 1978, was an occasion of sorrow for the authors to whom she imparted many cherished memories of her life in the Japanese Tea Garden. Her garden career—a very unique and very important one—was carried through with great beauty, charm and grace combined with a thoughtfulness that resulted in a truly remarkable achievement in cultural communication.

We wish that she could have lived to see the completion of our book *Hagiwara’s Garden: Makoto Hagiwara and the Japanese Tea Garden in Golden Gate Park* (1893-1942)—a work to which she contributed invaluable information and a series of beautiful historical photographs. Since she did not, we dedicate this summary now in memory of one of the loveliest women ever to enter the public service world of San Francisco.

PART I: MAKOTO HAGIWARA (1854–1925)

"Gardeners, not politicians, make parks."

John McLaren, Superintendent
Golden Gate Park (1887–1943)



Tower view of the Japanese Village, California Midwinter International Exposition, 1894, with Stow Lake and Strawberry Hill in background.

An anonymous 14th century Chinese play, *The Chalk Circle*, relates how a judge, seeking to determine the true mother of a child whose custody was in dispute by two women, placed the child within the center of a circle drawn with chalk. Then, ordering each "mother" to stand at opposite ends of the circumference, he announced that custody should belong to the woman who should first draw the child outside the circle. One of the women, Ma, immediately rushed forward, taking the child at once unto herself, but the other, Hai-Tang, held back, making no attempt to struggle with her opponent or to pull the child toward her, since to do so might result in its injury. When the reason for Hai-Tang's inaction became known, the judge gave custody of the child not to Ma, who was the first to take it from the circle, but to Hai-Tang, who, out of love, did not. The play, strongly Taoist in philosophy, states also a universal truth: that the fruits of the earth rightly belong to those who love and nurture them. It is a moral that applies as well to the dispute over the origin of the Japanese Tea Garden, the credit for which has been officially attributed solely to George Turner Marsh. But truth and wisdom must now confer that credit likewise upon Makoto Hagiwara, an expert in teahouse construction and in landscape gardening. For it was Hagiwara who proposed the garden exhibit to "municipal authorities" and who also laid out and constructed its original nucleus, building as well its Japanese pavilions.

The history of the Japanese Tea Garden goes back to the summer of 1893 when the California Midwinter International Exposition was being planned by Meichel de Young, its Director-General. At that time—a period of depression in San Francisco—Makoto Hagiwara approached de Young to contract a Japanese house and garden exhibit for the "Fair." De Young, who had already projected in his exposition plans a series of Oriental villages—including The Japanese Village—lost no time in referring Hagiwara to John McLaren, the exposition's Landscape Engineer. McLaren, who was also Superintendent of Golden Gate Park—the site of de Young's municipal enterprise—had for reasons of control assumed his exposition position at the urging of the Board of Park Commissioners. Thus, on the basis of his

dual authority, McLaren decided that Hagiwara's garden should be constructed not only as a concessional ephemera of the exposition, but also as a permanent addition to Golden Gate Park. De Young, however, rejected outright any notion of corporation funding of improvements for the park, and since under park statutes McLaren could not negotiate a contract serving exposition purposes with park appropriations, the garden and its pavilions could only be contracted as exposition adornments. So it was at once decided to locate the exhibit among a small grove of pines on the site of The Japanese Village in the northwestern section of the exposition grounds, opposite the Music Concourse and not far from Strawberry Hill and Stow Lake, which was then just being completed. With this plan in mind, McLaren sought out George Turner Marsh, who held the concession rights to The Japanese Village, to ask his permission to use the site for Hagiwara's garden. Marsh readily consented, and out of the agreement then entered into by Hagiwara, McLaren and Marsh was begun one of the most famous gardens in the world—with Makoto Hagiwara creating it, however, under the dual authority of John McLaren and with a mutual intention of "adding enhancement to the city by the Golden Gate."

Although the details of that "gentlemen's agreement"—apparently made early in September, soon after the ground breaking rites of August 24—cannot now be precisely determined, Meichel de Young, in his statement of construction policy, based on work by contract, significantly disclosed that it was common practice for men to "offer at cost" their services and resources "for the sake of their future."

Because the subject is complicated, then, by both the unconventional nature of construction contracts and also by specialized techniques required of the village's creators, the responsibility of the three men for The Japanese Village exhibit can here be but briefly noted. There is, however, evidence that the building of The Japanese Village, which Marsh himself admitted was "constructed entirely by Japanese artisans," was done under an exposition system of "contract labor," with Hagiwara building for both the exposition and for the park the Japanese garden and its teahouses. For, according to contemporary references in the September 3, 1894 issue of the *San Francisco Morning Call*, it was not Marsh, but the "Japanese" who were "holding out for a fancy price" for "their pretty buildings," while McLaren's involvement is suggested by the admittedly cryptic entry in the *construction account* of the Park Commission's *Annual Report*

(1894/5), which records a park expenditure of \$4,500 for "Japanese tea houses, etc."—teahouses that could only have been exposition structures. Although these contractual details cannot be pursued here, they can at least be indicated in considering the verification that does exist for Hagiwara's exposition work—a work that could not have been accomplished without his technical knowledge and skills. Moreover, that work can no longer be obscured under a tradition that accords to George Turner Marsh, a local importer of Japanese art goods and the concessionaire for de Young's Japanese Village, sole credit for the garden's origin and design. On the contrary. Although Marsh by virtue of his leasehold was the chief administrator of The Japanese Village compound, planning and directing its building and furnishing, the landscaping of the tea garden and the erection of its teahouses were undertaken by Makoto Hagiwara under an informal contract with John McLaren, who later wrote a letter of recommendation for Hagiwara commending him for the garden's construction. Hagiwara's exposition work in laying-out the garden is also confirmed by a biographical sketch published in 1913 by the Chūgai Publishing Company of Toyko, a sketch based upon a 1912 interview with Hagiwara during his visit to Japan. Indeed, the facts, which because of their complexity cannot be here examined in the detail necessary for an adequate disclosure, reveal a sad story of historical suppression that has existed down to the present time.

For the Marsh version still prevails in Chamber of Commerce and in park brochures, as well as in books, newspaper and magazine articles, including "scholarly" papers published by historical journals. That legend is briefly summarized in the following extract from an article entitled "The Japanese Tea Garden is a 60-Year Old San Francisco Tradition", which appeared shortly after the war in the San Francisco Recreation and Park Department's *News Bulletin* for February 28, 1953 (Vol. IV, No. 5):

One of the backers of the Exposition was an Australian named George Turner Marsh. Before coming to San Francisco—where in 1876 he opened America's first Oriental art goods store in the famed Arcade of the old Palace Hotel—Marsh had lived for many years in Japan, and his particular interest in the Exposition was the creation of a garden that would be an exact replica of the restfully simple and yet imaginative landscaping he had seen and admired in Japan.

In order to accomplish his garden, Marsh, who spoke Japanese fluently, imported materials and workmen directly from Japan. He



The Japanese Village, California Midwinter International Exposition, 1894.

received constant and highly enthusiastic advice from his good friend, John McLaren, San Francisco's late, legendary Park Superintendent.

Known as "The Japanese Village," it was so unique and attractive a feature of the Exposition that the Park Commission continued maintaining and operating the tea garden after 1894.

One of the laborers employed to work in the garden was Makoto Hagiwara, a Japanese who displayed such an unusual affinity for the work that in 1910 the Commission turned the tea garden over to him as a concession. Later, Hagiwara and his family built their home there and his children continued its operation after his death. This dynastic succession was terminated in 1942 when the War Department relocated the Hagiwaras and the Park Commission changed the name to "Oriental Tea Garden."

Unfortunately, the only statement of historical worth in this summary, which still serves as the basis for the official history of the Japanese Tea Garden, occurs in the last sentence.

Starting with the first paragraph of this excerpt, Marsh, like thousands of other San Franciscans, may well have been a subscriber to the "Fair," but it is doubtful that he was a significant "backer" of the California Midwinter International Exposition of 1894, since his name appears nowhere among the exposition's directors or on any of the founding committee lists. He was a "backer" mainly in the sense that he was the concessionaire for The Japanese Village, the rights to which he purchased on leasehold from M.H. de Young, who—and not Marsh—first conceived the idea of a Japanese village for the "Fair." It was, how-

ever, Michael M. O'Shaughnessy, the Engineer of Grounds and a graduate of the Royal University of Dublin, who had charge of plotting the exhibits, of laying out drives and arranging buildings within the exposition's general plan. The landscaping of the fairgrounds, though, was the responsibility of John McLaren, who even after his angry resignation, during a temporary falling out with de Young, continued as the exposition's Landscape Engineer, obtaining during the process of the "Fair's" construction all the plants and other materials he needed for his task from the Park Commissioners and from other donors. Moreover, the nucleus of de Young's Japanese village plan—a convention borrowed from previous expositions—was not at first the garden, but the Japanese dwelling and bazaar, the latter being of particular interest to Marsh, since, in a time of depression, it afforded another outlet for his imported Japanese merchandise. And it was before the bazaar that Marsh—in deference, perhaps, to the exposition's "progressive" theme—set the first main gate of The Japanese Village—the Ryōbu *torii*, a Shintō structure copied from the great *torii* that stands in Japan's Inland Sea, where it faces Itsukushima shrine on the sacred island of Miyajima. The *shōrōnomon*, or bell tower gate, which still survives as the main entrance to the Japanese Tea Garden, took eighteen months to build, being moved to its present site, where it was completed in mid-December 1893, about a month before the official opening of the "California Midwinter Fair" in January 1894.

But although it was Marsh's task to build and furnish The Japanese Village for De Young, authenticity required a fidelity to Japanese standardization in forms and measures—a technical knowledge quite beyond that possessed by Marsh. The work, then, was of necessity contracted by Japanese "artisans" who, in fact, "entirely constructed" The Japanese Village, which along with the two entrance gates contained also five main structures: the bazaar to the east; the "nobleman's house" (*ni-kai-yashiki*) to the north; the two teahouses (*o-chaya*) by the lake and the theater at the southwest corner of the compound.

Yet, in the tantalizingly brief descriptions of the garden in contemporary newspapers and other periodicals, as well as in exposition publications, those artisans are never identified by name. Even Meichel de Young's *Chronicle*, which gave almost daily publicity to the construction activities of the "Fair," alludes to them only as "little brown men," who worked barefooted among the roof tiles of the *shōrōnomon* or on the ground fitting

together in a system of joinery characteristically Japanese many small rectangular or wedge-shaped pieces of wood, as one might fit together the pieces of a puzzle. And no mention was ever made of the garden's creator—the landscape designer who did the rockwork by the pond, including the traditional tortoise-shaped island (*Hōrai-jima*), who made the waterfall, who selected and arranged the plants and stones—an art—who built the little bamboo running hoop fence (*chiyo-gaki*) and the garden bridges, who set the stone lanterns, a task requiring care and technique, and all the other work that involved not only a knowledge of traditional forms, materials and measures, but also the special skills of Japanese landscape art and architecture.

But since their contemporaries saw no reason to identify them or to single out their skills and achievements for special recognition—and even the master-builder of the *shōrōnomon* did not escape anonymity, although he has recently been tentatively identified as “Nakatani”—their work remains, for the most part, ignored by historians of the garden. Nevertheless, without those “artisans,” the exposition's Japanese Village could hardly have come into being. Thus, with all due regard for the planning and supervisory activities of George Turner Marsh during the four-month period when the village was under construction, the Marsh historical tradition is, nevertheless, exclusive, extremely limited in point of time and often untenable as well.

For there are other errors in the first paragraph of that official version, too. Thus, if the City Directory is correct, Marsh did not open the first Oriental art goods store in the “famed Arcade of the old Palace Hotel” in 1876. The first entry in that publication for G. T. Marsh & Company appears in the 1880-81 directory and in no others previous to that time. Prior to that year, Marsh is listed as being employed by Doyle & Company. Although later as an importer he made many visits to Japan, Marsh, according to surviving members of his family, lived in that country as a teenager for a period of five years. While there, he resided with an English family—not in the Japanese community, for this was during a period of extreme antiforeign sentiment—but in a Caucasian settlement of one of the few port cities then open to foreign residents in Japan.

Nor was the exposition garden an “exact replica” of any garden or landscape in Japan. On the contrary. It was designed for its site, as any Japanese garden worthy of the form usually is. Moreover, as already noted, it was laid out and constructed, not by any “imported workmen,” but by Makoto Hagiwara, a land-

scape gardener and resident of San Francisco, who contracted the tea garden project under John McLaren, the exposition's Landscape Engineer. A reference to his exposition work occurs in the following account:

Golden Gate Park is very large and full of subtle charm. It is celebrated for its Japanese Tea Garden. Both Americans and Europeans are attracted by this tasteful garden. It is no exaggeration to say that the Japanese Tea Garden made Golden Gate Park as famous as Golden Gate Park made San Francisco well known.

Do you know the man *who laid out the garden and who has been managing the garden*? It is none other than Mr. Makoto Hagiwara.

When the Mid-winter Exposition in San Francisco was *under contemplation*, Mr. Hagiwara asked permission of *municipal authorities* to build houses in the Japanese style of architecture and to operate the Japanese tea house. His strenuous efforts were rewarded with success. Houses, bridges, trees, stones, pond and fall in the garden were completed as planned, each having the ideal perfection of Japanese beauty.

Japanese women in kimono (Japanese clothes) served green tea and Japanese cakes to the visitors there. Officials of San Francisco and the general public set much value on the garden. Several thousand people came to the garden every day while the Expo was open. . . . (*Italics ours*)

Thus, according to the above excerpt from the biographical sketch published in 1913 by the Chūgai Publishing Company of Tokyo, it was during the planning period of the California Mid-winter International Exposition—and not after the “Fair”—that Hagiwara first petitioned “municipal authorities” for the concession contract, a petition that led to his building the Japanese tea garden and its pavilions for John McLaren. And it was about this time, too—just after the exposition's ground breaking rites on August 24, 1893—that S. Huff wrote a letter, dated September 7, commending “the Japanese Gardener Mr. M. Hagiwara” for the excellence of his “Rockery Work” and “Rock Walling” done for Huff on his “place” in San Leandro—a letter that may well have been requested as an exposition reference.

In any case, the Japanese article, although vague, does confirm—and very explicitly—Hagiwara's association with the exposition garden and its pavilion construction. For that article quite clearly states that “the man who laid out the garden and who has been managing it” “is none other than Mr. Makoto

Hagiwara." Moreover, this account is supported by John McLaren himself, who—and, significantly, not Marsh—wrote for Hagiwara, one year after the closing of the California Mid-winter Fair, the following letter of recommendation:

Park Office, August 17, 1895

To whom it may concern:

This is to certify that Mr. M. Hagiwara has been engaged in Golden Gate Park as gardener. He constructed the attractive Japanese Tea Garden now located there and done other gardening work, all in the most satisfactory manner.

John McLaren, Supt.

These two sources, and especially in light of other supporting evidence too detailed to analyze here, certainly bring into question the historical tradition that dates Hagiwara's association with the tea garden as being no earlier than 1895. Furthermore, the Park Commission *Minutes*, as well as a letter written by Hagiwara to the Park Commissioners in 1900, reveal that at the time of McLaren's written recommendation, Hagiwara was already "in charge" of the Japanese Tea Garden, a position he assumed very early in 1895 and one which was no doubt awarded to him on the basis of his exposition work. But, apparently, in the summer of 1895 Hagiwara was seeking outside employment in landscape gardening to augment the income immediately needed for his garden enterprise.

According to the Park Commission's own records, then, it was Makoto Hagiwara—and not the Park Commission—who maintained and operated the post-exposition garden. Hagiwara, however, not only maintained and operated the garden as a tea service concession, but he also directed and financed its landscape development. These facts are confirmed by the annual financial reports of the Park Commission; by allusions in the *Minutes* to the "Japanese in charge," to the "Japanese lessee" and to "Hagiwara;" by references to Hagiwara's plans for garden development, which he submitted directly to the Park Board and which were subsequently approved, becoming later the basis for the 1902 extension; and, finally, by a letter written by Hagiwara to the Park Commissioners in 1900, in which he dates the beginning of his managership and tells of his own financing of the garden's post-exposition work. Indeed, Hagiwara retained his lease down to the fall of 1901, when, during the Phelan administration and at the instigation of George Turner Marsh, who was

then desirous of taking over the garden's management from Hagiwara (a conflict likewise recorded in the *Minutes*), it was then rescinded by the Park Board. The political overtones of this action are suggested by the fact that although Marsh had made a \$1,000 bid for the tea garden lease, it was not Marsh, but Walter Martin, a member of the Board of Park Commissioners and a close friend of Phelan's, who, instead, succeeded Hagiwara as manager. This was during the period of James Duval Phelan's strong anti-Japanese campaign in San Francisco, and it is perhaps significant that after Martin's resignation—just before Eugene Schmitz assumed his mayoralty early in 1902—Phelan appointed his own brother-in-law Francis J. Sullivan to replace Martin as the garden's manager.

From October 1901 through 1907 the garden was under the management of the Board of Park Commissioners, although following the great earthquake of April 18, 1906, it was for many months closed to the public.

But late in 1907, a year and a half after that disaster, which had inflicted heavy damage upon park grounds due to the accommodation of some 200,000 refugees in flight to Golden Gate Park, a desperate John McLaren went down to Hagiwara's H Street nursery and Japanese garden (which Hagiwara in open defiance now called "The Japanese Village") and appealed to him to return as manager-lessee of the Japanese Tea Garden, which Hagiwara did. Since the Park Commission, following the earthquake, had no insurance or Red Cross funds, or any other money, to relandscape, develop or maintain the Japanese Tea Garden—a garden that had sheltered an estimated 3,000 Japanese refugees—Hagiwara generously undertook not only the reconstruction of the post-earthquake garden, but the financing of most of the work as well, just as he had previously done during his former managership.

Hagiwara's association with the Japanese Tea Garden, then, dates back to its origin in 1893, not 1895, as has been historically reported. He was the contractual designer-constructor of the exposition garden and the builder of its pavilion architecture. Except for those years (the fall of 1901 through 1907) when the garden was under the managership of the Park Commission, Makoto Hagiwara, from 1895 to the time of his death in September 1925, directed, landscaped and financed most of the post-exposition garden, which was extended from the acre exposition nucleus to the present five acres that now comprise it. He, therefore, cannot be simply dismissed as a "laborer" who

was rewarded for his efforts by being granted rights to the concession in 1910. On the contrary. He held those rights from 1895 to 1901, and he resumed his managership early in 1908, doing so at the request of and as a very great favor to John McLaren, who was dependent upon Hagiwara—and Hagiwara alone—for the construction, development, operation and maintenance of the Japanese Tea Garden.

As for the Japanese house in which the Hagiwaras lived, it was originally dismantled (Japanese carpentry employing in its system of joinery mortises, tenons, pegs and wedges, instead of nails, thus achieving a prefabricated dwelling) and moved from his H Street village to the Japanese Tea Garden, where it was re-assembled. This was done, according to references in the *San Francisco Chronicle*, shortly before January 1910 and after the resignation of James Duval Phelan from the Park Commission in 1909.

These facts, however, raise a very important question. From 1895 to 1901 Hagiwara was "in charge" of the Japanese Tea Garden, where he and his family were permitted to live as park residents, or as caretakers and concessionaires. Yet, that was rather extraordinary, especially in a period when city administrators did not readily confer upon Japanese residents positions of almost independent authority—that is, not without compelling cause. No less extraordinary is the fact that Hagiwara, on regaining the garden's management, was likewise permitted to move his own seventeen-room house to park premises—a move that virtually assured the permanence of his position regardless of city charter restrictions on public leaseholds. The question is—why?

Sumi Hagiwara Nagata, in her brief and informal history of the garden, offered this explanation:

During the busy reconstruction period following the earthquake, the garden began to show evidence of the hurried stripping. There was no income from tourists and no one with willingness or money to replace the damaged buildings. It was then that McLaren a bit shamefacedly approached M. Hagiwara and his family to ask them if they would rebuild the Tea Garden. He promised that they would not be evicted as they had been before. In the presence of Mr. Alfred Sutro he offered what amounted to a ninety-nine year agreement to the family. The motive of the request and the reason of acceptance was solely the enlargement and expansion of the City of San Francisco.

With the first Garden investment still unpaid, the Hagiwara

family were on to what they considered their permanent job. That was in 1907.

Since under the city charter (as revised in 1900 during the Phelan administration) McLaren could not legally offer Hagiwara an extended lease and since after his 1901 eviction Hagiwara was reluctant to consider a short-term lease that might be just as summarily terminated as before and without compensation for his work and investment in garden development, a "gentlemen's agreement" was formalized in the presence of Alfred Sutro, a young lawyer who had begun his career in the law offices of Pillsbury and Hayne, where he first became associated with the Park Commission. That agreement, witnessed, presumably, by a Park Commission lawyer, had, in any case, the sanction of the Park Board, which in giving its consent to the housing accommodations for the Hagiwara family clearly indicated its support of McLaren's commitment to that long-term lease upon which Hagiwara so justifiably insisted.

Hagiwara's management, then—*reassumed* under a 1907 agreement—involved from the beginning developmental financing and planning. For if in the interim between the closing of the California Midwinter Fair in July 1894 and the "sale" of certain village properties to the Board of Park Commissioners at the end of August—a subject whose suppression is no less remarkable than that of the garden's origin—Hagiwara did remain in The Japanese Village simply as caretaker-gardener, he did so to protect his own as well as park properties. But after the "clean-up" period, during which the exposition slowly withdrew from park lands, dismantling buildings and restoring grounds, Hagiwara, early in 1895, was placed "in charge" of the Japanese Tea Garden. Thus, regardless of his status, his activities were, for the most part, of an administrative nature. Moreover, he was a man of considerable wealth who had access to Japanese materials and other resources that made possible the construction and development of the Japanese Tea Garden, on which he and his family—during the course of their long management—were to spend close to a million dollars, the Hagiwaras having in 1942 a garden inventory alone valued at \$800,000. The descendant of an old landholding family of the court nobility in Japan Hagiwara was able to draw support for his garden project from two family enterprises: sericulture and the manufacture of rice wine. And because he was also brought up from boyhood by his father and by the family gardener to a knowledge and love

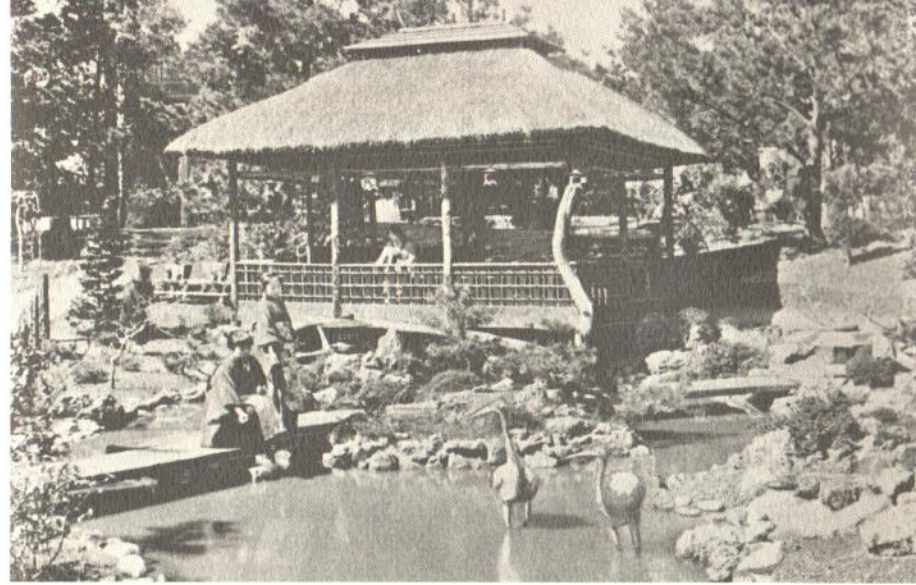
of the art of the Japanese garden, he was well trained for the task to which he chose to dedicate his life. Indeed, his library of Japanese gardening books contain classics in the field, and his work with *bonsai*, his skills in landscape design, rock gardening, pruning, fence making, carpentry and maintenance won from John McLaren a lifelong respect and a recognition of his unusual competency as a landscape gardener. And no doubt it was upon McLaren's recommendation that Hagiwara received two important peninsula commissions: the building in 1897 of a tea-house for the Crocker estate "Monte Robles" in San Mateo County and about seven years later the design and construction of Eugene de Sabla Jr.'s famous Japanese garden in present day Hillsborough. So delighted with his garden was Eugene de Sabla, Jr.—a founder of the Pacific Gas and Electric Company—that he promptly secured for Hagiwara a commission to construct for his friend Señor Don Manuel Estrada Cabrera, the president of Guatemala, a Japanese garden at Nueva, which Hagiwara did, making the journey there not long after the completion of his hill-and-water landscape for de Sabla.

Yet, Hagiwara's work in landscape gardening remains even now unacknowledged. If his name is mentioned, it is as the "garden's concessionaire." In March 1974, the San Francisco Recreation and Park Commission, in conjunction with the John McLaren Society, finally saw fit to set up a plaque in the garden:

To Honor
MAKOTO HAGIWARA
and His Family
Who Nurtured and Shared
This Garden
from
1895 to 1942

—an acknowledgment which is not only an understatement, but an acquiescence to the Marsh tradition, which gives no credit whatsoever to Hagiwara as the designer-constructor and developer of the Japanese Tea Garden.

Nevertheless, as important as his nurture of that garden was—and it required, in addition to highly specialized skills, a deep reverence for both the beauty of nature and for the life-forms in his care—Hagiwara, as noted above, did more than "nurture and share" it. Not only did he lay out the exposition garden, but for thirty years, following the closing of the 1894



Teahouse and pond with young girls feeding storks in foreground. The Japanese Village, California Midwinter International Exposition, 1894.

exposition, he spent most of his time, energy and money on its landscape development, construction and maintenance. At a time when anti-Asian persecution threatened the business investments of the Japanese and when the garden was damaged by one of the world's most devastating earthquakes, Makoto Hagiwara courageously and generously came to the financial assistance of John McLaren by taking upon himself—at the age of fifty-two—full responsibility for the reconstruction and maintenance of that great "eminence" in Golden Gate Park, which both he and John McLaren so greatly loved. And, indeed, it is intriguing to contemplate that during the thirty years of Hagiwara's management (and particularly during those critical years following the closing of the California Midwinter Fair and those just after the great earthquake) the Japanese Tea Garden was, for the most part, financed, not from concession receipts, nor by the County and City of San Francisco, but from the proceeds of a silk industry and a sake brewery in Japan!

There is perhaps no subject of San Francisco more pivotal in historical significance or more delightful in human interest than that of the Hagiwara family and the Japanese Tea Garden, but

space permits here only the briefest summary of a history that in many instances cannot really be separated from the history of the city to which it is, indeed, integrally related.

Nevertheless, there are certain events that should at least be noted. Thus, after the death of Hagiwara, his son-in-law, Goro Tozawa, who by an old Japanese custom of adoption took the Hagiwara family name, assumed the managership of the garden, which he held until his death on March 31, 1937. And it was during Goro's management that a systematic effort was made to bring to reality the dream of Makoto Hagiwara that in the garden there should one day be a forest of cherry trees. For in Japan, the blossoms of the cherry tree, like the full moon of late summer and the deep snows of winter, belong to an ancient trinity of seasonal worship, and their place in that trinity goes back to the late Heian period (784-1183) when, with the waning of the T'ang influence in Japan, the blossoms of the native cherry replaced those of the plum in the annual viewing festivals devoted to the beauty of nature. It was, therefore, an old tradition of reverence that gave rise to Makoto's desire to have in his own garden a grove of trees—reminiscent, too, of the family's beautiful old orchard in Yamanashi-ken—that would inspire in his new homeland a springtime festival of blossom-viewing. And so, in the fall of 1922, a few years before the death of Makoto, Goro took the first seeds for his collection from the garden's oldest cherry tree, growing by the lake near the teahouse, which long ago Makoto had imported from his father's orchard in Japan. Together with seeds from other trees already in the garden (namely, the almost white blossoming variety of *Prunus subhirtella*), Goro planted them in beds, and later a thousand seedlings were selected for cultivation. It took, however, seventeen years before the cherry trees could be transplanted in the front of the garden and a total of twenty-five years before the forestation was finally completed.

It was during Goro's management, too, that the garden became a center for Japanese cultural activities and, particularly, for Japanese archery (*kyūdō*). Inspired in part, by the interest of members of the Japan Society of America—a society founded in San Francisco on October 7, 1905, by Henry P. Bowie, Kisaburo Uyeno, the Japanese Consul General, and by David Starr Jordan, the president of Stanford University—demonstrations were occasionally given in the park by local Bay Area *kyūdō* clubs. In a secluded corner of the garden, where they gathered for practice, the archers appeared dressed in the *haori* (a short

three-quarter length cloak) and the *hakama* (a divided, somewhat triangular skirt), a costume deriving from the Noh theater's *hitatare* and used also in the ceremonial dress of the samurai. In their hands they carried their beautiful Japanese bows—instruments of wood and bamboo, six feet in length and shaped like the crescent of the moon. These archery tournaments, however, were performed in the spirit of the ancient Taoist philosopher Laotze, who likened the way of heaven to the bending of the bow, and so, in the religious traditions of both Taoism and Zen, the archers considered these contests not so much as exhibitions in the skill of sport, but rather as demonstrations showing a discipline of mind that brings the archer into a spiritual and coextensive sense of relationship with nature—a sense upon which the proper performance of the archer is dependent. Goro's own love of *kyūdō* was made explicit in the Hagiwara family crest—the feather (*takanoha*), which is that of the falcon. A motif in Japanese heraldry, the feather in the design of the Hagiwara crest resembles the feather conventionally fashioned on the Japanese arrow.

The period of Goro's management is the period also when Hirohito's brothers—Chichibu-no-miya and, later, Takamatsuno-miya, with his lovely young bride, Princess Kikuko—visited the Japanese Tea Garden. In 1933 the eminent English playwright George Bernard Shaw, passing through San Francisco on his return to England from Japan, where he had visited Kasuga Shrine with its famous deer park in Nara, took time to stop by the garden on the evening before his departure. There, after the great doors of the *shōrōnomon* were closed, he toured the grounds at sunset—a garden which Chichibu-no-miya, too, had viewed just as the sun was starting to go down, but on a late winter afternoon in January 1927 while enroute home to attend the funeral of his father—the Emperor Yoshihito Taishō Tennō—whose death in December 1926 brought Hirohito to the throne of Japan.

After her husband's death, Takano Hagiwara, the daughter of Makoto, became proprietress of the Japanese Tea Garden, operating the concession with the assistance of her children George, Sumi and Haruko. Takano remained in charge until May 20, 1942, when, during the Second World War, the Hagiwara family was evacuated under the War Department's relocation directive, an action that also resulted in the Park Commission's decision to demolish, without compensation to the family, the Hagiwara house and the \$10,000 Shintō shrine and to



The Japanese teahouse (1915).

also change the garden's name—in an attempt to banish all memory of its heritage—to "Oriental Tea Garden." Sadly, too, that directive brought forever to an end the integral beauty of Hagiwara's garden.

For in the rush of the fury that swept so relentlessly the Hagiwaras from their garden home, the cup of humanity—green tea—which once united man with man and man with nature, imparting through the subtlest of human-tea relationships a beautiful integrity to teahouse and garden, was irretrievably shattered, and as a symbol of communion, which the Hagiwaras in the spirit of an ancient Japanese tradition had so gently and so graciously extended to all who entered their garden domain, that cup remains fragmented still in a neglected corner of history. Yet, once in an almost unremembered time over the pavilion floors of the garden's *tei* passed sweet and gentle Sada, Takano, Sumi and Haruko and Namiko, the lovely wife of George. Robed in kimono of silken meisen, the daughters and the granddaughters of Makoto Hagiwara moved gracefully with their blue-gray cups and pots on lacquered trays, where beneath the lavender whorls of dwarfed wisteria, still hanging from the teahouse roof, they served to their guests green tea and sweet *senbei*, while in the shadows of the pines, to the left of the path between the two pavilions that then stood by the garden lake, Kobori Enshiu's lantern once presided—by a centuries-old tradition—over those gentle ministrations to a now long-departed deity of tea.

For the Hagiwaras, tea was, indeed, a spiritual matter upon which the integrity of the garden was subtly dependent, effecting in a psychological way that interrelationship of teahouse and garden that architecturally was achieved through a design emphasis upon a continuity of nature in space and time. Thus, the tea pavilions, or *tei*, were simply rustic post-and-lintel structures supporting thatched (and later cedar) roofs, and, having no walls, doors, windows or even sliding partitions, they were open on all sides for garden viewing. The roof of the northern—or main—teahouse, originally thatched with rice straw and neatly scissor-clipped in the Japanese manner, was supported by posts of branching tree trunks. Protecting the lower part of the pavilion were sidings of bamboo and redwood, while vining over the thatched eaves was a beautiful variety of the Japanese dwarfed wisteria, which, about 1912, Makoto brought from his ancestral home in Japan.

In short, for the Hagiwaras, the full experience of tea lay in an

awareness of the coextensive nature of man, teahouse and garden, and this awareness was, in part, dependent upon a knowledge of tea, which in Japan is intimately associated with Zen, the meditation sect of Buddhism.

Tea—green or black—is a product of the Chinese variety of the camellia plant (*Camellia sinensis* O. Kuntze) or, as also sometimes classified, *Thea sinensis* L.), which is a member of the *Theaceae* family, and this plant, valued for the caffeine found in its topmost leaves and in the closed terminal buds of its young shoots, was made into a beverage that in ancient China and later in Japan was used by Zen monks, who for centuries depended upon its power to sustain them in their holy vigils, or through long hours of meditation. As a stimulant, it is still considered a means of sharpening the senses to the beauties of contemplation, which might include a flower, a tree, a waterfall or a garden scene, or some other lovely vista. And this power of tea to give enhancement to the beauty of nature—and, in so doing, to deepen in man his spiritual sense of relationship with it—imparts to a tea garden a special significance that was usually carefully communicated by the Hagiwaras through their service of green tea.

Presiding over this task of gentle instruction was Sada, the adopted daughter of Makoto, and one of the loveliest hostesses ever to enter the public service world of San Francisco. She came to the city one spring morning in 1898, a young girl of not quite ten, when the blossoms of the cherry tree were just beginning to bloom down by the lake near the *o-chaya*, in her foster father's garden. Her mother Tai was setting out the trays of cups and pots in the teahouse, her mind filled with plans and precepts that she would soon impart to her young adopted daughter, who had come all the way across the ocean from Higashi in Yamanashi-ken, Japan, the village of her husband, to assist with the spring service of tea.

Sada Takeshita came to her new home as a member of the Hagiwara family—a member who throughout her life was deeply loved and respected—and it was as the daughter of Makoto that she was set to work assisting Tai in the teahouse. For Tai was the second wife of Makoto and, like her husband, no longer young. The two, who had married in 1889, were both in their forties and as a couple childless. Although Makoto's only child, Takano, was then just twenty-one, she was still in Japan, where her days were given to the long and exacting tasks of silkworm production, one of the two major industries of her father's ancestral estate. Thus, Sada's service in the teahouse was

considered necessary, and from the very beginning, she was beautifully trained for her role in the Japanese Tea Garden, a role to which she would dedicate—even after her marriage—the next forty years of her life.

But although obscured in the beauty of the garden and in the grace and charm of the tea service, Sada's life was nevertheless creatively and socially directed to a cultural task of considerable importance and one that was highly relevant to the time and place in which she lived. For like some lovely priestess waiting upon a shrine, Sada, too, in giving guardian service to an age-old cult, performed the functions of communication necessary to preserve the integrity of a garden world that depended upon the appreciation and support of the wider community enveloping it. Thus, in confronting an English preference for the fermented black teas of India, flavored with sugar, milk or lemon, and finding it often necessary to educate her visitors to the Japanese way of tea—since Makoto permitted only green tea and that without any additives at all—she very early discovered in that instruction an instrument which, like the Shintō wand once used by the priestess of a shrine, could bring the most wayward heart under the submission of nature. For as gentle as the rustling of paper pendants that fell like leaves from that ancient wand, Sada responded to the demands of her patrons with graceful persuasion, intruding only the natural beauty of service upon those desiring an untutored enjoyment of tea. But in replying to curiosity toward the conventions of Japanese tea drinking, Sada seldom failed to inspire a more thoughtful response to the pleasures of teahouse and garden viewing. Beginning with the proper way of eating *senbei* (the little rice wafer with a meringuelike texture that is dissolved on the tip of the tongue before tea tasting), or of holding the small, unhandled teacups, warmed by hot tea, she proceeded to awaken a Zen awareness of the deeper values of that cult, but she did so through a Shintō summons to the beauty of tea—green tea—alone.

For behind the differences of tea—black, oolong and green—lie methods of production that in themselves are culturally significant. Thus, unlike black, or fermented, tea, green tea is produced by taking the leaves in baskets from the harvest fields directly to a place where heat—in Japan, steam—is at once applied, a process that immediately kills the leaves, thereby preventing fermentation. Green tea is, therefore, characterized by a greater retention of the natural state of the leaf, and for this reason, as well as for its taste, it was preferred by Sada and the

Hagiwara family, who clearly saw the relationship between the integrity of their garden world and the task of communicating to the West the nature-tradition underlying the Japanese service of tea.

Moreover, since tea was perceived from the beginning as a medium of communication, concern for its "naturalness," or purity, was also reflected in the structuring of the garden's tea-houses (*o-chaya*). Thus, the traditional *o-chaya* (catering to service for pay)—as distinguished from the private *chashitsu*, or tea-ceremony house, which often graces the imperial and residential gardens of Japan—is designed with the connoisseurship of tea in mind, a connoisseurship in which lighting has always played a significant part. Honesty and an almost ritual attention to the quality of tea make it desirable to test its purity under the most favorable light, green tea being at its best when lemon or greenish yellow in color and without any trace of red or brown pigment. Interior lighting is, therefore, considered essential to teahouse design. In the Orient, the fall of light had been carefully studied in relation to its effect upon the appreciation of tea, the light from the south being thought too harsh and bright, while that from the east and west was thought too variable. On the north the light seemed to provide just the right intensity and quietude for the contemplation of tea and—through tea—the garden, although in old Japan the *o-chaya* usually faced a street or roadway, with its garden—if it had one—located behind the teahouse. (The *chashitsu* and the little summer *tei* or *azumaya* that decorate the grounds of imperial and residential gardens are never used, of course, for a commercial service of tea, the Japanese garden being almost sacrosanct.) But in the construction of the original *o-chaya* for the exposition's Japanese village, where garden and teahouse served also an exhibition purpose, convention was, of necessity, sometimes modified. Nevertheless, although such concerns for the harshness of southern light and the variability of that from the east and west were no doubt tempered by San Francisco's mild climate and by the frequent presence of fog, traditional standards of teahouse construction to accommodate the appreciation of tea were very much apparent in the teahouse at the northern edge of the lake, where the tables and benches facing the light of the southern garden were purposely shielded from the direct glare of the sun by the wide overhang of the thatched pavilion roof from whose eaves fell somewhat later—and by the design intention of Makoto Hagiwara—the soft, lavender blossoms of Japanese wisteria.

Thus, from the beginning the integrity of tea, house and

garden, irregardless of modifications dictated by exposition ends, was thoughtfully considered by Hagiwara in architecture, landscape and service, with Sada later performing the task of communicating through tea that reverence for nature upon which ultimately the garden is dependent for its proper maintenance and preservation.

But with the coming of the war and the destruction of the shrine—symbolically associated in the Western mind not with an ancient cult of nature and protective deity, but with the modern perversion of that cult into a militaristic form of emperor worship—the integrity of Hagiwara's garden could not survive the furious onslaught of Western hostility. Moreover, aside from subtle changes in atmosphere, tempo and spirit, occasioned by a departure from Far Eastern traditions of tea, post-relocation alterations reveal, as well, a pragmatic disregard for Japanese forms and the values to which those forms are related.

Thus, a Shintō *torii* faces now a Buddhist pagoda in a fenced enclosure that once protected an old and lovely Shintō shrine, housing by custom the articles of the Shintō faith, as the pagoda houses those of the Buddhist religion. This architectural displacement occurred some months after the eviction and relocation of the Hagiwara family, when following the demolition of the shrine the pagoda was moved 100 feet from its original setting on the west to its present, more central, site. In the re-modelling of the "Long Bridge," connecting the eastern (and older) garden with its western extension, the traditional cross-planks were replaced by lengthwise boards, an alteration that also destroyed the pleasing curvature of the original bridge. The posts, finials, and rails—left in nature's muted tones by the Hagiwaras—take on in their bright red-orange and gold paint the character of a distracting ornamentation entirely at odds with the natural emphasis of a Japanese garden. Near the eastern end of the bridge—not far from the great Buddha—the *Kara-hafu* (Chinese curved) roofed portal, which was once the entrance to the Hagiwara house, stands now in decorative detachment, serving as a gateway to the terrace (behind the gift shop, overlooking the sunken garden) where formerly the Hagiwara house had stood. The terrace, too—a post-relocation innovation—betrays an inconsistency with the textures traditionally used in Japanese garden ground covers, which scrupulously accord with those that appear naturally in nature.

It is not the authors' purpose to give a critical evaluation of the tea garden or of its later renovations, but rather to suggest that

the landscaping efforts of Makoto Hagiwara were fully understood—and supported—by John McLaren, as, apparently, they were not always understood by the garden's later redesigners.

Indeed, the Japanese Tea Garden has undergone many changes during the course of its long history, and although it is not possible here to note them all or to treat the subject in any detail, a survey of the garden's history—indicating briefly in passing its exposition, its post-exposition, post-earthquake and post-relocation features—should prove useful not only in setting the major forms of landscape and architecture in their proper historical perspective, but also in defining the essential character of the garden, a garden which through the efforts of Makoto Hagiwara retained down through the years a village aspect that later renovators have often illogically ignored.

For in his own designs depicting garden scenes on teapots, cups and plates used in the *o-chaya*—the rustic well, the twisted pine near a snow-viewing lantern, the thatched roofed *tei* and the wooden bridge arched across a stream—all impressionistically spaced to suggest a rural mountain background, Makoto Hagiwara made explicit the village theme of his garden. So, too, by a side post of the *shōrōnomon*—in front of the wicket—a redwood burl was placed, giving emphasis to the natural character of the gate, while before a tree near the entrance to the



Niō Sama

Hagiwara house—facing the *o-chaya*—stood the Niō Sama (one of the two Deva kings of the Buddhist pantheon). Carved of wood and holding in his hand the three-pronged *vajra* (a thunderbolt symbol), whose form was suggestive of the ideograph for “mountain” (*yama*), the Niō Sama dramatically personified that underlying reverence for an ancient natural order which was everywhere expressed in the villages of old Japan. For many years, he presided as the guardian deity of the Hagiwaras' house and garden, but displaced by the wartime demolition, the

Niō Sama one day disappeared. Somewhat later, he was seen—for a while—in front of the Cliff House, from where again he seems to have departed, wandering, perhaps, even now, like some sorrowing ghost of Noh, in a vain search for the home in Golden Gate Park that he once so faithfully guarded. Yet, whatever the fate of the Deva king, his departure remains a symbol of loss—and, specifically, of that Japanese village character that gave to Hagiwara's garden its integral beauty.

To be sure, there have always been certain design hazards in an emphasis that from the time of the exposition stressed the village character of the compound, and this has led on occasion to the inclusion of structural elements that are somewhat disproportionate to the dimensions dictated by the original garden nucleus—the eastern waterfall, pond and island—and the later chain of small lakes. But this weakness was apparent from the very beginning in the exposition intention of The Japanese Village exhibit. Thus, the Moon Bridge—built about 1912 to replace the original *soribashi* (curved bridge), which was a feature of the California Midwinter International Exposition garden—is a structural distortion based on a previous model, as can readily be seen from exposition photographs. The form of the highly arched bridge originated in China and is functional in purpose. Being used to span large bodies of water, it was designed to accommodate the under passageway of pleasure boats moving across a garden lake, boats whose prows were often highly decorated with the Dragon or the Phoenix, symbols of Life and Immortality. The tea garden bridge, with its exaggerated arch and shortened span, miniatures and distorts a larger form for the purpose of exhibition, but even as a miniature, the bridge is, of course, too high for the shallow pond it in fact crosses. For all the penitential pretensions justifying the arduous ascent of the passageway, it is essentially a nonfunctional and—historically, at least—a nonshrine structure. As a tribute to fancy, in its drumlike (*taikobashi*) form or as a concession to a poetic tradition of ancient China—the bridge completing in its reflection in the water the form of the full moon (a Buddhist symbol of the Law)—it is justified in this garden, but only as a decorative—not as a utilitarian—structure.

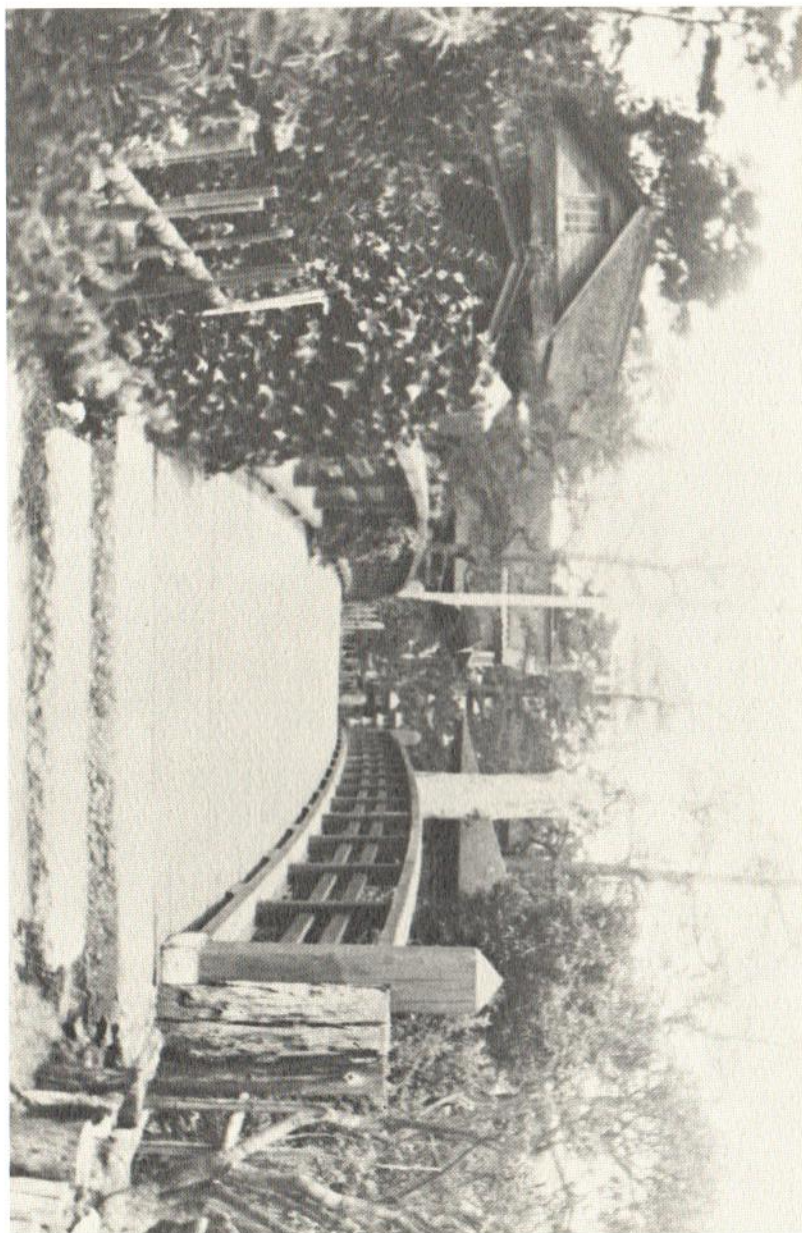
But aside from inconsistencies in scale between the miniature garden nucleus and village structures—the two-story gate (*shōrōnomon*) and Japanese house (*ni-kai-yashiki*), the three-story theater and the highly arched *soribashi*—other variations in village structuring affecting design integrity resulted from practical considerations. Thus, the concrete stairway, with its center rail, leading to the *torii* is a Western accommodation to park standards of public service. The staircase to a Japanese shrine—often of stone—sustains in its acclivity a natural character in harmony with a shrine's setting—usually among the trees of a mountain forest or in a small grove of pines or cedars at the edge of a village and, sometimes, on a pier extending outward above the reeds at the margin of a lake. Processed mater-



The "Moon Bridge" (about 1912).

ials, such as porcelain, aluminum, plastic, steel; mixes, such as concrete; or finishes—paints and varnishes—are usually excluded from the Japanese garden because these elements deflect from the character of the natural landscape which the garden is intended to miniature and which is realized not through the transformation of the materials of nature, but through the enhancement of objects *in their natural state*. So, too, garden artifacts are usually limited to moss-covered basins and lanterns of stone to contain water and fire, and they are beautifully related to the plants which surround them. Garden fences are built of bamboo, of rushes and twigs; the wellhead (a key element of design) is of wood, with its rustic pulley and bucket roofed for protection from wind and rain. Ground covers consist of pebbles, stepping stones, graveled sand, dry pine needles or moss. A Japanese garden, with its lake, its waterfall and stream, its path winding among the willows by a pond, shaded with maples and bordered with azaleas, juniper or other shrubbery, with its wooden, zigzag bridge (*yatsubashi*) crossing through a bed of iris, or with its sounds of water trickling over the pebbles of a brook half-hidden by low, dwarfed trees and shrubs, rocks and ferns, is intended to give expression to that "longing for forest and stream," which the famous Sung landscape painter Kuo Hsi saw as the basic function of landscape design. And it is to this mood that the architecture and landscape of a shrine, in accordance with an ancient cult of nature worship, are, in fact, usually dedicated.

In addition to the staircase leading to the Shintō gate, modifications in the structural design of the *torii* itself also imply a concession to expediency—a concession met by the Japanese carpenter through the employment of Buddhist structural features in what is essentially a shrine form. Thus, to give greater stability to the *torii*, which stands at the edge of the hilltop, where it serves now as the gateway to the pagoda on the second, or plateau, level of the garden, the carpenter made use of elbow brackets (*hijiki*) to support both the lower and upper crossbeams—a modification that gives additional height to the structure as well as reinforcement to the roof covering the two top beams. In its purest form, however, the *torii*—a Shintō sun gate—consists simply of two posts (*hashira*) with a top crossbeam (*kasagi*) supported by a second (*shimagi*) beam and a lower (*nuki*) beam, which intersects the two side posts. In the space between the second top crossbeam (*shimagi*) and the lower intersecting (*nuki*) beam is usually set a tablet holder



A "rural aspect" of old Japan. The "Long Bridge" with crossplanks and to the left the gabled roof of the Hagiwara's house.

(*gakuzuki*) for calligraphy. Dedicated to the Sun Goddess Amaterasu-Ō-mi-kami, the divine ancestress of the imperial family of Japan, the *torii* is thought to have originated in the *kuroki*, or wild tree gate, which in ancient times was used to signal a natural place of great beauty (Shintoism deriving from a continental tradition of nature worship and established in antiquity as a cult of the imperial family). And so, despite the use of Buddhist elements of construction—a matter of expediency—the sun gate still remains an adjunct of Shintō, not Buddhist, architecture, and during the days of the Hagiwaras, the *torii* quite properly faced a Shintō shrine, which stood in the fenced area that now encloses the Buddhist pagoda.

But whatever weaknesses may have originated from the exposition village, whose structures tended to dominate the miniature garden nucleus, they were to some extent corrected by Hagiwara in the eastern, northern and western additions, which were landscaped to accord in scale and mood with the village intention of the garden. Therefore, such concessions to expediency as the Moon Bridge and the *torii* did not really affect the garden's basic integrity as did post-relocation alterations, which, aside from a certain disregard for formal relationships, illogically suppress, as well, its village character. Yet, the garden is directly related to what Andrew Jackson Downing (1815-1852), America's first professional horticulturalist, whose writings received considerable attention from John McLaren, called the "rural aspect," a phrase Downing borrowed from the Chinese landscape architect Lieu-Ischau. In quoting from Lieu-Ischau, Downing provided a description of those basic principles, derived from the Chinese imperial park, which so greatly influenced the movement toward the natural expressed in the late 18th century English garden, particularly in the *Anglo-jardin-chinois*, and which led to the enthusiastic reception of the Japanese garden in the West.

What is it that we seek in the pleasure of a garden? It has always been agreed that these plantations should make men amends for living at a distance from what would be their more congenial and agreeable dwelling place, in the midst of nature, free and unconstrained. The art of laying out consists, therefore, in combining cheerfulness of prospect, luxuriance and growth, retirement, and repose, so that this *rural aspect* may produce an illusion. Variety, which is the chief merit in the *natural landscape*, must be sought by the choice of ground, with alternation of hill and dale, flowing streams and lakes, covered with aquatic plants. Symmetry is

wearisome, and a garden where everything betrays constraint and art becomes tedious and distasteful. (*Italics ours*)

And, indeed, it was that "rural aspect"—so beautifully realized in the country villages of old Japan—that Makoto Hagiwara sought to impart to the garden in Golden Gate Park. John McLaren, too, trained in Edinburgh's Royal Botanic Garden in the tradition of the natural park, could not have helped but to respond to the country village mood, which Makoto was so successful in instilling in the rustic scenes of his garden compound.

The Japanese Tea Garden, then, is not a reproduction, or "an exact replica," of any artistic garden landscape or even of a "tea garden" in Japan. On the contrary. For the placement of an *o-chaya* (a place of commerce) in the middle of a garden (an almost sacred entity in Japanese tradition) is really a Western sacrilege, which is historically developed in the separation of the "tea garden" from its original village concept. So although the Park Commission, not long after the closing of the California Midwinter International Exposition, officially renamed McLaren's sponsored landscape, with its pavilions and *shōrōnomon*, calling the compound the Japanese Tea Garden, Makoto Hagiwara, nevertheless, remained dedicated to the exposition's village concept, incorporating in his plans for the garden's development the dear, familiar features of a village landscape.

Thus, under Hagiwara's supervision, the garden compound came to express the rural aspect of the Japanese countryside—particularly that of his home province Yamanashi-ken. For always in Makoto's memory were the orchards of mountain cherry; the wild plum; the hillocks bright with the blooms of azalea and camellia; the snow-capped peaks; the forests of pines and cedars descending to still lakes, bordered with reeds and rushes and the beautiful Japanese iris (loved by the samurai for its swordlike leaves); the rocky, mountain gorges, running streams and the awesome descents of whitely splended falls; paths forested with maples—lacy green in spring and in autumn brilliant with reds, golds, yellows and browns—paths through which one might view the tiled, gabled roof of a temple secluded among the trees of a nearby mountain slope; the beams of a *torii*, orange-red in early morning sunlight, at the eastern edge of a village; and just beyond a grove of golden bamboo, a shrine; a wooden trestle bridge, curved with crossplanks, spanning a

village stream; the gabled houses of farmers and samurai; the cottages of town dwellers, usually with thatched, hipped roofs, sometimes decorated with iris or wisteria. Inspired by such memories, the *o-chaya*, in the form of a small, open pavilion, with its *hōgyo* roof thatched with rice straw, was quite acceptable in Hagiwara's village, although during the days when he and John McLaren ruled over that garden domain, a conscientious effort was made to de-emphasize the commercial transaction of tea.

Yet, later innovators and designers in their departure from the village concept, with the intention, perhaps, of enhancing the artistry of the Japanese garden, apparently lost sight of the garden's origins, which, as a matter of fact, determined the nature of its creation and the historical course of its development. Thus, the demolition of the Hagiwara house and the Shintō shrine; the reconstruction of the "Long Bridge;" the remodelling of the exposition's Japanese dwelling to accommodate the present "gift shop"—a dwelling which during the time of the Hagiwaras was maintained solely as an exhibition house; the replacement of the rustic wellhead and its old, wooden bucket by a stone, boat-shaped water basin that once adorned an aristocratic villa garden in pre-war Tokyo; the decorative detachment of garden gates that, originally, were functionally related to domestic and religious structures, now either altered or destroyed; the terracing of the Hagiwara homesite—an addition more reminiscent of Italian villa architecture than of a traditional Japanese garden landscape—the widening of garden paths; the modification and displacement of the *dobashi* (the little bridge of earth and logs that once spanned the lower pond from the main path to the island) by Nagao Sakurai's Western adaptation of the form, which dispenses with original earthen textures—have all led to the suppression of the Japanese village character of the garden. And since it was that character that gave the garden its integrity, the post-war emphasis upon revenues at the expense of Asian garden traditions can only conflict with later pretensions to authenticity in Japanese landscape art.

Western conditions, however, do not easily permit the making now of the Japanese Tea Garden into something that neither Makoto Hagiwara nor John McLaren ever intended it should be. For the great gardens of Kyoto—unsurpassed in the landscape architecture of the world and ingeniously created centuries ago by master landscape gardeners deeply imbued through Zen with Taoist ideas of relativity; keenly attentive to

the ways of nature; superbly skilled in the arts of illusion, in the techniques of rockwork and in all the handicrafts of natural garden-making and, of course, supported in artistic integrity by the great wealth of powerful *daimyo* or by deeply reverent priests of Buddhist temples—were not to be “discovered” by the West until the very early thirties. By that time, Makoto was dead and John McLaren in his seventies. And while Hagiwara, as we know from his library of gardening manuals, was certainly not unfamiliar with the greatest garden traditions of Japan, he did not take his inspiration from Kyoto—as Nagao Sakurai was later to do in his modern version of the classical dry landscape that lies now to the north of the pagoda at the back of the garden. The beautiful abstract gardens of sand, moss and stone, which head priests of monasteries might contemplate from their study windows, or the natural yet artfully designed *sukiya* landscapes—as in the elegant tradition of the Katsura Detached Palace villa garden, with its beautiful teahouse architecture—were essentially religious and aristocratic forms that Hagiwara could not have hoped to reproduce—even if he were so inclined—in a provincial garden in the West. Being, too, the master gardeners that they were, neither Makoto Hagiwara nor John McLaren was primarily motivated by a self-conscious sense of artistry. It had never been their intention to achieve an “exact replica” of an artistic garden in Japan or even to reproduce just for the sake of style a form of garden art—in the case of the Japanese Tea Garden the hill-and-water landscape—as it was to create in their garden world of tea a “rural aspect”—of nature in the country village mood of old Japan.

Moreover, the culture that produced and which now maintains the great natural gardens of Japan is firmly rooted in an Asian tradition of nature worship and reverence for life that extends back to ancient India, and that tradition of reverence has been kept alive through Buddhism and also through an age-old imperial network of Shintō shrines. Conversely, in the West, man's values are defined, not by any profound sense of relationship with the natural world, but by a machine-minded sense of progress, subserving an essentially consumer-oriented society (almost entirely dominated now by a TV-market culture). Thus, under an ever-accelerating cycle of monetary values, time itself has become fragmented into units of cost. In consequence, the quiet awareness of unending time and a respect as well for the ancient Taoist doctrine of “inaction,” or meditation, which underlies that effect of timelessness defining the “infinity” of the

traditional Japanese garden and which was ever so beautifully expressed in an illusory continuum of spatial and temporal design, simply does not prevail in the active and pragmatic consciousness of the West. The profoundly beautiful and profoundly natural gardens of Kyoto, then, emerged from a cultural consciousness of past time almost entirely wanting in contemporary Western society—a fact that cannot help but to influence any present attempt to preserve, let alone restore, the old handicraft traditions of Japanese garden art.

Yet, it was not always so. Makoto Hagiwara was a very competent landscape gardener, and that mountain village atmosphere, which he so charmingly created, has in many subtle ways endeared the Japanese Tea Garden to all those who down through the years have passed enchanted through the great open doors of the *shōrōnomon* to enter into his garden world. But the preservation of that garden was—and is—dependent upon a certain reverence which was always implicit in Hagiwara's untiring dedication to the beauty of nature and to the life-forms in his care. Indeed, long ago in 1899, John McLaren in his annual report made the following comment in regard to Hagiwara's management of the Japanese Tea Garden:

The little ponds are kept in good order, well stocked with gold fish.
The roofs of the teahouses have been rethatched and the whole place is in very good repair.

And ever alert to the dangers in their environment, Makoto Hagiwara and John McLaren, anticipating in man's approaching obsession with machines a threatened assault upon the natural character of park and garden, sternly resisted the determined advance of the automobile by limiting garden access to roads for horses and buggies or, preferably, to footwalks.

One has only to look at historical photographs of the garden, taken during the years of the Hagiwaras' management to perceive the profound changes in mood, tempo and spirit that have occurred since the family's departure from the garden, some thirty-six years ago. But perhaps no story better illustrates the so-called progress of the garden than the sad reminiscence of George Hagiwara, who not so long ago, on observing an unruly growth of pines in the eastern garden, adjacent to the Avery Brundage Oriental Addition of the de Young Museum, paused to remember that when his grandfather was alive, he would climb those trees once every year to prune them back. This was done by pinching off the terminal buds in such a way as to prevent an

unwanted vertical growth and a dissipation of the tree's energy into uncontrolled wildness. By removing, through a somewhat zigzag technique of pruning, dead or excess branches, thereby permitting a proper fall of sunlight through the tree, an emphasis was given not only to the beauty inherent in lateral branching, but, more vitally, to the tree's well-being. It was a labor of love, skill and time that has long since become superfluous in a cost-accounting consciousness that makes of time itself a commodity—too expensive to afford in the employment of landscape arts and handicrafts that once made possible the beautiful parks and gardens of the past.

Now in an obscure corner behind the pagoda, Nagao Sakurai's dry landscape—so deceptively simple and yet so difficult to maintain—seems likewise doomed to that same obliterating process of neglect that keeps concealed beneath the dust of history almost all memory of the Hagiwaras and the village garden they so beautifully created and maintained. For as deeply loved as that Asian landmark in Golden Gate Park has always been, the nature-tradition underlying its creation and former maintenance came abruptly to an end in the sudden, violent passage of an almost unremembered time that left the house, the shrine and the *hōjio-chaya* completely destroyed and the cup of humanity—green tea—symbolically shattered on a cold and empty pavilion floor. And in that sad passage went as well the priestesses of Hagiwara's garden shrine—sweet and gentle Sada, Takano and her daughters Sumi and Haruko and Namiko, the lovely wife of George.

PART II: THE GARDEN

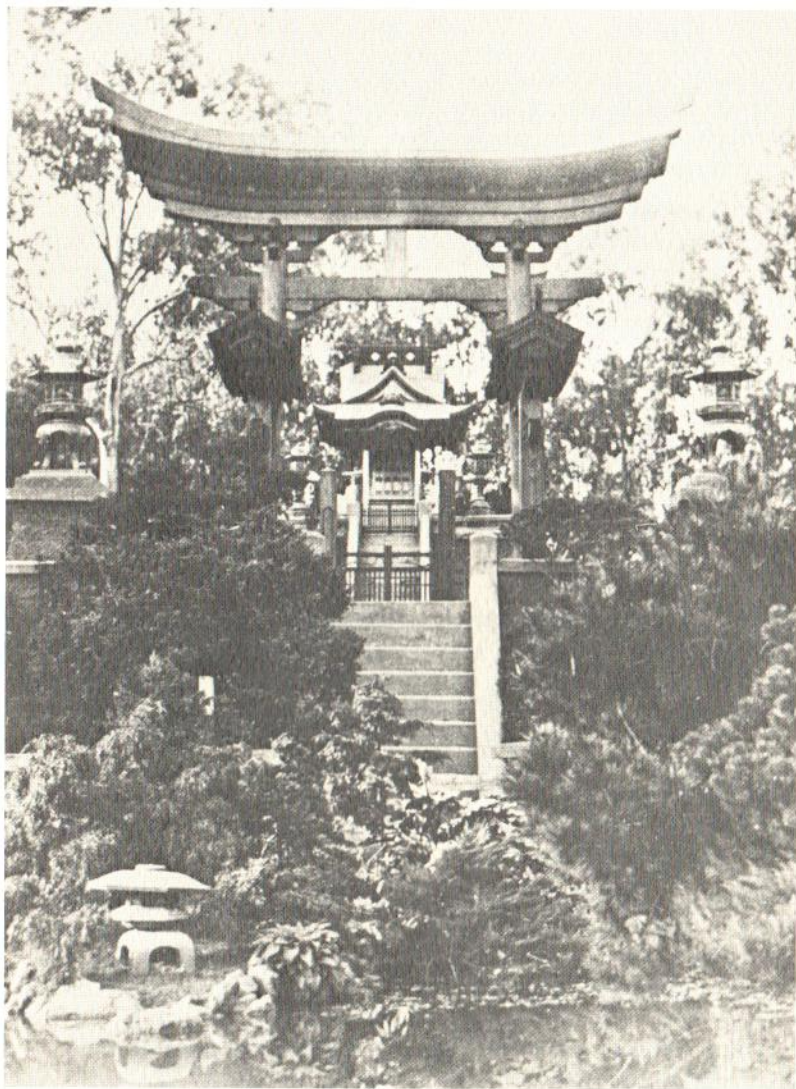
In order to deal historically with those elements that most distinctively characterize the Japanese Tea Garden, it may be well to define the garden itself as a composite of two main sections:

- (1) The first—and older—is the eastern "tea garden." This section includes the original Japanese house (*ni-kai-yashiki*), now remodelled as the "gift shop;" the *o-chaya* for the service of tea; the miniature hill-and-water landscape, whose waterfall, pond, *Hōrai-jima* (tortoise island), along with the stone Kasuga-style lantern lighting the main path and the great *shōrōmon* (or temple bell tower gateway), were a part of the California Midwinter International Exposition's Japanese Village; and, finally, the Moon Bridge, built about 1912, which spans the last of the small lakes of the waterchain, completed in 1902, that extends through a series of rocky channels from the original far eastern pond to the edge of the western addition.
- (2) The second main garden is the extension known as the "western addition," which consists of a lower lake level and an upper plateau on which stand the *torii* and the five-storied *pagoda*. Once called "The New Garden," this extension, with its Japanese gate (*mon*) and its large lake facing the hillside ascent to the *torii*, was first laid out in the years just before the Panama-Pacific International Exposition of 1915 and was completed in 1916, not too long after the closing of the "Fair."

The two main gardens are connected on the upper hillside level by the "Long Bridge," built in 1914, and on the lower level by the path that courses the chain of lakes and which enters the western addition—just beyond the Moon Bridge—over the granite slabs crossing the last lake of the eastern waterscape.

These sections are further defined by the two Japanese *mon* (main gates) that give eastern and western access into the Japanese Tea Garden from Tea Garden Drive.

Standing at the eastern entrance is the two-storied *shōrōmon*, with its ogee-shaped windows and tiled (*Nihon-gawara*) roof. It was completed on its site in December 1893, just before the



View of Shintō shrine through the *torii* with the shrine gate beyond, on which appears the decorative motif "flowing water." (about 1915)

opening of the California Midwinter International Exposition in Golden Gate Park in January 1894.

The gate is distinctive for its upper "belfry," with its flame-pointed, bell-shaped windows (*kado mado*), and for its temple-style roof, whose curvature at eaves end (*Kara-hafu*) declines as gracefully as the boughs of the pine tree that still remains to shelter it. Its entrance has two large doors and a wicket (*kuguri*) on the left, covered by a small Chinese curved (*Kara-hafu*) roof. A conventional feature of the formal gate, the *kuguri* was traditionally used by members of a household—or a compound—when the great doors were barred, as they often were during the days of the samurai, when the small gate was first used, not only for the purpose of utility, but also for protection.

The design of the *shōrōmon* closely resembles the model of a temple bell tower once displayed long ago in the *ni-kai-yashiki*, the Japanese house on the northeastern hillside of the garden. It is, therefore, like the Ryōbu *torii* that faced the exposition's bazaar, a copy. For just as in the miniature, whose temple form it reproduces, the upper story of the *shōrōmon* is reminiscent of the Chinese style used in 15th century Zen monasteries and which, at its best, is seen in the second story of the Ginkaku in Sakyo-ku, Kyoto. The Silver Pavilion, built in 1480 by the Ashikaga Shogun Yoshimasa (1435–1490) provides, then—if indirectly—the design basis for the second story of the garden's gate. Like the Ginkaku, too, the upper story is characterized by a hall with a surrounding balustrade and by the triadic *kado* (bell-shaped or flame-pointed windows) adorning its sides. The elbow bracketting (*hijiki*) supporting the great gabled roof also accords with the construction traditions of Buddhist temple architecture, as do, too, the *Nihon-gawara* tiles, whose design is intended to suggest the movement of waves, while affording effective drainage during heavy rains. Such weather protective devices as the ridge cover at the roof crest, with its upturned ornaments (*oni-gawara*)—the so-called demon heads used to ward off destructive forces—and the wind ridges at gable ends are likewise conventional features and Chinese in origin. The roof of the *shōrōmon*, though, differs from the model—and also from the Ginkaku—in that it is tiled, not shingled. This modification was no doubt made necessary by the fact that shingling in the Japanese manner requires many months of the most precise and painstaking labor—an expenditure of time made impossible by the opening date of the "Fair," which limited the period of construction mainly to the months from August



The *Mon* (main gate) at the Western entrance of the Japanese Tea Garden (about 1916) shortly after its removal from the official Japanese Exhibit of the Panama-Pacific International Exposition, held on Presidio grounds in 1915. (Note *Eucalyptus* grove in background.)

through December 1893. The substitution of the *Nihon-gawara* tiles for shingles produced, however, a somewhat weighty effect at variance with the light and graceful elegance of both the miniature belfry and of the Silver Pavilion upon which the model's design was based. The roof, though, is well supported by the massive construction of the *mon*, while the wave pattern of the tiles imparts to the gate an ocean motif relating it symbolically to one of the most beautiful features of the park's environment. Moreover, the dark gray tiles, merging with the incoming fog from the sea, evoke by design that feeling of coextensiveness with nature which is so often the objective of Japanese architecture.

The gate (*mon*) at the western entrance—a single-story structure with a shingled roof—is an acquisition from the official Japanese exhibit at the Panama-Pacific International Exposition, held on San Francisco's Presidio grounds in 1915. After the closing of the exposition and following the release of its properties in 1916, the *mon* was moved to Golden Gate Park, where it was reassembled at the garden's western entrance under the direction of Fumiji Harazawa, the *to-rio* of the group of craftsmen who came from Japan to work on the Japanese exhibit for the "Fair."

The west gate is notable for its *in-yō* contrasts of light and

dark forms—as in the side panels and in the extension of rafters (*taruki*) at eaves end, which, being white, relieve by design what would normally be the somber tones of natural, unpainted wood. (The paint appearing elsewhere on the supporting members of the roof, as well as on the sides and on the doors, is of Western application.) The *mon* is also of architectural interest for the style of shingling originally used in its roofing. Although now covered with shakelike sequoia, the center roof was first shingled in the *kokera-buki* style with redwood bark (as still seen on the roofs of the gate's side panels). In *kokera-buki* shingling, multilayers of small, lengthwise strips of bark (*kokeraita*) are piled one on the other in orderly rows to a depth of ten or more shingles—a depth often made greater at roof ends to give an illusion of weight. This technique is used to prevent cracking when the bark is dry and to make a roof that is both long-lasting and attractive.

The charm of the gate is enhanced by the beautiful old Yoshinō cherry tree that extends gracefully across its front on the garden side and especially so in spring, when the blossoms of the tree appear pale pink to almost white against the gate, giving depth to the *mon*'s essential character. It was here that Chichibuno-miya stood with Goro Hagiwara, one winter evening as the sun was going down, to say farewell before returning home to attend the funeral of his father, Yoshihito Taishō Tennō, the late Emperor of Japan.

Just inside the *shōrōnomon*, in the eastern part of the garden, Goro's cherry trees and the magnificent array of Kurume azaleas (so named for the city of their origin in northern Kyushu, the southern island of Japan), all blooming from March to May, create each year a springtime scene of great floral beauty, while to the right of the gate, against the redwood fence, is also the white-flowering "Assam" rhododendron (*Rhododendron formosum*). Among the trees of the eastern entrance is the oldest cherry tree at the side of the stone Kasuga lantern, and on the eastern shore of the pond are the green and red leaf maples and, just beyond, the beautiful *hinoki*, or "false cypress" (*Chamaecyparis obtusa*), which with its branches so still and dark, seems to belong only in the depths of some great forest. Here in the oldest section of the garden are venerable Monterey pines (*Pinus radiata*) and among them the beautifully shaped tree that Makoto brought as a seedling from the beach about 1900 to plant by the gate and which still remains near the plaque honoring the Hagiwara family.

The *kado matsu* (literally "gate pine") is customarily planted on the first day of the New Year before homes or buildings, and, perhaps, it was the memory of this tradition that prompted Makoto to take the little seedling—only seven inches in height when he first beheld it among the dunes of Ocean Beach—and transplant it just inside the gate, where it was lovingly trained and carefully nurtured down through the years of his long management.

Appearing as a motif on cups and teapots of his own design, the pine tree was deeply loved by Makoto. And among those he planted in this section of the garden was the beautiful Japanese black pine (*Pinus thunbergii*) that once grew horizontally out across the pond on the bamboo espalier in front of the teahouse and which was devotedly shaped and tended by three generations of the Hagiwara family. In addition to the black pine, the lavender dwarf wisteria declining from the teahouse roof was likewise held in special reverence. Indeed, the viewing of wisteria—a plant that still grows wild in some areas of Japan—is an old Japanese custom dating back to the reign of the Emperor Daigo (897–930) and reaching, perhaps, its greatest popularity in the Heian period (784–1183) under the Fujiwaras. Because the name of the emperor is denotative of the Japanese name for wisteria (*fuji*), the plant is not only figured in imperial crests, but it also became a vogue in imperial gardens, initiating a floral convention of great beauty that continues down to the present time.

It is, of course, not possible here to catalog all the plants and artifacts of the Japanese Tea Garden, only to note in passing those having horticultural and historical significance and, particularly, as they relate to Hagiwara's garden. Among the earliest artifacts in the eastern section is the stone Kasuga lantern (*tōrō*), which stands at the main entrance, not far from the *shōrōnomon*, to light the central path. The lantern dates from the Japanese Village exhibit of the California Midwinter International Exposition of 1894 and appears both in exposition photographs and also in those of early annual reports of the Park Commissioners.

The design of the *tōrō* derives from the style made famous by the oil-wick dedication lanterns that by the thousands light at night Kasuga Shrine in Nara. Its main characteristics are an emphasis on hexagonal form and a stylization of natural motifs, as seen in the corner scrolls of the lantern's *kasa* (umbrella or roof). The lantern itself consists of several parts, including an

earth ring, or plinth, embedded in the ground to safely secure the fixture; a hexagonal pedestal (*jurin* or *ge-dai*) which supports a columnar shaft (*sao*); a hexagonal capital (*chū-dai*) upon which rests the light container (*hibukuro*)—also hexagonal in form—and a rounded hexagonal roof (*kasa*), which is designed to protect the firebox from wind and rain and which is decorated with corner scrolls representing fronds or antlers. Unique to this *tōrō* is the scalloping—or fishscales—on the finial. The finial (*hojū*) of the traditional lantern is almost always unadorned, representing simply the Buddhist lotus flower and the Shintō jewel of wisdom in a single stylized form—the root or napiform—which is used to suggest both motifs simultaneously—a technique in abstraction that is carried out also in the upturned forms of the scrolls, representing both fronds and antlers and which allude to Kasuga Shrine's famous deer park in Nara.

Not too far from the stone Kasuga lantern, at the side of the little red leaf maple growing by the eastern shore of the pond, is a small, three-legged *yukimi-dōrō*, or snow-viewing lantern. This *tōrō* takes its name from the function of its *kasa*, whose wide overhang is designed to receive the snow for winter-viewing. As in the Kasuga lantern, the *yukimi-dōrō*'s *kasa*, firebox and capital are formally defined by the hexagon (*kikkō*). The literal meaning of *kikkō* is "tortoise shell," and the association of the tortoise with myths of longevity and immortality relates the lantern to the nearby *Hōrai-jima*, the small tortoise-shaped island of the pond, which is also an original feature of the exposition garden.

The *Hōrai-jima* (the "island of the blessed") is the name given by the Japanese to the Chinese mythical island P'eng Fu, one of the five floating islands supported by enormous tortoises and said to be the abode of the "immortals" or *hsien*. The *hsien* were not gods, but men—sages or hermits (*sennin*)—who had through magical or other means attained immortality, in which state they were carried off to the mystical isle lightly borne on the backs of cranes (the crane being another symbol of longevity). Taoist in origin, the *Hōrai-jima* is one of the oldest motifs in Japanese garden art, extending back to the Nara period (645–782). An important—and central—element of garden design, it also serves the function of thematically relating to the main pond area the many plants and artifacts placed throughout the garden that are by tradition associated with the concept of immortality.

Closely related to the *Hōrai-jima*—and, indeed, enveloping it—

is the "waters-of-life" motif. Since from very ancient times water has been a natural life-symbol, denoting that sense of continuity which underlies the concept of immortality, it is always represented in a Japanese garden—and usually in a variety of forms other than just lakes and streams. Among these is the stone water basin, implying in its naturalness the continuum upon which the art of the Japanese garden is based. In the Japanese Tea Garden, the water basin appears in the form of the ornamental *kazari-chōzubachi*—a rural element consistent with the village theme—and stands now on the path just beyond the restrooms. Originally owned by the Hagiwara family, it was returned to the garden in 1966 by Samuel Newsom, a friend to whom many of the Hagiwaras' possessions were entrusted during the war. The *chōzubachi* is customarily placed either near the dwelling or not far from the outhouse. The basin here is set in an arrangement of stones somewhat similar to that used for the lower *tsukubai*—a basin usually found in the *roji*, or garden passageway of the tea-ceremony house. Thus, on the left of the *chōzubachi* appears a candlestick stone (*teshoku-ishi*) for night use and on the right a much lower stone for a water bucket (*te-oke-ishi*).

Along the path leading to the *ni-kai-yashiki*—now the gift shop—is another, larger stone basin, shaped like a boat. It is more properly called a *funagata* rather than a *tsukubai*. The term *tsukubai* (from the Japanese verb *tsukubau*, meaning "to crouch") has reference to a smaller and somewhat lower basin, which very definitely requires of its user a kneeling or crouching position. The *tsukubai*, with its bamboo ladle for drinking, is filled, usually with spring water, through a bamboo pipe *kakehi*. The *kakehi* is also used to fill the garden's boat-shaped basin (*funagata*), whose overflow creates the head waters of the little stream descending to the waterfall of the pond. The basin was presented to the garden by S & G Gump Company in 1966 and it replaces the rustic wellhead, with its old wooden bucket, that once stood there during the days of the Hagiwaras.

Aside from the stone Kasuga lantern and the *Hōrai-jima*, which date back to the exposition garden (originally laid out by Makoto Hagiwara), there are certain structural features dating from the years just preceding the Panama-Pacific International Exposition (1912–1914) and which belong to the period of Hagiwara's post-earthquake management. These, for the most part, are found to the west and north of the original garden nucleus.

Most conspicuous, perhaps, is the Moon Bridge, extending over the last of the lakes in the eastern waterchain. The bridge is distinctive for its very short span and for its high arch, whose reflection in the lake completes the full lunar form. Its railing and finials are traditional. The finial (*giboshi*)—like that on the stone *tōrō*—is the form of the stylized lotus flower and is a common design element used on bridge posts and on temple columns. The bridge itself, though, is a distortion—for purposes of exhibition—of what should properly be a utilitarian form. The *soribashi* (curved bridge) was also a feature of the California Midwinter International Exposition garden, and it was perhaps upon that basic model that the Moon Bridge was later rebuilt in 1912 by Shimada.

The flooring of the bridge is constructed of Monterey pine, cut in strips 1" thick by 1" wide, and these pieces were laminated to effect the necessary girding for proper strength. Saw cuts were made at intervals to make possible the arched ascent of the floor. Thus, nonfunctional though the bridge may be, it is nevertheless handsomely built, and as an exhibition feature, it serves an essentially decorative purpose.

Beyond the Moon Bridge lies the western addition—once called "the New Garden." The hill-and-water landscape was originally laid out and constructed by Naoharu Aihara (1870–1940) under the administration of John McLaren and Makoto Hagiwara. Aihara's large and beautiful lake, with its beds of Japanese iris at the water's edge, faces now a hillside relandscaped under the supervision of Samuel Newsom especially for the Hagiwara-Fraser collection of dwarfed trees and shrubs. Many of these plants once belonged to Hagiwara, who displayed them in pots in back of the teahouse. Originally, the hillside was left in a state of natural growth to accord with that "rural aspect" of old Japan, which was a basic design intention of Hagiwara's garden. To the right of the collection, which now imparts a rather formal mood to the western hillside, is a waterfall, built in 1965, and just beyond is the steep ascent of stairs leading to the Shintō *torii*—a shrine gate—at the top of the hill.

The redwood *torii* was built by Shimada in 1913 as a gateway to the Shinto shrine that once stood on the site now occupied by the five-storied Buddhist pagoda. Two bronze, legged lanterns—one on each side of the *torii*—light the head of the staircase ascending from the lower garden. They were brought from Japan by Makoto Hagiwara in 1912, when he returned to his homeland for money and materials to develop the western addition.

Among the trees in this area are the purple leaf plums (*Prunus cerasifera* 'Atropurpurea'), which are planted on either side of the gate.

The five-storied pagoda, just beyond the *torii* and set on the highest elevation of the garden, is known traditionally as the Buddhist "treasure tower" and is used both as a memorial and as a storage house for temple relics and sacred texts. Although it takes its origin from the domed Indian stupa—a type of funeral mound like that in which the ashes of the Buddha are said to rest—the later form of the pagoda nevertheless resembles, in abstraction, the structuring of a tree with trunk and branches. It is characterized by a spirelike air-ring (*kurin*), which derives in form from the nine-ringed *shakujō*, or priest's staff, the ringing of which was thought to ward off hostile forces.

The redwood fence enclosing the pagoda once quite properly secluded Hagiwara's Shintō shrine, which he had imported from Japan at a cost of \$10,000. The shrine fence (*mizugaki*) is built without nails in the old Japanese cabinet maker style, which here makes use of tongue-and-groove construction and mortises through which the horizontal members of the fence are inserted. The gate directly in front of the pagoda carries on each of its doors the "water-flowing" motif, an ancient symbol that may have also offered a subtle warning to those about to enter there of the carp-filled moat that once appeared around the shrine. The water motif, too, with its connotations of purity and sanctity, is made explicit in the very name for the shrine enclosure, *mizu*, meaning "water" and *gaki*, "fence."

The pagoda was transported to the garden by Makoto on a low, horse-drawn wagon from the Panama-Pacific International Exposition at the time of the "Fair's" dismantling in 1916. It was set, originally, about 100 feet west of the shrine and just north of the somewhat ornate oriental gate that stands to the left of the *torii*. The gate is neither Japanese nor Chinese, and it is thought to have come from the Siamese exhibit—an exhibit represented by a copy of a small *pratinang*, or summer house, in the grand court of the Chakkri Palace at Bangkok.

To the left of the pagoda, at the edge of the path, is the 9,000 pound lantern "Heiwa no Tomoshibi" ("Flame of Peace"), which was formally presented to the garden in January 1953 as a gift of friendship from the children of Japan, under the sponsorship of the Mother's Association of the Japanese Kindergarten League.

Behind the pagoda, beyond a small grove of cryptomeria (*sugi*), lies Nagao Sakurai's classical dry landscape, which is a

modern version of the *kare sansui* of the Muromachi period (1394–1572). In this garden composition, a waterfall is impressionistically represented by standing stones, imported from Kyoto, and the watercourse below it by white sand, in which waves are simulated by lines raked across its surface. The *kare sansui* was officially opened in 1953 during ceremonies occasioned also by the presentation of the Lantern of Peace, and so, like the children's lantern from Japan, it belongs to the post-war period of the garden's history.

South of the pagoda and just right of the *torii* is the wooden trestle "Long Bridge," leading from the western to the eastern garden. Built in 1914, it was once supported by six girders made from eucalyptus trees felled from a nearby mound. The original bridge was curved with traditional crossplanks, 2 x 6 feet in size, and was, characteristically, unpainted. Being left entirely "natural," it appropriately expressed the mountain village character of Hagiwara's garden.

At the eastern end of the bridge sits *Shaka Hotoke*, the great bronze buddha—a deity figure representing Sakyamuni (Prince Gautama Siddhartha of Kapila, India, 563 B.C.?–483 B.C.?), the founder of Buddhism, who, in Japan, is simply referred to as "Shaka." The Buddha (literally, "The Enlightened One") sits on a lotus throne and in the full lotus position, with both legs crossed and feet resting on his knees, with soles upturned. He is dressed in the priest's robe, worn here in the *tsuken* style, with both shoulders and arms covered. He speaks through the *mudra*—the expressive positions of his hands—imparting here in the upraised palms and the slight curvature of his fingers the *mudra* message "Do not fear." Among the thirty-two attributes distinguishing the Buddha are the double-circled halo—an integral part of the Buddha image—the crown of wisdom, a protuberance at the top of the head called the *ushnisha*; the three flesh rings encircling the neck; the elongated earlobes; and the *urna*, a radiant lock of white hair, curled to the right between the eyebrows, which signifies the emanation of universal wisdom.

The *Shaka Hotoke* sits—appropriately—in a small area now hedged with bamboo. The bamboo itself—neither a tree nor a shrub—is remarkable for its beauty, versatility and endurance and is one of the traditional symbols of longevity. According to legend, it is only upon its seeds that the fabulous bird of immortality, the phoenix, declines to feed during those rare moments when it descends to earth. Yet, its flowering—once in a hundred years or so—portends its fatality, and at that time it changes

from a symbol of hope to one of deep foreboding.

Behind the Buddha is the *icho* or ginkgo tree (*Gingko biloba*), which often adorns the grounds of temples and shrines. The leaves of the tree—shaped like small fans—turn a bright yellow in the fall and are held in great esteem for their beauty. In this area, too, are the magnificent *Magnolia campbelli*, a native of the Himalayas, and the thread cypress (*Chamaecyparis psifera* 'Filifera'). Facing the Buddha—across the walk—is also a ginkgo, which completes an encirclement of plants having Buddhist associations in legend, locale and landscape tradition.

"Amazarashi-no-hotoke," the Buddha who "sits through sunny and rainy weather without shelter," was cast in bronze in 1790 in Tajima for Taionji Temple. It was presented to the Japanese Tea Garden in 1949 as the gift of the S & G Gump Company of San Francisco, who acquired it in 1928. The *Shaka Hotoke*, ten feet, eight inches high and weighing 1½ tons, replaces the wooden, lotus-throned and hand-carved Buddha of similar size that Makoto Hagiwara acquired from the Panama-Pacific International Exposition, but which during the War Relocation suffered the same fate of diaspora as did other possessions belonging to the Hagiwara family.

To the right of the Buddha—or to the left if approached from the teahouse—is a stone, legged lantern in the form of the five-storied pagoda (*sekitō*), which lights the head of the stairs ascending from the side of the *o-chaya* in the eastern garden. It is made of granite and was imported by Hagiwara from Japan in

1914. As in the stone *tōrō*, the finial abstracts in a single design both the Buddhist lotus flower and the Shintō jewel of wisdom, while the air-ring (*sorin*) takes the traditional form of the six-ringed priest's staff (*shakujō*). The five projecting eaves protect from wind and rain the five fireboxes, whose compartments are decorated with both square and circular openings. The stone roofs of the fireboxes are referred to as *kasa* (literally "umbrella"). The *sekitō* is a favorite lantern form with stonemasons because of the visual effects it creates when lit at night, where either on the top of a small hill or down by the waters of a garden lake, the flickering of its tiny lights beckons the beholder, like some



The five-story lantern pagoda (*sekitō*).

nocturnal spirit of ghostly charm moving mysteriously along the path or by the shore.

Across from the Buddha, but farther down the walk from the bridge, is a portal with a *Kara-hafu* (Chinese curved) roof. The roof once fronted the *kuruma-yose*, or portico, before the Commissioner's office at the official Japanese exhibit of the Panama-Pacific International Exposition of 1915, and after the "Fair," it was taken to the garden, where, under the direction of Hara-zawa, it was converted into a roofed porch that served as the main entrance to the Hagiwara home. The small portal is distinguished for the wood carvings of Shimada, who completed the doorway in its present form. The dragon decorating the frieze on the northern side is a design element taken from the Shintō shrine that was demolished during the War Relocation period. It was by the side of this entrance, near the staircase leading to the godown, or storehouse, which adjoined the Hagiwara residence, that Niō Sama, the guardian god of the Hagiwara household, stood. The portal appears now in sad detachment as an entrance to a Western-styled terrace, facing a sunken garden, on the former site of Hagiwara's Japanese house.

Among the trees in this northeastern area of the Hagiwara homesite are the double pink blossoming cherry trees (*Prunus serrulata* 'Sekiyama') and the old and beautiful *Magnolia soulangeana*, which Mrs. Nagata said was 125 years old at the time of its transplanting, the tree having been imported from Hagiwara's estate in Japan. Included among the shrubs in this section is the "firecracker" rhododendron (*Rhododendron spinuliferum*)—a native of Yunnan, China and so-called because its flowers seem to vertiably explode into bloom. The rhododendron—greatly loved by John McLaren—carries as well a hidden allusion to the garden's creator, Makoto Hagiwara, who on festival occasions would make by hand his own firecrackers, as well as his beautiful—and famous—floral "dayworks." (The latter, consisting of an explosion of paper petals depicting in colorful falls various flowers or blossoms, such as the cherry or the plum, were shot from a wooden cannon kept near the garden gate.) Thus, whether by intention or not, the rhododendron planted near the Hagiwara homesite remains an allusive memorial, delightful and subtle.

The "gift shop," slightly northeast of the *o-chaya*, was originally a two-story, five-room Japanese exhibition house (*ni-kai-yashiki*). Built in 1893—and possibly by Makoto Hagiwara—it was completely remodelled in 1959 by Mr. R. G. Watanabe, a professional architect in the employ of the concessionaires Mr. Jack Hirose, Mr. Shotara Yasuda and Mr. Harold Iwamasa.

According to a biographical sketch of Hagiwara, based upon a 1912 interview, the Japanese house (*ni-kai-yashiki*) was the first main garden structure to be built in The Japanese Village. Hardly more than a post-and-lintel framework supporting a gabled roof, it had neither walls nor doors, but sliding partitions (*shoji* and *fusuma*), which were self-supporting rather than structural units and, therefore, portable. These were protected not only by the upper and lower verandas (*engawa*) and by wide overhanging eaves which covered them, but also by a system of sliding outer partitions built entirely of wood and called *amado*, which were used to enclose the house at night or during storms. But perhaps the most notable characteristic of the *ni-kai-yashiki* was the interrelation of house and garden, which was achieved by sliding the partitions aside, or by removing them altogether, thereby creating a significant unity of inner and outer space, with the veranda (or *engawa*) providing an important area of transition. The house, then, was essentially an enshrinement of that love of nature and that sense of identity with it that so deeply informs Asian thought and expression.

Built in the old tradition of Japanese cabinet making, which uses in its system of joinery a method of dovetailing instead of nails and adhesives, the house was laid out according to standardized measurements in the *shoin-zukuri* (style). This style, deriving from the domestic architecture of the samurai, had its origins in certain typical features of the Zen monastery interior. For *shoin* means "study," and in the early monastery, the study was the main room of the head priest's house (*hōjō*). Among elements incorporated by the samurai into their *shoin*-style houses were the *chigai-dana*, a shelving alcove for writing materials and books, and an arrangement of religious articles that was later to give way to the *tokonoma*, a space recessed to hold icons, landscape paintings in hanging scroll form (*kakemono*), Zen calligraphies and flower arrangements.

Basic to the *ni-kai-yashiki*, too, was its *tatami*—the rush-straw mats that were once firmly packed together to provide the flooring for the house. For in the domestic architecture of Japan, the single mat is the primary unit of measure (6' x 3"), and to accommodate the *tatami*, the Japanese house is traditionally laid out in units of six feet square, with the number and size of the mats determining the placement of pillars and, thus, the size and shape of the dwelling. Moreover, the *tatami* is not without religious significance, expressing, by design, the Zen concept of "emptiness" (the "Absolute")—a concept around which the

traditional Japanese house is, in fact, organized. In requiring for an efficient utilization of interior space a kneeling position associated with meditation, the *tatami* becomes a subtle means of making the Zen experience a part of daily life. For reasons of reverence, then—and for cleanliness (and in Japan the two go together)—shoes are removed before entering a room with *tatami* flooring. Thus, during the days of the Hagiwaras, the *ni-kai-yashiki* was not opened to the general public, being kept instead strictly as a Japanese exhibition house, whose interior, with its *tatami*-covered floors, could be viewed only through glass partitions.

The two original *o-chaya*—the one at the northern end of the lake and the other, the little *hōjio-chaya*, at the southeastern side—have long since been destroyed, but the present teahouse sits nonetheless on the site of the northern *tei* built in the fall of 1893.

And it was in that early *o-chaya*—in the year just before the Panama-Pacific International Exposition—that the so-called "Chinese fortune cookie" was served to the public for the very first time, being an invention not of any Chinese gentleman, but of Makoto Hagiwara, who neglected to patent the famous cookie he created. Sada Yamamoto remembered how excited the patrons of the little teahouse were that morning when Makoto's cookie first appeared alongside the blue-gray pots and cups for green tea. Like a seashell one might find by the shore of Ocean Beach, the cookie—convoluted and frangible, with its prediction of good fortune snug within its fold—aroused at once a tumult of response that like the sea resounding in a shell continued to reverberate from Hagiwara's clever miniaturizing of a fortune teller's game of destiny. Nor was that morning's fascination with the fateful cookie to subside as novelty gave way to custom. For in the weeks that followed, it was almost as though Hotei, the god of luck and happiness, had come to reign—an unseen deity dispensing blessings in lighthearted lottery—so mirthful was the teahouse mood, as people laughingly extracted fortunes from cookies in between sips of green tea—delightfully consumed from Hagiwara's little cups depicting scenes of the Japanese Tea Garden.

Just beyond the teahouse, too, on the southeastern side of the pond—between the two *o-chaya* once overlooking the garden lake—stood Kōbori Enshū's lantern. Enshū was a famous tea master and philosopher, who served as the court instructor of *cha-no-yu* (the Japanese tea ceremony) under Iyemitsu (1623–

1651), the third of the Tokugawa shoguns. The design of that lantern resembled the common Kasuga style, but differed from it proportionally, the cylindrical standard (*sao*) being shorter than that of the Kasuga, and its roof, or *kasa*, somewhat elongated. The elongation of the *kasa*, giving the lantern a hooded effect, alluded to the abnormally long head of Fukurokuju, the god of longevity, who, like Hotei, was one of the seven *Shichifukujin*, or gods of good luck. With its connotations, then, of deity, tea ceremony and good fortune, the lantern, set by Hagiwara not far from the two *o-chaya*, proved to be auspicious. So successful was the fortune cookie and so popular green tea that tables and benches had to be placed outside along the eastern fence by the *shōrōnomon* to accommodate the overflow of patrons from the *hōjio-chaya* at the southern end of the pond. One of the casualties in the transpositions of the War Relocation period, Hagiwara's *tōrō* becomes, like the Niō Sama, the guardian god of his mountain village home, a symbol of loss—and in the case of Kobori Enshū's lantern, the loss of the deity of tea.

Indeed, such forms of reverence were ever present in Hagiwara's garden, although often cleverly concealed among the trees and shrubs. For just as in Japan, where deities, carved in stone or wood, are set by waterfalls and streams, or at critical points along a rural or mountain wayside, so on a little hill to the west of the northern *o-chaya*, overlooking the chain of lakes, not far from the Moon Bridge, the Kannon Bosatsu, too, appeared, seated on a dragon, in an altarlike recess fashioned by the Hagiwaras, about 1922, from an eucalyptus tree. This was done by topping the tree and slitting it 20 feet down the center with a two-man saw—a task that took almost two weeks to complete. To preserve the wood, the severed sides were then charred with a gasoline torch, after which the Kannon—the Chinese Kuan-Yin, or “goddess of mercy”—was set on a natural pedestal hewed from the base of the eucalyptus tree.

Unlike the Taishaku Ten, a class of Buddhist deity to which belongs the Niō Sama and which are temple guardians of the Buddhist faith, the Kannon is a more personal deity, belonging to the class of Bodhisattvas, who renounced nirvana for the salvation of mankind. With serene compassion and benevolence, she confers upon those imploring aid the blessings of life and well-being. Although far more exalted than the popular *Shichifukujin* of Japanese folklore, the Kannon is just as deeply loved. A deity of purification and wisdom, as well, her setting in the eucalyptus tree, not far from the *o-chaya*, was happily inspired.

For, in the conventions of her character, she came to personify the memorial name for Hagiwara's garden—*Jingi-en* (humanity, benevolence and integrity, qualities associated, too, with the cult of tea). The Kannon, then, represented the spirit that gave creation to Hagiwara's garden, but, by her presence, she also imparted to that natural scene an aura of divinity, which fell as unobtrusively as sunlight across a mountain stream.

Down from the Kannon to the south and east was the little earthen bridge (*dobashi*) that once crossed the pond from the southwestern side of the main path to the hillock beyond and on which one might stand to watch the multicolored *koi* coursing through the reeds and rushes of the water just below. But like the great wooden Buddha, the Shintō shrine, the Niō Sama, the *hōjio-chaya*, the Kannon Bosatsu, Kobori Enshū's lantern and the rustic wellhead near the *ni-kai-yashiki* (then floored with *ta-tami*), the *dobashi* likewise vanished in the fury of that past intemperate time, which brought so suddenly to an end those age-old symbols of reverence. In their passage went as well the intimations of that ancient natural order that once gave to the mountain village character of Hagiwara's garden (*en*) its integral beauty (*jingi*).

Now, near the *shōrōnomon* stand two plaques. The one to the left of the garden gate beyond the pine that Makoto Hagiwara had taken as a seedling down near Ocean Beach and later trained into its present shape, is the one that so modestly commemorates the contribution of the Hagiwara family. Cleverly designed and sculptured by Ruth Asawa, so as not to intrude upon the natural intention of the garden, it was set to the left of the gate in March 1974. Almost in a diagonal direction from the Hagiwara plaque, across the main path and to the right of the stone Kasuga lantern, is the one commemorating the California Midwinter International Exposition's contribution of George Turner Marsh (1857–1932), who is given sole credit for the garden's origin and design. The Marsh plaque was erected to his memory in 1960, about the time when the main path area was being relandscaped by Nagao Sakurai under the sponsorship of the San Francisco Garden Club and in consultation with Richard Gump and Lucien Marsh, George Turner Marsh's son. This garden coup—accomplished long after the deaths of both Makoto Hagiwara (in 1925) and John McLaren (in 1943), neither one of whom would ever have approved the post-war invasion of plaques in the Japanese Tea Garden—no doubt prompted the more recent memorial honoring as well the Hagiwara family.

Indeed, in those two plaques, there is more history than the casual observer will ever glean from their inscriptions, but in that silent confrontation we'll let the matter rest, hopeful that in some future time a Taoist wisdom will prevail.



Bell tower gate (*shōrōnomon*) and wicket (*kuguri*) with log and earthen bridge (*dobashi*) spanning the pond in the foreground. (about 1915)

