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Session II

## **Post-War Japan**

# Isamu Noguchi's Bridge Railings in Post-War Imaginations of Hiroshima

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## Abstract

In the early 1950s, Isamu Noguchi (1904–1988) designed railings for two newly constructed bridges in the centre of Hiroshima: the Peace Bridge and the West Peace Bridge. These bridges mark one of the entrances to Peace Memorial Park, which was then under construction near ground zero of the 1945 atomic bombing. The rising form of the Peace Bridge's railings was prevalent in establishing Hiroshima's post-war image as a 'city of peace.' Although Noguchi was originally commissioned to design a cenotaph, this plan was rejected, presumably because of the artist's American citizenship. The realisation of the bridge railings therefore embodies the somewhat mixed perception of Noguchi as a Japanese American artist in post-war Hiroshima.

This paper aims to reveal further complexities in this reception by analysing the ways in which the image of the two bridges appeared in the post-war discourse and representation of Hiroshima in a variety of media, from municipal publications, tourist advertisements and even post offices' special cancellation stamps to literature. Archival research has shown that the city of Hiroshima and some of the relevant bodies extensively used images of Noguchi's railings from around the time of the bridges' inauguration until the early 1960s. This decade coincided roughly with the domestic promotion of the 'peaceful' use of nuclear energy after the tragedy of Hiroshima, a city that had fallen victim to the 'military' use of the same energy. Nonetheless, some kept their distance from the celebratory climate of the contemporary reception of Noguchi's railings, particularly those who opposed the remilitarisation of Japan's and the US military presence. Noguchi's American affiliation was often implied in the context of this criticism. This paper considers the possibility that Noguchi's citizenship was also a matter of interest in relation to the two bridges in post-war Hiroshima, not only as a contribution to the internationalism of the rebuilt city but also as a reminder of the bombing and continued military presence.

**Keywords:** *Peace Bridge; West Peace Bridge; Post-war Hiroshima; Isamu Noguchi; American*

## Introduction

In 1951, the Japanese American artist and designer Isamu Noguchi (1904–1988) was quoted in *The New York Times*: 'For years I've designed gardens and playgrounds—but they remained projects. These things only come alive when people live with them. Then they give meaning and they take on meaning' (1). At the time, the Peace Memorial Park was under construction in the centre of Hiroshima under the initiative of the Japanese modernist architect Kenzō Tange (1913–2005), near ground zero of the atomic bombing by the United States on August 6, 1945. For this project, Noguchi designed abstract modernist-style railings for two bridges, the Peace Bridge and the West Peace Bridge, at one of the park's entrances. The railings were inaugurated in June 1952, unlike his proposed design for a cenotaph, which was never realised, presumably due to Noguchi's American citizenship (2). The Peace Bridge and the West Peace Bridge were named *Tsukuru (To Build)* and *Yuku (To Depart)*, respectively, and still stand in their original locations.

Compared to the extensive studies on Noguchi's unrealised cenotaph, these two bridges have received less scholarly attention (3). This paper examines the reception of these bridges to reveal the ways in which these railing designs 'came alive in people's lives,' and Noguchi was identified accordingly (4). By using socioculturally contextualised examples of reception, this paper aims to shed new light on Noguchi and his bridge railings in the post-war imaginaries of Hiroshima.

### Bridge Images Reproduced in Hiroshima, 1950s–1960s

In the first decade after the inauguration of the two bridges, the railings were featured prominently in official Hiroshima City publications (5). One of the earliest appearances of Noguchi's railings on the Peace Bridge was on the cover of the annual city guide, *Shiseiyōran 1951* (Fig.1) (6). In the foreground is one edge of the railing, while the Atomic Bomb Dome (formerly Hiroshima Prefectural Commercial Exhibition Hall) with newly built houses along the river can be seen in the background. Also inside the guidebook, both the Peace Bridge and the West Peace Bridge were introduced with photographs in the 'City Construction' section, along with the Peace Memorial Museum designed by Tange and the '100-metre street,' also known as Peace Boulevard (7). Between 1952 and 1961, both bridges were included in the 'Tourism' section of the city guide as one of the tourist destinations in post-war Hiroshima (8). The text accompanying Peace Bridge in *Shiseiyōran 1952* (1953) describes:

The railings of the Peace Bridge across the Motoyasu River located on the east side of the Nakajima area . . . and the West Peace Bridge across the Honkawa River located on the west were both designed by Mr Isamu Noguchi, and his design with a fresh feeling is a masterpiece perfect for the city of peace (9).

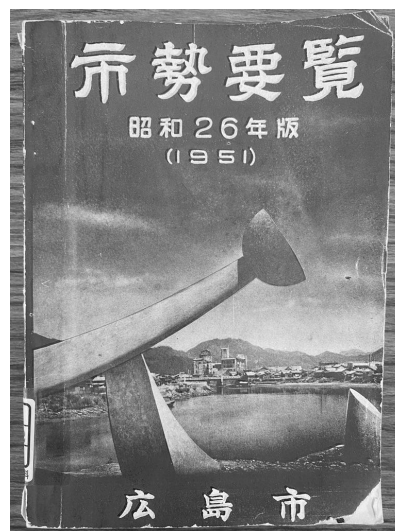


Figure 1: Cover of *Shiseiyōran 1951* (Hiroshima: Hiroshima Shiyakusho, 1952), Hiroshima Municipal Archives, Hiroshima.

In the city guides, photographs of the two bridges or just the Peace Bridge often accompanied the text (Figs. 2 and 3), except in 1957, 1960 and 1961. However, from 1963 onwards, the city guide made almost no reference to the bridges or Noguchi, while other landmarks, such as the Atomic Bomb Dome, Peace Boulevard and Hiroshima Castle (rebuilt in 1958), were often mentioned (10). From *Shiseiyōran 1989* (1990) to *Shiseiyōran 2009* (2010), the guide's appendices included short lists of tourist destinations and facilities (from the 2007 edition, only the list of facilities). Although Peace Memorial Park and Peace Boulevard were on the list, neither the Peace Bridge nor the West

Peace Bridge appeared (11).



Figure 2 (left): “Heiwa Ōhashi,” *Shiseiyōran 1953* (Hiroshima: Hiroshima Shiyakusho, 1954), 293, Hiroshima Municipal Archives, Hiroshima.

Figure 3 (right): “Heiwa Ōhashi,” *Shiseiyōran 1955* (Hiroshima: Hiroshima Shiyakusho, 1956), 248, Hiroshima Municipal Archives, Hiroshima.

During the decade in which Noguchi’s railings were mentioned in the city guide, the two bridges also appeared in relevant Hiroshima City publications. An early example is the 1953 poster in which the railing of the Peace Bridge is depicted with flying white doves (12). Other examples include posters for the Hiroshima Fukkō Dai Hakurankai (Hiroshima Restoration Exposition) in 1958 (13), the River Festival in 1960 (14) and for international tourists in 1961 (15). Noguchi’s railings were also popular in tourist brochures. An example from the mid-1950s shows the Peace Bridge alongside a diagram of the atomic nucleus with the Atomic Bomb Dome in the background (Fig. 4) (16). Another from the late 1950s shows the bridge with the newly reconstructed Hiroshima Castle (17).

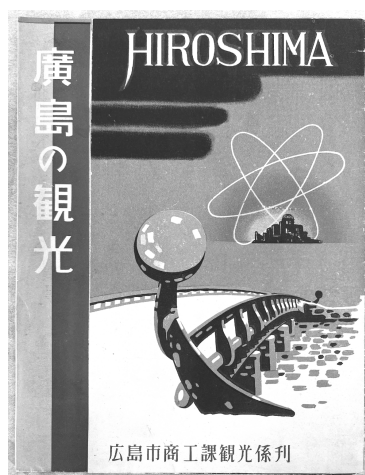


Figure 4: Cover of the *Hiroshima no Kankō* brochure, c. 1955, Hiroshima Prefectural Archives, Hiroshima.

The city’s extensive use of Noguchi’s railing designs, particularly those of the Peace Bridge, in its publications presumably contributed to the formation of the city’s post-war image. For example, Hiroshima Prefecture also used images of Noguchi’s bridge railings in its publications, such as the

1950s tourist brochure listing seasonal events (18). Another example is a set of tourist postcards titled *Kankō no Hiroshima* (Tourist Hiroshima), which were probably produced in 1955 or 1956 (19). Four locations were selected to represent Hiroshima Prefecture: Onomichi, Tomonoura National Park, Itsukushima Shrine and Peace City Hiroshima. Here, the photograph chosen for Peace City Hiroshima shows part of the Peace Bridge's railing, with a young female figure in a dress looking at the Atomic Bomb Dome in the distance (Fig. 5) (20).



Figure 5: “Heiwa no Miyako Hiroshima” from the postcard set *Kankō no Hiroshima: Setonaikai-hen Dai-1-shū*, c. 1955–56, Hiroshima Prefectural Archives, Hiroshima.

Similar images can be found on the special cancellation stamps used by several branches of the Japan Post in Hiroshima. In 1954, the Hiroshima, Hiroshima Ekimae, and Ujina branches adopted a design depicting the Peace Bridge with the Atomic Bomb Dome and doves in the distance (Fig. 6) (21). However, all three branches stopped using this design in 1974 (Hiroshima Nishi [former Hiroshima] branch), 1975 (Ujina branch) and 1976 (Hiroshima Chūō [former Hiroshima Ekimae] branch) (22). The 1950s Peace Bridge design has survived on the stamp of the Hiroshima Naka branch, which introduced the design in 1972 and still uses it today (23).

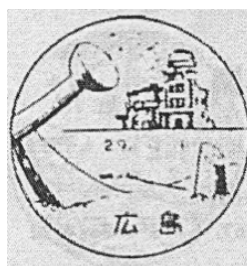


Figure 6: Japan Post special cancellation stamp used by the Hiroshima branch from January 1, 1954. *Fūkei Sutampu Shū*, 1988 ed. (Tokyo: Nihon Yūshu Shuppan, 1988), 513.

These examples show that in the mid-1950s, the railings of the Peace Bridge and the West Peace Bridge were among the symbols in the imagination of Hiroshima, the ‘city of peace’ rebuilt after its destruction by the atomic bomb. Of the two bridges, the Peace Bridge, with its striking abstract design, was particularly favoured, presumably because its upward-curving shape reflected the city’s revitalised atmosphere (as suggested, for example, in the text from the city guide quoted above). The most significant example of such use is the cover of the August 6, 1952 issue of the magazine *Asahigraph* (*Asahi Picture News*). This issue is known for its social impact in post-occupation Japan, as it featured extensive photographs of the damage caused by atomic bombs (24).

The cover shows a smiling young woman with the railing of the Peace Bridge in the background, affirming the bright future of the rebuilt city (25).

### **‘Nuclear Energy for Peace’**

The extensive use of Noguchi’s railings from the early 1950s to the early 1960s roughly coincided with the domestic promotion of the ‘peaceful’ use of nuclear energy in Japan. The Soviet Union’s successful test of the atomic bomb in 1949 undermined US dominance in the military use of nuclear power. While the United States continued to project its military competence, it also began to promote the international use of the same energy for peaceful purposes in order to reduce Cold War tensions (26). In 1953, US President Dwight D. Eisenhower (1890–1969) delivered the famous ‘Atoms for Peace’ speech to the United Nations General Assembly. After the San Francisco Peace Treaty came into force in early 1952, reports of unprecedented damage to Hiroshima and Nagasaki increased dramatically in Japan (27). However, although criticism of the development of atomic and hydrogen bombs was growing among the Japanese population, not to mention Hiroshima, the use of nuclear energy for ‘peaceful’ purposes was viewed rather favourably (28). As argued in previous studies, this seemingly contradictory reaction was rooted in the pain of people who suffered indescribably from the atomic bomb (29). The use of nuclear power in an alternative context was understood as a way of mourning the dead and giving meaning to the lives of the bomb victims (30). In other words, one could be a victim of the atomic bomb and advocate the peaceful use of nuclear energy (31), although such a discourse was an ideal excuse for those in politics and industry who promoted the ‘peaceful’ use of nuclear power (32).

In this context, relevant events took place in Hiroshima. In 1956, the Peace Memorial Museum became the venue for *Genshiryoku Heiwa Riyō Hakurankai* (*Atoms for Peace Exhibition*), which focused on the peaceful use of nuclear energy and was co-organised by Hiroshima Prefecture, Hiroshima City, Hiroshima University, the *Chūgoku Shimbunsha* (local newspaper) and the American Culture Centre of Hiroshima (33). In 1958, the *Hiroshima Restoration Exposition* was held in central Hiroshima. One of the highlights of the event was an exhibition on atomic energy based on the collection donated for the 1956 exhibition (34). The 1958 exhibit juxtaposed the ‘peaceful’ use of nuclear power with the damage caused by the atomic bomb, testifying that ‘the immensity of the atomic bomb experience led to the strong voice that longed for “peaceful use” [of nuclear energy]’ (35).

Noguchi’s railings were used repeatedly in the publicity for the 1958 exposition. In addition to one of the posters mentioned above, the cover of the brochure also featured the abstract form of Noguchi’s railings for the Peace Bridge, although it was relatively small (Fig. 7) (36). The highly abstracted form of the railings – particularly the disc-shaped edge design – echoed the dot motifs scattered throughout the design. On this brochure, as in the exposition itself, the Peace Bridge is depicted at the intersection of two of the three main venues (indicated by two white rectangles). The image of the bridge can also be found on the special loop-line bus ticket (37) and on the packaging of Peace tobacco, which was specially designed for the event by Akira Uno (b. 1934) (38).

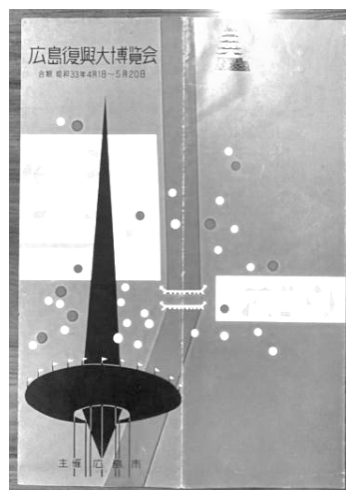


Figure 7: Cover of the *Hiroshima Restoration Exposition* brochure (unfolded), 1958, Hiroshima Municipal Archives, Hiroshima.

### Voices of Unease

However, some voices did not necessarily share the enthusiasm for the newly built bridges. Ryōsaku Takayama's (1917–1982) painting *Contradictory Bridge* (1954) (39) may represent such an attitude. The Peace Bridge is a monumental presence that seems to oppress the people of Hiroshima, whose presence is represented by the naked female figure lying at the bottom (40).

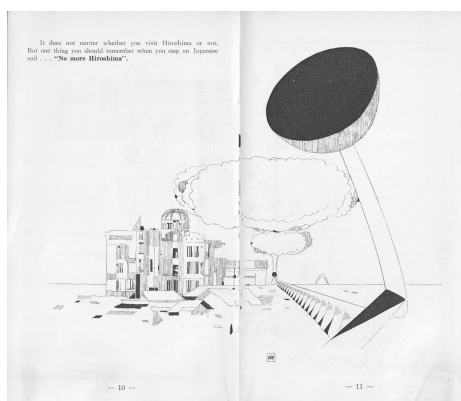


Figure 8: Illustration by Hiroshi Manabe  
*Here is Japan* (Osaka: Asahi Broadcasting Corporation, 1963), 10–11.

A similarly critical, but perhaps more direct, sense of discomfort with Noguchi's railing can be seen in the illustration by designer Hiroshi Manabe (1932–2000) for the guidebook *Here is Japan*, published in English in 1963 (Fig. 8) (41). The accompanying text reads, 'It does not matter whether you visit Hiroshima or not. One thing you should remember when you step on Japanese soil . . . "No more Hiroshima!"' (42). Manabe's illustration shows the now-familiar tourist image of Hiroshima – the Peace Bridge with the Atomic Bomb Dome in the background. But it also includes the mushroom cloud and houses in the middle ground, suggesting the people who lived there when the bomb was dropped or those who started their lives from scratch afterwards. At the bottom of the mushroom cloud, where the bomb was supposedly dropped, Manabe depicts the disc-shaped edge design of Noguchi's bridge railing. The round shape clearly overlaps with the bomb, whose malevolence is emphasised by the black paint over the disc shape.

Some works in the literature show a similar sense of unease. In *Kashū Hiroshima* (1954), the



collection of tanka (Japanese poems of 31 syllables) by bomb victims, two poems refer directly to the Peace Bridge. The poem by Tsuyako Adachi reads, 'On Peace Bridge designed by Isamu Noguchi, there march trucks of the National Safety Forces one after another' (43). Another entry by Mamoru Yamazumi observes, 'There is Peace Bridge and Jeeps are passing by, while in the distance is the chain of mountains with floating red clouds' (44). Although the cover of *Kashū Hiroshima* shows a photograph of the Peace Bridge railing, neither of these poems refers to the bridge as a positive symbol of the rebuilt city. Instead, in both cases, the bridge is juxtaposed with military vehicles. In the first case, the trucks are those of the Japanese National Safety Forces, which were organised in 1952 and emerged from their predecessor, the National Police Reserve, formed in 1950 in the wake of the Korean War at the request of the General Headquarters (45). Adachi's poem takes a cold look at the contemporary remilitarisation of Japan (46), and Noguchi's railing is described as the ground for these forces. The jeeps in Yamazumi's poem could be those of the National Safety Forces or the US forces stationed in Japan. In the latter case, they may remind the readers of Noguchi's American citizenship.

An example of the American military power in relation to Noguchi's bridge railing can be found in a collection of haiku (Japanese poetry of 17 syllables), *Kushū Hiroshima* (1955). Tokubei Marumoto's poem reads, 'A camera and a prostitute come to Isamu's bridge and sneer' (47). This poem may be a cynical allusion to the images of the Peace Bridge that were widely circulated during this period, such as the photographs in city publications and postcards or even the cover of the *Asahi Picture News*, some of which show young, smiling female figures with Noguchi's railings. The actual occupation of the women in the photographs has little bearing on the present analysis; instead, this paper focuses on the use of the word *prostitute* in the poem. It is speculated here that the term prostitute refers to sex workers (i.e. 'pom poms') who mainly worked for the US soldiers stationed in post-war Japan.

Historian Kazuko Hirai, who has studied sexual violence during the Japanese occupation, points to the sense of revulsion felt by Japanese veterans towards 'pom poms.' Their presence denied the patriarchy that underpinned wartime militarism and served as a powerful reminder to the former soldiers of their defeat (48). A similar sense of unease, rooted in the denial of Japanese masculinity, can be observed in Marumoto's work. In this poem, Noguchi's bridge itself, by evoking the female figures of contemporary publications, may be alluding to the male US soldiers in post-war Japan rather than simply describing a place (49).

## Conclusion

The public reception of Noguchi's railings in Hiroshima from the early 1950s to the early 1960s was ambivalent. While the bridges, especially the Peace Bridge, immediately became one of the most prominent symbols of Hiroshima City's reconstruction, other voices – particularly those who likely opposed Japan's remilitarisation and the continued US presence – were suspicious of this sense of excitement. It is this complexity that foregrounds Noguchi's American-ness. Noguchi's bridge railings were realised in contrast to his cenotaph design. Yet, his affiliation with the United States was equally crucial in relation to the bridges. It was not only about bringing a sense of internationalism to Hiroshima's reconstruction project (50) but also, as the research in this paper suggests, a bitter reminder of the violence of war and its aftermath.

Beyond its ambivalent reception, however, what both the positive and critical attitudes to the bridge design had in common was the 'feminisation' of the pacifist post-war image of Hiroshima as a victim of tragedy and a symbol of peace (51). This is particularly evident in the photographs of the Peace Bridge, with smiling young female figures representing peace and innocence, as well as in Takayama's painting, which depicts the victim as a young woman in need of rescue. Furthermore, the haiku poem that juxtaposes Noguchi's bridge with a woman who is supposedly a sex worker may

also be part of this patriarchal rhetoric. In this poem, the woman, who possibly alludes to male US soldiers through the reference to Noguchi's bridge, appears as a *counterpoint* to the symbol of innocence, casting doubt on the celebratory mood. Left unseen by this feminisation are aspects such as Japan's militarism and colonialism, to which Hiroshima was also linked (52). This is a reminder to further investigate the histories of Hiroshima and reexamine how the image of the city of peace may have been constructed by obscuring incongruous voices.

## Acknowledgements

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## A Note on transliteration

Japanese words are rendered in the Hepburn Romanisation system.

## Notes

1. Aline B. Louchheim, "Noguchi and 'Sculptured' Gardens: Artist in His Projects for Japan Combines East and West," *The New York Times*, September 30, 1951, 85, <https://timesmachine.nytimes.com/timesmachine/1951/09/30/105218833.html?pageNumber=85>, accessed 12<sup>th</sup> February 2024.
2. In his 1968 autobiography, Noguchi recalled the rejection: 'Was it because I was an American, or was it a case of *Giri* not having the proper authorisation, to which my design fell victim?' (Isamu Noguchi, *A Sculptor's World* [1968] [Göttingen: Steidl, 2004], 164). For further on the cenotaph, see also note 3.
3. For the earlier studies of Noguchi's Hiroshima experience, see, for example, Bert Winther, "The Rejection of Isamu Noguchi's Hiroshima Cenotaph: A Japanese American Artist in Occupied Japan," *Art Journal* 53, no. 4 (1994): 23–27; Bert Winther-Tamaki, *Art in the Encounter of Nations: Japanese and American Artists in the Early Postwar Years* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2001); Shunya Echizen, "Isamu Noguchi no Hiroshima Shibotsusha Kinenhi An: Sono Seisaku Jiki to Kigen ni Tsuite," *Bunkagaku Nempō*, vol. 62 (2013): 296–319; Shunya Echizen, "Isamu Noguchi 'Hiroshima no Naki Hitobito no Tame no Kinembutsu' Saikō," *Bijutsushi*, vol. 179 (2015): 117–132; Eri Terada, "Jitsugen Shinakatta Isamu Noguchi no Gembaku Ireihi: Konseputo to Jidaihaikai ni Kansuru Kosatsu," *Tama Bijutsu Kenkyū*, no. 6 (2017): 59–74; Hiromi Matsugi, *Isamu Noguchi no Kūkan Geijutsu: Kiki no Jidai no Dezain* (Tokyo: Tankosha, 2021).
4. The author conducted research on these two bridges with Noguchi's railings and ambivalence in their reception. Naoko Uchiyama, "Tsukuru to Yuku ni Miru Isamu Noguchi no Modanizumu: Hiroshima Heiwa Kinen Kōen no Tame no Heiwa Ōhashi to Nishi Heiwa Ōhashi no Rankan Dezain o Megutte," *Ningen Bunka Sōsei Kagaku Ronsō* 22 (2020): 29–38. This 2020 paper was revised and included in Naoko Uchiyama's "Beyond Received American Modernism: Isamu

Noguchi's Art and Itinerancy 1930s–1950s" (PhD thesis, UCL, 2021). Based on additional archival research, the present paper provides other examples of responses to these earlier studies to consider the possible connection between the critical voices and Noguchi's affiliation with the United States.

5. The archivists at the Hiroshima Municipal Archives provided the author with numerous examples of images of the Peace Bridge in local publications, including posters and leaflets from the 1950s and 1960s, examined throughout this paper.
6. *Shiseiyōran 1951* (Hiroshima: Hiroshima Shiyakusho, 1952).
7. "Toshi Kensetsu," *Shiseiyōran 1951* (Hiroshima: Hiroshima Shiyakusho, 1952), 180–192. The photographs are on the unpaginated page in this section, while the reference to Peace Bridge and West Peace Bridge is on p. 190.
8. "Heiwa Ōhashi," *Shiseiyōran 1952* (Hiroshima: Hiroshima Shiyakusho, 1953), 262; "Heiwa Ōhashi," *Shiseiyōran 1953* (Hiroshima: Hiroshima Shiyakusho, 1954), 293; "Heiwa Ōhashi," *Shiseiyōran 1955* (Hiroshima: Hiroshima Shiyakusho, 1956), 248; "Heiwa Ōhashi," *Shiseiyōran 1956* (Hiroshima: Hiroshima Shiyakusho, 1957), 111; "Heiwa Ōhashi," *Shiseiyōran 1957* (Hiroshima: Hiroshima Shiyakusho, 1958), 118–119 (no photograph); "Heiwa Ōdōri to Heiwa Ōhashi," *Shiseiyōran 1958* (Hiroshima: Hiroshima Shiyakusho, 1959), 96; "Heiwa Ōdōri to Heiwa Ōhashi," *Shiseiyōran 1959* (Hiroshima: Hiroshima Shiyakusho, 1960), 114. While the above titles refer only to the Peace Bridge, both bridges are mentioned in the text (photographs of the two bridges can be found in *Shiseiyōran 1958*). *Shiseiyōran 1954* was not published. In the 1960 and 1961 editions, the two bridges are included in the list of 'City Sightseeing' ("Shinai Kankō," *Shiseiyōran 1960* [Hiroshima: Hiroshima Shiyakusho, 1961], 94; "Shinai Kankō," *Shiseiyōran 1961* [Hiroshima: Hiroshima Shiyakusho, 1962], 121).
9. "Heiwa Ōhashi," *Shiseiyōran 1952* (1953), 262. Translated from the Japanese by Uchiyama.
10. In *Shiseiyōran 1969*, the two bridges are mentioned only to explain the location of the Peace Memorial Park, not specifically as tourist destinations ("Heiwa Kinen Kōen," *Shiseiyōran 1969* [Hiroshima: Hiroshima Shiyakusho, 1970], 167). Other landmarks listed here were not necessarily mentioned every year. No list of tourist destinations was provided from *Shiseiyōran 1979* (1980) to *Shiseiyōran 1987* (1988).
11. From *Shiseiyōran 2010* (2011) onwards, no list of tourist destinations or facilities was provided.
12. According to the Hiroshima Municipal Archives, there is no original copy of this poster in their collections. For this paper, the author has examined the design reproduced in "Ōgata Posutā Zenkoku e," *Chūgoku Shimbun* (January 25, 1953), 6.
13. Reproduced in *Hiroshima Fukkō Dai Hakurankai Shi* (Hiroshima: Hiroshima Shiyakusho, 1959), n.p. (frontispiece).
14. Reproduced in Hiroshima-shi Kankō Kyōkai, *Hiroshima no Kankō*, vol. 3 (July 25, 1960), 7 (200013/30, Hiroshima Prefectural Archives, Hiroshima).
15. Reproduced in Hiroshima-shi Kankō Kyōkai, *Hiroshima no Kankō*, vol. 7 (January 1, 1961), 7 (200013/33, Hiroshima Prefectural Archives, Hiroshima).

16. Hiroshima-shi Shōkō-ka Kankō-gakari, *Hiroshima no Kankō* (c. 1955) (200013/3109, Hiroshima Prefectural Archives, Hiroshima). The designer of the cover is unknown.
17. Hiroshima-shi, *Kankō no Hiroshima* (Showa era, post-war) (13000711/C1993-0775, Hiroshima Municipal Archives, Hiroshima). According to the archives, the date could be narrowed to around the late 1950s.
18. Hiroshima-ken Shōkō-bu Shōsei-ka, *Kankō Gyōji no Shiori* (1955) (200013/3107, Hiroshima Prefectural Archives, Hiroshima).
19. Hiroshima-ken Shōkō-bu Shōsei-ka, *Kankō no Hiroshima: Setonaikai-hen Dai-1-shū* (postcard set) (c. 1955–56) (200013/102/1-4, Hiroshima Prefectural Archives, Hiroshima).
20. “Heiwa no Miyako Hiroshima” in Hiroshima-ken Shōkō-bu Shōsei-ka, *Kankō no Hiroshima: Setonaikai-hen Dai-1-shū* (postcard set) (c. 1955–56) (200013/102/2, Hiroshima Prefectural Archives, Hiroshima).
21. *Fūkei Sutampu Shū*, 1988 ed. (Tokyo: Nihon Yūshu Shuppan, 1988), 513. The Hiroshima Ekimae branch was renamed the Hiroshima branch in 1958 and subsequently became the Hiroshima Chūō branch in 1964 (now the Hiroshima JR Biru branch). The separate Hiroshima branch was renamed the Hiroshima Nishi branch in 1958 and has retained that designation until the present day.
22. Ibid., 352-353 and 513-514.
23. Ibid., 352. A different stamp design used by the Hiroshima Funairicho branch from 1985 shows the cenotaph designed by Tange (1952) and the Peace Bridge (ibid., 359).
24. Cultural historian Akihiro Yamamoto points out that visual images of the damage caused by the atomic bombs appeared in media coverage after the end of the GHQ occupation, while works on the bomb experience were written and published even during the occupation (Akihiro Yamamoto, *Kaku Enerugi Gensetsu no Sengoshi 1945–1960: “Hibaku no Kioku” to “Genshiryoku no Yume”* (Kyoto: Jimbun Shoin, 2012), 79–80).
25. For an analysis of this cover design, see Uchiyama, “Tsukuru to Yuku ni Miru Isamu Noguchi no Modanizumu,” 34; Uchiyama, “Beyond Received American Modernism,” 324-325.
26. Toshiyuki Tanaka and Peter Kuznick, *Gempatsu to Hiroshima: “Genshiryoku Heiwa Riyō” no Shinsō* (Iwanami Booklet) (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 2011), 5.
27. Yoshiaki Fukuma, “‘Gembaku no Akarusa’ no Yukue,” in *Fukusū no “Hiroshima”: Kioku no Sengoshi to Medeia no Rikigaku*, eds. Yoshiaki Fukuma et al. (Tokyo: Seikyūsha, 2012), 48.
28. Ibid., 50.
29. Ibid., 51–53; Tanaka and Kuznick, *Gempatsu to Hiroshima*, 50–51.
30. Fukuma, “‘Gembaku no Akarusa’ no Yukue,” 52. Fukuma argues that the control of nuclear energy for peaceful purposes was seen as an affirmation of the agency of the atomic bomb victims (ibid., 53).

31. It is argued that the compatibility of the ‘peaceful use of nuclear energy’ with the experience of the atomic bomb came to an end in the late 1960s (ibid., 60).
32. Tanaka and Kuznick, *Gempatsu to Hiroshima*, 51.
33. The Central Intelligence Agency (CIA), the United States Information Service (USIS), and the US Embassy in Japan initially prepared the exhibition. Starting in Tokyo in late 1955 (organised by Yomiuri Shimbunsha), the exhibit travelled to Nagoya, Kyoto, Osaka, Hiroshima, Fukuoka, Sapporo and Sendai (ibid., 33–34).
34. Ibid., 47–48.
35. Fukuma, “‘Gembaku no Akarusa’ no Yukue,” 60. Translated from the Japanese by Uchiyama.
36. Hiroshima-shi, *Hiroshima Fukkō Dai Hakurankai Rīfuretto* (1958), (13000707/C1993-0771, Hiroshima Municipal Archives, Hiroshima). The designer of the cover is unknown.
37. Loop line bus ticket for the *Hiroshima Restoration Exposition* (Peace Memorial Museum, Hiroshima/displayed at the *Before/After* exhibition at the Hiroshima City Museum of Contemporary Art, Hiroshima, 2023).
38. *Kinen Kankō Tabako Dezain*, vol. 1 (Tokyo: Sembai Jigyō Kyōkai, 1972), p. 30 in the photograph section and p. 9 in the index (paginated separately).
39. Ryōsaku Takayama, *Mujun no Hashi (Contradictory Bridge)*, 1954, Itabashi Art Museum, Tokyo. This paper refers to the English title provided by Art Platform Japan. “Mujun no Hashi Contradictory Bridge,” Art Platform Japan, National Center for Art Research, <https://artplatform.go.jp/resources/collections/W516940>, accessed November 28, 2023.
40. For an analysis of this painting, see Uchiyama, “Tsukuru to Yuku ni Miru Isamu Noguchi no Modanizumu,” 35; Uchiyama, “Beyond Received American Modernism,” 332–334.
41. *Here is Japan* (Osaka: Asahi Broadcasting Corporation, 1963), 10–11.
42. Ibid., 10.
43. Original: ‘Isamu Noguchi no Sekkei ni Kakaru Heiwa Ōhashi o Rikuzoku to Hoantai no Torakku Sugiyuku’ in *Kashū Hiroshima*, ed. Kiyoshi Toyoda (Tokyo: Dai-Ni Shobo, 1954), 9. Translated from the Japanese by Uchiyama.
44. Original: “Akaki Kumo Tanabiku Yamanami To ni Shite Heiwabashi Kakari Jipu ga Hashiru,” in *Kashū Hiroshima* (1954), 168. Translated from the Japanese by Uchiyama.
45. Regarding the remilitarisation of Japan, the author referred to Hideo Ōtake, *Saigumbi to Nashonarizumu: Sengo Nihon no Bōei-kan* (Kōdansha Gakujutsu Bunko) (Tokyo: Kōdansha, 2005), ch. 2.
46. In the Hiroshima cultural circle of the early 1950s, where the atomic bomb experience began to be collected and published, concerns about Japan’s remilitarisation and the Korean War were shared (Fukuma, “‘Gembaku no Akarusa’ no Yukue,” 48–49). For the international background to the Cold War politics and its possible impact on the rejection of Noguchi’s cenotaph design,

see Matsugi, *Isamu Noguchi no Kūkan Geijutsu*, 106–107.

47. Original: “Kamera to Shōfu Isamu no Hashi ni Kite Warau,” in *Kushū Hiroshima*, eds. Toshio Kagawa et al. (Hiroshima: Kūshū Hiroshima Kankō Kai, 1955), 166. Translated from the Japanese by Uchiyama.
48. Kazuko Hirai, *Senryō-ka no Joseitachi: Nihon to Manshū no Seibōryoku, Seibaibai, “Shinmitsu na Kōsai”* (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 2023), 288. Hirai’s study also discusses the possible agency of female sex workers in early post-war Japan.
49. A relevant example is the pairs of supposed US soldiers and Japanese women in the 1953 film *Hiroshima*, directed by Sekikawa Hideo (Uchiyama, “Beyond Received American Modernism,” 335).
50. Uchiyama, “Tsukuru to Yuku ni Miru Isamu Noguchi no Modanizumu,” 36; Uchiyama, “Beyond Received American Modernism,” 336–337.
51. On the feminisation of Hiroshima memory and the question of a unifying narrative, the author referred to Lisa Yoneyama, *Hiroshima Kioku no Poritikkusu*, trans. Hiroaki Ozawa et al. (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 2005); Lisa Yoneyama, “Hiroshima de ‘Bōryoku, Sonogo’ o Tou Imi ni Tsuite: ‘Kioku no Joseika’ no Ritorēsu kara” in *Hibaku 70-nen Jendā Fōramu in Hiroshima ‘Zen Kiroku’ Hiroshima to Iu Shiza no Kanosei o Hiraku*, ed. Kikue Takao (Hiroshima: Hiroshima Joseigaku Kenkyūjo, 2016), 421–435.
52. Yoneyama argues that Hiroshima’s anti-nuclear pacifist stance, represented with femininity (i.e. a woman as a victim of militant male violence, a woman with universal motherhood who longs for peace, or a woman as a victim of militarism or invasion), may obscure aspects such as women and men in reality, the plural complexity of Hiroshima/Japan’s history and power dynamics, the diverse state of identities, and even the presence of women in imperialism as members of the Empire of Japan. As a result, while Japan’s victimhood is emphasised, its history of aggression, such as military invasion and colonialism, would remain unexamined (Yoneyama, “Hiroshima de ‘Bōryoku, Sonogo’ o Tou Imi ni Tsuite,” 425–426).

## Author Biography

### Naoko Uchiyama

Naoko Uchiyama is an art history researcher and an Assistant Professor at Hiroshima University. She explores the shifting, plural cultural identities of ethnic minority artists in the twentieth-century United States through their transnational practices and views of cultural ‘others.’