Percival Lowell's Analysis of The Japanese Soul: The Profits and Pitfalls of Cross-Cultural Interpretation

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Hermann Hesse,
The Journey to the East

Gerald A. Figal
Senior Thesis
Dr. Henry D. Smith II, Advisor
University of California
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The Search and the Discovery

On the nights of January 23rd and 29th, 1930, Clyde W. Tombaugh peered through the newly installed 13-inch astrographic refractor at the Lowell Observatory in Flagstaff, routinely making photographic plates of that portion of the sky where Planet X was predicted to exist. What the twenty-four year old Kansas farmboy did not realize on these two winter evenings was that he was photographing the two plates from which he was to discover Planet X nearly a month later. On that day of discovery he jotted in his notebook: "On Feb. 18, 1930 at 4 P.M. planet X was discovered on the comparator."[1] On March 13, 1930, the directors of the search announced to the world the discovery of the ninth planet. After considering nearly one hundred names for the new planet, they decided on "Pluto," the god of darkness and the underworld. The name not only suggested the remote darkness of the outermost planet in our solar system, it also eternalized the Bostonian who had postulated its location mathematically but could not find it before his death fourteen years earlier. The astronomical symbol of Pluto, a P and an L superimposed on each other, was, without coincidence, the same as the monogram of its true discoverer, Percival Lowell.[2]

Percival Lowell was fascinated by the Other, the Unknowable, and the Exotic, whether it was on or beyond the earth.[3] Extraterrestrially, this fascination took the form of a dogged search for "the planet he found but never saw" and his life-long attempt to prove the existence of a martian civilization based on the observation of the so-called canals of Mars.[4]

For these two pursuits he is famous. The first led to the eventual discovery of Pluto; the second, although later discredited, had a substantial impact on the course of planetary astronomy as well as of the modern literary genre known as science fiction.[5] Terrestrially, the Other which attracted Lowell's curious and imaginative mind was Japan, a country officially opened to the West less than thirty years before.[6] Unfortunately, the fame of Lowell the Astronomer has eclipsed the work of Lowell the Japanologist. There are very few studies on this aspect of one of America's most provocative nineteenth-century thinkers.[7]

Percival Lowell's work on Japan--four books and several articles written between 1883 and 1895--represent the direct application of newly-blossoming scientific thought on a newly obtained specimen, the Japanese. Lowell treated Japan as a laboratory to test current theories and to develop his own. Thus, Lowell's interpretation of Japan reflects prevalent late nineteenth-century American intellectual currents and societal attitudes. More precisely, it reflects these trends as processed by the mind of a scientifically oriented, politically conservative member of an elite class of New England aristocrats.[8] In the process, Lowell was demonstrating the powers of western science and the supremacy of Anglo-Saxon civilization, although he gave other reasons for his study of the Japanese.

Lowell's major contribution to the study of Japan is his theory of the "Impersonality" of the Japanese. This interpretation of Japan was the result of his attempt to explain the differences between western and eastern civilizations. After having examined Japanese language, customs, and religion, Lowell maintained that these fundamental elements of society

revealed a lack of personality among the Japanese. He further concluded that this "Impersonality" was a reflection of an absence of imagination. In Lowell's view, imagination and individual personality formed the catalyst of scientific and material progress. These traits, he argued, were abundant and highly developed in the West while in Japan they were stagnated. Hence, despite their ostensibly advanced culture, the Japanese were behind the West "in the great march of mind."[9] It was this essential difference in the "souls" of the East and West which Lowell systematically presented in his most important work, The Soul of the Far East (1888). The ethnocentrism of his theory does not necessarily invalidate any truths he may have approached or discovered. In fact, his argument for the "Impersonality" of the Japanese was at times very convincing. Other western observers have since elaborated on many of the themes and images that Lowell developed.[10]

The obvious objections and the powerful persuasiveness surrounding Percival Lowell's theory of the Japanese give rise to a perplexing problem: How much does an interpretation of a foreign culture reflect that culture, and how much does it reflect the interpreter and his cultural context? A study of Lowell's analysis of the Japanese soul demonstrates both the profits and pitfalls of cross-cultural interpretation. In addition, when compared to other interpreters of Japan, especially Lafcadio Hearn, distinct differences of approach to cultural interpretations emerge. Much of what Lowell said about the Japanese might have been accurate, but the historical value of his work derives itself from what it reveals about Lowell the individual and his culture. This double-edged quality of Lowell's interpretation of the Japanese heightens the provocative nature of his work and invites speculation on Meiji Japan, Gilded Age America, and the interaction which occurred between the two.

OBSERVER, SCIENTIST, QUESTER

Percival Lowell was the eldest sibling of one of New England's oldest, richest, and most intellectually gifted families.[1] Born to Augustus Lowell and Katherine Bigelow in Boston on March 13, 1855, Percival was named after the first Lowell who came to America in 1639. From the seventeenth to nineteenth centuries the Lowell family became entrenched in the Boston region and produced several prominent figures in American history, ranging from reverends and lawyers to poets and educators. James Russell Lowell (1819-1891), a distant cousin of Percival, was the most famous Lowell in the nineteenth century, distinguishing himself in political and literary careers. Percival's youngest sister Amy Lowell (1876-1925) became a well-known poet of the Imagist school, while his brother and biographer Abbott Lawrence Lowell (1856-1943) was president of Harvard from 1909 to 1933. Peering through the telescope mounted on the roof of the family mansion as early as thirteen years old, Percival was the scientist among the Lowells.

Lowell acquired his scientific training at Harvard from 1872 to 1876. It being a family tradition to graduate from that prestigious institution, Lowell did so with honors in Mathematics. In addition to majoring in that subject under the great mathematician Benjamin Peirce, who praised the young man's brilliancy, Lowell also studied Classics, Physics, and History. and minored in English Composition. In his senior year he won a Bowdoin Prize with an essay entitled "Rank of England as a European Power from the Death of Elizabeth to the Death of Anne" and as a Phi Beta Kappa member spoke on "The Nebular Hypothesis" at commencement. His dual background

PERCIVAL LOWELL

And His Biographer

in math and English would be strongly reflected later in the scientific and literary qualities of his works on Japan.

Like many rich socialites of his time, Lowell traveled abroad after his graduation. For a year he trekked from England to Syria, at one point trying without success to become involved in the war being fought between the Turks and Serbs along the Danube. Upon his return to Boston, Lowell, having little desire for a profession, managed trust funds in the family business and temporarily served as treasurer of a cotton mill and bleachery. Six years of saving and shrewd investments provided the 28 year-old bachelor with enough money to quench his thrist for travel and adventure. His next odessey, however, was not to Europe, but to East Asia.

Percival Lowell made five separate trips to East Asia from 1883 to 1893. Of these ten years, he spent approximately two and a half in Japan. He also passed two months in Seoul, Korea and several months travelling through Singapore and India.[2] The writing and publication of his first two books, Choson; The Land of the Morning Calm (1886) and The Soul of the Far East (1888), occupied a four-year period in Boston from late 1884 to the end of 1888. After seeing The Soul of the Far East into print, he returned to Japan for the first six months of 1889. In May of that year, between socializing and polo-playing, Lowell traveled across the interior of Japan to the Noto peninsula, a trip he would recount in his third book, Noto, An Unexplored Corner of Japan (1891). He sailed back to Boston in June of 1889 to deliver the Phi Beta Kappa poem, "Sakura no Saku," to the graduating class of Harvard. Most of the following

year saw Lowell in Europe, primarily in Spain, before his re-establishment in Tokyo in April 1891. In July he made the trip to Mount Ontake where he and his companion, George Agassiz, stumbled upon the performance of shamanistic Shinto practices. Lowell described this adventure and analyzed the esoteric Shinto rites in his last Japan book, Occult Japan, or the Way of the Gods (1894), which continued refinements on the "Impersonality" theory that he introduced in Choson and expounded upon in The Soul of the Far East. He left Japan for the last time in the autumn of 1893 to begin his astronomical research at the observatory that he was to found outside of Flagstaff in 1894.

While in Japan, Lowell occupied himself by making excursions from his home base in Tokyo, compiling notes for his books, and socializing with the other foreigners in Japan. Ernest Fenollosa's residence in Tokyo was a common gathering spot for the several Bostonians in Japan.[3] Fenollosa, who was the prime crusader for the preservation of native Japanese arts, saw "a good deal of young Mr. Lowell."[4] The Boston Brahmins who congregated in Tokyo included Edward Sylvester Morse, who was instrumental in persuading Lowell and other Bostonians to come to Japan, Lowell's cousin Dr. William Sturgis Bigelow, Henry Adams, and artist John LaFarge. George Agassiz, grandson of the famous naturalist Louis Agassiz, and Lowell's college chum and cousin Harcourt Amory were among those who frequently traveled with Lowell. As his English friend and notable Japanologist Basil Hall Chamberlain remarked in his letters to Lafcadio Hearn, Lowell seemed to be constantly on the move within Japan and between Japan and Boston.[5] This desire to see new places, begun at an early age, was to go unabated

throughout his life.

Lowell's character during his Japan period was most frequently if not most accurately described in Chamberlain's six-year correspondence with Lafcadio Hearn, who arrived in Japan in the spring of 1890. Chamberlain, like others, emphasized that Percival was "the sweetest-tempered, sunniest individual imaginable."[6] Lowell's wit and enthusiasm for discovery seemed to endear him to all those who met him, yet as he became more convinced of the accuracy of his theory of Japanese "impersonality" his company became more intolerable, according to Chamberlain.

Lowell had a penchant for argumentation, especially when it concerned a topic that he could relate to his theory. He expounded on his theory with such single-minded conviction that it became, as Chamberlain described it, an "idee fixe which he cannot keep out of his ordinary conversation, and uses as a touch-stone on every possible occasion."[7] Chamberlain's critique suggests that despite Lowell's glowing personality and intelligence, his impersonality theory approached ugly, megalomanic proportions. In Chamberlain's opinion, these flaws were not only detrimental to Lowell's thought, they were bringing about his downfall as well:

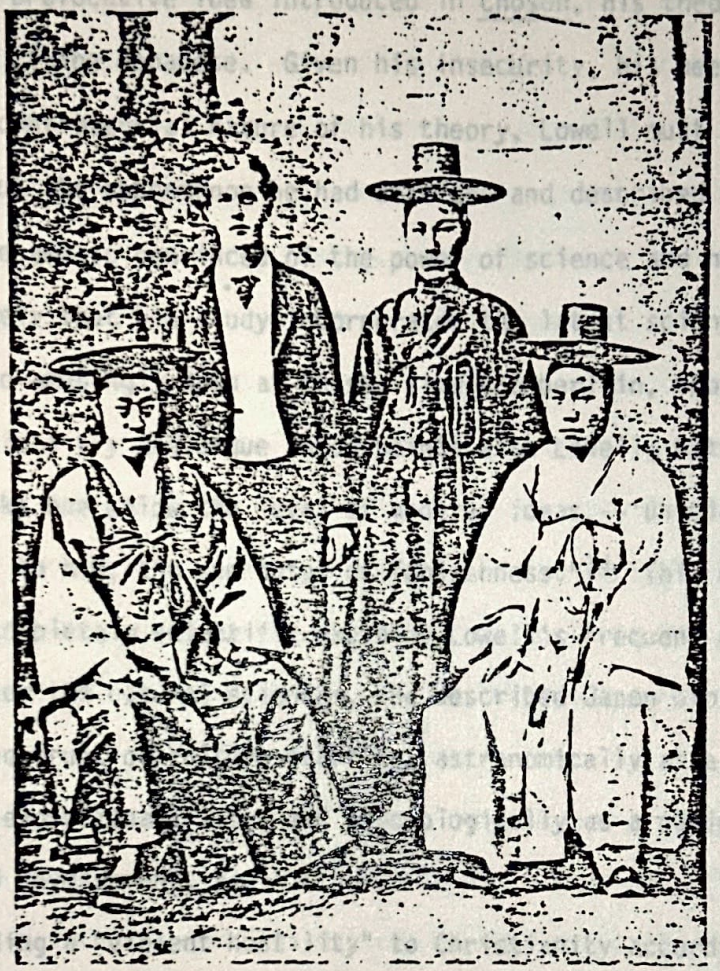
> And now it seems to me that these two defects,--excessive simplicity of thought which sums up under one or two abstractions phenomena that are vastly too complex for such cavalier treatment, and excessive elaborateness of style--are exercising their Nemesis on him.[8]

These defects also brought an end to Chamberlain's close friendship with Lowell.

To dismiss Lowell's theory as an aberration of a megalomanic mind is too simple and too extreme. Instead, it is best to judge Lowell's mind to be the type that desired to solve scientifically the "big problems,"

those which brought prestige to the solver.[9] Probably the greatest stimulus he received to seek the fame attached to new discoveries was the moral obligation he felt toward his prestigious family line. Lowell's initial self-doubts of his ability to live up to the status of a Lowell revealed anything but megalomania. His friend Sturgis Bigelow recognized the insecurity and anxiety in the thirty-year old Percival. In a letter to Lowell's father in August 1883, Bigelow wrote: "He distrusts himself too much, he has great ability, he has learned the Japanese faster than I ever saw any man learn a language--and only needs to be assured that he is doing the right thing to make a success of anything he undertakes, whether science or diplomacy."[10] Shortly after, Lowell led a Special Korean Embassy to the United States, the first diplomatic mission by Korea to any western country.

Having been specially recommended and having successfully accomplished the mission, Lowell gained greater confidence in his abilities, although he still harbored self-doubts. In a letter written on 17 February 1884 he expressed this continual insecurity to his sister Bessie: "I am not only expected by the Coreans but urged to write a book; but as I have a wholesome dread of publication I reserve my decision."[11] One senses from these extracts that at least half of the motive force propelling Lowell was of a negative and frustrating sort. His anxiety to achieve fame for himself and the family led him on the quest to East Asia, but the same anxiety and fear of failure obstructed the progress of his work. It was not until the publication and favorable reviews of his book on Korea, Choson, two years later when he became the Percival Lowell who could, as



PERCIVAL LOWELL AND THE MEMBERS OF THE KOREAN EMBASSY

Lafcadio Hearn would put it, "synthesize all the huge mass of facts and dash a cosmic idea out of them."[12]

Two more years later, Lowell elaborated in The Soul of the Far East on the most provocative idea introduced in Choson, his theory of the impersonality of the Japanese. Given his insecurity, his need for reassurance, and the controversial nature of his theory, Lowell must have felt very sure about the phenomenon he had detected and described "psychologically."[13] Lowell became so convinced of the power of science and he believed so obstinately that his study incorporated the latest scientific methods that he looked amusingly down at those, like Chamberlain, who criticized it: "I sometimes try and argue these points with Lowell; but he jokes one off, and thinks one below the level of general ideas,--'unscientific,' which word is, to him, the sum total of foolishness."[14] This desire to appear completely scientific explains Lowell's frequent use of analogies taken from the natural sciences. He described Japan biologically as the unripened fruit of culture-grafting, astronomically as a moon that had run out its evolutionary life, and psychologically as a nation-mind stymied by arrested development.[15]

Holding a "violent hostility" to Christianity according to Chamberlain--although he upheld Christianity against Buddhism aa progressive influence--Lowell embraced science as his religion and modernity as his deity.[16] "Lowell's ideal, his deity, is a strange one. It is ---- 1893! Say not a word against 'modernity' in his presence, or you will catch it (a blow from Lowell)."[17] Lowell had to be completely up-to-date with the current thought and theories in the world. He even considered Darwin no longer

"modern" and preferred Howells' version of Darwinism.[18] Lowell would not be satisfied with anything less than living on the edge of the future.[19] Lowell's fesire to be au courant was reflected in his European cast of mind. In many ways America, although attitudinally progessive, lagged intellectually behind England and the Continent. Darwin and Spencer, the two most influential thinkers in America, were Englishmen, and William James' Princiles of Psychology drew heavily on Continental, particularly French, sources. In fact, James was the first American thinker of the Gilded Age to attain world reknown. Thus "modern" from an intellectual point of view often meant European to Lowell. Even regarding Japanese matters, Americans were relatively slow in serious scholarship compared to Europeans, due partly to the Civil War Interlude. In one version of his deifying letter to George Gould describing The Soul of The Far East, Hearn expressed his surprise that an American had written it: "And an American (?) wrote it! . . . It will astound you like Schopenhauer, the same profundity and lucidity."[20]

In his characterization of foreign interpreters of Japan, Inazo Nitobe, educated in the United States and writing in English, noted in 1891 several features of American writers in contrast to Europeans:

> One feature is freedom from national prejudices against Japan and from undue national braggadocio and Chauvinism; hence Americans are generally more sympathetic and just than others, in their appreciation and delineation of Japanese character. Another distinguishing peculiarity is the strong admixture of religious interests which they evince--a feature due to the fact that the authors are chiefly missionaries or teachers. American bibliography on Japan to cement the friendly feeling already existing between the two nations. Its mission is not a philosophical

> or historical research--but a genial and humane bond; it is not intellectual--but moral, not science--but love.[21]

On every point Nitobe gave, Lowell would have to be classified as a European--his mission was philosophical, intellectual, and scientific, and "national braggadocio and Chauvinism," with an agnostic disinterest in religion as such, came across strongly in his work.

This European character in Lowell conforms with his educational experiences and cosmopolitan outlook. When nine years old his family went to France where he spent two years in a French boarding school. His brother stressed that "here Percival began a life different from that of his contemporaries at home . . . we learned the language easily by the native method of teaching it. To Percival this was a great benefit throughout his life."[22] At ten years old he wrote to his mother in his earliest extant letter: "For Papa, Lawrence and Katie, 1000 baisers chacun, et gardez 10,000 pour vous même."[23] Thus from an early age Lowell acquired a European frame of mind. His grand tour of Europe upon graduation from Harvard and his acquaintance with reknown Europeans in his later life attested to his cosmopolitan nature. It was in France where his astronomical study received some of its greatest acceptance and support. During a lecture Lowell gave about Mars in 1908 at the Sorbonne, a Frenchman in the audience was reported to have exclaimed "Why! He is even clever in French!"[24]

Lowell seemed to possess the American heart for progressive expansion upon new frontiers, East Asian or extraterrestrial, and the European mind for philosophic and scientific speculation. Even in his European mode he expressed the character of the elite New England class to which he

belonged, for a mark of cultivation was a cosmopolitan, in essence a European, knowledge of the world at large. Further knowledge of Lowell's own upper class Boston world is necessary to appreciate fully and unbiasedly the import of his view of the Japanese.

THE OBSERVER TURNED REFLECTOR: THE MAN IN HIS MILIEU

Percival Lowell had gone to Japan in the 1880s to examine the soul of the Japanese but left a record more indicative of his own soul and that of his social milieu. He opened The Soul of the Far East with the intention to use Japan as a mirror of western civilization in order to harmonize the eastern and western hemispheres and "realize humanity."[1] Although this humanitarian pursuit was to turn largely into a statement of western cultural, intellectual, and material superiority, he did succeed in reflecting western civilization in a Japanese mirror. Perhaps not as planned, Lowell's observation of the Japanese soul becomes a reflection of the intellectual spirit of his age.

A historical rather than anthropological approach to Lowell's theory of Japanese impersonality aims to breath life into a late nineteenth-century volume that loses much of its vitality as an accurate description of Japanese culture in the eye of a late twentieth-century critic. Many of Lowell's pseudoscientific methods and ethnocentric assumptions now appear ridiculous, but The Soul of the Far East possessed much value and asserted much influence in the late 1880s and 1890s as what Lawrence Chisolm has judged to be the first serious interpretation of Japanese culture geared to a general audience.[2] Regardless of its conclusions, it acquainted the West with aspects of Japan virtually unknown outside expert circles. Lowell's last book on Japan, Occult Japan, was actually a true discovery of Shinto shamanistic practices unknown until then by any westerner. Nevertheless, the value of Lowell's work today is to be found mostly as a historical document of his social milieu. Thirty

years after the appearance of The Soul of the Far East, the book's situational quality was already recognized. Clay MacCauley's memorial to Lowell on 24 January 1917 before the Asiatic Society of Japan, of which Lowell had been a member, noted that:

> . . . the book is really a marvellous psychical study. However, in reading it today, the critical reader should, all along, keep in mind the time and conditions under which Lowell wrote. . .
>
> . . ."Marvellous" I name it, not only because of the startling message it bears and the exquisitely fascinating speech by which the message is borne, but also because of the revelation it gives of the distinctive mental measure and the characteristic personality of the author himself.[3]

MacCauley tactfully opted not to specify of what this "characteristic personality" consisted, undoubtedly because much of it was negative. After this observation MacCauley then stressed, in the tone of an excuse, the historical context of Lowell's judgments. Without making excuses for Lowell, an examination of his intellectual and social environment brings to life a man and an age which would otherwise remain dead in history.

The fusion of socio-philosophic and scientific thought was characteristic in nineteenth-century minds. To apply science to all types of speculation enhanced the credibility of one's argument, since science had already revealed so many wonders of the universe. Science, thanks to the remarkable material progress it had produced, achieved the status of a religion as a vehicle of universal truth and panacea for human suffering. Herbert Spencer's Synthetic Philosophy epitomized this trend.[4] He endeavoured to reduce all life and movement in the universe to a single principle. Whether a stellar, planetary, animal, human,

social, or institutional body, all obeyed, according to him, the "law of evolution."[5] As early as 1864 Spencer was hailed in America as "the scientific spirit of the age."[6] During the 1870s and 1880s Japan, as well as America, was one of the countries where this Englishman was most in vogue.[7]

Lowell's lofty intentions to fathom the depths of the Japanese soul and his proclivity to simplify the workings of the universe into a single evolutionary principle revealed Herbert Spencer's effect on his thinking. Comparisons and analogies between the evolution of the Japanese and that of the cosmos were not infrequent in his writings: "for we hold here in the case of man the same spectacle that we see cosmically in the case of the moon, the spectacle of a world that has died of old age."[8]

This cosmic parallel reveals one case of the connection between Lowell's pursuit of Japan and his pursuit of Mars and Pluto. Later in his life Lowell expanded his evolutionary ideas in a work of Spencerian scope, The Evolution of Worlds. As a Boston Globe review advertised it:

> Within a few hours the reader can cover the entire history of a world, from its beginnings in the form of gaseous flame to its final death after all animal life has long departed from it, and its ultimate transformation, by collision with some other planet, into flaming gas once more--material for another world, in ages remote beyond the conception of the human mind.[9]

Spencer had stopped short of a scientific treatment of religious truth, dubbing it the Unknowable.[10] It was exactly this Unknowable that Lowell strove to know. In his psychological study of Japanese religions, particularly his treatment of Shinto in Occult Japan, Lowell brought even the gods into his laboratory.

In Occult Japan, after a lengthy description of the Shinto possession trances that he and Agassiz witnessed on Mount Ontake, Lowell analyzed the principles and practices of this divine communication in terms of modern hypnosis. Relying on James' Principles of Psychology (1890) for his knowledge of trance states, he compared and contrasted the physiological and psychological aspects of Shinto and hypnotic trances.[11] Despite the differences he noted, Lowell emphasized their similarities:

> It is hardly exaggeration to say that Japan at this moment is affording the rest of the world the spectacle of the most stupendous hypnotic act ever seen, nothing less than the hypnotization of a whole nation, with its eyes open. Forty million of folk there are now innocent freaks of foreign suggestion.[12]

In spite of the supercilious tone throughout the book, this laughable generalization was taken at least half seriously by Lowell. The apparent ease and frequency with which ancestral gods possessed Japanese mediums was indicative, thought Lowell, of a basic trait of the people: "Susceptibility to suggestion lies at the root of the race."[13] Every Japanese, Lowell claimed, had the potential to experience the possession trances of these Shinto rites if properly cultivated to do so from childhood. For those who were not so trained, the "susceptibility to suggestion" took other forms, cultural borrowing being the most common and most important.

The connection between his study of Shinto trances and his impersonality theory was easy to make. The reason for the high potential of possession in a Japanese, insisted Lowell, was because the Japanese self offered little resistance. Lowell fully intended the parallel with an electric

circuit which "potential" and "resistance" imply. Lowell gave a then up-to-date and credible explanation of the physical mechanics of brain and nerve action during conscious, unconscious, and trance states, describing consciousness as electric "nerve-glow" produced by electrochemical action within the brain and nervous system.[14] The exercises practiced to induce hypnotic and possession trances--reptitive and mindless actions--served, he stated, to decrease the resistance that these "glows" of self, or ideas, put up. The result was an increase in the potential for another channel of conductivity. A kind of lightning rod to the gods was thus created.

Since The Soul of the Far East showed that the Japanese were innately "impersonal," in other words, had little self-resistance, it followed that they more easily expressed the conditions of trance states, whether actually experiencing them or not. Whether from an ancestral deity existing in the Japanese subconscious or from a foreign country, a personality was thus adopted to fulfill the lack of one. In Occult Japan Lowell was able to conclude that "in Shinto god-possession we are viewing the actual incarnation of the ancestral spirit of the race. The man has temporarily become once more his own great great-grandfather."[15] By assuming that the development of the individual recapitulated that of the race, Lowell could relate hypnotic trances, through which one could recall childhood, to possession trances, through which ancient gods were summoned.

Thus to Lowell, nothing, not even "noumena," stood outside the realm of a pure scientific investigation. Some of his critics shared this same opinion. A review of Occult Japan held that this "treatise stands a model

of keen observation, deep insight, and scientific analysis, while over all this rigidly scientific material and method is thrown the charm of a style that implies the blending of scientist and poet."[16] The progressive spirit of the era required the explanation of things unknown. If God would not reveal to humanity during life the secrets of the universe man would have to take it upon himself to do so as best he could. Science yielded results and was therefore hallowed by many as a secular religion. Liberal Protestants even recognized the clout that science carried as they organized the study of comparative religions and Bible criticisms along scientific lines.[17] Lowell himself was partaking of this new field of comparative religious studies in his analysis of Buddhism and Christianity.[18] It was amid such dissections of divinity that Nietzche during the 1880s declared that God was dead.

Much of Lowell's philosophical and psychological thought was derivative. The Darwin and Spencer in Lowell was evident, though as Chamberlain indicated, it was "a sort of Darwinism misunderstood and annotated by Howells."[19] He also noted in the same letter to Hearn that most of Lowell's psychological thought stemmed from William James, America's fast-rising psychologist and philosopher.[20] Lowell's definitions of individuality, personality, and self-consciousness paralleled James' psycho-philosophical conception of four levels of Self: the material, the social, the spiritual, and the Pure Ego. The fourth one amounted to little more than a philosophical variation of the third.[21] As noted, Lowell also used James' ideas about hypnotic and trance states in his investigation of Shinto shamanistic rituals. Not only the content, but also the terminology of James' theories were similar.[22]

As a transitional figure between philosophical and scientific approaches to psychology, James, like Lowell, reflected the intellectual situation of the late nineteenth century. Friends in later life, Lowell and James probably had contact with each other during Lowell's undergraduate years at Harvard.[23] James began teaching physiology and anatomy there in 1872, Lowell's freshman year. He then taught his first psychology course in Lowell's junior year, "The Relation Between Physiology and Psychology."[24] Chamberlain remarked to Hearn in 1893, as Lowell worked on Occult Japan, that Lowell's metaphysical mentor was "the new man," James.[25] In a letter to Chamberlain two years later, Hearn commented about Occult Japan: "You know the physiological side of his (Lowell's) psychology is no more original than the 'Miscellany' of a medical weekly."[26] Although Hearn meant this statement derogatorily, it is likely that Lowell's knowledge of psychology merely reflected the influence which James emanated in the 1890s. James' psychology probably dominated medical weeklies.

In light of the objections and praise that Lowell's theory provoked, how does one interpret the ethnocentrism and racism it expressed? Rather than dismiss Lowell's work as valueless on the basis of these detrimental elements, one should attempt to understand it for what it signified. The implicit racism of Lowell's theory may weaken its credibility as a cross-cultural interpretation, but one may still glean profits from it as a historical phenomenon.

The underlying assumption in The Soul of the Far East, from title to end-page, is that there existed in Japan an unchanging "soul," a single mysterious principle which determined the culture. By the mid-nineteenth

century, discussions about the differences in national "spirit" and "soul" were prevalent in America amid the emergence of anthropology as a scientific discipline.[27] The scientist, Lowell sought to demonstrate, could analyze this fundamental force in Japan through the observation and interpretation of "race characteristics" which the people had generally displayed since the stagnation of their "mind-evolution" during the formative stages of their civilization. As every commentator on The Soul of the Far East agreed at the time, Lowell's argument for the impersonality of the Japanese was powerful and convincing, requiring much thought to pick apart. Today, a reader of The Soul of the Far East cringes at most of its generalizations but the uneasiness one feels in accepting it as a truth does not essentially result from a flaw in the course of his argument. Perhaps Chamberlain's doubt over Lowell's deductive method was the only exception at the time. Instead, it is Lowell's basic assumption of the existence of a race-soul--a dominant conception in his day--which one should perhaps call into question.

Surprisingly, not a single critic of The Soul of the Far East has questioned the existence of Lowell's subject of study, "the Japanese soul." Only Lowell himself ironically concluded, in effect, that the Japanese had no soul, since this condition was what their lack of personality and imagination had signified to him.[28] Only Robert Ellwood came close to an attack upon Lowell's presuppositions: "The Olympian characteristics of national mentalities, and the occasional unfortunate superciliousness, fall short of what would today seem in the best of taste--unless couched in psycho-analytic language or directed against international rivals."[29] But even this critique did not preclude the hidden presence of an analyzable

"soul" or national mind. Ellwood re-interpreted Lowell's impersonality theory as indicative of ideal cultural forms that the human psyche can only approximate.[30] This approach is more flexible, but it still implies an arcane force that drives a civilization. Lowell's contemporaries and many twentieth-century interpreters of Japan have taken for granted this existence of a special "Japanese mind." The Japanese themselves are major perpetrators of this image.[31]

In her study of American stereotypes of Japan since 1941, anthropologist Sheila Johnson suggested that it would be better to dismiss the idea of national character "as little more than prejudice dressed up in scholarly clothing" and to assume that national stereotypes are based on immediate impressions of people and events rather than upon some deep-seated immutable force known as national character."[32] In other words, an American image of Japan arises out of and changes with specific situations between the two nations. These situations, considered with the interpreter's personal background, determines the resultant image of the Japanese. This approach, which Johnson terms "situational," is no more than an anthropological version of common historical methodology. Thus, in order to study Lowell's thought usefully, the historian must fully understand the context in which Lowell made his racial judgments.

Race-thinking was a nineteenth-century phenomenon originating from two general currents. The first arose from the early nineteenth-century romantic movement and the nationalism it engendered.[33] Based on political and literary sources, it lacked a clear physiological aspect. Instead, it identified culture with ancestry to stress the uniqueness and permanence

of nationally organized peoples. It also concerned itself with the vitality of one's one nation rather than the threat of another. Where race conflicts were minimal in America, such as among the eastern social elite, Anglo-Saxonism became a matter of complacent pride.[34] Lowell, a Bostonian, belonged to this group. He lauded the accomplishments of the Anglo-Saxon West without perceiving the Japanese race as a threat. It was only with Japan's military victories over China (1895) and Russia (1905) that the "Yellow Peril" emerged, but by this time Lowell had effectively ended his career as a Japanologist to study Mars and to search for the ninth planet, Japan having lost much of its novelty as a land of new discovery.

The second form of race-thinking arose among naturalists. This biologically based separation of cultures had received its first impetus with the discovery of new lands during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. From a lineage of scientifically minded thinkers curious about foreign peoples developed the early schools of anthropology during the nineteenth century. By the late nineteenth century, this biological stream of race-thinking--receiving fuel from Darwin's theory of natural selection--merged with the ideological current.[35]

Two results of this mergence were the categorization of human groups into different "races" and the development of competitive racism. Each race was compared on an imagined scale of physical, personal, and intellectual qualities, with the well-formed, sophisticated, intelligent European serving as the standard of perfection. Non-Caucasians were placed somewhere between "primitive" and "culturally sophisticated but socially

arrested." The Japanese were of this latter group according to Lowell. As his contemporary John Ruskin described them, they were "human creatures of a partially inferior race, but not without great human gentleness, domestic affection, and ingenious intellect."[36] The most popular European image of the inferior races was that they were childlike. They were in the infantile or juvenile stages of their historical development as a race. In 1898, British social psychologist Benjamin Kidd offered a generalization that was considered respectable at the time: "In dealing with the natural inhabitants of the tropics we are dealing with peoples who represent the same stage in the history of the development of the race that the child does in the history of the development of the individual."[37] Lowell had said the same thing about the Japanese ten years earlier in The Soul of the Far East.[38]

The conversion of social values and institutions into biological facts in the Social Darwinism of Herbert Spencer yielded a competitive form of racism, one in which "the survival of the fittest" implied the extinction of weaker peoples. The condescending tone of Europeans toward non-western peoples during the 1700s and early 1800s was not yet racist because "the thought supporting it had not yet been rigidly fixed in pseudoscientific ideas about human evolution and differentiation."[39] Spencer's application of Darwin's biological theory of natural selection-in which spontaneous variations among an animal species led to the evolution of animals with traits better adapted for survival--to human society provided the pseudoscientific support for racism. It also implied that the differentiation between races was necessary for the

survival and progress of the species and that in this natural process of evolution some races would necessarily die out. At the top of the hierarchy of races was what became generally known as the Aryan, an agglomeration of what was best in Europe that had been predominantly passed on through the Germanic peoples.[40] Within this general category of Aryan, the English--the most expansive imperial power in the mid-nineteenth century-developed and perpetuated the myth of Anglo-Saxonism.

The Anglo-Saxon people became the elite of an elite, although there had never actually been a specific Anglo-Saxon people in England. As used in its racial sense during the nineteenth century, it referred generally to those people living in England and vaguely to those English-speaking peoples throughout the British isles and the world.[41] Nationalistic ideologies, biological classification and the pseudoscientific support of Social Darwinism produced a potent weapon with which to assert English superiority in the world. As America grew during the century the idea of Anglo-Saxon superiority was adopted and re-interpreted to serve the needs of the social elite within the country in order to maintain their status and to serve the needs of the nation abroad in imperialistic ventures.[42] As one would expect, the major center of American racist and imperialistic thought was in Lowell's hometown, Boston.[43]

America was a late-comer amid the New Imperialism of the later nineteenth century. Although it was the American Commodore Perry who "opened up" Japan in the mid-1850s, the United States played a minimal role in Japan thereafter because of the internal problems of the Civil War. It was not until the 1880s and 1890s when discussions of imperialism reached

a high pitch in Boston.[44] This period was precisely the time during which Lowell was writing about Japan. Belonging to the group of Boston elites, he flowed with the current thought which became increasingly imperialistic once the country had re-established the equilibrium lost during the Civil War. Scientifically justified racism in turn helped to justify claims to imperial expansion. The superior race believed itself to be the civilisation oblige, carrying out a Christian mission to enlighten inferior races. Thus sanctioned by both God and Science, economic and territorial expansion abroad became a progressive duty despite obvious injustices which the subject nations suffered. Lowell shared in this duty, or propaganda, by turning The Soul of the Far East into a declaration of western superiority.

What Lowell's book did not represent, however, was a plea for American imperialism in East Asia. Two main reasons existed for this lack of imperialistic aggression from Lowell despite his membership in a social elite that reflected the strongest current of imperialistic thought. The first was that Japan had already successfully placated the western power by establishing trade and submitting to unequal treaties, and had, by the late 1880's, sufficiently modernized to resist foreign aggressors. In fact, Japan, wishing to emulate the western power-building techniques, was on its way to becoming itself an imperial power.[45] Thus, Japan was no longer a target country for imperialistic expansion.

The second reason was perhaps more significant in Lowell's case. That was his aloof position. Collectively, this sort of superiority was double-edged with respect to Japan: it justified imperialism in

most cases, but it could also lead to a flippant, cynical attitude toward the efforts of a non-Caucasian. Japan was the first such nation to attempt to modernize and to succeed, but until the Sino-Japanese war, the western powers for the most part could not perceive of Japan as a potential imperial rival.[46] This attitude, which influenced much of the western nations' treatment of Japan, was at work in Lowell's The Soul of the Far East.

To Lowell, Western Civilization was too far advanced to fear Japan. He did share a sense of "the white man's burden" when he maintained that East Asia's only salvation was Westernization, but he was not too assertive about this idea. He implied that the true burden lay with the East Asians, who had to seek and adopt western ideas for themselves. "Unless their newly imported ideas really take root, it is from this whole world that Japanese and Koreans, as well as Chinese, will inevitably be excluded."[47] Westerners would not and could not do more than offer ideas, as well as goods, for import. It was up to the Japanese to implement them if they wished to be counted among the fittest.

This attitude was actually truer to Social Darwinism than that of the imperialists who justified their actions by claiming to aid native populations in the evolution of their civilizations. The whole point of Spencer's law of evolution for human societies was that evolutional progress of a civilization was, as Darwin claimed for animal species, natural and spontaneous. Humans could do nothing to spur it on; they could only go along with it. Externally forcing "progress" upon a society perverted the concept of evolution.

Lowell perceived this warped form of evolution and used it to explain the apparent disparity between the cultural refinement and material progress of the Japanese. According to him, their lack of imagination--and therefore originality--had produced a spirit of imitation.[48] That was why, he maintained, the Japanese had borrowed so much of their culture from the Chinese and were in the process of borrowing from the West. This practice could not, however, generate a true evolution of the culture from within, since the borrowings were not an innate part of the "Japanese Soul." Thus, there developed the flowery accoutrements attached to the stunted stump of the Japanese race-tree:

> Something akin to such a case of unnatural selection has there taken place. The orderly procedure of natural evolution was disastrously supplemented by man. For the fact that in the growth of their tree of knowledge the branches developed out of all proportion to the trunk is due to a practice of culture-grafting.[49]

One immediately sees the contradiction inherent in Lowell's thinking. It was disastrous and contrary to the idea of evolution to culture-graft unnaturally, yet the Japanese adoption of western ways was, in his view, their only hope of survival on earth among the "fittest" nations. It is probable that Lowell simply did not believe that such an equality with the West was ever possible. The tone of Lowell's concluding paragraph in The Soul of the Far East suggests that he was among those who held a cynical view of the Japanese attempt at modernization:

> ...these races of the Far East, if unchanged, (are) destined to disappear before the advancing nations of the West.... Unless their newly imported ideas really take root, it is from this whole world that Japanese and Koreans, as well as Chinese, will inevitably be excluded.

> Their Nirvana is already being realized; already it has wrapped Far Eastern Asia in its winding-sheet, the shroud of those whose day was but a dawn, as if in prophetic keeping with the names they gave their homes,--the Land of the Day's Beginning, and the Land of the Morning Calm.[50]

In the case of Japan, Lowell's prophecy did ironically come true; Japan successfully adopted western techniques of nation-building and became counted among the world powers. Lowell, probably believing such equality impossible, never speculated on the conflicts it could entail. It was left to western observers of Japan during the first four decades of the twentieth century to prophesyze Pearl Harbor.[51]

Viewed within the late nineteenth-century situation, Lowell's obscured racist perceptions of the Japanese are focused into a clear vision of the societal trends of Gilded Age America and, more broadly, of the imperialistically charged attitudes of the West as a whole. Strongest of these trends was the pseudoscience of Social Darwinism which propped up imperial claims. The power and authority of Herbert Spencer's ideas in America during Lowell's time cannot be overstressed. Not only did Spencer's conclusions and inferences influence minds like Lowell's but also his entire way of thinking often served as an ideal to be emulated. From Spencer and the most prominent American thinker in the budding science of psychology, William James, Lowell received the majority of the inspiration which shaped his thought. Combined with Lowell's personal background and tastes, this influence from his social and intellectual milieu was to take the form of an impressive although questionable analysis of the Japanese Soul.

ANALYZING A SOUL

Lowell's was a mind intially motivated by a sense of moral obligation to gain fame through a great discovery. The "Japanese Soul", by its very otherness and seemingly paradoxical qualities, provided the challenge necessary to establish this fame. For Lowell there seemed no better an opportunity than to assault the enigmas of a still "mysterious" Japan with the modern weapons of western science. Nothing was beyond the grasp of the pure scientist. Indeed, it was the scientist's duty to bring the Unknowable of the universe within the bounds of human knowledge. As long as aspects of Japan remained unknown, Lowell would pursue them. Accordingly, he chose to analyze the soul of the Japanese until he felt, by 1893, that he had exhausted its possibilities.

Lowell's theory of Japanese impersonality appeared in embryonic form in his first book, Chosen; The Land of the Morning Calm (1886), primarily a descriptive work concerning Korean society and geography but containing several interpretive chapters dealing with psychological and ethnological characterists of East Asian civilizations.[1] In Choson, Lowell identified the foundation of Korean and Japanese character as "The Triad Principles." In his view, "The Quality of Impersonality," "The Patriarchal System," and "The Position of Women" had produced "a curious case of partially arrested development."[2] By this he referred to the anomaly of less technologically and apparently less mentally advanced eastern civilizations displaying outward signs of advanced cultural maturity, such as their keen artistic sense and politeness. "The race has the semblance of being grown

up while it has kept the mind of its childhood."[3]

This incipient and diffuse version of what was to become Lowell's "pet ethnic generalization"[4] loosely covered less than fifty pages in Choson. In contrast, his second book, The Soul of the Far East (1888), represented a systematic treatment of Japanese impersonality in a broad and detailed theory of book length. Favorably reviewed, The Soul of the Far east was one of the most influential works on Japan to that time.[5] Ethnocentric distortions aside, Lowell's thesis boiled down to the claim that the Japanese, as well as the other East Asians, showed a relative lack of ego-assertion compared to Westerners. Although stated in the extreme and often misinterpreted by Lowell, the idea in itself was not wholly false. Since the appearance of this theory there seems to have been a concensus that it was in fact a plausible description of Japanese character, but the reasons for such a submergence of self were different from those that Lowell gave.

As Lowell presented his idea, he imagined a cultural "belt" wrapped around the earth's latitudes which included almost all notable civilizations. Dividing this belt longitudinally, he asserted that "the peoples in it grow steadily more personal as we go west. So unmistakable is this gradation of spirit, that one is tempted to ascribe it to cosmic rather than to human causes."[6] The ridiculous pseudoscience that this assertion seems to represent actually conformed with the style of sociobiological speculation common to the western intellectual environment of the 1880s, and like much of that thought it suffered more from its generalizations

than from specific truths that it may have approached but distorted. The ethnocentrism of Lowell's generalization became even more evident in the passage leading to his thesis statement:

> . . . the sense of self grows more intense as we follow in the wake of the setting sun, and fades steadily as we advance into the dawn. America, Europe, the Levant, India, Japan, each is less personal than the one before. We stand at the nearer end of the scale, the Far Orientals at the other. If with us the I seems to be of the very essence of the soul, then the soul of the Far East may be said to be Impersonality.[7]

The problem that Lowell presented in his thesis was the apparent paradox that the Japanese were a cultured people yet seem backward in multitudinous respects, lacking the material and scientific sophistication of the West. He repeated the diagnosis given in Choson: "In the civilization of Japan we have presented to us a most interesting case of partially arrested development." He continued by specifying the exact nature of this stagnation, stating that the Japanese were "a singular example of a completed race-life."[8] They have suffered from an innate inability to progress further; no external force obstructed their development. On the contrary, borrowings from abroad, constituting a kind of "unnatural selection," were their only, albeit disastrous, source of evolutionary stimulation.[9]

> Take away the European influence of the last twenty years, and each man might almost be his own great-grandfather. In race characteristics he is yet essentially the same. The traits that distinguished these people in the past have been extinguishing them ever since. Of these traits, stagnating influences upon their career, perhaps the most important is the great quality of impersonality.[10]

The Soul of the Far East, advertised Lowell, will penetrate the fundamental reason for this phenomenon of impersonality. Before revealing this key to understanding the Japanese, Lowell had to demonstrate that the Japanese were indeed a people characterized by an absence of personality.

The idea of personality has a long and complicated history. "Personality" is derived from the Latin "persona," which denoted the theatrical mask used in Greek drama. No consensus has been reached on the antecedent of this word.[11] "Persona" immediately assumed several distinct meanings as evidenced in the writings of Cicero (106-43 B.C.): (1) external appearance (not the true self); (2) the character or role which the player assumes in the drama; (3) an individual possessed of distinctive personal qualities; and (4) prestige and dignity.[12] A wide range of definitions developed from these four branches within Indo-European languages. That definitions (1) and (3) are contradictory exhibits the flexibility of the word. Most generally, "Personality means that which is assumed, non-essential, false, as well as that which is vital, inward, and essential."[13] In the English of the nineteenth century the word "personality" possessed all of these meanings, plus variations which had accrued over the centuries. Since it could denote contrary conceptions, it is essential to understand how Lowell used the term.

Throughout The Soul of the Far East Lowell used the words "personality," "individuality," and "self-consciousness" almost synomymously. Despite frequent interchanging, each of these words retained subtle and important distinctions. Unfortunately, Lowell did not make these distinctions explicit until his concluding chapter, which could easily bewilder the

reader and incite severe critism.[14]

> Individuality, personality, and the sense of self are only three different aspects of one and the same thing. They are so many various views of the soul according as we regard it from an intrinsic, an altrusitic, or an egoistic standpoint . . . By individuality we mean that bundle of ideas, thoughts, and daydreams which constitute our separate identity . . . Consciousness is the necessary attribute of mental action . . .Not to be conscious of one's self is, mentally speaking, not to be. This complex entity, this little cosmos of the world, the "I, has for its very law of existence self-consciousness, while personality is the effect it produces upon the consciousness of others.[15]

In Gordon W. Allport's scheme of classifying definitions of personality, Lowell's use of the word "personality" would be restricted to its biosocial meaning.[16] A biosocial definition, such as "the sum-total of the effect made by an individual upon society,"[17] focuses on external appearances and the effect that an individual has on others. "Individuality" in Lowell's lexicon was primarily a psychological definition of personality. The biophysical nature of this use characterizes it a psychological. It stresses the conception of an individual as being a unique aggregate of thoughts and ideas produced by the brain.[18] Finally, "self-consciousness" to Lowell was clearly what Allport classes as a philosophical definition of personality, which emphasizes the "rationality, self-consciousness, and the subjective core of a man's being."[19] Windelband's definition of personality--"individuality which had become objective to itself"[20] comes closest to Lowell's use of "self-consciousness" in its relation to individuality.

Most of the confusion and criticism which arises when Lowell invokes the word "personality" owes to this multiplicity of meanings and to Lowell's desire to express his theory by a single, concise idea, "impersonality." Lowell contrasted the Japanese with what he judged as an individualistic,

self-conscious, and personal West, but there existed no simple and direct antonym for individuality and self-consciousness. Universalism and altruism were probably the best candidates.[21] For Lowell's purposes, however, use of these words with "impersonality" would have been awkward. This tendency to reduce a philosophical system to a single principle and to describe a scientific process by a general law runs deep in western thought, and was particularly prevalent during the nineteenth century when the boundaries between philosophy and science were often blurred.[22] Thus, by the one term "impersonality" Lowell also implied "un-individuality" and un-self-consciousness" when the opposite of individuality and self-consciousness were intended.

Lowell arrived at his general principle of impersonality of the Japanese by what he considered the most comprehensive and profound approach. He clearly set forth his methodology:

> We shall see this (impersonality) as we look at what these people are, at what they were, and at what they hope to become; not historically, but psychologically . . . These three states, which we may call its potential past, present, and future, may be observed and studied in three special outgrowths of a race's character: in its language, in its every-day thoughts, and in its religion.

Lowell immediately justified these seemingly arbitrary divisions:

> For in the language of a people we find embalmed the spirit of its past; in its every-day thoughts, be they of arts or sciences, is wrapped up in its present life; in its religion lie enfolded its dreamings of a future.[23]

By today's standards this sort of Spencerian generalization appears dubious, but from his point of view, and that of his contemporaries, Lowell remained perfectly scientific in his analysis of the Japanese.[24]

After pointing out several aspects of Japanese family life which

supposedly indicated impersonality--arranged marriages, widespread adoption, and the lack of personal birthday celebrations--Lowell began his linguistical analysis. He isolated parts of the Japanese language which he maintained demonstrated impersonality. Foremost was the relative absence of personal pronouns. Only in cases of absolute ambiguity, maintained Lowell, were they manufactured and used. Even then, they possessed an impersonal character. Since taken literally they did not directly designate the subject's being, his self.[25] Instead, they most often denoted one's relative location, social or spatial:

> Very non-committal expressions they are, most of them, such as: "the augustness," meaning you; "that honorable side," or "that corner," denoting some third person, the exact term employed in any given instance scrupulously betokening the relative respect in which the individual spoken of is held; while with a candor, an indefiniteness, or a humility worthy so polite a people, the I is known as "selfishness," or "a certain person," or "the clumsy one."[26]

Levels of honorific replaced pronouns to distinguish between persons, but this system of politeness, Lowell insisted, arose out of respect for others, thus not being self-oriented:

> The average Far Oriental indeed talks as much to no purpose as his Western cousin, only in his chit-chat politeness replaces personalities. With him, self is suppressed, and an ever present regard for others is substituted in its stead.[27]

Un-self-consciousness seems indeed a plausible explanation for the avoidance of personal pronouns, but the same phenomenon could equally imply the existence of strong personalities which are consciously submerged to maintain social harmony. One critic commented that

Lowell's phrase "self is suppressed" presupposes the existence of a self to be suppressed, thus contradicting the contention that the Japanese are fundamentally impersonal.[28] Rather than behind the "mindevolution" of the West, this idea implies that they have reached a stage beyond that of the West. Neither Lowell nor his critic would have ever seriously suggested this Japanese ascendence, however. Only the most sympathetic western observer of Japan, Lowell's most ardent admirer and severest critic Lafcadio Hearn, privately stated that the Japanese were ahead of the West in moral development.[29]

Lowell moved from language to the everyday thoughts of the Japanese, selecting for examples their attitudes towards nature and art. His argument was that a preoccupation with nature, rather than humans, in Japanese art exemplified another form of self-neglect.[30] This conclusion led easily into his analysis of Buddhism, whose basic tenant ofanti-egoism fit neatly within his scheme of the Japanese psyche. The extinction of personal desires and the goal of absorption of the self into the selfless bliss of Nirvana was "a blessed impersonal immortality."[31] In contrast, Christianity "clings to the ego" and professes "the certainty of personal immortality."[32] Christianity thus enhanced personality and propelled individual achievement. A culture whose main religion insisted upon the abandonment of self as the highest spiritual goal necessarily produced an impersonal people: "Not content with being born impersonal, a Far Oriental is constantly striving to make himself more so."[33]

Robert Ellwood has suggested that Lowell's examples of impersonality in Japanese language, art, and religion were superficial and pointed to a

cultural ideal system rather than the actual behavior of the Japanese. Just as there existed Americans who submerged their personalities, there were numerous cases of ego-assertion among the Japanese.[34] Dealing primarily with ideas from an aloof position and being selective in his choice of examples taken from personal encounters with Japanese people, Lowell probably had identified parts of a cultural ideal system. Whether he described such a system as developed solely by the Japanese or as his and other western minds conceived of it remains in question and raises the greater problem of how and by whom cultural ideals are generated.

Lowell's stated purpose in the opening pages of The Soul of the Far East was to use the Japanese as a "mirror of the mind,--a mirror that shows us our own familiar thoughts, but all turned wrong side out" in order to understand better all of humanity and mental evolution:

> Regarding, then, the Far Oriental as a man, and not simply as a phenomenon, we discover in his peculiar point of view a new importance--the possibility of using it stereoptically. For his mind-photograph of the world can be placed side by side with ours, and the two pictures combined will yield results beyond what either alone could possibly have afforded. Thus harmonized, they will help us to realize humanity. Indeed it is only by such a combination of two different aspects that we ever perceive substance and distinguish reality from illusion. What our two eyes make possiable for material objects, the earth's two hemispheres may enable us to do for mental traits.[35]

The status of eastern and western civilizations in this comprehensive view of human evolution were expressed on equal terms. The striking contrariety of the Japanese--from the relatively backward structure of their language's syntax and reading direction to the custom of removing shoes instead of hats upon entering a building--prompted Lowell to consider

Japan as a reversed, but not necessarily negative, image of the West.

The idea of "topsy-turvydom" in Japan was common in the nineteenth century among Westerners.[36] With Lowell, however, it took on a new character. It completed the image of human evolution and provided a means by which Westerners could examine their own reflections. As in a mirror, what it right-sided to the observer appears left-sided in the reflected image. Despite this reversal, a mirror is still useful. Likewise, claimed Lowell, Westerners should look upon Japan.[37] Thus he introduced The Soul of the Far East as a study from which the western reader would benefit by increasing his knowledge of East Asia and of himself. He concluded it on an entirely different note.

Over the span of 226 pages, Lowell's psychological analysis of the Japanese soul degenerated into what Ellwood calls "a rather bitter argument for Western superiority, after certain self-doubts have been allowed to surface, and finally ends in a shrill threat."[38] In his last chapter, Lowell unveiled his conclusion that it was a lack of imagination, the trait responsible for individuation and evolutionary progress, that plagued the Japanese and rendered them impersonal. He prophesized that if unchanged, the East Asian races would be eliminated from the face of the earth.[39] The side by side "steroptical" placement of the western and eastern hemispheres has undergone a transformation--a rotation which positioned the former conveniently on the top. Any benefits that Westerners were to derive from Lowell's study have diminished. In their stead Lowell issues a warning to the Japanese: Westernize or perish.

Lowell's shift from an egalitarian to an ethnocentric attitude has

tended to discredit his entire Impersonality theory in the minds of most late twentieth-century readers. Even his contemporary and admirer Lafcadio Hearn criticized Lowell's viewpoint as too aloof and western-bound. One should not, however, dismiss it too easily. Hearn certainly did not: "Of course no thinker can ignore Lowell's book. The idea is too powerful, too scientific, and too well sustained not to demand the utmost respect and study. I have given both."40

ANALYZING THE ANALYZER: LAFCADIO HEARN'S CRITIQUE

Before Percival Lowell's and Lafcadio Hearn's arrival in Japan, there had passed about thirty years of growing contact between Japan and the western countries. Thousands of diplomats, missionaries, scientists, teachers, and causal travelers had taken either the Indian or the Pacific route to Japan. As a scientifically limited yet superlatively cultivated civilization, Japan first appeared to Westerners as a curious paradox. But, by 1880, this charming land of doll-like refinement had well begun its rapid metamorphosis into a modern nation which would lead to its stunning military victory over Russia in 1905.

Lowell and Hearn wrote about Japan at a critical juncture. Lowell in particular was at the tail end of the first generation of western observers for whom Japan remained new and strangely "primitive," and on the leading edge of a second generation which watched Japan make its remarkable transformation to the status of a world power. Hearn published his Japan books about a decade later than Lowell's and thus was able to critique both Lowell and the rapid changes in progress in Japan after Lowell left the country in 1893. In order to appreciate this timeliness and significance of Lowell's study of Japan, it is necessary to place both him and Hearn within the context of western writers on Japan and then to analyze his theory through Hearn's critique. In this way, Lowell's link in the lineage of cross-cultural interpretations of Japan will lend depth and perspective to his work.

Western interpreters of Japan from the coming of Commodore Perry in 1853 to the 1880s all contributed something to the western view of Japan. Much of this view was initially composed of images colored by heightened expectations and distorted by basic misunderstandings of Japanese culture. The early foreign diplomats in Japan from 1853 to 1870, with few exceptions, took little serious interest in the country beyond that which was political or economic.[1] The impressions they related centered naturally around the otherness of Japan. Two aspects, art and women, predominated in this image since souvenirs were usually pieces of native artwork and since men found the subservient qualities of Japanese women most appealing in light of Victorian morals and increasing feminism. Japan repesented the fulfillment of many fantasies.[2]

After the Meiji Restoration (1868) Protestant missionaries and hired experts (Yatoi) in various fields about which the Japanese wished to learn in order to modernize joined the diplomats in Japan.[3] As educators and scientists, this group began more serious studies of Japan in the form of general histories, detailed travel books and monographs on specific topics for a professional audience.[4] They balanced their predecessors superficial attitudes towards Japanese culture, yet did little to spread serious interpretations of this culture to the general reader. Thus, popular stereotypes of Japan persisted.

A final circle of important American writers on Japan arose with the oversea travel boom of the 1880s and 1890s. These globe-trotters were typically men of leisure, learning, and lineage from the Boston area. Family prestige was a source of both pride and pressure for these men. They were

expected to maintain the rank of the family name by making a name for themselves.[5] These circumstances led variously to a Far Eastern quest, for the newly "opened" Japan held prospects for discoveries. Provoked by intellectual or spiritual discontent, moral obligations to the family, or just plain curiousity, they went to Japan with the urge to find something. This group included most notably Edward Morse, Ernest Fenollosa, William Sturgis Bigilow, Henry Adams, John LaFarge and Percival Lowell. They sought escape, fame, knowledge, and Nirvana in Japan.[6] Their contribution to the western picture of Japan lay principally in specialized studies. They sometimes fulfilled their quests, but regardless of the outcome, their Japanese adventures were motivated by personal concerns and remained largely private experiences. Lowell was an exception. Only he produced an earnest analysis of Japanese civilization directed to the intelligent, reading public. The Soul of the Far East, which filled a hole in western scholarship on Japan, was the book that provided the key source of inspiration for yet another western writer to go to Japan, Lafcadio Hearn.

Lafcadio Hearn (1850-1904) was the most influential writer on Japan at least until World War II.[7] Like Lowell, Hearn's work, completed from 1890 to 1904, represents the onset of a second generation of western interpreters of Japan. Unlike Lowell, Hearn's origins were much humbler. The immigrant son of a Greek, Arabic, and Moorish woman and Anglo-Irish father, he struggled to make a living as a journalist after having arrived in America in 1869. Poetic, sensitive, macabre, and melancholy, Hearn was disillusioned with western materialism and sought escape in his various oversea travels as a writer for Harper's Magazine. As he wrote to W. D. O'Connor

in 1884, he pledged himself "to the worship of the Odd, The Queer, the Strange, the Exotic, the Monstrous."[8] From that same year he also made Herbert Spencer his philosophical and scientific mentor.[9] In April of 1890, he arrived in Japan as an employee of Harper's to "do some articles for the purpose of inspiring the public with an unquenchable desire to see Japan, to the financial benefit of the C.P.R.R. and its Steamship Co." who had funded the voyage.[10] His contract unfulfilled, Hearn proceeded to write his famous series of books about Japan.

Perhaps it was inevitable that Hearn's search for a happy home should have led him to the materially limited yet morally and aesthetically refined Japan. Three important external factors were, however, key in persuading him to voyage to Japan before his negotiations with Harper's. The first were conversations with a friend who had recently returned from Japan. The second was Pierre Loti's novel Madame Chrysantheme (1887), which held a special appeal for Hearn.[11] The last and probably most influential was Percival Lowell's small volume, The Soul of the Far East.[12]

The friend who had finally convinced Hearn to go to Japan, George M. Gould, admitted his indebtedness to Lowell:

> Perhaps I should not have succeeded in getting Hearn to attempt Japan had it not been for a little book that fell into his hands during the stay with me. Beyond question, Mr. Lowell's volume had a profound influence in turning his attention to Japan and greatly aided me in my insistent urging him to go there.[13]

After having read The Soul of the Far East during his short stay in Philadelphia--a period which Hearn considered significant in that it

"gave him a soul"[14]--Hearn wrote this ecstatic letter to Gould:

> Gooley! -- I have found a marvellous book--a book of books! -- a colossal, splendid, godlike book. You must read every line of it. Tell me how I can send it. For heaven's sake don't skip a word of it. The book is called "The Soul of the Far East," but its title is smaller than its imprint.[15]

As if this did not apotheosize Lowell and his book enough, Hearn attached this incredible post script:

> P.S. -- Let something else go to Hell, and read this book instead. May God eternally bless and infinitely personalize the man who wrote this book! Please don't skip one solitary line of it, and don't delay reading it,-- because something, much! is going to go out of this book into your heart and life and stay there! I have just finished this book and feel like John in Patmos, -- only a damned sight better. He who shall skip one word of this book let his portion be cut off and his name blotted out of the Book of Life.[16]

Five years later, having spent four years in Japan, Hearn said the following of the author of The Soul of the Far East to Basil Hall Chamberlain in a personal letter:

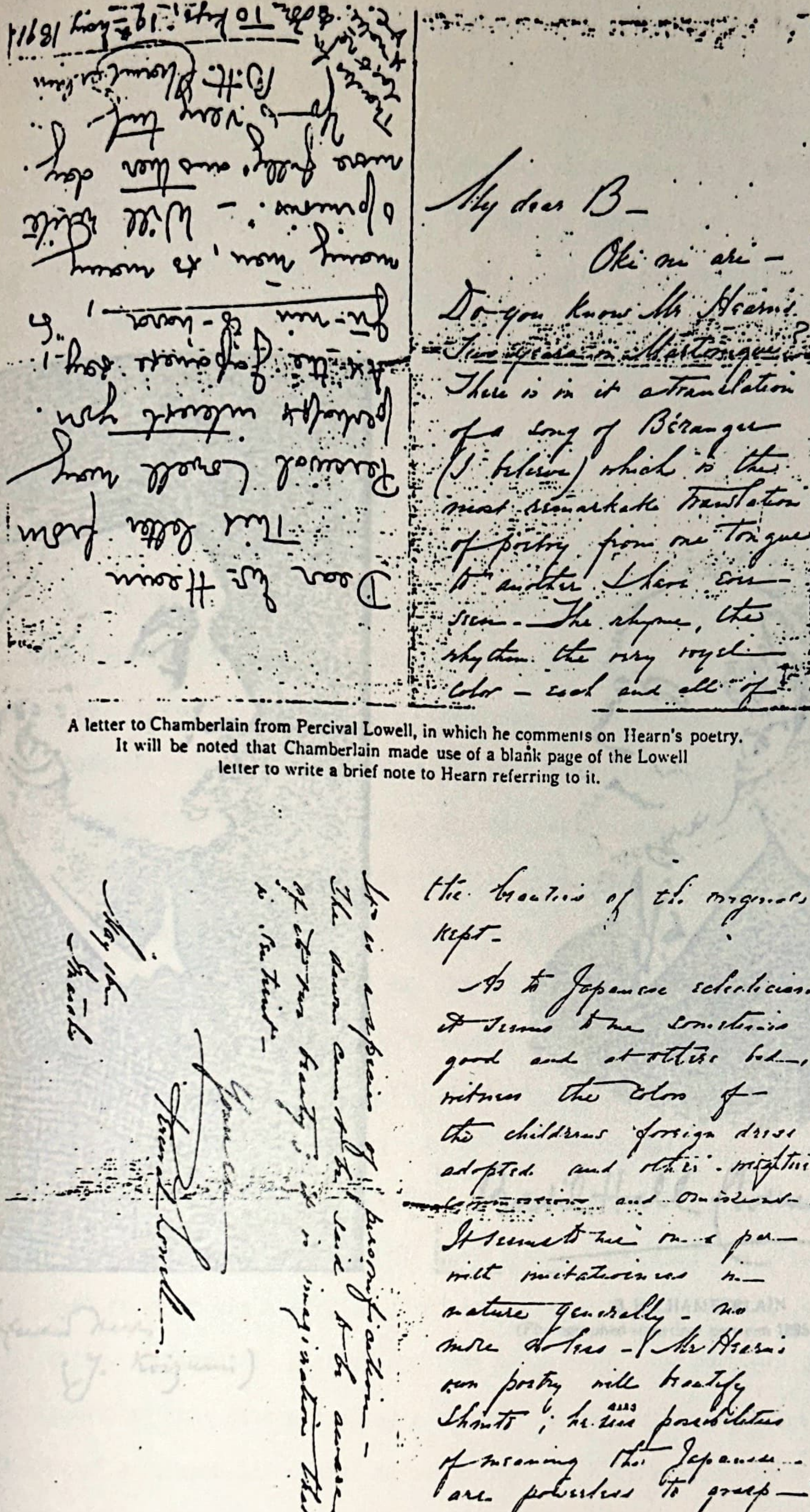
> Isn't Lowell much like those tropical fruits that are ripened only by sun? He has had none of the frost of life to sweenten him. Tropical fruits, you know, are terribly disappointing though very lovely to the eye.[17]

The progress of this change in Hearn's opinion of Lowell -- discernible through the correspondence between Hearn and Chamberlain--contributes to a fuller understanding of Lowell's impersonality theory and sheds new light on Hearn's own thinking about Japan.[18]

After about two weeks in Japan, which he fell in love with at first sight, Hearn initiated a five-year correspondence and friendship with

Basil Hall Chamberlain, an Englishman who at that time had been in Japan for almost seventeen years. Chamberlain held various teaching positions during this total of nearly forty years in Japan and became one of the most respected Japan scholars in his day. Since he had considerabale influence with the Japanese Department of Education, Hearn wrote to him on 4 April 1890 "to obtain some employment in Japan."[19] By the end of the month Chamberlain had arranged for Hearn a position teaching English at a Middle School in the small town of Matsue, located in a remote region of southwestern Japan. A year later Hearn married Setsuko Koizumi, the daughter of a disenfranchised samurai family, and became a Japanese citizen in 1896, taking the name Yakumo Koizumi. In 1893 he moved farther south to a post at the government college in Kumamoto. It was from these two towns, Matsue and Kumamoto, and then later from Kobe, that the bulk of Hearn's numerous and revealing letters to Chamberlain were sent.

The letters between Hearn and Chamberlain roughly fall into two halves; those written before and after 14 January 1893, the date of Hearn's pivotal letter concerning Lowell. The first half of these letters are characterized by Hearn's continual praise of Lowell's work but opposition to his conclusions. Chamberlain's letters of this period--which are always the ones to initiate a discussion about Lowell--consist of simple reports on Lowell whom he saw frequently. The first to stimulate discussion about Lowell is dated 19 May 1891.[20] In it Chamberlain enclosed a letter that Lowell wrote to him concerning a French poem Hearn had translated. The letter and Chamberlain's note to Hearn are reproduced on the following page.



My dear B—

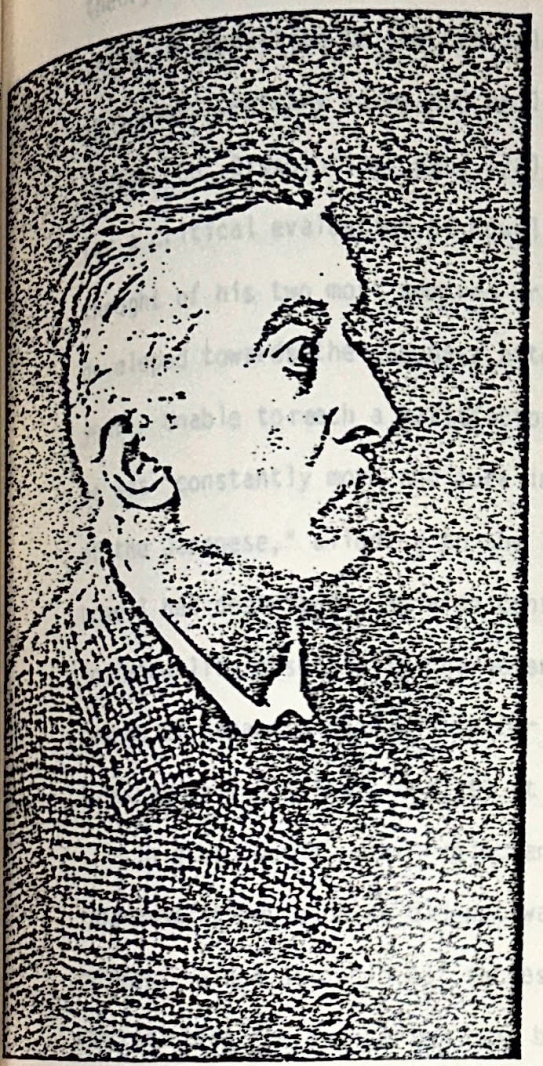
Oki ni are—

Do you know Mr Hearn's Two years in Martinique? There is in it a translation of a song of Béranger (I believe) which is the most remarkable translation of poetry from one tongue to another I have ever seen— The rhyme, the rhythm, the very royal color — each and all of

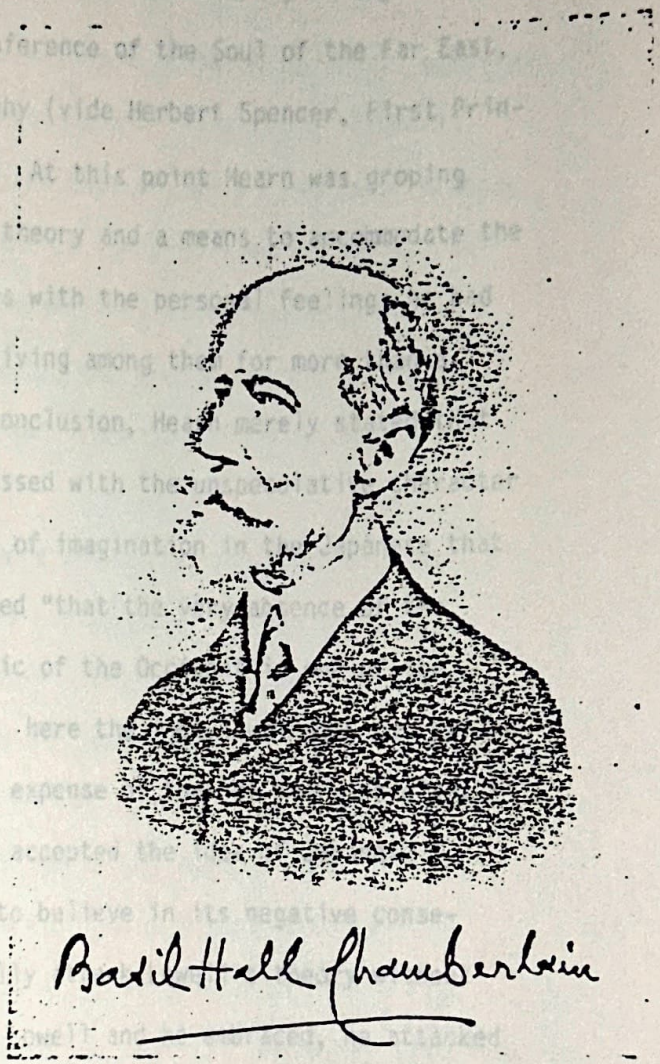
the beauties of the original kept—

As to Japanese selecticism it seems to me sometimes good and at others bad, witness the colors of the childrens' foreign dress adopted and other [illegible] and omissions— It seems to me one can permit imitativeness in nature generally— no more or less— Mr Hearn's own poetry will beautify Shinto; he sees possibilities of meaning the Japanese are powerless to grasp—

A letter to Chamberlain from Percival Lowell, in which he comments on Hearn's poetry. It will be noted that Chamberlain made use of a blank page of the Lowell letter to write a brief note to Hearn referring to it.



Lafcadio Hearn
(Y. Koizumi)



B. H. CHAMBERLAIN
(Photographed sometime between 1895 and 1900)

Hearn's response, on May 22nd, contain his first words to Chamberlain about Lowell and set the circumstances for Hearn's one-and-one-half year long intellectual and spiritual struggle over Lowell's impersonality theory. As Hearn first described his dilemna: "What I try to say and think in opposition to the terrible inference of the Soul of the Far East, is I know, contrary to my own philosophy (vide Herbert Spencer, First Principles, Ch. Dissolution, par. 178)."[21] At this point Hearn was groping for a critical evaluation of Lowell's theory and a means to accommodate the thought of his two most admired writers with the personal feelings he had developed towards the Japanese after living among them for more than a year. Unable to reach a satisfactory conclusion, Hearn merely stated that he was "constantly more and more impressed with the unspeculative character of the Japanese," alluding to the lack of imagination in the Japanese that Lowell had described. He also confessed "that the very absence of the individuality essentially characteristic of the Occident is one of the charms of Japanese social life for me: here the individual does not strive to expand his own individuality at the expense of that of everyone else."[22]

In other words, Hearn reluctantly accepted the idea of Japanese impersonality, although he did not want to believe in its negative consequences. Since he could not successfully attack Lowell's theory without contradicting the Spencerism that both Lowell and he embraced, he attacked the extreme to which the assertion of personality could, and did, lead to in the West--selfishness. At the same time he defended the Japanese way of life, suggesting that it represented a higher plan of evolutionary development: "the orbs of existence (in Japan) do not clash and squeeze each other out

of shape. Now would not this be also the condition of life in a perfected humanity?"[23] Within a year and a half this hesitant, tentative critique of Lowell and defense of Japanese culture would evolve into a theory of Hearn's own creation.[24]

The next turn in Hearn's, and Chamberlain's, opinion of Lowell occurred in a series of letters written four months later. In a letter dated 19 August 1891 Chamberlain commented to Hearn that Lowell's "interest in Japan is unabated, though he does not now think of the people as highly as you do. Perhaps it may be because he has never lived with them as intimately as you have."[25] This last sentence planted the seed which was to become the root of an understanding of Lowell and Hearn as cross-cultural interpreters.

In the meantime, it stimulated a more thoughtful response to Lowell's theory, although Hearn still wavered and hesitated in the face of it. Hearn's last letter from Matsue concerning Lowell was written within four days of Chamberlain's August 19th letter.[26] Hearn had been re-reading The Soul of the Far East at the time and found his reaction to it very different than when he wrote to Gould a year and a half earlier. He still felt the power and the charm of the book, but was "so much horrified by its conclusions--at least a few of them--that I try very hard to find a flaw therein."[27] The one flaw he seemed to find was that the degree of individuality in a people did not necessarily mark its stage of mental evolution since the tendency toward greater individuation of knowledge into specialized classes and interdependent subdivisions implied communal effort within the class or subdivision. Not being able to develop this thought further,

Hearn reverted to his earlier form of counter-attack and defense. Pointing out that "much of what is called personality and individuality is intensely repellant, and makes the principal misery of Occidental life," Hearn proceeded to stress that the "pure aggressive selfishness" engendered by individuality marred western civilization.[28] This judgment may have been true, but here it appeared as a generalized defense mechanism which revealed more of Hearn's love of the Orient than a critical opinion of Lowell's theory as such. Hearn had put more thought into the Lowell dilemma, but his final solution would require sixteen more months of research and contemplation.

Before his forthcoming incubation period, Hearn wrote one more letter about Lowell before Chamberlain left for a nine month trip to Europe in January, 1892. In this letter of 4 September, 1891, Hearn addressed himself to Chamberlain's comment concerning Lowell's lack of intimacy with the Japanese people. Hearn believed that statement true and offered a reason for it that hit exactly upon one of Lowell's primary traits--his aristocratic aloofness:

> Certainly so large a personality as his should find it extremely difficult--probably painful--to adopt Japanese life without reserves... He has what the French would call une envergure trop vaste pour ça; and for so penetrating and finely trained an intellect, the necessary sacrifice of one's original self would be mere waste.[29]

In this passage, Hearn pin-pointed one important quality of Lowell's thinking and work by reversing--perhaps unconsciously--Lowell's own ideas about the Japanese sense of self. In later letters Hearn became more overt in this play with Lowell's theory. Without ever having

personally met Lowell, Hearn detected that the Bostonian had a scope that was exceedingly vast and a viewpoint that was far above his subject. In contrast, Hearn and Chamberlain began to appreciate the value of sympathizing with the Japanese in order to understand them and proceeded in this approach to cross-cultural interpretation. With these thoughts in mind and Chamberlain in Europe, Hearn spent the next year and three months continuing work on his Glimpses of Unfamiliar Japan and attempting to reconcile Lowell's thought with his own.

The first mention of Lowell between Hearn and Chamberlain after the latter's return to Japan in late October 1892, occurred in Chamberlain's letter of 10 January 1893.[30] This letter, in which Chamberlain revealed for the first time negative feelings toward his friend Percival, marked the beginning of the second half of the Hearn-Chamberlain letters which concerned Lowell. These letters, written from January 1893 to January, 1896, are characterized by severe and more confident criticisms of Lowell from both correspondents.

Chamberlain's negative opinions of Lowell were never published during their lifetimes. They remained confidential matters between Chamberlain, Hearn, and one other Japanologist, W. D. Mason, whereas Chamberlain's public praise of Lowell's books continued. In the 1904 edition of Things Japanese he gave them laudatory reviews:

> With a dazzling array of metaphysical epigrams, this distinguished Bostonian attacks the inner nature of the Japaneses soul, whose hall-mark he discovers in "impersonality." Nothing on earth--or elsewhere--being too profound for an intellect so truly meteor-like in its brilliancy, Lowell, in his later work, Occult Japan, discovers to us Japanese possession, exorcism, and miracle-working, whose very existence had scarcely been suspected.[31]

This is quite dissimilar to the estimation of Lowell's work that Chamberlain confessed to Hearn eleven years earlier. In his letter of 10 January 1893 Chamberlain reduced Lowell's "dazzling array of metaphysical epigrams" to cracker crumbs:

> Between you and me, though I like him (Lowell) very much as a man,... I no longer like him as a writer. I cannot stand his "precious' style, so laboured, always catching at plays upon words, which go off under one's feet like crackers, to the detriment of the attention which should be paid to the thoughts. But a more fundamental objection to his works is the way he has of jumping at some general idea or theory, enunciated as a theorem, and argued down from deductively.[32]

Instead of a deductive and distant approach to an interpretation of the Japanese, Chamberlain advocated "the exactly contrary principle" of living among and sympathising with the indigenous population, "noting down what they do and say and write."[33] Since Hearn himself was practising this kind of cultural study, these comments acted as a sanction for him to reveal with confidence his conclusions about Lowell. This critique appeared in his single most important letter to Chamberlain about Lowell, written four days later.

Hearn's response to Chamberlain's letter, written 14 January 1893, uncorked the thoughts that had been fermenting in his mind for over a year and provide a key to analyzing Lowell's theory and Hearn's early thinking on Japan. It seems significant that Hearn's private opinions of Lowell required the stimulus of Chamberlain's to be revealed at all. Still a neophyte Japanologist in 1893, Hearn needed the tacit approval of a veteran like Chamberlain to critique a figure as prominent as Lowell. Even with such approval, Hearn considered it presumptuous to

pass judgment on Lowell's work. As he began his critique in this pivotal letter:

> Now for some presumption. He (Lowell) is so much larger a man than I, that I would feel it presumption to differ with him on any point if I did not remember that in the psychological world a man may grow too tall to see anything near him clearly.[34]

This idea followed that which Hearn suggested in September, 1891, that Lowell's scope became so broad as to lose focus of his subject. Yet, in stating his present position concerning Lowell's impersonality theory, Hearn conceded Lowell a substantial victory.

> Of course no thinker can ignore Lowell's book. The idea is too powerful, too scientific, and too well-sustained not to demand the utmost respect and study. I have given both. The result is that I must <u>fully</u> <u>accept</u> his idea as a discovery.

Hearn reached this conclusion, he said, after struggling with Spencer's assertion that the "highest individuation must coincide with the greatest mutual dependence" and that evolutional progress is "at once toward the greatest separateness and the greatest union."[35] In his understanding of this concept, Hearn was able to explain to himself the evolutional differences between the West and Japan: the West had progressed too much in individuation and Japan too much in mutual dependence. The over-emphasis of mutual dependence explained the high morality among the Japanese. In fact, claimed Hearn, "It was the highest possible morality from any high religious standpoint--Christian or pagan--the sacrifice of self for others." Hearn's use of the past tense in this sentence is significant, for he believed that the western influence in Japan had "thrown Japan morally backward a thousand years; she is going

to adopt our vices (which are much too large for her)."[36]

Despite the praiseworthy morality of the Japanese, Hearn realized that it was ahead of its time, that the selfish qualities of man were needed as much as the unselfish in order for a society to survive and grow. Like the visionaries such as Fenollosa, and even like Lowell in his opening chapter of The Soul of the Far East, Hearn imagined an ideal state with "the Oriental form of Confucian government, with Japanese morals, unstiffened by ultra conservatism, stimulating the development of the higher emotions and repressing the ignoble self only." In other words, Hearn envisioned the blending of the best of two hemispheres which would result in a moral state that could survive and progress without the selfishness of over-individuation. Vehemently opposed to the western pattern of material progress, Hearn did all he could through his books and life-style to impress upon fellow westerners the virutes of the traditional eastern world-view.

The other half of Hearn's January 14 letter to Chamberlain related the specific conclusions about Japanese impersonality that Hearn arrived at through his personal experience and research among the Japanese. After extensively studying Chinese and Japanese classics, questioning, wondering, and "mixing in the life of the people," Hearn enumerated two features of Japanese "impersonality." First, it was to a great extent voluntary; second, it was done in the spirit of self-sacrifice for duty's sake toward the family, the community, and the nation--an ancient moral tendency.[37] Hearn thus accepted Lowell's theory as a true discovery,

but with an interpretation of it which set him and Lowell on opposite poles. As already mentioned, he viewed the absence of personality in the Japanese character as signifying a hyperdevelopment of mutual dependence which led to the evolution of a very high level of morality since others were put before the self. Although this development was in disequilibrium with the concomitant increase of individuation necessary for survival, it was better than the extremes of western individualism.

In contrast to Lowell's conclusions, Hearn arrived at this positive interpretation of the lack of personality in the Japanese by what he called "soul sympathy." Rather than analyzing the soul of the Japanese from a lofty and detached position, he sought to learn about the Japanese by becoming as intimate as possible with them: " . . . his (Lowell's) standpoint of pure science is too high to allow of that intimacy which means soul sympathy. I have tried to study from the bottom what he has observed from the top."[38] Hearn's choice of the word "observed" to describe Lowell's actions is significant in that it was the observational approach of scientific objectivity which he and Chamberlain judged as severely limited in the study of a foreign culture.[39] Equally significant is his qualification of "pure" science. He deified Lowell and Spencer because their thought was imaginative and "scientific," but he believed that a purely objective analysis without a subjective feeling for the culture was narrow-minded and limited to superficial conclusions. He felt that Lowell's work tended toward a cold, pure science, devoid of the vital human element.

The remaining dozen or so letters about Lowell during Hearn's

Kumamoto period reveal more criticism from Chamberlain than Hearn. In fact, on three separate occasions Hearn paid respect to Lowell's intellect, suggesting that only a brain like his could tackle several major issues in Japanese culture that Hearn deemed crucial for a complete understanding of the people.[40] Chamberlain, on the other hand, elaborated on the original criticisms he expressed on 10 January 1893 on several occasions.[41] On September, 1893, Chamberlain wrote to Hearn:

> Between you and Lowell it matters less because your acquaintance is only by letter and not personal. Between him and me, where the foundation of the acquaintance was personal, my divergence from his literary tastes during the last year or two has tended to cause a regrettable coolness.[42]

It was on this cold note that Lowell departed from Tokyo in the fall of 1893, never to return again to Japan. Mentions of Lowell likewise cooled off in the final set of letters between Hearn and Chamberlain, written from January 1895 to the following January while Hearn was in Kobe. The majority of these letters dealt with Lowell in the context of his Mars study that he had commenced almost immediately upon his return to the States with the founding of his observatory at Flagstaff in 1894. This work especially interested Chamberlain who lent his copy of Lowell's Mars to Hearn and encouraged him to read it.[43]

By now Hearn had established himself as a respectable and popular interpreter of Japan, and thus felt more comfortable criticizing Lowell the few times he did so. In February 1895 he forced himself to finish Occult Japan, which he had mistakenly praised in an earlier letter after a cursory glance at the book. It struck him "only as a mood of the man,

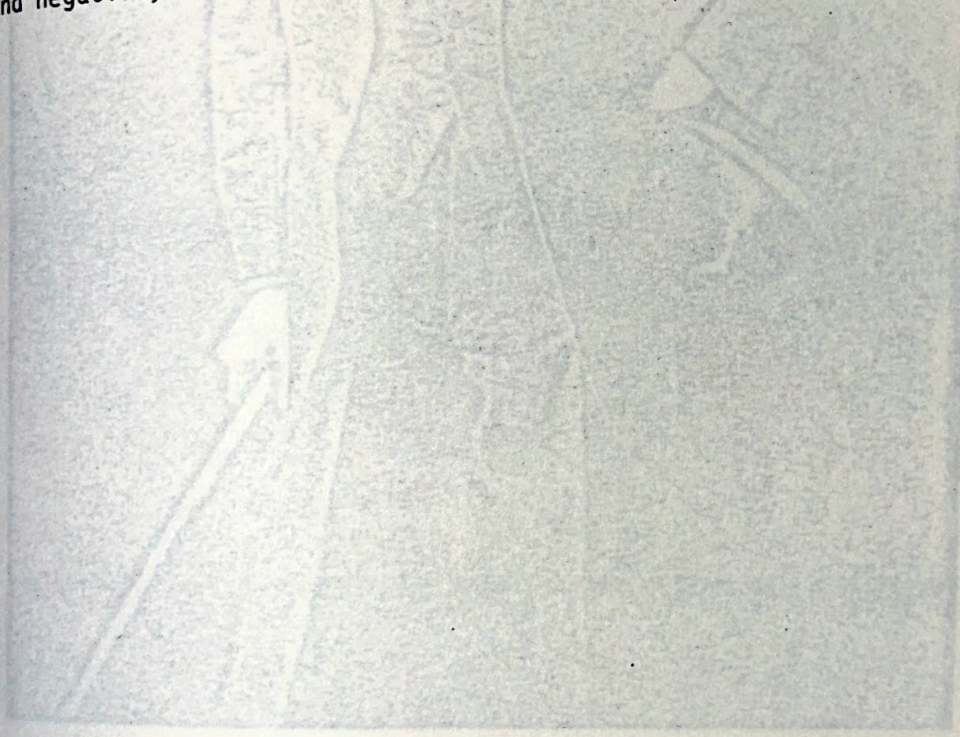
an ugly, supercilious one, verging on the wickedness of a wish to hurt."[44] It was "painfully unsympathetic--Mephistophelian in a way that chills me."[45] Lowell had reached a cold, pure science in Occult Japan, but Hearn never lost respect for The Soul of the Far East. Two sentences later he wrote:

> I don't wish to say that my work is as good as Lowell's "Soul of the Far East"; but it is a curious fact that in at least a majority of the favourable criticisms I have been spoken of as far more successful than Lowell. Why? Certainly not because I am his equal, either as a thinker or an observer. The reason is simply that the world considers the sympathetic mood more than just the analytical or critical.[46]

Chamberlain confirmed Hearn's ascendency over Lowell as an interpreter of Japanese culture. Two months later, he asserted that Hearn's article "The Eternal Feminine" contained "more truth and insight in its few pages than in whole volumes by even such men as Lowell."[47] As an interpreter of Japanese culture, Hearn had, in the eyes of many, surpassed the man whose influential book on Japan he had described as "godlike."

The years from 1890 to 1895 marked a transition in the history of western interpretations of Japan. Lowell's provocative The Soul of the Far East, the first book of its kind, stimulated new discussions about Japanese culture and provided the impetus for Lafcadio Hearn to go to Japan. Once there, Hearn, receiving encouragement and approval from the respected veteran Japanologist Basil Hall Chamberlain, began investigations which culminated in the first major critique of Lowell's theory. Developing in the correspondence between Hearn and Chamberlain, this critique found its way into Hearn's published works.[48] Hearn's reaction

to and eventual reconciliation with Lowell's theory during Hearn's formative years as a Japanologist directed his thinking about Japan throughout his works, including his last, Japan: An Attempt at Interpretation.[49] The Soul of the Far East seemed to have always been in the back of his mind. As he had written to Gould, "something much! is going to go out of this book into your heart and stay there!" After understanding Hearn's response to this book within his own Spencerian philosophy and sympathetic approach to Japan, it becomes evident that much of his interpretation of Japan represents an interplay among these three factors. It is very likely that Hearn's works on Japan, to this day among the most popular and influential, would have been different without the stimulus, positive and negative, that Lowell's little volume had provided.



Lowell's favorite portrait

Lowell's favorite portrait

LOWELL'S LEGACY AS OBSERVER OF JAPAN

THe true independence and originality that Lowell displayed as a thinker was his ability to synthesize the current theoretical thoughts of his day, to add his own speculations, and to apply them to the living situation of the Japanese. The result was his own theory of Japanese impersonality, which may or may not have reported objective truths about the Japanese race, but which does contribute to a historical knowledge of a period of transition in western thought and East-West relations. Dealing with Lowell's image of the Japanese historically and not anthropologically replaces the shortcomings of his cross-cultural interpretation with a mine full of historical treasures. Race-thinking and imperialistic expansion, the latest breakthroughs in the natural sciences, the tendency to mix philosophy with science to formulate general principles, and Japan's timely opening to the West as a subject to study, engendered and bred the idea of Japanese impersonality in Lowell's mind.

As an interpreter of Japanese culture Lowell both succeeded and failed. Assuming a Spencerian position that the truths religion expresses are unknowable, one could conclude that Lowell's analysis of the Japanese soul was doomed to failure. The soul which Lowell analyzed was not, however, limited to its religious meaning. Buddhism and Shinto were only two aspects of Japanese culture that composed the soul he hoped to define. In the people's language, art, social customs, and attitudes toward nature, Lowell selectively identified elements which could support

his thesis of "Impersonality," a term that also implied "un-individuality" and "un-selfconsciousness." A lack of imagination in the Japanese was, said Lowell, the ultimate cause of this phenomenon, but the suppression of self that he identified presupposed the existence of a self to be suppressed. Thus, this major weakness in Lowell's logic undermines his contention of any basic lack in the "Japanese Soul."

In Lowell's objective and scientific approach toward Japanese cuture, his contemporary critics Lafcadio Hearn and Basil Hall Chamberlain found serious flaws and limitations. From a lofty position conditioned by his training as a scientist and his membership in an elite social class, Lowell could never truly sound the depths of the Japanese soul. The results of this "unsympathetic" approach, they said, would be restricted to superficial generalizations propped up by a convincing application of flowery scientific rhetoric and filled with racist judgments. In light of this severe criticism, Lowell would appear as a charleton of cross-cultural interpretation, but as Hearn himself conceded: "I also perceive how closely Lowell reached the neighbourhood of truth without being able, nevertheless, (or willing?) to actually touch it."[1]

The unstated truth to which Hearn alluded was his own belief that the relative suppression of strong personalties among the Japanese was voluntary and done in the spirit of one's duty to the family, community, and nation as a whole. Hearn thus accepted the discovery of Japanese impersonality, but rejected the origins to which Lowell had ascribed it. In Hearn's opinion, the politeness that Lowell said replaced personality

signified in Japan a high level of "mutual dependence," a quality worthy of emulation in the "over-individualized" West. Through Hearn's critique, Lowell's theory both suffers and gains. Lowell was wrong in his assumption of an immutable impersonal soul that determined every facet of Japanese civilization, but right in his identification of a tendency which seemed prevalent among the people.

Robert Ellwood has suggested that this tendency Lowell found was a manifestation of a cultural ideal: "Thus, while Lowell's analysis seems to lack a certain sophistication about application, insofar as he isolates signposts of the ideal value system he is not entirely amiss."[2] Other studies of Japanese society support the assertion that enryo, "restraint" or "reserve," which the Japanese display in social contexts is a part of an idealized role contrived to maintain social harmony.[3] The numerous wars and individual conflicts throughout Japanese history are proofs of ego-assertion and failures to sustain the ideal values.

Thus, the Japanese were not fundamentally without personality as Lowell's extreme application insisted. Rather, they strove to limit clashes of personalities and to avoid the uglier side of self-assertion--selfishness. Lowell's own personality, his purpose, approach, and social milieu are likely reasons why he was unable or unwilling to state this truth that Hearn felt Lowell neared. Nonetheless, it was Lowell who had set the ball rolling. He appears in this critique and within his historical context as the first to initiate interpretations of the Japanese character, society, and culture which are centered about the questions of personality, individuality, and the sense of self.

Whether mentioning Lowell's theory or not, other studies tacitly acknowledge its existence and influence as they attempt to clarify, modify, or refute the idea of relative impersonality or lack of individuality among the Japanese.[4]

Hearn's own sympathetic approach to the Japanese has also been subject to criticism. Even Chamberlain, who agreed with the sympathetic approach to foreign cultures, complained that "in righting the Japanese, he (Hearn) seems to us continually to wrong his own race." It would seem, then, that the two extremes of interpretive styles represented by Lowell and Hearn--the analytic and the sympathetic--both had their failing but also their strongpoints. The ideal interpreter of Japan would possess the attributes of both men. Hearn's love of Japan would allow an intimacy with the people capabe of rendering a Westerner as close as possible to the "Kokoro," the heart, of the Japanese culture. The pitfall of this method alone is that in becoming so close, one cannot see the forest from the trees. Lowell's distant viewpoint and general outlook would balance the inside view of Hearn. While Hearn focused on the inner details of the people, Lowell placed them in perspective with the rest of humanity. The harmonization of these two views of cultural interpretation would ideally produce, as Lowell had intended, a stereoptical--rather than stereotypical--image of the Japanese. It is this perfected vision of any culture--past, present, foreign, or domestic--for which an interpretive work, including history, strives. Though it is impossible to attain within a single human being, the very elusiveness of this

ideal motivates, as in Lowell's never ending search for the Other, the historical pursuit.

Notes

Introduction: The Search and the Discovery

1 William Graves Hoyt, Planets X and Pluto (Tuscon: University of Arizona Press, 1980), p. 190.

2 Hoyt, pp. 180-216, "♇" is the symbol for Pluto.

3 Robert S. Ellwood, "Percival Lowell's Journey to the East," The Sewanee Review, 78, No. 2 (1970), 308-309.

4 Abbott Lawrence Lowell, Biography of Percival Lowell (New York: The MacMillan Co., 1935), p.202. See Hoyt's Lowell and Mars (Tuscon: University of Arizona, 1976) for the martian canal story.

5 Hoyt, Planets X and Pluto, p. 80.

6 Hoyt, p. 81.

7 Portions of Lowell's biography and Hoyt's work discuss Lowell's Japanese adventures, but are not studies of Lowell as a Japanologist. Ellwood's piece in The Sewanee Review and Robert A. Rosenstone's "The Enduring Mirror of Japan" (California Institute of Technology) are the only articles in English to my knowledge that study Lowell's books on Japan. Personal correspondence with Professor Masaaki Miyazaki of the Kanazawa Institute of Technology, a translator of Lowell's Noto and author of two short papers about Lowell in Japan; with Mayor Shigeo Sena of Anamizu where a memorial to Lowell was recently erected; and with Hiromitsu Yokoo, author of short articles (in Japanese) "Percival Lowell and His Study on the Japanese Culture" and Percival Lowell and the Martian

Civilization" have confirmed that no comprehensive study of Lowell the Japanologist has been attempted. Beongcheon Yu's An Ape of Gods, a study of Lafcadio Hearn, contains a short section dealing with Lowell in comparison with Hearn, something which I undertake in more detail from Lowell's point of view in chapter four.

[8] Hoyt, pp. 80-81.

[9] Percival Lowell, The Soul of the Far East (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1888), p. 195. This book was used as late as 1922 as a text in "Fine Arts 69" at Columbia University. Hereafter it will be referred to as SOFE.

[10] Literature of this category is extensive. Eudymion Wilkinson's Misunderstanding: Europe versus Japan (Tokyo: Chuokoran-sha, Inc., 1980) offers an overview of European, and to a lesser degree American, images of Japan. Sheila Johnson's American Attitudes Toward Japan, 1941-1975 (Washington D.C.: American Enterprise Institute for Public Policy Research, 1975) is particularly good for American images of Japan since the outbreak of World War II.

Chapter One: Observer, Scientist, Quester

[1] Biographical information is from A. Lawrence Lowell's Biography of Percival Lowell and Ferris Greenslet's The Lowells and Their Seven Worlds (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1946).

[2] Lowell's comings and goings to and from Japan are based on Hiromitsu Yokoo's nicely constructed chronological chart in his "Percival Lowell and His Study of the Japanese Culture."

[3] Lawrence W. Chisolm, Fenollosa: The Far East and American Culture (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1963), p.64.

[4] Letter from Fenollosa to Morse, 2 August 1886, Edward Sylvester Morse (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1942), p. 287.

[5] Letter to Hearn, 28 July 1893, reprinted in More Letters from Basil Hall Chamberlain to Lafcadio Hearn (Tokyo: The Hokuseido Press, 1937), p. 90. Hereafter referred to as BHC II.

[6] Letter to Hearn, 10 January 1893, in Letters from Basil Hall Chamberlain to Lafcadio Hearn (Tokyo: The Hokuseido Press, 1936), p. 2. Hereafter referred to as BHC I.

[7] BHC I, p.2.

[8] Letter to Hearn, 23 June 1893, BHC II, p. 79.

[9] Hoyt, p. 82.

[10] Letter from Bigelow to Augustus Lowell, August 1883, reprinted in Greenslet, p. 349.

[11] A. Lawrence Lowell, p. 16.

[12] Letter to B.H. Chamberlain, 2 May 1893, in The Writings of Lafcadio Hearn (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co,. 1973), p. 417. Volumes 14, 15, and 16 of this sixteen volume reprint of Hearn's works contain the Letters of Hearn edited by Elizabeth Bisland in 1906. They will be referred to as LH plus volume number.

[13] SOFE, p. 26.

[14] Letter to Hearn, 10 January 1893, BHC I, p. 3.

[15] SOFE, pp. 8-11.

[16] Letter to Hearn, 27 August 1893, BHC II, p. 97. A. Lawrence Lowell, p. 151, also suggests that Lowell was an atheist.

[17] Letter to Hearn, 5 August 1893, BHC I, p. 32.

[18] BHC I, p. 33.

[19] Greenslet, p. 367. Lowell had invested a considerable amount of his estate on a larger number of shares in futuristic enterprises, aeronautics, radio, and motion pictures.

[20] Letter to Gould, 1889, LH, volume 14, p. 87. The rest of the paragraph reads: "I have a book for you--an astounding book--a godlike book. But I want you to promise to read every single work of it. Every work is dynamic. It is the finest book on the East ever written; and though very small contains more than all my livrary of Oriental books." The similarities between this copy and the one Gould reproduced in his Concerning Lafcadio Hearn cited below suggest that they are different versions of the same letter, but still such differences are curious. If they do represent the same letter, Gould's footnote to his version may explain the discrepancies: "I have intentionally retained colloquilisms in these excerpts, the indications of our familiarity, etc., to give a glimpse into the heart of the affectionate and sweet-natured man." Then again, Gould may have fabricated the embellishments.

[21] Inazo Nitobe, The Intercourse between the United States and Japan (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1891), pp. 150-151.

[22] A. Lawrence Lowell, p. 2.

[23] Greenslet, p. 347.

[24] A. Lawrence Lowell, p. 149.

Chapter Two: The Observer Turned Reflector

[1] SOFE, p. 4.

[2] Chisolm, p. 44.

[3] Clay MacCauley, "Percival Lowell: A Memorial," Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan, 45 (1917), pp. 180-181.

[4] Richard Hofstadter, Social Darwinism in American Thought (New YOrk: George Braziller, Inc., 1965), p. 31.

[5] Herbert Spencer, Synthetic Philosophy; First Principles (New York: D. Appleton and Co., 1894 American edition), p. 396 states: "Evolution is an integration of matter and concomitant dissipation of motion; during which the matter passes from an indefinite, incoherent homogeneity to a definite, coherent heterogeneity; and during which the retained motion undergoes a parallel transformation."

[6] Atlantic Monthly, 14 (1864), pp. 775-776.

[7] Hofstadter, p. 34; Michio Nagai, "Herbert Spencer in Early Meiji Japan."

[8] SOFE, pp. 8-9.

[9] Back cover of 1911 edition of SOFE.

[10] Spencer, section one of First Principles.

[11] Percival Lowell, Occult Japan (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1895), p. 314f. Hereafter referred to as OJ.

[12] OJ, p. 288.

[13] OJ, p. 289.

[14] OJ, p. 312.

[15] OJ, p. 379.

[16] The Nation, v. 60, no. 1544, p. 98.

[17] Paul F. Boller, Jr., American Thought in Transition: The Impact of Evolutionary Naturalism, 1865-1900 (Chicago: Rand McNally & Co., 1969), pp. 35-37.

[18] SOFE, pp. 162-193.

[19] Letter to Hearn, 5 August 1893, BHC I, p. 33.

[20] BHC I, p. 33.

[21] Gordon W. Allport, Personality; A Psychological Interpretation (New York: Henry Holt and Co., 1937), p. 45.

[22] Compare OJ pp. 347-367 and chapter 17 of Principles of Psychology for similarities.

[23] A. Lawrencw Lowell, p. 100; Greenslet, p. 365.

[24] Ralph Barton Perry, The Thought and Character of William James (Boston: Little, Brown, and Co., 1936), p. 10.

[25] Letter to Hearn, 5 August 1893, BHC I, p. 33.

[26] February 1895, LH v. 14, p. 315.

[27] Raymond F. Betts, The False Dawn: European Imperialism in the Nineteenth Century (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1975), p. 154.

[28] Lowell implies this idea as strongly as he can without explicitly stating it and one reviewer of SOFE did explicitly say that the soul Lowell found was a no-soul.

[29] Ellwood, p. 287.

[30] Ellwood, p. 291.

[31] From books of Lowell's era, such as Hearn's works and Sidney L. Gulick's Evolution of the Japanese, Social and Psychic (1903), to Ruth Benedict's classic and controversial The Chrysanthemum and the Sword, to the more recent The Japanese Mind; Essentials of Japanese Philosophy and Culture edited by Charles A. Moore, there exists an abundant literature dealing with the "Japanese mind." Despite the interpretations arrived at, the Japanese today seem to pride themselves on the supposedly unique nature of their psyche and the Westerner's inability to comprehend it fully.

[32] Sheila Johnson, American Attitudes Toward Japan, 1941-1975, p. 111.

[33] John Higham, Strangers in the Land--Patterns of American Nativism, 1860-1925 (New York: Atheneum, 1963), p. 133.

[34] Higham, p. 134.

[35] Higham, p. 134.

[36] Betts, p. 152.

[37] Betts, p. 155.

[38] SOFE, p. 12, 24-27. Wordsworth treated the theme of childhood unconsciousness of self nearly eighty-five years earlier in much of his poetry. It is likely that Lowell was familiar with Wordsworth's ideas about childhood since he minored in

English Composition and made occasional references to the poetry of Wordsworth, Coleridge, and Shelley. Lowell was thus exposed to the Romantics and their ideas, although he considered their poetry not "modern." Still, Lowell's primary source for psychology was William James.

[39] Betts, p. 151.

[40] Reginald Horsman, Race and Manifest Destiny: The Origins of American Racial Anglo-Saxonism (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1981), p. 36.

[41] Horsman, pp. 4, 38.

[42] Horsman, p. 4.

[43] Ernest R. May, American Imperialism (New York: Atheneum, 1968), pp.44-55.

[44] May, pp. 24-28, 44-55, 128-145.

[45] Michael Edwardes, The West in Asia, 1850-1914 (New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1967), pp. 148-149.

[46] Edwardes, pp. 148-149.

[47] SOFE, p. 226.

[48] SOFE, p. 10.

[49] SOFE, p. 11.

[50] SOFE, p. 226.

[51] A survey of magizine and newspaper articles of the period 1900 to 1940 reveals a change in America's image of Japan from a charming and innocent country to a calculating aggressor. As early as the turn of the century there were prophesies of war with Japan.

Chapter Three: Analyzing a Soul

[1] Percival Lowell, Choson; The Land of the Morning Calm (Boston: Ticknor and Co., 1886), pp. 107-152.

[2] Choson, p. 117.

[3] Choson, p. 116.

[4] MacCauley, p. 183.

[5] For reviews, see New Englander, 50, p. 97; Putnam's Magizine, 2, p. 271. Contemporary opinions of SOFE are scattered in the writings of Basil Hall Chamberlain, Lafcadio Hearn, and in Lowell's biography.

[6] SOFE, p. 15.

[7] SOFE, p. 15.

[8] SOFE, p. 8.

[9] SOFE, p. 11.

[10] SOFE, p. 14.

[11] Allport, pp. 25-26.

[12] Allport, p. 26-28.

[13] Allport, p. 29.

[14] See Sidney L. Gulick's Evolution of the Japanese, Social and Psychic (New York: Fleming H. Revell Co., 1903) for a frustrated analysis of Lowell's use of thw word "personality." Gulick appears to be just as unsure and confused about the concept as he claims Lowell is.

[15] SOFE, pp. 202-204.

[16] Allport, pp. 39-42.

[17] Allport, p. 40.

[18] Allport, p. 43.

[19] Allport, p. 31.

[20] Allport, p. 31.

[21] Gulick, p. 360 ("universalism"); p. 348 ("altruism").

[22] William James, equally famous as a psychologist and as a philosopher, and Herbert Spencer, a pseudoscientific philosopher, are prime examples.

[23] SOFE, p. 26.

[24] Popular reviews regarded Lowell as a scientist and philosopher, and more generally as a brilliant man of letters. The Nation review cited above called Occult Japan a "blending of scientist and poet."

[25] SOFE, p. 81.

[26] SOFE, pp. 82-83.

[27] SOFE, p. 88.

[28] Gulick, p. 349.

[29] Elizabeth Bisland, editor of Hearn's Japan letters, in LH v. 15, p. 351.

[30] SOFE, p. 124f.

[31] SOFE, p. 189.

[32] SOFE, p. 185.

[33] SOFE, p. 192.

[34] Ellwood, p. 292.

[35] SOFE, pp. 4-5.

[36] Basil Hall Chamberlain, Japanese Things (Tokyo: Charles E. Tuttle Co., 1981), pp. 480-482. This book was originally published in 1890 as Things Japanese.

[37] SOFE, p. 4.

[38] Ellwood, p. 297.

[39] SOFE, p. 226.

[40] Letter to Chamberlain, 14 January 1893, LH v. 15, p. 350.

Chapter Four: Analyzing the Analyzer

[1] L. Moffit Cecil, "Our Japanese Romance: The Myth of Japan in America, 1853-1905," diss., Vanderbilt University, 1947, pp. 68-69.

[2] Wilkinson, pp. 36f.

[3] Cecil, p. 89.

[4] Examples of travel books are almost too numerous to list, although Cecil does a good job of it in his bibliography. William E. Griffis' The Mikado's Empire is the most famous history of the time. The Asiatic Society of Japan, founded in the 1870s mostly by amateurs interested in Japan, represent the only "professional" group for Japanese studies. Their journal, Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan, contained articles on a variety of specialized subjects.

[5] Chisolm, p. 111.

[6] See especially Chisolm's chapter "The Lotus and the Brahmins."

[7] Hearn's books have undergone several editions and are read even today. He is practically a cultural hero in Japan.

[8] LH, v. 13, p. 322.

[9] Margaret Ann McAdow Lazar, "The Art of Lafcadio Hearn: A Study of His Literary Development," diss., Texas Christian University, 1977, p. 5; Bisland, LH v. 15, p. 316.

[10] Edward L. Tinker, Lafcadio Hearn's American Days (New York: Dodd, Mead and Co., 1924), p. 336.

[11] See Wilkinson for the influence of Loti's novel. For an analysis of Loti's and Hearn's images of Japan, Setsuko Ono's A Western Image of Japan: What did the West see through the eyes of Loti and Hearn? (Geneva: Imprimerie du Courrier, 1972) is helpful, although its extensive use of quotations is distracting.

[12] Bisland, LH v. 15, p. 308.

[13] Gould, p. 82.

[14] Gould, p. 66.

[15] Gould, p. 82.

[16] Gould, p. 82.

[17] 30 January 1894, LH v. 16, pp. 108-109.

[18] Beongcheon Yu's An Ape of Gods (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1964) is the only other study I know of which considers the correspondence between Hearn and Chamberlain with respect to Lowell, but Yu is chiefly concerned with defining Hearn against Lowell instead of the reverse. His recently published book about the influence of the Orient on American writers, The Great Circle, includes Lowell, but was not yet out for use in my study.

[19] LH v. 15, p. 321.

[20] BHC II. pp. 17-18.

[21] LH v. 15, p. 328. Spencer's words in this section of First Principles which refer directly to Japan are the following: "Of the way in which such disintegrations are liable to be set up in a society that has evolved to the limit of its type, and reached a state of moving equilibrium, a good illustration is furnished by Japan. The finished fabric into which its people had organized themselves, maintained an almost constant state so oong as it was preserved from fresh external forces. But as soon as it received an impact from European civilization, partly by armed aggression; partly by commercial impulse, partly by the influence of ideas, this fabric began to fall to pieces. There is now in progress a political dissolution. Probably a political re-organization will follow; but, be this as it may, the change thus far produced by an outer action is a change towards dissolution--a change from integrated motions to disintegrated motions."

[22] LH v. 15. pp. 328-329.

[23] LH v. 15. p. 329.

[24] Yu, p. 201.

[25] BHC II, p. 24.

[26] This letter is not precisely dated in Bisland's compilation. I have dated it from textual evidence in their correspondence.

[27] LH v. 14, p. 141.

[28] LH v. 14, p. 142.

[29] LH v. 15, p. 335.

[30] BHC I, pp. 1-3.

[31] Chamberlain, Japanese Things, p. 66.

[32] BHC I, pp. 1-2.

[33] BHC I, p. 2.

[34] LH v. 15, p. 350.

[35] LH, p. 350.

[36] LH, pp. 352-353.

[37] LH, p. 351.

[38] LH, pp. 350-351. Bisland also points this characteristic out in her introduction on page 310.

[39] BHC I, p. 3.

[40] See Hearn's letters dated 17 April 1893, 19 April 1893, and 12 May 1893. In these letters he speaks about the role of sex and femininity as determiners of Japanese culture, the "social question," and the request he received to write a novel on Japan. Each of these undertakings Hearn felt Lowell could better tackle.

[41] See Chamberlain's letters of April 29, June 23, August 27, September 7, and November 11 of 1893 for details.

[42] BHC II, p. 105.

[43] BHC I, pp. 119, 147.

[44] Letter to Chamberlain, February 1895, LH v. 15, p. 319.

[45] LH, p. 311.

[46] LH, p. 311.

[47] Letter to Hearn, April 1895, BHC II, p. 163.

[48] Lafcadio Hearn, Glimpses of Unfamiliar Japan in LH v. 6, p. 385.

[49] Lafcadio Hearn, Japan: An Interpretation (Tokyo: Charles E. Tuttle Co., 1981), pp. 7, 11, 471. Originally published as Japan: An Attempt at Interpretaion (1904).

Chapter Five: Lowell's Legacy

[1] Letter to Chamberlain, February 1895, LH v. 16. p. 319.

[2] Ellwood, p. 292.

[3] Robert J. Smith, Japanese Society: Tradition, Self, and the Social Order (Cambridge: University of Cambridge Press, 1983), p. 83. See especially the chapter "Self and other" for references to other studies dealing with Japanese personality in social contexts.

[4] Among the more recent are Smith's Japanese Society, Edwin Reischauer's The Japanese, Robert Christopher's The Japanese Mind, and the volume edited by Moore, The Japanese Mind; Essentials of Japanese Philosophy and Culture.

[5] Chamberlain, Japanese Things, p. 65.

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