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LEARNING FROM THOSE "IMITATIVE" JAPANESE:
EDWARD S. MORSE AND THE CIVILIZATION OF THE MIKADO'S EMPIRE

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The notion of Japan as a nation which imitates the ways of other lands is deeply rooted in American thought, and the imitative Japanese is a stereotype that belongs on the shelf of popular ideas alongside methodical Germans, amorous Frenchmen, emotional Italians and self-reliant Americans. Almost as old but certainly quite unfamiliar is a contrary notion, one which holds that this insular Asian people possess certain values, skills and behavior patterns that not only seem admirable of themselves, but might in fact be profitably adopted by Americans. If the stereotype has been widely held ever since the 1850s when Admiral Matthew G. Perry "opened" the once-sealed nation, the idea of Japan as potential teacher has been voiced by only a small number of people. Yet certainly it is significant to find this a recurrent theme among those foreigners who have known the country through personal experience. In the nineteenth century the idea appeared regularly in the writings of Americans who resided in what was then called "The Mikado's Empire," and one can still find it alive today in the works of Edwin O. Reischauer.

Both concepts -- Japan as imitator and as teacher -- obviously tell more about American than Japanese society. The former speaks volumes of pride in the Western tradition, in republican institutions, individualism and scientific progress, and serves to delineate judgments as to what a civilization should be; the latter is like a series of footnotes which underline shortcomings at home and lead to a kind of

critical stance, one based upon the unusual perspective gained from living in an alien culture. Indeed, the experiential impact of Japan could turn a satisfied, well-acclulturated American into a sharp critic of our national life. This is what happened to Edward S. Morse, a perceptive nineteenth century scientist, whose writings explored the dimensions of Japanese life. His career not only gives insight into the potential lessons of that society, but also suggest something of the difficulties that stand in the way of learning them.

When Morse arrived in the country in 1877, the idea of imitation was already common. It had been voiced as early as the official narrative of the Perry expedition, which described the Japanese as "a very imitative, adaptive and compliant people."¹ Four years later the sentiment was often repeated during the tour of the first Japanese mission to the U.S.² Yet if this charge sounds harsh to modern ears, it was not always so. In the mid-nineteenth century the notion was two-edged, part sneer, part compliment. The willingness to "acknowledge the overwhelming superiority of other powers, and seek to possess themselves of all modern acquisitions in science and mechanical appliances" could be seen as a mark of a potentially civilized people. Not all non-Western nations were so open to the processes that made for progress. One big contrast was with the Chinese, who maintained both a "stubborn self-sufficiency" and the curious belief that they were already the most civilized people in the world.³ Happily the Japanese knew better. The Perry narrative hopefully foresaw that it was the very characteristics of adaptability and imitation in which might "be discovered a promise of the comparatively easy introduction of foreign customs and

habits, if not of the nobler principles and better life of a higher civilization."⁴

There were dissenters to the idea that it was good for backward countries to imitate the West, and a variety of nineteenth century Americans expressed uneasiness over the changes they were helping to bring about.⁵ This began early, indeed with the first U.S. resident, Consul Townsend Harris, who arrived at his post in Shimoda in October, 1856. After two weeks of shore visits from a naval vessel and on his first real day of residence, Harris noted: "Grim reflections -- ominous of change -- undoubted beginning of the end. Query, -- if for the real good of Japan."⁶ Thirteen months later, after negotiations both tedious and stormy, after immense anger at Japanese officials for foot-dragging and deep despair that they would never conclude a commercial treaty that he so earnestly desired, Harris was still inclined to answer this question in the negative: "I sometimes doubt whether the opening of Japan to foreign influences will promote the general happiness of this people. It is more like the golden age of simplicity and honesty than I have ever seen in any other country."⁷

This note would be repeated regularly over the next forty years. Exposure to Japan's way of life led some people to question the benefits of carrying "civilization" to a land pervaded by an air of arcadian simplicity. This viewpoint cut across social and religious lines. One might well expect a pagan and seeker of the exotic like Lafcadio Hearn to worry that native traditions would be swamped, but the same sentiments were expressed by good Christians and American patriots.⁸ Teaching in the feudal domain of Echizen, W.E. Griffis, on

the road to becoming both a minister and the chief hagiographer for missionaries in Japan, wondered: "Why not leave these people alone? They seem happy enough."⁹ General Horace Capron, who resigned as U.S. Commissioner of Agriculture to take a position as overseer of Hokkaido development, was second to none in promoting scientific progress. Yet a few weeks in Japan led him to say in 1872, "It is a question . . . how much their happiness will be augmented by their intercourse with 'outside barbarians.'"¹⁰

Such views can easily be seen as projections of worries over the changing nature of society at home, the problem of the machine that was beginning to ruin the garden of America and make the nation rich. Or perhaps they were simply a recognition of the sentiments to which Thoreau gave such eloquent voice -- "civilization" meant having to work hard to obtain things that were supposed to make you happy; but if like the Japanese you were happy already, was there any need to become "civilized?" Yet there was more to these ideas than rural nostalgia or a longing for the Edenic garden. Visitors and foreign residents could see that Japan was highly complex, urban nation, and perhaps it is not surprising that occasionally one was led to wonder if the natives might have anything valuable to teach. This was such a peculiar question that those who raised it directly seemed baffled by their own temerity. Answers were difficult to come by. It was easy enough for one writer to assert, "There are many lessons which we might profitably learn from them," and easier still to neglect to specify any.¹¹ Journalist Henry T. Finck could preface his work, Lotus Time in Japan, with the

flat statement: "The Japanese have as much to teach us as we have to teach them, and . . . what they can offer us is, on the whole, of a higher and nobler order than we can offer them. Japanese civilization is based on altruism, ours on egotism."¹² Bold as was such an assertion, it is more an insight than a lesson. And Finck's volume provided no clues as to how such altruism might be made more operative in the West.

An inability to conceptualize the "lessons" of Japan was almost as common as the assertion that such lessons were important. No doubt they were elusive and ultimately not of supreme concern to most of the people who felt they existed. Yet to look at the articles, travel books and memoirs of the period is to find a storehouse of comparisons -- both explicit and implicit -- between two very different civilizations. If no individual marshaled such evidence systematically, Edward S. Morse at least made such comparisons a major concern. It is no exaggeration to say that he wrestled more fully than anyone else with the contrasts between the two lands and that his works manage to include virtually every kind of positive American reaction to Japan voiced in the nineteenth century. In them can be found the beginnings of critical stance towards U.S. civilization, one laden with inferences about all those things Japan might have to teach America.¹³

There are good reasons to use Morse as a touchstone. His life bordered on the archetypal -- he was both self-made and a good patriot. Morse was no seeker of the exotic, no malcontent, no romantic poet, no mystic, but a scientist and acute observer of nature who believed in what he could see, touch, smell and draw. Largely self-educated, he had spent two years as an assistant to Louis Agassiz at the Harvard

Zoological Museum before going on to a highly-successful career. He was a member of the National Academy of Science and the American Association for the Advancement of Science, director of the Peabody Museum in Salem, a founding editor of The American Naturalist and famous in the world of zoology for having shown that brachiopods, an order of tiny marine creatures, were not shell fish -- as naturalists had always classified them -- but in reality members of the worm family. Morse was not a man to make quick judgments; though he had shed the Calvinism of his father as a teenager, it took him twelve years of close study to convince himself that Darwin's theory of evolution was correct.

Science brought Morse to Japan. He arrive at the age of forty with the aim of studying marine life in Asian waters. Within a few days he was made a financially irresistible offer to serve as the first professor of zoology at the new imperial university in Tokyo. His first stay lasted five months, then he went home to collect his family and return for a two-year stint at the university. A third trip in 1881 was undertaken for two ostensible reasons -- a desire to fill out both his own personal collection of pottery and the Peabody Museum's collection of ethnographic materials. His biographer has suggested another reason -- this normally hard-headed man was gripped by a nostalgic longing for Japan.¹⁴ Yet such a sentiment never appears in his writings. Aside from mounting annoyance at American shortcomings, these mostly consist of straightforward reactions to the Japanese way of life.

Morse had shown no previous concerns with comparing or evaluating civilizations. He arrived with no interest in mythology, folklore, philosophy, aesthetics or religion. (Indeed, this freedom from religious sentiments may be his greatest deviation from typical American beliefs.) Most of his observations are of everyday Tokyo life, or what caught his eye as he traveled around the country on scientific or collecting expeditions. Morse was interested in everyday things -- the way workmen used tools, the various kinds of footwear made from straw and wood, the games of children, the antics of men when drunk, the fashionable styles of women's kimonos or hairdos, the behavior of crowds at shrines or in the theater, the art of dwarfing trees or creating gardens, the varieties of stone lanterns, the techniques of jugglers and street entertainers, the design of latrines and the methods of carrying night soil from city to countryside. Nothing was too trivial to be recorded, yet somehow the humblest matters began to imply values beyond themselves. Later he recognized that it was Japan which made him critical of the United States: "One awakes to his own deficiencies . . . by coming in contact with the . . . ways of others."¹⁵

Morse's observations sprawl across three books and dozens of articles, both scholarly and popular, written over a period of more than forty years. Only once did he even come close to summarizing his attitudes and this in a revealing journal entry:

A foreigner, after remaining a few months in Japan, slowly begins to realize that, whereas he though he could teach the Japanese everything, he finds, to his amazement and chagrin, that those virtues or attributes which, under the

name of humanity are the burden of our moral teaching at home, the Japanese seem to be born with. Simplicity of dress, neatness of home, cleanliness of surroundings, a love of nature and of all natural things, a simple and fascinating art, courtesy of manner, considerations for the feelings of others are characteristic, not only of the most favored classes, but the possession of the poorest among them.¹⁶

The evidence that led to this conclusion could be found everywhere; here let us look at Morse's reactions in some of the areas on which he commented most frequently, the behavior and morality of young people and adults, the Japanese home, urban life and attitudes towards nature and art.

If children were the hope of the future, then Japan seemed a blessed nation. Foreigners universally recognized that Japanese babies and youngsters were especially well-behaved and even tempered. At work or play they were never seen to cry, sulk, or provoke parents into disciplinary actions. Knowing it was already a cliché, Morse could not help noting with envy, "Somehow the Japanese have solved the children problem. . . ."¹⁷ The implication was clearly that Americans had not; indeed, Japan led him to think that "we probably have the worst mannered children in the civilized world."¹⁸ Take an experience at the Kabuki theater, where swarms of youngsters went backstage between acts to watch the new sets being erected. This led the comment: "Such an invasion of children on our stage would not be permitted for a moment . . . think of the tacks spilled, paint upset

and other deviltries which would instantly develop if our sweet children were allowed behind the curtain. . . ."19 That this was not a matter of class behavior became obvious on a tour of the poorest section of Tokyo, where the street children were "more polite and graceful in manner, less selfish, more considerate for the feelings of others than a hundred children picked at random from upper Fifth Avenue, New York."²⁰

These virtues carried into the classroom: "No feature in Japanese life impresses an American more than the behavior of school-children." While in his native Maine "boys are so turbulent that a teacher has literally to fight his way before getting control!" and some districts remained without teachers because nobody "with the ability of a prize-fighter" could be found, in Japan students were sober, serious, hard-working and full of "profound respect for the teachers."²¹ Higher education was the same. There was no hazing of fellow students, no attempts to harass professors. How different were things in the U.S.: "The impious behavior of students in our colleges, such as stealing the Bible and hymn-books from the chapel at Princeton University, the crucifying of an effigy of a professor on the cross of Appleton Chapel at Harvard, and disfiguring, torturing and even causing the death of brother students in hazing, are illustrations of . . . barbarous and savage behavior often recorded in our country."²²

Self-discipline was also a most admirable feature of adult life. Crowds in public places were orderly, well-behaved and sweet-tempered and drunks tended to sing aloud rather than engage in fistfights. Unlike America, Japan showed no sign of hoodlums or

vandalism; public buildings were never defaced and no initials were carved into temple walls. Homicide was rare and so law-abiding were the people that one could travel to the most remote districts with no pistol for protection and no worries that harm might befall him. Indeed, "After a few years' residence . . . one realizes that a man is safer in the wilder regions of Japan at any hour, night or day, than in the quiet streets of Salem, or any other city in our country."²³ Not only was the foreigner physically safe, but he did not need to worry about his possessions either. Japanese standards of honesty were remarkably high. No locks barred the doors of houses or inns and merchants could leave storefronts open while they were gone, confident customers would pay for whatever they took. On one occasion Morse left eighty dollars in coins and bills and a gold watch on a tray in an inn for a week; the room was rented to others, yet when he returned, nothing had been touched. By contrast, a Japanese coming to America would think himself in a "land of thieves," for he would find "dippers chained to the fountain, thermometers screwed to the wall, doormats fastened to the steps, and inside every hotel various devices to prevent the stealing of soap and towels."²⁴

Living arrangements were a microcosm of the society. To reside in a Japanese home was to learn "how few are the essentials necessary for personal comfort."²⁵ Cleanliness, practicality and simplicity were the chief elements of the household. The flexibility of space was admirable, with sliding panels used to enlarge rooms or open the house to the outside world. Placing mats on the floor to sleep at night was not only an efficient, it was also more comfortable

than a Western mattress with its potentially "creaking springs, [and] hard bunches or awkward hollows."²⁶ Colors in the home were tastefully subdued and everything was carefully constructed and immaculate, including washing facilities, bathtubs and toilets. If at first the surroundings struck a foreigner as severe, the near-empty rooms allowed for subtle pleasures: the sweet smell of straw mats pervaded them while the eye was free to enjoy the grain of natural wood pillars, the designs on sliding screens, the single scroll hanging in the alcove, the simple arrangements of flowers. How preferable this was to the crowded, ugly, "aimless luxury" of American households, "encumbered with chairs, bureaus, tables, bedsteads, wash stands . . . dusty carpets and wallpaper, hot with some frantic design."²⁷ The same poor taste marked American gardens, "wretched attempts to crowd as many different kinds of flowers as possible into a given area." The Japanese, by contrast, used restraint and a "sense of propriety" to render the tiniest plots of earth "charming to the eye."²⁸

Behavior patterns and lifestyles were remarkable similar in rural areas, small towns, regional capitals and even crowded Tokyo. The Japanese "sense of personal cleanliness" (unlike Americans, they bathed in hot water everyday) carried into urban streets and factory yards, which were free of the debris and rubbish that made cities at home so filthy, squalid and "offensive."²⁹ While class differences were glaring in America's urban areas, Japanese city life exhibited an odd egalitarianism. Classes were historically defined, but the differences between them were much less marked than at home. Little overt ostentation showed in the houses and dress of the rich and though

the poor might dwell in shanties, their lives were marked by a propriety and decency wholly different from that which occurred in the "shattered . . . tenements . . . of Christian countries."³⁰ Besides, a homogeneity of culture made for a curious harmony: "A gentleman could build his house in any part of that great city with absolute certainty that the manners of his children would not be corrupted by the wretchedly poor children of the neighborhood; that his fruit and flowers would not be stolen, his dogs would not be stoned, or his fences defaced. There was no depreciation of real estate consequent upon the incoming of poor rag-pockets, itinerant shoemenders and the like, for, poor as these people might be, their manners would be . . . gracious and pleasing."³¹

Differences were also minimized by shared attitudes towards art and nature. The Japanese "were the greatest lovers of nature and the greatest artists in the world."³² The two went hand in hand, for the art usually depicted nature, while the crowds that flocked to see cherry blossoms, flowering lotus, maples or frozen winter landscapes, enjoyed them "with an artist's eye."³³ Newspapers and city directories listed the best seasonal viewing sites, and unlike America, scenery was not "hidden by huge signs for liver troubles, or the landscape . . . ruined by other vulgar advertisements."³⁴ At home, appreciation of fine art was restricted to a small number of people and the general level of design was lamentable. But in Japan artistic objects were produced and appreciated everywhere. The level of craftsmanship on the simplest products -- umbrellas, kitchen utensils, kettles -- raised them almost to the level of high art, and in the poorest homes, fine

examples of carving, calligraphy and painting could often be found. This love for art and nature bespoke an openness to pleasure that was unusual in a people who worked so hard. Though generally Japanese behavior was restrained, even unemotional, Morse found that they also knew how to relax, drink, play and enjoy themselves thoroughly at the colorful religious festivals of two traditions -- Buddhism and Shinto -- which lived together in remarkable harmony. This was a welcome change from "the mutually hostile attitudes of the two great branches of the Christian church."³⁵

Perhaps all of Morse's observations can be summed up by saying that the Japanese were simply more skilled at living than were Americans. Their daily lives, even at the humblest level, contained a much larger measure of beauty, grace, delicacy, cleanliness, joy, courtesy, morality and decent behavior than were available to Americans of almost any social class. Far from being trivial matters, these were indices by which to judge the quality of a civilization. Looked at broadly, they came under the category of manners, on which Morse would quote Edmund Burke: "Manners are of more importance than laws. . . . Manners are what vex or soothe, corrupt or purify, exalt or debase, barbarize or refine us. . . . They give their whole form and color to our lives. . . ." ³⁶ This being Morse's belief, it is important to stress the fact that he in no way blamed the crudity, boorishness or lack of civility of his countrymen on recent immigrants to the U.S. Rather, such uncivilized attitudes came from the heritage of the English, with their "brusque ways, overbearing rudeness, indifference to the feelings of others, and . . . general brutality of behavior."³⁷

No doubt the sharp contrasts that Morse drew were not wholly fair. His picture of Japan is sketched in broad strokes and elements of idealization color it. Yet the traits he admired have long been confirmed as central to the Japanese tradition and certainly he was not blind to the nation's faults. Like many visitors, he disapproved of the lack of a chivalric tradition towards women, the persistence of popular superstitions and magical practices, the fact that time was not considered precious and business hours could easily vanish in "useless" rituals like tea-drinking, and the idea that it was rude to voice a contrary opinion. In some matters Morse found the Japanese "dull and dim-witted," and, like any good democrat, he never could stomach the culture's extreme forms of subservience, the bowing and scraping to universally practiced.³⁸

He was also made nervous by the extreme aestheticism of the civilization which was one of its most attractive features. In Japan culture and etiquette were not confined to the sphere of women. Yet, flower arranging, poetry, calligraphy, indulging in a love for trees and gardens, behaving with extreme courtesy -- all such activities could seem terribly threatening to the American male. Personally Morse was willing to expand the sphere of manly activities -- he collected pottery and briefly studied two exquisitely delicate art forms, Noh drama singing and tea ceremony. Still, he was led to assert more than once that aesthetic interests did not preclude a good, old fashioned, masculine propensity towards violence, and he insisted that Japanese men were definitely not "effeminate." They might wear robes and at times seem to flutter about like women when "compared to the robust

and aggressive Anglo-Saxon," but one should never forget they were fearsome warriors, men of "intrepid bravery and fiery courage" who in battle exhibited a "reckless bravery."³⁹

Any conclusions drawn from the works of Morse tend towards irony. He was in a pagan land, yet found that the people already possessed "every virtue that in our country might be called Christian."⁴⁰ He was there as a teacher, but one who found "we have much to learn from Japanese life."⁴¹ The odd burden of his pages was that Americans could only learn those virtues they were supposed to know already, or lessons in courtesy, art and reverence for nature that made him slightly edgy and would certainly be anathema to that half of the population which clearly needed them most -- American males. He believed "persistent effort, precept and example continued year after year" might raise the United States towards the levels of Japanese civilization, but had little real faith that Americans were capable of such behavior: "We are comparatively slow in learning from other nations. We know there are better methods of municipal government in Germany and England, better ways of road building in all Europe. Do we adopt these methods promptly?"⁴² The implied answer was a resounding no, and what was true in these areas of public concern was even more so in matters of lifestyle.

The sum of Morse's observations result in paradoxes. It appears that the strength of the Japanese -- who were so quickly adopting Western ways -- was their admission of weakness, what one might call their willingness to imitate others, while the lessons of their civilization were those which ultimately could not be learned. At least not in any widespread way. The West taught Japan impersonal

processes and techniques which could be imported wholesale by an activist government, but the teachings of Japan were human and personal. Simplicity, honesty, courtesy, appreciation of art and nature were hardly matters of national policy. Learning from Japan could not be systematic. It called for individual effort and commitment. What was presumably necessary was both the willingness to be imitative and exposure to the Japanese way of life. Even if the former were possible, the latter was in the nineteenth century -- as today -- restricted to a very few individuals.

With limitations so strict and narrow, the "lessons" of Japan seem meagre enough. True, the critique by comparison does throw a special light on American behavior and values, and the example of Japan could provide hope -- in the nineteenth century or today -- that strict morality and refinement are at least possible in an urban, mass society. True, the notion that individuals can learn from the Japanese tradition has been borne out since Morse's day, and in the last century some of her lessons have infiltrated into the U.S. as either personal disciplines or cultural forms. Yet all of these -- Zen Buddhism, flower arranging, calligraphy, haiku, karate and certain principles in art and architecture -- have been adopted by individual practitioners such as Amy Lowell, Frank Lloyd Wright, Mark Tobey or Gary Snyder. There has been no widespread Japanizing of American art forms, let alone any overall impact upon our behavior patterns.

One wonders how it could be otherwise. In the American scheme of values surely manners, morals and aesthetics are seen as epiphenomena, with little reciprocal influence on the practical realms

of life. Yet the overall Japan experience can raise startling questions: Is it possible that the behavior patterns admired by Americans might have a cash-value? Is it possible that openness to nature, concern for aesthetics, and the practices of morality somehow pay off in increased productivity? Nineteenth century Americans never made such a connection, but if one considers Japans's subsequent development, or her recent successes in pursuing Western ways, such ideas suggest themselves.

To grapple with them is to edge towards the realm of speculation. Certainly behind the differences that so impressed Americans was a deeper lesson that was sensed without being defined -- this was the Japanese conception of human beings and their relation to the social order. Recent observers see this manifested in group-oriented behavior, but this phenomenon drew little comment in the nineteenth century. Henry Finck brushed against it in speaking of "altruism," and Percival Lowell, who spent several years there, termed it "impersonality," by which he meant lack of individualism. For Lowell, this was an archaic trait suitable to a childish people, one that, if not altered, would lead the nations of the East "to disappear before the advancing nations of the West."⁴³ His countryman would no doubt have concurred, yet a century later we may wonder if the underlying Japanese conception of humanity -- whatever it is and however defined -- may not be better adapted to modernization than earlier Americans could suppose.

Recently Edwin O. Reischauer has indirectly suggested just such an idea. Terming Japan "a remarkably stable and smoothly

functioning society," he has advanced the notion that it "could well serve as a model for others, including Western democracies."⁴⁴ This opinion would have seemed extreme to Morse or other Americans of his era who were sympathetic to Japanese ways. Not trained as systematic social analysts, they were only people whose gut reactions gave evidence that there was more to this Asian civilization than imitativeness. In their naivete they seemed to understand the immense difficulties -- impossibilities? -- of transferring values from one society to another, or even of making Americans live up to their own ideals. It is possible today to envy Japan's high levels of social cohesion and industrial productivity, but one must recognize the fact that these are rooted in a social order with a history quite different from our own. Anyone who asserts that the U.S. can learn important lessons from Japan would do well to ponder the career of Edward S. Morse, whose experience indicates that the Japanese are much easier to admire than to imitate.

FOOTNOTES

1. Francis L. Hawks, Narrative of the Expedition of an American Squadron to the China Seas and Japan (New York, 1856), p. 459.
2. See, for example, Boston Daily Advertiser, June 13, 1860, quoted in Akira Iriye, From Nationalism to Internationalism: U.S. Foreign Policy to 1914 (London, 1977), p. 43.
3. W. H. Hallock, "Jaunts in Japan," Scribner's Monthly, II (July, 1871), p. 251, quoted in Cecil, Our Japanese Romance, p. 86.
4. Hawks, loc. cit.
5. One example of the press questioning Westernization was voiced in Harper's when the first mission from Japan to the U.S. was about to leave for home. The anonymous author of an editorial wondered "whether the princes will not return with a profound regret that Japan has so far foregone her ancient traditions as to open her ports to the desolating influence of Western civilization." See "Our Visitors and Ourselves," Harper's Weekly, IV (June, 1860), p. 386.
6. Mario Emilio Cosenza, ed., The Complete Journal of Townsend Harris (New York, 1930), p. 225.

7. Ibid., p. 429.
8. Lafcadio Hearn, Glimpses of Unfamiliar Japan (Boston and New York, 1894), Vol. I, vii-x.
9. William Elliot Griffis, The Mikado's Empire (New York, 1900), p. 440.
10. Horace Capron, Memoirs (Unpublished typescript), Vol. II, p. 51.
11. Lyman Abbot, "Pictures of the Japanese," Harper's, XXXIX (August, 1869), 322, quoted in Levi M. Cecil, Our Japanese Romance; The Myth of Japan in America (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation; Vanderbilt University, 1947), p. 80.
12. Henry T. Finck, Lotus Time in Japan (New York, 1898), ix.
13. Dorothy Wayman, Edward Sylvester Morse (Cambridge, Mass., 1942). Part hagiography, part transcription of his journals, this is the only book-length study of Morse's life. His own writings on Japan include three books and numerous articles, both popular and scholarly, published over a period of forty years. Here I will utilize as much as possible his Japan journal entires, published in an edited form as Japan Day by Day (Boston, 1917), 2 vols. Other sources will be used chiefly when they express reactions similar to his early ones, but do so more succinctly. There is

good evidence that in all his writings on Japan Morse drew on his original journal notes.

14. Wayman, Morse, p. 280.
15. On the Importance of Good Manners (Boston, 1894), p. 6.
16. Japan Day by Day, Vol. I, p. 44.
17. Ibid., p. 351.
18. Importance of Good Manners, p. 18.
19. Ibid., Vol. II, p. 100.
20. Ibid., p. 370.
- 21.
22. Ibid., Vol. I, p. 362.
23. Ibid., p. 112.
24. Japanese Homes and Their Surroundings (Rutland, Vermont, 1972), p. 249, and Japan Day by Day, Vol. 21, p. 266.
25. Japanese Homes, p. 210.

- 26.
27. Ibid., p. 117.
28. Ibid., p. 273-74.
29. On the Importance of Good Manners, p. 11.
30. Japanese Homes, pp. 49-50.
31. On the Importance of Good Manners, pp. 6-7.
32. Japan Day by Day, Vol. I, p. 263.
33. Ibid., Vol. II, p. 416.
34. Ibid., p. 175.
35. Japanese Homes, p. 225.
36. Quoted in The Importance of Good Manners, pp. 23-4. The use of manners as a kind of test for civilization is, in fact, the burden of this Founder's Day address which Morse delivered at Vassar College in 1894.
37. Ibid., p. 22.

38. Japan Day by Day, Vol. II, p. 13.
39. Importance of Good Manners, p. 22.
40. Japan Day by Day, Vol. I, p. 125.
41. Ibid., Vol. II, p. 435.
42. Importance of Good Manners, p. 23; Japan Day by Day, Vol. I, pp. 40-41.
43. Percival Lowell, The Soul of the Far East (Boston, 1898), p. 226.
44. Edwin O. Reischauer, The Japanese (Cambridge, Mass., 1977), p. 230.