

INTERPRETING JAPAN'S INTERPRETERS THE PROBLEM OF LAFCADIO HEARN

NANYAN GUO¹
University of Otago

INTRODUCTION

The writings of Lafcadio Hearn (1850-1904) have been read, appreciated, and studied in Japan for one hundred years. Some people regard Hearn as the 'best' interpreter of Japan because they think his understanding was deeper and more insightful than other foreigners'. Hearn is highly valued in Japan because of the sensitive way in which he wrote of Japanese customs and old tales, his adoption of Japanese nationality (with the Japanese name Koizumi Yakumo 小泉八雲), and because he eventually died and was buried in Japan. In the years spanning the transition from the nineteenth to the twentieth centuries, he taught English language and literature to Japanese students at secondary schools and universities, influenced some Japanese modern writers, and contributed to the development of research on Japanese folklore. More unusually, Hearn loved what he thought of as 'Shintoism', which in his mind combined various beliefs and practices of the common people with the ideology of the Emperor system, which was being constructed in the Meiji period. This has been emphasised recently by some Japanese scholars who treat Hearn as the non-native person who best understood the traditional culture of Japan.

However, Hearn's interpretation of Shintoism is problematic. He confused the Shintoism he discovered in Japanese legends and religious sentiment, which fascinated him, with the fanatic nationalism which was then being constructed by politicians and ideologues on Shinto foundations. He seems to know little of the political background to this latter process. Having himself become 'Japanese', Hearn's writings on Japan suffer from his uncritical and excessive embrace of many things 'Japanese', and it is this element which makes them susceptible to manipulation in the interests of a different kind of nationalism one hundred years later. Hearn's extremism in this regard stands out sharply when his writing is compared with that of his friend and contemporary, Basil Hall Chamberlain.

¹ Dr. Nanyan Guo (nanyan.guo@stonebow.otago.ac.nz) is a Senior Lecturer in the Japanese Programme, University of Otago. She teaches Japanese language, literature and culture. Her research fields include modern Japanese literature and environmental issues.

ONE HUNDRED YEARS OF EVALUATING HEARN

During his fourteen years in Japan from 1890 till 1904, Hearn wrote a dozen books in English, including *Glimpses of Unfamiliar Japan* (1894), *Kokoro* (1896), and *Japan: an Attempt at Interpretation* (1904). His writings on Japan have been categorised into three types: documentary, fiction and research (Mori 1980: 9). However, some of his documentary-like works have been shown by researchers to be essentially creative and imaginative (Maruyama 1936; Snowden 1988; Ota 1994: 136-64; 1998: 179-201). Hearn seems to have been more interested in expressing his observations, opinions and feelings about Japan than in simply documenting the country.

In 1914, Tsubouchi Shōyō 坪内逍遙 (1859-1935), a modern writer who established an influential theory of literature that stressed aesthetic value, highly praised Hearn's goodwill in his description of Japan, while also pointing out:

It seems that Hearn only picked up beautiful aspects of ordinary people's customs and feelings, with so warm a sympathy, and tried to ignore those ugly and unpleasant parts by closing his eyes Sometimes I am moved to tears, although I am embarrassed by his tendency to view things in the best possible light and his highly subjective tone (Tsubouchi Shōyō vii).

Tsubouchi's comments represent the common judgement of Hearn's works by Japanese intellectuals. The well-known writer Shiga Naoya 志賀直哉 (1883-1971), who admitted that his own distinctively concise and clear literary style was inspired by Hearn, also expressed a similar opinion: 'With the best of intentions, Hearn interpreted Japanese things which have been forgotten by Japanese themselves... We feel grateful and flattered at the same time' (Shiga Naoya 603-604).

To Japanese readers, being touched by his writings did not mean being convinced that they were true. Hearn created a picture of Japan which seemed much more wonderful than many Japanese could have possibly seen or imagined. Nevertheless, by interpreting Japan as a nation with superior qualities, Hearn attracted people who wanted to hear precisely that message. The contemporary Japanese critic Tokutomi Sohō 徳富蘇峰 (1863-1957), who played a major role in establishing the ideology of the Emperor System, instinctively felt that: 'We should say Japan discovered Hearn, rather than that he discovered Japan' (Tokutomi 133). Hearn has long been seen as a spokesman for Japan's virtues. However Western and Chinese researchers have had a more varied views on Hearn's interpretation of Japan.²

² For instance, on the positive side, Elizabeth Bisland writes that Hearn's *Japan: an Attempt at Interpretation* is 'one of the most astonishing reviews of the life and soul of a great nation ever attempted' (Bisland 141). Edward Thomas describes the same book as 'probably the best single book, not a work of reference, upon Japan' (Thomas 82). Malcolm Cowley writes that Hearn 'was a great interpreter who, belonging to English literature, could still explain it as if he formed part of a Japanese audience' (Cowley 14). Louis Allen describes Hearn as 'the perfect interpreter of a Japan that was, on the surface at any rate, disappearing for ever' (Allen 19). And Paul Murray writes, 'Few people of his era tried harder to promote mutual understanding between East and West and he remains worth reading for his

When Japan started to gain confidence from its economic success in recent decades, Hearn's popularity again rose. During the 1990s, his major works were re-translated, compiled into a six-volume series and published under new titles and in a new order decided by the editor (Hearn 1990a; 1990b; 1990c; 1990d; 1991; 1999). Frequent re-printings of this pocket-sized series indicate that Hearn is being widely read today in Japan. The editor, Hirakawa Sukehiro 平川祐弘, who is also author of several books on Hearn, argues Hearn was the only Westerner of his generation to pay attention to the importance of Japan's native religion. Hirakawa believes Hearn wrote beautifully about the Shintoist feelings of the common people and the legends of the world of the dead. Hirakawa also thinks that the re-evaluation of Hearn is part of the process of realizing that Western religion is not superior. Hearn's frequent praise for Japanese patriotism based on his understanding of 'Shintoism' deserves especially careful study. Elucidation of these passages can show not only the complexity of his mind, but also provide revealing insights into the minds of some Japanese scholarly commentators.

IGNORING INDIVIDUALITY

In Hearn's article, 'From the Diary of an English Teacher' (in *Glimpses of Unfamiliar Japan*), there is a conversation between Hearn and one of his students from the Middle School of Shimane Province in Matsue regarding bowing before the Emperor's portrait. Hearn said to the student:

I think it is your highest social duty to honor your Emperor, to obey his laws, and to be ready to give your blood whenever he may require it of you for the sake of Japan. I think it is your duty

penetrating analysis of Japan, as enduring as the magic of his prose' (Murray 171). On the critical side, George Gould writes that Hearn has ignored 'the objective and material side of Japanese existence' (Gould 128-9). Robert Rosenstone writes, 'Love and admiration tend to flavor everything he writes for publication about this land, while all criticisms are confined to private letters.' (Rosenstone 176). Paul Snowden writes that Hearn tended 'not to find out truth about contemporary Japan, but to discover what was exotic, mysterious and fantastic about it, in other words a mere part of the truth... for the purpose of sensational journalism' (Snowdon 23-4). Donald Richie writes that 'Hearn, while reflecting the reality of the country around him, was also constructing his own version of that land -- he was creating what Roland Barthes was later to call a "fictive nation," a national system of one's own devising' (Richie 12). In China, a handful of researchers have been interested in Hearn. For instance, in 1920, Zhou Zuoren wrote that there was no one in China who understood Japan as well as Hearn who became a real Japanophile (Zhou 1989: 15). However, By 1925 Zhou began to be sceptical about Hearn's view that loyalty to the Emperor was something natural to Japanese people (Zhou 1925). Cao Juren, in 1944, wrote that Hearn understood Japan better than Japanese themselves (Cao 489). Similarly, Xu Jingbo argued that what Hearn saw during his fourteen years in Japan was mainly the gentle and artistic aspects of the Japanese people (Xu 54). Finally, Liu Anwei has suggested that Hearn tries to understand the Japanese civilization from past experience and the continuity of the historical tradition (Liu 1994: 411), and that his 'method of observing Japanese society from its ordinary people is very similar to the methods applied in today's anthropology and folklore studies' (Liu 2001: 115).

to respect the gods of your fathers, the religion of your country – even if you yourself cannot believe all that others believe (Hearn 1894; 1993: 471).

This quotation is dated 1 June 1891. However, whether Hearn actually said this cannot be proved because of the fictitious character of the diary, which contains several parts that are obviously not authentic. For instance, in the entry for 15 October 1890, Hearn described watching an assembly in the school listening to the ‘Imperial Words on Education’ (the Imperial Rescript on Education) bearing the date of ‘the thirteenth day of the tenth month’, a mistake for the 30th. Another similar discrepancy can be found in the entry for 1 June 1891, under which he included a note actually written five months later, in November, by a sick student. Also, a seemingly first-hand documenting of the funeral of his student on 23 December 1891 in Matsue was in fact based on a letter from another student to Hearn, and the funeral occurred when he himself was in distant Kumamoto (Tabé [1914] 1990: 228). It is clear that the Diary was not a diary as such, but rather a collection of Hearn’s thoughts in a diary format.

Hearn’s advice to his student points to a contradiction in his own mind. While he was asking the student to obey the Emperor unconditionally, he did not forget to add ‘even if you yourself cannot believe all that others believe.’ This implies that Hearn was aware of some possible doubt about such a loyalty, perhaps based on his experience in 1892 in the Fifth High School of Kumamoto where a Japanese teacher, Okumura Teijirō 奥村禎次郎, had been fired for saying that students should not care about the country (Ota 1994: 127). By emphasising the sense of duty, however, Hearn tried to block such a thought from emerging in his student’s mind. In other words, he was doing no more than repeat what most Japanese teachers were telling their students at this time. The only difference is that Japanese teachers would not even risk mentioning a possible doubt because they all knew that the Christian essayist Uchimura Kanzō 内村鑑三 (1861-1930) had been expelled in January 1891 from the First Higher School in Tokyo for failing to show sufficient respect for the signature of the Emperor appended to a copy of the new Imperial Rescript on Education.

Hearn observed a lack of individuality among his Japanese students. Their English compositions seemed ‘revelations, not of individual character, but of national sentiment, or of aggregate sentiment of some sort or other.’ On 4 April 1891, he wrote of his surprise to see ‘that they have no personal cachet at all’ and ‘show little originality in the line of imagination’. Meanwhile Hearn was appreciative of the individualism of particular, favourite students. One of them was ‘Adzukizawa’ who, as Hearn described, ‘never cares about the opinion of his comrades if he thinks he is right.’ He had brought Hearn some ‘old tattered prints to prove that the opinions now held by our director are diametrically opposed to the opinions he advocated fourteen years ago in a public address.’ Obviously, Hearn was proud of his spirit of searching for truth.

However, Hearn was not interested in helping his students develop their individual characters. Instead he asked them to obey the common code required by the country, no matter whether they believed in it or not. This is contrary to his praise, in the same book, for those Japanese teachers who

never imposed their will on the students. If the advice quoted above was indeed given, then Hearn was trying to enforce the Meiji education system of absolute loyalty to the Emperor. If these particular words were added later, as suggested above, they could be interpreted as a gesture of his willingness to do so, rather than reflecting an actual incident.

After quoting Hearn's advice to his students, Hirakawa Sukehiro repeats that Hearn was able to understand the nationalism of the Meiji period despite being a Westerner, and describes Hearn's observations as an impressive and accurate understanding of the psychology of Japan (Hirakawa 1996: 23 & 27).³ Because Hearn was not able to read Japanese, his knowledge of 'the psychology of Japan' came mainly from the people surrounding him, and therefore his judgements and feelings were strongly influenced by them. Under such circumstances, without independent study and contemplation, Hearn's view of the Emperor and patriotism could hardly be unique. His advice to the student in Matsue was no more than a repetition of the contemporary national mood. There was no individual character to it. It was as if he had himself been reduced to the same state of mind that he observed in his students' compositions. If he was merely an honest imitator of the majority of contemporary Japanese, can Hearn really be called a good interpreter of Japan?

NEGLECTING THE MISERY OF WAR

As we can see from his numerous books, Hearn sympathised with Japan because of his love for the people and the traditional culture, and also because of his resentment of modern Western civilisation and Christianity. Just like the majority of the Japanese around him, he was overjoyed when the country's army defeated China in the Sino-Japanese War (1894-5) and, as the Russo-Japanese War (1904-5) loomed, he believed that Japan would win that too.

When he told his students to be ready to give blood whenever the Emperor might require it for the sake of Japan, Hearn showed another contradiction. He worried over those of his students who he knew were ill and dying because of a mental pressure caused by 'studying a great deal too hard'. Hearn was clearly aware that the imperial order to acquire Western knowledge and languages, and to imitate Western ways had made 'self-destruction by over-study' a common form of death and had impelled children to ruin their health 'in the effort to master tasks too difficult for their little minds' ('Modern Restraints', in *Japan: an Attempt at Interpretation*) (Hearn 1904; 1907: 455). This sympathy for the burdens borne by his students suggests that he must have also felt sad at the thought of them having to die in

³ Hirakawa Sukehiro, 'Yume no nihon ka, genjitsu no nihon ka' 夢の日本か現実の日本か. This essay first appeared in *Mugendai*, in the summer of 1991, and was later re-published in *Sekai no naka no Rafukadio Hān* (Lafcadio Hearn in the World), Tokyo: Kawade shobō shinsha, 1994, and *Orientalu na yume: Koizumi Yakumo to rei no sekai* (The Oriental Dream: Koizumi Yakumo and the Ghostly World), Tokyo: Chikumashobō, 1996).

a war. Yet, Hearn ignored such a natural feeling and simply asked his student to shed blood for Emperor and country. This method of subordinating humane feelings to national ideology is one he often employed.

Another example is found in his article 'After the War' (in *Kokoro*). When he saw young people on their way to war, he wrote:

Those soldiers looked so much like students whom I had taught (thousands, indeed, were really fresh from school) that I could not help feeling it was cruel to send such youths to battle. The boyish faces were so frank, so cheerful, so seemingly innocent of the greater sorrows of life! (Hearn 1896; 1996: 102-3)

This sympathy for their possible deaths made him feel the cruelty of the war. But when Hearn later went to join the crowds gathered to welcome returning soldiers, his 'patriotism' was aroused and he was happy to see they had become 'toughened men, able to face any troops in the world'. However, he also instinctively felt that they 'had also suffered many things which never will be written.' The following passage reveals Hearn's sharp observation as a sensitive literary man:

The features showed neither joy nor pride; the quick-searching eyes hardly glanced at the welcoming flags, the decorations, the arch with its globe-shadowing hawk of battle -- perhaps because those eyes had seen too often the things which make men serious. (Only one man smiled as he passed; and I thought of a smile seen on the face of a Zouave when I was a boy, watching the return of a regiment from Africa -- a mocking smile, that stabbed.) (Hearn 1896; 1996: 106)

These expressions on the soldiers' faces told of their sufferings, and the 'mocking smile' indicated the soldier's attitude toward the welcoming throng and the war itself. That is why it 'stabbed' Hearn, who was intoxicated by the victory.

The misery of war that Hearn perceived from the returning regiments made him aware of dead soldiers who would not come back. He said to his companion Manyemon: 'They will think of comrades who never can return.' However, such a sentiment was quickly overturned by Manyemon's reply: 'There are no Japanese dead who do not return They are with us now. In every dusk they gather to hear the bugles that called them home. And they will hear them also in that day when the armies of the Son of Heaven shall be summoned against Russia' (Hearn 1896; 1996: 106). What Manyemon said, whether or not they were actually his words or words put into his mouth by Hearn, neatly deflected the natural feelings toward the death of the soldiers which had occurred to him spontaneously and without any ideological tint. Hearn's belief in patriotism, based on his love of the 'Shintoist' ideal of the sacrificial dead, was strong enough to extinguish his humane emotion.

Hirakawa partially omits and partially mistranslates the above sharp observation by Hearn. He concludes that Hearn's writing 'touched Japanese racial feelings and paid attention to Japanese hostility to the Russians'

(Hirakawa 1974; 1994: 244).⁴ However, such a conclusion neglects the contradiction between Hearn's feelings and his belief, and amounts to superficial praise for Hearn's love for 'Shintoism' while ignoring his deliberate 'callousness' toward the misery of war suffered by the soldiers.

In the month of Hearn's death, September 1904, Yosano Akiko 与謝野晶子 (1878-1942) published her famous poem 'Kimi shinitamau koto nakare' ('You Shall Not Be Killed, Brother!'). This was the middle of the Russo-Japanese War. Worrying about her younger brother in the besieging army at Port Arthur, she wrote:

Did your parents teach you to wield the sword to murder other people?
 Did your parents raise you
 for twenty-four years
 to kill and to die?

...
 You should not be killed.
 Even if Port Arthur's castle falls,
 so what?

...
 You shall not be killed.
 The Honorable Emperor would not personally
 engage in the war.
 Since the emperor's heart is so merciful,
 how could he possibly ask
 others to shed blood
 and die like beasts
 and believe that dying is honor? (Yosano 1904; 1996: 122-3)

Although a jingoistic critic and poet Omachi Keigetsu 大町桂月 (1869-1925) attacked this poem as a criticism of the Emperor, and denounced the poet as '*Hi-kokumin*' (un-Japanese), the heart-breaking and satiric poem was widely welcomed because of its humanitarian spirit (Kōno 1972; 1984: 132; Muramatsu 1990: 384).

It is obvious that readers who appreciated this poem had an opposite view to that of Manyemon and Hearn. They would not be comforted by 'Shintoist' theory if they lost family members in the war, and certainly would not believe in it. Another writer, Taoka Reiun 田岡嶺雲 (1870-1912), also expressed similar thoughts while serving as a newspaper reporter in China during the Russo-Japanese War. He wrote, 'When I saw the suffering and the

⁴ Hirakawa Sukehiro 'Nishi to higashi no nashonarizumu' 西と東のナショナルリズム, *Seiō no shōgeki to nihon*, Tokyo: Kōdansha, 1974, reprinting, 1st edition, October 1985, 7th edition, June 1994, p.243. Here, Hirakawa's quotation omits the sentence 'Only one man smiled as he passed; and I thought of a smile seen on the face of a Zouave when I was a boy, watching the return of a regiment from Africa, -- a mocking smile, that stabbed'. He continues with a mistranslation into Japanese of the phrase, 'the quick-searching eyes hardly glanced at the welcoming flags, the decorations' as 'surudoichihibetsu wo nageta ga', which means the soldiers 'had a sharp glance at' the flags and the decorations. The combination of omission and mistranslation can easily mislead the reader. In his later translation of 'After the War' (*Nihon no kokoro*, Tokyo: Kōdansha, August 1990; 9th reprinting, October 1994, p.145), Hirakawa did not correct this mistake.

misery of the war, and realized the high price to pay in the process of gaining a victory by shedding blood, I could not help becoming anti-war' (Taoka 1900, 1969: 68).

The demeanour of the returning regiments observed by Hearn could well have meant that they too were resentful of the war. The regrettable thing is that, although Hearn perceived the soldiers' feelings and felt compassion for the dead, he preferred to choose refuge in the so-called 'Shintoist' ideal and to forget about the brutal reality caused by Japanese patriotism.

A DIFFERENT VIEW OF PATRIOTISM: BASIL HALL CHAMBERLAIN

One contemporary foreigner took a different view of patriotism: Basil Hall Chamberlain (1850-1935). He went to Japan in 1873, studied the Japanese language and published several books such as *The Classical Poetry of the Japanese* (1880), the English translation of *Kojiki* (1883), and *A Handbook for Travellers in Japan* (1891). His widely-read book, *Things Japanese*, was published in six editions in English, as well as one in German and another in French, between 1890 and 1939. Hearn and Chamberlain were good friends for several years. In reply to Hearn's letter in which he wrote: 'I could really cry with vexation when I think of the indifference -- the ignorant, blind indifference of the Educational Powers -- to nourish the old love of country and love of the Emperor' (11 October 1893) (Hearn 1910: 184), Chamberlain stated an opposite view:

I do not agree with you that the Gove't [sic] does nothing to foster patriotism and the old military spirit. What of the new songs & poems published by the authorities for the use of soldiers & students ...? What of the prostration at New Year before the Emperor's picture? What of the students' military drill? What of the creation of such festivals as the Emperor's birthday, the late Emperor's anniversary, the 11th February? To my mind there is far too much jingo patriotism in this country. But then I confess that patriotism, anywhere, is a thing altogether distasteful to my mind ... It grows from ignorance, and is nurtured by prejudice. (22 October 1893) (Chamberlain 1936: 108)

Living in Japan for more than 30 years, Chamberlain also loved the country deeply (Ota 1998: 3-4). But unlike Hearn, who chose to become a patriot of his adopted country, Chamberlain was always trying to observe Japan from a cosmopolitan point of view. Despite his British nationality, he was not happy to be called British, and did not identify himself with any nation. He devoted most of his life to the study of Japan, with an attitude of seeking for truth, without concealing anything that might be contrary to the Japanese government's propaganda. He insisted that 'true appreciation is always critical as well as kindly' (Chamberlain 1905: 7).

Drawing on his own observation and research, he added an entry 'Chauvinism' in the second edition of *Things Japanese* in 1892. In 1912, he wrote a pamphlet for the Rationalist Press Association entitled 'Bushidō or The Invention of a New Religion', and in 1927 included this in the revised fifth edition of *Things Japanese*. In the pamphlet, Chamberlain pointed out:

Mikado-worship and Japan-worship -- for that is the new Japanese religion -- is, of course, no spontaneously generated phenomenon Not only is it new, it is not yet completed; it is still in process of being consciously or semi-consciously put together by the official class, in order to serve the interests of that class, and, incidentally, the interests of the nation at large The new Japanese religion consists, in its present early stage, of worship of the sacrosanct Imperial Person and of His Divine Ancestors, of implicit obedience to Him as head of the army (a position, by the way, opposed to all former Japanese ideas, according to which the Court was essentially civilian); furthermore, [it consists] of a corresponding belief that Japan is as far superior to the common ruck of nations as the Mikado is divinely superior to the common ruck of kings and emperors. (Chamberlain 1939; 1985: 81, 87)

This pamphlet is viewed by one scholar in Japan as the earliest criticism of the Emperor System by a foreigner (Kusuya 1985: 76; 1998: 159). Chamberlain's pamphlet was published some eleven years after Kōtoku Shūsui 幸徳秋水 (1871-1910) criticised the patriotism of the 'holy Meiji period' as suppressing freedom of thinking. Kōtoku wrote poignantly that a 'united patriotism would not bring any profit to its nation once a war is finished, and the military pioneers who crushed enemies' heads would soon drink the blood of their own people' (Kōtoku 1901, 1996: 96). However, unlike Chamberlain, Kōtoku's criticism was not directly addressed at the Emperor System itself at the time.

Chamberlain's outspoken criticism of Japanese politics was based on his first-hand knowledge gained through observation, reading of Japanese materials and research on Japanese history. His interpretation of Japan is quite opposite to Hearn, who chose to allow his Japanese patriotism to close his eyes. Although Hearn had accurately noticed the returning soldiers' indifference to the welcoming 'Rising Sun' flags, still he loved to look forward to the day when 'the armies of the Son of Heaven shall be summoned against Russia' (Chamberlain 1939; 1985: 81, 87).

If Hearn had lived one month longer, he might have heard the sorrowful cry of Yosano Akiko, 'You shall not be killed, my brother!' He might also have been stabbed again, in the depths of his soul, if he had really loved Japan and its people.

CONCLUSION

Some of Hearn's admirers tend to belittle Chamberlain. Often basing their views on unfounded evidence, they have created a stereotype of Chamberlain as a Western European supremacist (Kawashima 1987; 1995: 69), jealous and

afraid of Hearn's success and fame (Kawashima 1979: 145), having the prejudices characteristic of Western intellectuals (Tōda 1985: 36), hostile to Hearn (Makino 1992: 200), and a supporter of the British Empire (Hirakawa 1994: 47). In the fifteenth volume of *Rafukadio Hān chosakushū* (The Writings of Lafcadio Hearn, 1988), the letters between Hearn and Chamberlain (dated October-December 1893 and March-December 1894, including that quoted above in which Chamberlain expressed his view of Japanese patriotism) which clearly show a well-balanced sense of observation and judgement, were omitted. No satisfactory reason was given for doing so.⁵

In Yuzo Ota's book *Basil Hall Chamberlain, Portrait of a Japanologist* (Japan Library, 1998), Chamberlain is shown to be an excellent example for people of today who wish to be free from a narrow-minded nationalism. This book directly challenges the tendency among some Japanese scholars to rebuke Chamberlain and beatify Hearn. It has provided the opportunity to reconsider Chamberlain in comparison with Hearn without bias.

Compared to Chamberlain, Hearn's love for 'Shintoism' and Japanese patriotism was self-deceiving. As demonstrated above, Hearn was not a single-minded person, but rather was conscious of contradictions inside himself. Being aware of these contradictions, he chose to believe in the 'Shintoist' fantasy. His contradictions also disclose the complexity of his literary imagination, and caution us not to take his interpretations of Japan at face value but to examine them carefully. Ignoring his complexity and simplifying his thought can only lead to a self-serving conclusion. Hearn was a problematic interpreter of Japan who deserves an objective and thorough study.

Hearn has long been praised as a way of praising Japan. In the latter years of the twentieth century, glorification of Hearn's patriotic love for Japan and for the 'Shintoist' ideology of the Meiji period can be seen as a rhetorical device to promote a renewed nationalism, one with similar characteristics to that of a century ago. It was the promotion of such an ideology which led, only half a century ago, to the demand in the name of the Emperor for the blood of the people.

⁵ In the 14th volume of *Rafukadio Hān Chosakushū* ラフカディオ・ハーン著作集, Tokyo: Kōbansha, 1983, pp. 583-584, the translator and editor, Saitō Shōji writes that they planned to include, in the 15th volume, all the letters between Hearn and Chamberlain for a better understanding of Chamberlain, whose 'Bushidō, or The Invention of a New Religion' has its 'tadai no datōsei' (serious validity) for today's Japanese, and for fairness in his treatment of Hearn. However, in the 15th volume, the plan was not carried out. The editor Yamashita Kōichi explains the reasons for this were 'also owing to limited space'. The word 'also' implies other, unstated, reasons. We may surmise that one reason was to preserve 'face' for both Hearn and Chamberlain.

REFERENCES

- Allen, Louis & Wilson, Jean eds., (1992) *Lafcadio Hearn: Japan's Great Interpreter: a New Anthology of his Writings, 1894-1904*, Folkestone: Japan Library.
- Bisland, Elizabeth (1906) *The Life and Letters of Lafcadio Hearn*, Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin & Co.
- Cao Juren 曹聚仁 (1998) *Tingtaoshi renwu tan* 聽濤室人物斷, Shanghai: Shanghai renmin chubanshe.
- Chamberlain, B. H. (1905) *Things Japanese*, 5th ed., London: Kelly and Walsh.
- (1939) *Things Japanese*, 6th ed., London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co. Ltd, Rptd (1985) Tokyo: Meicho Fukyūkai.
- (1936) *Letters from B. H. Chamberlain to Lafcadio Hearn*, Kazuo Koizumi ed., Tokyo: Hokuseidō Press. (Photocopies of the original letters are preserved at Tōyō Bunko, Tokyo.)
- Cowley, Malcolm (1949) introduction to Henry Goodman ed., *The Selected Writings of Lafcadio Hearn*, New York: Citadel Press.
- Gould, George (1908) *Concerning Lafcadio Hearn*, London: T. Fisher Unwin.
- Hearn, Lafcadio (1894) *Glimpses of Unfamiliar Japan*, 1st ed., Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. Rptd (1993) Tokyo: Charles E. Tuttle.
- (1896) *Kokoro*, 1st ed., Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. Rptd (1996) Tokyo: Charles E. Tuttle.
- (1904) *Japan: an Attempt at Interpretation*, London: Macmillan. Rptd 1907.
- (1910) *The Japanese Letters of Lafcadio Hearn*, Elizabeth Bisland ed., Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Co.
- (1983) *Rafukadio Hân Chosakushū* ラフカディオ・ハーン 著作集 vol. 14, from *Rafukadio Hân Chosakushū*, (1980—1988) 15 vols. Tokyo: Kōbunsha.
- (1990a) *Kaidan* 怪談 / *kidan* 奇談, Hirakawa ed., Tokyo: Kōdansha.
- (1990b) *Nihon no kokoro* 日本の心, Hirakawa ed., Tokyo: Kōdansha.
- (1990c) *Meiji Nihon no Omokage* 明治日本の面影, Hirakawa ed., Tokyo: Kōdansha.
- (1990d) *Kamigami no Kuni no Shuto* 神々の首都, Hirakawa ed., Tokyo: Kōdansha.
- (1991) *Kureōru Monogatari* クレオール物語り, Hirakawa ed., Tokyo: Kōdansha.
- (1999) *Hikari wa Higashi yori* 光は東より, Hirakawa ed., Tokyo: Kōdansha.
- Hirakawa Sukehiro 平川祐弘 (1974) *Seiō no shōgeki to nihon* 西欧の衝撃と日本, Tokyo: Kōdansha. Rptd 1985 (1st ed.), 1994 (7th ed.).
- (1991) 'Yume no nihon ka, genjitsu no nihon ka' 夢の日本か、現実の日本か, *Mugendai*, Summer, pp. 35-50.
- (1992) 'Koizumi Yakumo no konnichi teki imi' 小泉八雲の今日的意味, Hirakawa Sukehiro ed., *Koizumi Yakumo Kaisō to kenkyū* 小泉八雲回想と研究, Tokyo: Kōdansha.
- ed., (1994) *Sekai no naka no Rafukadio Hân* 世界の中のラフカディオ・ハーン, Tokyo: Kawade shobō shinsha.

- (1996) *Orientalu na yume: Koizumi Yakumo to rei no sekai* オリエンタルな夢：小泉八雲と霊の世界, Tokyo: Chikumashobō.
- Kawashima Hiromi 河島弘美 (1979) 'Rafukadio Hān to Bajiru Hōru Chembaren' ラフカディオ・ハーンとバジル・ホール・チェンバレン, *Hikaku Bungaku Kenkyū* 比較文学研究, no.35, August, pp. 126-55.
- (1987) 'Bajiru H Chembaren Nihon jibutsushi' バジル・H・チェンバレン『日本事物誌』, in S. Saeki and T. Haga (eds.), *Gaikokujin ni yoru nihonron no meicho* 外国人による日本論の名著, Tokyo: Chūō kōronsha, pp 64-9. Rptd 1995 (12th ed.).
- Kōno, Y. 紅野, Y. Miyoshi 三好, T. Takemori 竹盛 and T. Hiraoaka 平岡 eds., (1972) *Meiji no bungaku* 明治の文学, Tokyo: Yūhikaku. Rptd 1984 (13th ed.).
- Kōtoku Shūsui 幸徳秋水 (1901) *Nijūseiki no kaibutsu, teikokushugi* 二十世紀の怪物—帝国主義, Tokyo: Keiseisha shoten, Rptd 1984 (1st ed.), 1996 (3rd repr.) *Kōtoku Shūsui*, Tokyo: Chūōkōronsha.
- Kusuya Shigetoshi 楠家重敏 (1985) 'B.H. Chembaren "nihon jibutsushi" no sekai' B.H. チェンバレン『日本事物誌』の世界, in Chamberlain 1985.
- (1998) *Igisujin Japanorojisuto no shōzō* イギリス人ジャパノロジストの肖像, Tokyo: Nihontosho kankōkai.
- Liu Anwei 劉岸偉 (1994) 'Koizumi Yakumo to Shuu sakujin' 小泉八雲と周作人 *Sekai no naka no Rafukadio Hān*, Hirakawa Sukehiro ed., Tokyo: Kawade shobō shinsha.
- (2001) 'Xiaoquan bayun yu jindai Zhongguo' 小泉八雲与近代日本, *Ershiyi shiji*, Vol. 66.
- Makino Yōko 牧野陽子 (1992) *Rafukadio Hān* ラフカディオ・ハーン, Tokyo: Chūōkōronsha.
- Maruyama Manabu 丸山学 (1936) *Koizumi Yakumo Shinkō* 小泉八雲新考, Tokyo: Hokuseidō. Rptd (1996) Tokyo: Kōdansha.
- Mori, Ryō 森亮 (1980) *Koizumi Yakumo no bungaku* 小泉八雲の文学, Tokyo: Kōbunsha.
- Muramatsu S. 村松 and S. Watanabe 渡辺 eds., (1990) *Gendai josei bungaku jiten* 現代女性文学事典, Tokyo: Tokyodō.
- Murray, Paul (1997) 'Lafcadio Hearn's Interpretation of Japan', Sean G. Ronan ed., *Irish Writing on Lafcadio Hearn and Japan, Writer, Journalist & Teacher*, Folkestone: Global Oriental.
- Ota Yūzō 太田雄三 (1994) *Rafukadio Hān: Kyojō to jitsuzō* ラフカディオ・ハーン虚像と実像, Tokyo: Iwanami shoten.
- (1998) *Basil Hall Chamberlain, Portrait of a Japanologist*, Surrey: Japan Library, Curzon Press.
- Richie, Donald ed., (1997) *Lafcadio Hearn's Japan: an Anthology of his Writings on the Country and its People*, Rutland, Vt.: Charles E. Tuttle.
- Rosenstone, Robert (1988) *Mirror in the Shrine: American Encounters with Meiji Japan*, Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press.
- Shiga Naoya 志賀直哉 (1974) 'Kimono, okiku san to hān no hikaku' 着物、お菊さんとハーンの比較 (Comparison between Kimono, Madam Chrysanthemum and Hearn), *Shiga Naoya Zenshū* 志賀直哉全集, vol. 9, Tokyo: Iwanami shoten.

- Snowden, Paul (1988) 'Lafcadio Hearn -- Some Doubt about His Reputation as an Interpreter of Japan', *Kyōyō shogaku Kenkyū* 教養諸学研究, No. 83 and 84, Tokyo: Waseda University.
- Tabé Ryūji 田部隆二 (1914) *Koizumi Yakumo* 小泉八雲, Tokyo: Waseda University. Rptd (1990) Tokyo: Hokuseidō (4th ed., 7th repr.).
- Taoka Reiun 田岡嶺雲 (1900) *Senpō yojin* 戦袍余塵, Tokyo: Daigakukan. Rptd (1969) *Taoka Reiun Zenshū*, vol. 5, Tokyo: Hōseidaigaku Shuppankyoku.
- Thomas, Edward (1912) *Lafcadio Hearn*, London: Boston: Constable; Houghton Mifflin.
- Tōda Masaru 透田勝 (1985) "'Shinkoku nihon" kō' 『神国』考, *Hikaku Bungaku Kenkyū* 比較文学研究, no. 47, April, pp. 24-53.
- Tokutomi Sohō 徳富蘇峰 (1931) 'On Reading of Remembering My Father Yakumo' *Tokyo Nichinichi Shimbun* (Tokyo Daily Newspaper), August 17, 1931, quoted from Ota Yūzō 太田雄三 (1994) *Rafukadio Han: Kyozō to jitsuzō* ラフカディオ・ハーン虚像と実像, (The Virtual Image and the Real Image of Lafcadio Hearn), Tokyo: Iwanamishoten.
- Tsubouchi Shōyō 坪内逍遙 (1990) 'Forward' 序 Tabé Ryūji 田部隆二, *Koizumi Yakumo* 小泉八雲 1st edition, Tokyo: Waseda University, 1914; (1990) 7th reprint of the 4th edition, Tokyo: Hokuseidō.,
- Xu Jingbo 徐静波 (1999) 'Xiaoquan bayun yu Zhou zuoren riben wenhualun de bijiao yanjiu' 小泉八雲与周作人—日本文化的比較研究, *Riben yanjiu jilin*, Vol. 12.
- Yosano Akiko 与謝野晶子 (1904) 'Kimi shinitamau koto nakare' 君死にたまふこと勿れ (You Shall not be Killed, Brother!), *Myōjō* 明星, September, pp. 51-2. Quoted from S. Hamil and K. Matsui-Gibson (trans) (1996) *River of Stars, Selected Poems of Yosano Akiko*, Boston: Shambhala Publications.
- Zhou Zuoren 周作人 (1925) 'Ribei de renqing mei' 日本的人情美, *Yusi*, Vol. 11.
- (1989) *Tanhu ji* 談虎集, Changsha: Yuelu shushe.