A Westerner's Journey in Japan:

An Analysis of Edward S. Morse's *Japan Day By Day*

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Abstract

Japan Day by Day- the Western Zoologist Edward S. Morse's account of his stay in Japan from 1877 to 1883- is analyzed by first comparing it to other contemporary travelogues written by western travelers to Japan, and then by viewing it through a more theoretical framework, including Edward Said's theory on post-colonialism and Michel Foucault's theory of discourse and body experiences. Viewed through this framework, the goal of analysis is not to test the validity of Morse's writings, but to explore the formation of his interpretation of his experience in Japan.

Japan Day by Day, le journal du zoologue Edward S. Morse pendant sa visite au Japon de 1877 a 1883, est analyse premièrement en faisant la comparaison, premièrement avec les racontes écrit par d'autres voyageurs étrangers qui ont visiter le Japon pendant la même période .Ensuite, la comparaison se fais a travers la théorie post coloniale de Edward Saïd, ainsi que la théorie de discours et expériences corporelles de Michel Foucault. Utilisant cette structure, le but de cette analyse n'est pas de mettre en question la validité des idées de Edward Morse, mais plutôt évaluer et explorer son interprétation de ses expériences au Japon.

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Chapter 1 Introduction

1.1 Preface

Edward S. Morse's *Japan Day By Day* is his daily journal and account of his stay in Japan from 1877 to 1883. As a western zoological scholar who was not familiar with Japanese culture and society, Morse records and illustrates what he encountered, as well as all of the details that were of interest to him. *Japan Day By Day* presents a vivid image of Japan during the Meiji era; furthermore, Morse's description and comments on what he has seen present how a westerner looks at Japan and responds to culture shock. This thesis aims to discuss why certain factors of Japanese culture and society interested Edward S. Morse, and how Edward S. Morse formed his perspective and his judgment

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In addition to reviewing *Japan Day By Day* as well as Edward S. Morse's visiting in Japan, this thesis first of all goes through Japanese history during the Meiji period, and highlights the coming of western scholars for the purpose of improving the scientific development of Japan. The dialogue between traditional/modern Japanese society and western scientific scholars results in a contradictory relationship: corporative and competitive. Within such a dialogue

Edward S. Morse's interpretation is significant for both Japan and the western society simultaneously. In addition, this thesis involves Isabella L. Bird's *Unbeaten Tracks in Japan* (1881) and Erwin Baelz's *Awakening Japan: the Diary of a German Doctor* (1932) in order to achieve a better understanding of the western perspective on Japan during the Meiji period. Furthermore, in order to gain a deeper theoretical understanding of the formation of western interpretation of the Orient, this thesis also analyzes Edward Said's theory on post-colonialism and Michel Foucault's theory of discourse and body experiences. At the same time, scholars' observation on how the uniqueness of Japan has been located between East and West is presented. Eventually this thesis's analysis of *Japan Day By Day* is based on the perspective that this book is not necessarily a passive consequence of western colonialism; instead, the cultural difference Morse encounters provides readers with an alternative way to experience Japan, and furthermore, an alternative dimension of western culture.

1.2 Edward Sylvester Morse – The Contrarian

Edward Sylvester Morse is a difficult person to categorize and label. He was an accomplished scientist, editor, author and ambassador for Japanese culture. His story is one of shattering convention and contrarian thinking. Even Morse's beginnings describe an environment full of independent thought.

> Edward Sylvester Morse was born in Portland, Maine, 18 June 1838, the son of Deacon Jonathan Kimball Morse and Jane Seymour Beckett. His father was a staunch

Calvinist Congregational Christian, and his mother, who did not share her husband's religious beliefs, was known for her interest in the sciences.[1]

Growing up in a household with differing ideologies bred Morse's unconventional thinking. From an early age, he struggled with institutional thinking and practicality.

Much to his father's displeasure, young "Ned" Morse was expelled from every school he attended in his youth—the Portland village school, the academy at Conway, NH, in 1851, and Bridgton Academy in 1854. His young, always restless and curious mind could not accept the confines of the standard classroom, for he was easily distracted from his studies.[2]

Morse's journey for discovery was further encouraged by a kindred spirit, Dr. Nathaniel Tuckerman True. True was the founder of the Bethel Gould Academy and a leading figure in the fields of zoology and Japanese culture in the 19th century.

Dr. True's influence saved young "Ned" Morse from a life that had previously been anything but successful. From Gould, on 27 May 1859, Morse journeyed to Cambridge, MA, to meet the famed Louis Agassiz, who occupied the chair of zoology and geology at the Lawrence Scientific School of Harvard University. Under Agassiz's direction, Morse studied marine biology, specializing in chonchology. At this time, Agassiz was perhaps the foremost zoologist in the nation; Morse could not have found a more suitable mentor. For the next generation or so, those on the list of

[1] Howe, 1.
[2] Ibid.,

Agassiz's associates and students became among the leading natural scientists of the era.[3]

Although Morse did not follow convention, he did marry and have two children. On the 18th of June 1863, Morse married Ellen Elizabeth Owen and the couple had two children named Edith Owen Morse and John Gould Morse. That solid family platform allowed him and his career to flourish.

In 1866, Morse settled in Salem, Massachusetts, where he spent most of his long life. He became engaged in a study of Atlantic seaboard brachiopods, which would attract international attention. Two years later, Morse constructed the house at 12 Linden Street in Salem that would be his home for the remainder of his life.[4]

Morse continued to meet professional success and recognition as an editor, scientist and academic.

He helped establish the American Naturalist magazine of which he became one of its editors and included a large number of his drawings. His work began to be recognized by a number of professional organizations and prestigious institutions. In 1868, he became a fellow of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences. The following year, he was selected as the vice-president of the American Association for the Advancement of Science and was elevated to the presidency of this organization in 1886. From 1871 to 1874, he occupied the chair of comparative anatomy and zoology at Bowdoin College. In 1874, he was appointed a lecturer at Harvard University.

[3] Ibid., 2.
[4] Ibid., 3.

> Two years later, he was named a fellow of the National Academy of Science.[5]

Only later in his life did his professional career lead him to Japan. That adventure proved top be an excellent learning experience as Morse developed an appreciation for Japanese culture and society. His first entrée to Japanese art was a collection of pottery and continued with a book in 1888 called Japanese Holmes and Their Surroundings which was "of particular interest to historians as he was one of the few westerners to live in 19th century Japan."[6]

> In 1877, Morse departed for Japan in search of new specimens and was soon offered a professorial position at Tokyo Imperial University, which he held until 1879. It was at this time that Morse began to collect Japanese pottery, assembling what would become in the United States the finest collection of the era.[7]

Morse continued to be fascinated with Japanese culture and was met with much success in narrowing the cultural gap between Japan and the West.

> Morse's association with Japan would be long remembered on both sides of the Pacific Ocean. In 1898, Morse was decorated with the Order of the Rising Sun, Third Class, by the Japanese Emperor, making him the first American to be so honored. Toward the end of his life in 1922, Morse was again honored in Japan with the Order of the Sacred Treasure, Second Class.[8]

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[5] Ibid., 3.
[6] Ibid., 4.
[7] Ibid.
[8] Ibid.

Even when he returned to the United States, he continued to subtly challenge the West to see beauty in the Japanese way and culture especially through the appreciation of art.

> In 1880, Morse returned to Salem. The following year, he assumed his life's work as director of the prestigious Peabody Academy of Science (now known as the Peabody Essex Museum). During his years here, the museum acquired its world famous collection of Oriental art in addition to its extensive nautical holdings. In this position, Morse became a major national figure, which was recognized by his election in 1911 to the presidency of the American Association of Museums.[9]

Even in turmoil and situations when others panicked, Morse was unconventional and intellectually curious.

> In 1914, when fire consumed most of Salem, Massachusetts, Morse's house was among the properties spared. Two of his scientific associates rushed to assist him in saving his significant scientific collection, but were surprised to find him sitting in his study learning to play a South Sea Island flute.[10]

He continued to publish works such as *Glimpses of China and Chinese Homes* (1902) and his last book, *Japan Day by Day* (1917). Morse was also honored in Japanese tradition for a lifetime of achievement.

> On 18 June 1925, Morse received a scarlet cap from Dr. Chiomatsu Isahikawa [sic],

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[9] Ibid.
[10] Ibid., 5.

a former student in 1877, who had succeeded him as professor of zoology at the Imperial University. This cap was part of a tradition that Japanese men of distinction receive on their eighty-eighth birthday in recognition of their long life and achievements.[11]

Even at the time his death, at the age of 87, Morse challenged convention and aimed to promote learning. Morse donated his brain to science for further inspection.

Ever the scientist, Morse had bequeathed his brain to the Wistar Institute in Philadelphia with the expectation that some anatomical factor of his ambidexterity might be discerned during an autopsy.[12]

[11] Ibid., 5.
[12] Ibid., 6.

Chapter 2 Creating Japaneseness

Since Japan launched its modernization during the Meiji era, the Japanese identity of the nation has been shifting between the East and the West. On the one hand, modernization refers to westernization and therefore Japan has been eager to absorb Western science, technology, political systems, and even language; on the other hand, the progressive image of Japan in Asia as well as its difference with the West remind Japanese of its particularity within a global context, and therefore the uniqueness of Japan has been highlighted by the government and scholars. This chapter aims to review the history of the modernization of Japan during the Meiji era, the transformation of cultural identity of Japan, and the creating of Japaneseness.

2.1 Westernization of Japan During the Meiji Era

The Meiji era began on January 1, 1868 with the central government settling down in the capital, Tokyo[13], followed by the proclamation of the principle of the God-Emperor[14]. On February third, the Meiji Emperor announced his sovereignty over the whole nation, as well as the meaning of the restoration. On March 23 he granted an audience to foreign ambassadors as the political leader of the nation[15].

[13] Hane 91.
[14] Porter 109.
[15] Ibid.

The Meiji government has been called an "Enlightened Government[16]" due to the Meiji restoration, namely modernization and westernization. Some scholars claim that the westernization of Japan since 1853 has been "one of the most singular and memorable events ever witnessed[17]" because Japanese government and society achieved the goal during the challenging era of the end of Shogunate period and the beginning of the imperial ruling. In addition, similar to other Asian nations, Japan was facing Western threats of colonialism and the Satsuma-Choshu factions, assisted by England and France, were on the brink of a civil war[18]. The Japanese "self-restraint" and "extraordinary wisdom[19]"of insisting on the development of the nation, the harmonious cooperation between the government and the civil society constructs an exceptional example to be emulated and one distinct from many European experiences[20].

The *Charter Oath of Five Articles* proclaimed in April 1868 reveals the central government's methodology of modernization and appeal for civilian cooperation[21]:

> 1. Deliberative assemblies shall be widely established and all state affairs decided by public opinion.
> 2. All classes, high and low, shall unite in actively carrying out the administration of affairs of state.

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[16] Ibid.
[17] Ibid. 104.
[18] Hane 92.
[19] Porter 105.
[20] Ibid.
[21] Hane 93.

3. The common people, no less than the civil and military officials, shall be allowed to pursue whatever calling they choose so that public apathy may be beset the land.

4. The evil customs of the past shall be abandoned and everything based on the just laws of Heaven and Earth.

5. Knowledge shall be sought throughout the world so as to invigorate the foundations of imperial rule.

The Meiji political and intellectual leaders aimed to reform Japan into a progressive nation equal to the Western powers[22]. They recognized that Japan was backward in terms of military strength and economic development, and they suspected Japan was behind even in terms of politics, society and culture[23]. Consequently, they employed a comprehensive policy of westernization with military and economic development as a priority, followed by educational reform[24]. The military and economic measures worked to protect the nation from foreign invasion, and allowed Japan to participate in the game of international politics that had been the domain of the traditional powers[25]. The educational reforms allowed for the introduction of western knowledge and culture through the employment of western intellectuals in Japanese institutions.

[22] Ibid. 92.
[23] Ibid.
[24] Ibid.
[25] Ibid.

2.1.1 The Emperor

On February 11, 1889, a Constitution was promulgated which defined the Emperor's powers, regulated the rights of his citizens, and formed a representative government. Following the promulgation, on April 1st a local self-government was established[26]. Despite the formation of an Upper and Lower House, as well as the positions of Ministers of State, the post of Emperor had supreme power of the governing of the nation. The Although the Constitution established a Party government, a strong Cabinet had never been formed during the Meiji era. The Meiji Emperor was the center of power under the God-Emperor system[27].

2.1.2 Institutionalized Central Government

Along with the elimination of the Shogunate and feudalism, the Meiji government employed a western style of governmental structure in order to institutionalize the administrative system. The central government was organized in seven departments- Religion, Home Affairs, Foreign Affairs, Army and Navy, Finance, Justice, and Law[28]. In June 1868, a Council of State (*Dajokan*) with supreme political authority was established which covered three areas: legislation, execution and jurisdiction[29]. In 1871, Council of State was divided into three

[26] Ibid.
[27] Ibid.
[28] Porter 110.
[29] Hane 94.

branches: the Central Board, the Right Board and the Left Board[30]. The Central Board composed of chancellors (*dajo daijin*) and deputies (*dainagon*), and it was the supreme unit of the government, which had the power to make all final decisions regarding any policy. The Right Board was composed of the leaders and deputies of departments, and the Left Board acted as an advisory body[31].

In order to gain firmer support from the nation, the Meiji government organized a small group of elder statesmen (*genro*) by the 1880s. The small groups consisted of Ito Hirobumi, Yamagata Arimoto, Inoue Kaoru (Choshu), Kuroda Kiyotaka (Satsuma), Matsukata Masayoshi (Satsuma), Saigo Tsugumichi (Satsuma) and Oyama Iwao (Satsuma)[32]. At the same time, two groups- Civilization and Enlightenment (*bunmei kaika*) as well as freedom and Popular Rights (*jiyu minken*)- composed of cultural and intellectual leaders from the non-governmental field also participated in the process of modernization[33].

In addition, a Senate was established in 1875. It consisted of official nominees and was in charge of discussing and revising laws and ordinances[34]. However, scholars regard it as a "Senate of the Napoleonic type[35]" as it did not have the power of initiation[36].

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[30] Ibid.
[31] Ibid. 95.
[32] Ibid. 94.
[33] Ibid.
[34] Porter 110.
[35] Ibid.
[36] Ibid.

2.1.3 Organized Local Government

In 1871, the Meiji government reformed the registration system of all classes and established a uniform registration system for classes and families[37]. In 1878, towns and villages were assigned to be the basic administrative units of the nation. In 1880, elections for leaders of towns and villages were launched[38]. On the other hand, feudalism and the clans were abolished, and since that time the local government has been under the domain of the prefectures[39]. According to the boundaries of conventional clans (*han*), the nation was divided into three metropolitan prefectures (*fu*) and 306 prefectures (*ken*)[40]. In 1874, an Assembly of Prefects was launched, and the assembly met each year to compare opinions with the central government[41].

2.1.4 Military Reform

In order to handle potential internal and external threats, the Meiji government took charge of military power and worked to strengthen it. It created a national army under its command rather than depending on traditional *han* armies[42]. In January 1873, the military conscription law was promulgated in order to institute a policy of universal conscription across the nation[43]. Universal

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[37] Hane 97.
[38] Ibid. 98.
[39] Porter 110.
[40] Hane 98.
[41] Porter 110.
[42] Hane 104.
[43] Ibid.

conscription had been introduced to the British professional army three years prior, and was employed by the Meiji government as a measure to reign in the power of the *han* and the samurai[44]. Consequently, all common people had a duty to serve in the army. However, uprisings occurred in response to this conscription law as the term "blood tax" made people believe that the conscription would take people's blood, and the foreigners would absorb the oil of the dead bodies in the battlefield[45].

As a result, the Meiji government was facing an army consisting of soldiers lacking the sentiment of national identity, national enthusiasm, or any understanding of public service, and therefore the government issued an Imperial rescript to the soldiers and sailors in 1882 in order to unify them[46]. The rescript, on the one hand, stressed virtues such as loyalty, duty, service, obedience and valor, and on the other hand, urged soldiers to abstain from political activities. Furthermore, the Emperor's extraordinary and transcendental position within the nation was highlighted, and army was posited as his servant[47].

The military reform is described as a "metamorphosis[48]" by scholars. Four hundred thousand professional soldiers served in the national military services and regarded themselves as belonging to the Emperor and as a caste of superior

[44] Porter 110.
[45] Hane 104-105.
[46] Ibid. 105.
[47] Ibid.
[48] Porter 116.

beings[49]. However, in order to keep the samurai (mostly from the Satsuma *han* in Kyushu) occupied, the government took advantage of incident with Formosa (Taiwan) to take revenge (since people in Taiwan killed the crew of an Okinawa junk in 1872)[50].

2.1.5 Economic Development

Japanese economic life was reformed along with the political westernization as well. Banks were created, and the Bank of Japan in charge of issuing notes was founded in 1882[51]. At the same time, joint-stock companies- which dealt with phases of industry- were incorporated. The nation's economy had flourished during the internal progress, and scholars asserted that it was an "occidentalized" economic life[52].

Despite the progress made in Japan, two main obstacles emerged at the same time. The first obstacle was an attempt to find a balance between the heavy expenses used in the abolition of feudalism and the adoption of westernization. The government borrowed 1,000,000 Pounds at 9% in 1870 and 2,400, 000 pounds at 7% in 1873 from London. Hence, the government was forced to issue inconvertible paper money in order to handle the debt, and this resulted in

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[49] Ibid.
[50] Ibid.
[51] Porter 111.
[52] Ibid.

financial distress and risk[53]. Finally, in June 1885 the government announced that paper money would be exchanged for silver coins, which represented the system of silver monometallism. Not until after the Sino-Japanese War was the system of gold monometallism instituted[54].

The other challenge came from the unsuccessful mission of Japan's diplomats and jurists while revising treaties with the Western powers. Under those treaties signed previously, foreigners were exempt from the legal system, including courts of law in Japan; in terms of international trade only a small duty was issued on imports, and thus Japan had attracted a big number of capitalists. In spite of its effort to revise these treaties, only Lord Resebery of England took the step of revising the British commercial treaty with Japan on the eve of Sino-Japanese War in 1894[55]. England's actions had been followed by other western powers by 1899, and Japan was free of juristic burdens. This result, as well as Japan's victory over China during Sino-Japanese War, proved that Japan had emerged as a progressive nation and a new strong power from the western perspective[56].

2.2 Education and Culture

2.2.1 Education

[53] Ibid. 120
[54] Ibid.
[55] Ibid.
[56] Ibid. 120-121.

In order to make Japan a progressive nation, the Meiji government realized that education was of supreme importance and would allow the population to achieve civilization and enlightenment[57]. The Elementary Education Act- a similar designation to board schools in England- was passed in 1870[58], and the foundations of universal compulsory education were enacted in 1872[59]. Since then every child was required to attend school for eight years[60]. Elementary and higher elementary schools for boys and girls between the ages of six and fourteen were founded across the nation[61]. The Education Ordinance passed in 1872 ordered: "no community with an illiterate family, nor a family with an illiterate person.[62]" The ordinance also indicated the government strategy to integrate national development and individual literacy through school education:

> Language, writing, and arithmetic used in daily affairs as well as the affairs of the shizoku, officials, farmers, merchants, and practitioners of all kinds of arts and crafts, and matters pertaining to law, politics, astronomy, medicine, etc., that is, all things that man concerns himself with belonging to the domain of learning.[63]

Scholars admired the comprehensive reform of education and credit that reform during the Meiji era as a main reason for Japan's "wonderful successes in the last three decades of the nineteenth and the opening years of the twentieth

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[57] Hane 113-114.
[58] Porter 110.
[59] Ibid.
[60] Hane 110.
[61] Porter 113.
[62] Hane 110.
[63] As quoted by Hane 110.

century[64]".

2.2.1.1 Western Influence

Before the education reform in the Meiji era, Japanese government and intellectuals studied education systems in Europe[65]. In the beginning, the French system was prominent, which can be seen in The First Code of Education in 1872 following the principle of public instruction in France[66]. The Code was modified in 1873, 1879, and was further changed by Mori Yurei in 1886 along with the impact of the German system. The system of universities and middle schools were modified, and a German professor by the name of Hausknecht organized training programs for school teachers[67]. During the 1880s, German influence replaced French in terms of language usage, especially for medical and engineering students[68].

Since 1868, many westerners were involved in Japanese education as teachers at higher schools and universities since practical knowledge was a preferred methodology and western professionals were in high demand. The trend of western influence even drove some Japanese scholars to believe that Japan should adopt the whole western style. For example, Mori Yurei asserted that Japan

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[64] Porter 111.
[65] Ibid. 112.
[66] Ibid. 113.
[67] Ibid.
[68] Ibid.

should start using simplified English as the everyday language[69]. The example showcases Japanese society's willingness to accept western methodologies in education.

Japanese government and intellectuals in the end decided to adopt western systems in a Japanese context[70]. The usual division of schools had been set: elementary schools, secondary schools, higher schools, universities, technical and special schools[71]. The Emperor, the Privy Council, and the Minister for Education controlled the whole system of education, leaving the directors of schools with limited power[72].

The education reform covered the whole nation, and as a result, schools were equipped with fine instruments, curricula and teachers, in spite of the fact that teachers' salaries were still far below western standards[73].

2.2.1.2 Mental and Physical Training

In addition to the acquisition of practical knowledge, moral teaching was highlighted during the Meiji era. The Imperial Rescript on Education, dated October 30, 1890, was announced by the government to the whole nation. It stressed the value of loyalty, filial piety, and the pursuit of learning, which

[69] Ibid. 112-113.
[70] Ibid. 112.
[71] Ibid. 112-113.
[72] Ibid. 113.
[73] Ibid. 114.

equipped an ideal citizen with perfect morality. The Rescript demonstrates:

> Know ye, Our Subjects:
>
> Our Imperial ancestors have founded Our Empire on a basis broad and everlasting and have deeply and firmly implanted virtue; Our Subjects ever united in loyalty and filial piety have from generation to generation illustrated the beauty thereof. This is the glory of the fundamental character of Our Empire and herein also lies the source of Our education. Ye, Our Subjects, be filial to your parents, affectionate to your brothers and sisters; as husbands and wives be harmonious, as friends, true; bear yourselves in modesty and moderation; extend your benevolence to all; pursue learning and cultivate arts, and thereby develop intellectual faculties and perfect moral powers; furthermore, advance public good and promote common interests; always respect the Constitution and observe the laws; should emergency arise offer yourselves courageously to the State; and thus guard and maintain the prosperity of Our Imperial Throne coeval with heaven and earth. So shall ye not only be Our good and faithful Subjects, but render illustrious the best traditions of your forefathers.
>
> The way here set forth is indeed the teaching bequeathed by Our Imperial Ancestors, to be observed alike by Their Descendants and their Subjects, infallible for all ages and true in all places. It is Our wish to lay it to heart in all reverence, in common with you. Our Subjects, that we may all attain to the same virtue.[74]

This moral instruction mainly aimed to reinforce citizens' loyalty to the Emperor and the nation, and sense of belonging to families and communities. Scholars claim that the method of appealing to transcendental values could be regarded as a form of religion[75]. In addition to the Imperial portraits exhibited at

[74] As quoted by Porter 111-112.
[75] Ibid. 114.

schools, lectures and teachers reminded students of the importance of hard work and study, and the value of diligence as an essential characteristic of life as a good citizen[76].

Physical exercise was also a crucial element of school education. Schools were taught various exercises including German and Swedish sports drills. Japanese traditional exercises such as jujutsu, kenjutsu as well as western games were taught and practiced at the same time. Scholars observed that western games were popular, and Japanese and American teams often play football or baseball in university[77].

2.2.1.3 Higher Education

Special schools formed a successful category of education that provided students with specific preparatory training, especially in technical and commercial schools. There were six special schools of medicine, two higher schools of forestry and agriculture, a school of sericulture and filature, a school of mining, five higher commercial schools, seven higher technical schools, four higher normal schools, and fifty-five schools for the deaf and dumb[78].

In terms of higher education, there were eight higher schools providing middle class boys with preparatory training for three years, and then some of them

[76] Ibid.
[77] Ibid.
[78] Ibid. 113.

were chosen to attend the Imperial universities[79]. The five Imperial Universities were (until Osaka Imperial University was founded in 1931): Tokyo (founded in 1877) and Kyoto (founded in 1897), one in Sendai (founded in 1907), one in Kyushu (founded in 1910) and also in Hokkaido (founded in 1918)[80]. The professors and lecturers, both in science and in literature, were sent abroad and sponsored to travel in order to assist them in interacting with Western academia and catching up with new Western knowledge[81].

Besides Imperial universities, the Keiogijuku founded at Mita by Fukuzawa Yukichi, and the Waseda University founded by Marquis Okuma - two outstanding universities which were prominent in the intellectual, political and social histories of Japan[82].

2.2.1.4 Interaction with the West

The intellectual interaction between modern Japan and the West can be traced back to the Tokugawa era. After Perry's arrival in Japan, the leaders of the Bakufu and many clans realized that it was urgent to acquire Western languages and information in order to understand and communicate with the West[83]. As a result, some students were sent abroad to study; meanwhile, more and more students and young scholars started learning about the West, including languages

[79] Ibid. 114.
[80] Kindaichi
[81] Porter 114
[82] Ibid.
[83] Hane 114.

(especially English) from Western missionaries and Japanese instructors[84]. However, it was not a universal policy of the government until the Meiji era. The Meiji government designed the policy of seeking "knowledge throughout the world" and thus launched the era of "civilization and enlightenment[85]". The government believed that to westernize and to modernize was the key element in increasing Japan's wealth and strength[86].

In order to acquire Western knowledge, the government instituted policies sending students abroad, and at the same time inviting Western scholars and specialists in all fields engaged in the mission of national modernization. These policies were meant to "enlighten[87]" the nation's citizens. Furthermore, literature, pamphlets, and journals were published to convey knowledge about the West, with some of them translated from original Western versions, and others were written by Japanese experts[88].

The Meiji government reversed the policy of resisting Western Christianity as well. Since the Prince and other social elites including Iwakura Okubo, Kido, Ito Yamaguchi, and five Japanese ladies, one of whom, after graduating from Vassar, later became the wife of Marshal Oyama, visited Europe and America in 1871, the anti-Christian edicts were removed from the public bulletin-boards[89]. In

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[84] Ibid.
[85] Ibid.
[86] Ibid.
[87] Ibid.
[88] Ibid.
[89] Porter 110.

addition, the Gregorian calendar was introduced, and following the Western tradition, each Sunday was set as a day of rest[90]. Furthermore, in 1880 the New Testament showed up in Japan, and in 1884 Buddhism and Shintoism were no longer the official religions set by the national government[91].

2.2.2 Western Scholars in Japan

In order to achieve the goal of modernization, the Meiji government invited a substantial number of Western scholars and specialists to come and work in Japan, many of whom were important figures, particularly in the field of education[92]. As a result, 221 Western professors were working in higher education, and in 1877, there were 27 Western professors out of 39 at Tokyo University[93]. In 1874, the number of Western professors, technicians and advisers peaked at 524[94].

In addition to western professors and technicians, the Christian missionaries acted as important sources of Western knowledge and Western values in Japan, as well[95]. Missionaries translated the Bible into Japanese, and established theological schools and charitable institutions. Some of their students were quite active in the government, and became political figures, such as Guido Verbeck[96]. He served the

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[90] Ibid.
[91] Ibid.
[92] Ibid., 115.
[93] Ibid.
[94] Ibid.
[95] Ibid.
[96] Ibid., 115-116.

church as a missionary and the government as an officer from 1859 to 1898[97]. More than 1,000 students attended his lectures on the American Constitution and the New Testament when he served as a college professor[98]. More than 1,000 students attended his lectures on the American Constitution and the New Testament[99].

2.3 Creating Japaneseness

2.3.1 Cultural Nationalism

In spite of the principle of Westernization of the Meiji government, from the middle of the 1880's the society and intellectuals began to be more and more careful and critical with the Western wave. Overexposure drove some people to form resistance against the influence to the point where a few institutions discriminating Western culture even appeared[100].

The trend of imitating the west, such as the high officials in the Rokumeikan parties who mimicked western customs, became the target of criticism for the cultural nationalists. The cultural nationalists called for the revival of Shinto and Confucian concepts[101]. It asserts that Japan should preserve the positive segment of Japanese tradition and absorb the positive segment of the West at the same time, instead of blindly accepting the West.

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[97] Ibid.
[98] Ibid., 116.
[99] Ibid.
[100] Hane, 142
[101] Ibid,

2.3.1.1 Moral Teaching

The Confucian moralists led by Motoda Eifu were dissatisfied with the trend of Western individualism and utilitarianism since the Meiji restoration[102]. They assert that being pragmatic, self-interested, materialist would possibly harm some of the positive aspects of Japanese culture such as; benevolence, righteousness, loyalty and filial piety[103]. Confucian teachings are able to achieve great results in terms of moral instructions and shaping a fine citizen[104]. Confucian moralists' demand for solid moral teachings convinced the Meiji government and resulted in the Imperial Rescript on Education in 1890 which stressed the value of traditional morality while pursuing westernization. The rescript assumes that Japan has its unique foundation of morality, and through which the Emperor and the people are connected together for the common good[105].

2.3.1.2 Frustration of Christianity

According to the Imperial Rescript on Education, the Emperor occupied the highest position in the nation. That concept immediately concerned Christian groups. One example was Uchimura Kanzo, a pious Christian who worked as a

[102] Ibid.
[103] Ibid., 143.
[104] Ibid., 142.
[105] Ibid., 143.

school teacher[106]. He refused to bow to the rescript while it was received at his school in January, 1891. He argued that bowing to the rescript was to recognize the divinity of the Emperor and thus an offense to God. Later on, Kanzo was denounced as a traitor and dismissed from the school[107]. The conflicts between Christianity and the supreme power of the Emperor impeded and delayed the development of Christianity in Japan[108]. In 1893, a renowned philosopher of the Imperial University of Tokyo contended that Christianity was contradictory to both the Imperial Rescript on Education and the Japanese national polity (kokutai)[109]. Shintoism and Buddhism were recovered, and many religious leaders were engaged in the nationalist strikes against Christianity[110].

2.3.2 Japaneseness in Practice: Colonialism

In theory, Japan was provided with a principle system of Japaneseness through cultural nationalism. In practice, Japanese colonialism, which combines assimilation (*Doka*) and imperialization (*Kominka*) and fulfills Japanese identity within a colony, is an action which achieves Japaneseness. Japan's colonialism in Taiwan is a good example which shows how Japanesenese is constructed as a representation of Japanese nationalism through its military and economic power. On the other hand, for the Japanese government, Japanese colonialism is a means to prove Japan is as strong as Western powers, as Leo T.S. Ching observes:

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[106] Ibid.
[107] Ibid.
[108] Ibid.
[109] Ibid.
[110] Ibid., 144.

"(colonial Taiwan) was first to demonstrate that Japan was the equal of Western imperialists and second to transcend Western rule in bringing welfare to the conquered territory[111]". The intimate but distanced relationship between Japan and the West presents the new stage of the cultural identity of Japan in the beginning of the 20th century.

2.3.2.1 Japanese Colonialism in Taiwan: Assimilation and Imperialization

Since Japan took over Taiwan from the Qing government in 1895, along with economic modernization, cultural policies including assimilation and imperialization have been practiced in the colony in order to transform Taiwanese people into citizens with Japanese spiritual and mental beings. In 1919, Governor-General Ta Kenjiro in Taiwan recommended "interior extensionism" as a principle guiding the policy of assimilation and imperialization[112].

By requiring pupils at elementary students to learn the Japanese language and Japanese history, the use of the Japanese language has been popularized on the island[113]. Meanwhile, it was mandatory for teachers and students to bow toward the emperor in Tokyo, which served to reinforce a Japanese identity[114]. On the other hand, following the imperialization policy in the inland Japan before World War II, a similar policy was launched in 1930s as a means of fostering Taiwanese

[111] Ching, 17.
[112] Roy, 40, 42
[113] Ibid., 42
[114] Ibid., 42

people's loyalty and dedication during the war[115]. School textbooks were rewritten, Taiwanese-Japanese intermarriage was legalized, Chinese customs such as Chinese dress and men's long queues were discouraged, Chinese religious institutions were demolished, traditional Chinese drama was forbidden, the Imperial University in Taipei was opened to Taiwanese students, Chinese-language medias were banned, and the adoption of Japanese names was encouraged[116].

2.3.2.2 The Formation of Identity

The imposition of a Japanese identity in Taiwan reveals the fact that Japaneseness is an artificial ideology instead of a natural way of thinking. While analyzing the Japanese policy of assimilation and imperialization in Taiwan, Leo T.S. Ching argues it is an "inequality between the natural Japanese and 'naturalized' Japanese" since Taiwanese people cannot really share political power as an ordinary Japanese citizen in spite of being named *Komin*[117]. When observing the inequality that takes place between cultural identification and political discrimination, Ching employs a Marxist approach and suggests that economic power is the basis for Japan to practice its cultural colonialism. By quoting Bruce Cumings' words "(The Japanese) were imperialists but also capitalists, colonizers but also modernizers[118]", Ching claims that the mode of

[115] Hane, 306
[116] Roy, 41
[117] Ching 6.
[118] Ibid. 10.

economic modernization goes along with the production of meaning and value, and for the colony cultural survival is a result of the economic condition through practices[119]. The military and economic power of Japan is able to create discourses including the superiority of Japaneseness and the inferiority of Taiwaneseness (or Chineseness during the colonial era)[120]; furthermore, the material determinism enables discourses to settle down in imperial subjects' belief system. As a result, Japanese cultural identity in Taiwan is imagined and represented[121]; in other words, it is a knowledge system made of false consciousness for subjects to recognize themselves.

As Ching observes, Japanese colonialism has achieved modernization in Taiwan, and thus for Taiwanese people, the memories of the time are not all negative. The achievement results in the conflicted perception of Japan within the island during the postcolonial era, especially when Japanese colonialism competes with Chinese nationalism[122]. While assessing Japanese colonialism, Ching asserts that as a discursive space, cultural identity is where "different forms of real and imagined relationality, affinity, solidarity, and identity are constructed and contested.[123]" Similarly, Japaneseness and Japanese identity constructed by Japanese government and intellectuals have involved the material condition of Japan, the relationship between Japan and the world, and Japan's self-expectation as an emerging power in the 20th century.

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[119] Ibid. 11.
[120] Ibid.
[121] Ibid. 11.
[122] Ibid. 53.
[123] Ibid. 52.

2.3.3 Japan: East or West?

As Ching claims: "the possession by Japan of its first overseas colony became an exercise beyond purely economic calculations[124]," the ambition of creating Japaneseness has to be observed within the relationship between the East and the West. While trying to locate Japan in the world, Japanese scholar Tadao Umesao argues against a traditional geographical understanding of the world, the East and the West. He agrees that in terms of geography (latitudes and longitudes) Japan can be called a nation of East Asia; however, the definition is far from being sufficient and accurate. First of all, the simplistic method leaves the Islamic World an ambiguous location between the East and the West[125]. Second, because extra meanings are often attached to geographical location,"classifying Japan as an Eastern nation goes beyond geographical description, it also situates Japan within a cultural and historical space.[126]" Umesao claims that to locate Japan in the East is not valid because between Japan and the rest of the East there is a huge difference, and Japan is not a "typical case in the so-called East.[127]"

In order to examine the validity of the category of East and West, Umesao assumes that the distinction between the East and the West, or the Orient and the

[124] Ibid. 17.
[125] Umesao 42.
[126] Ibid.
[127] Ibid.

Occident, are "historically cultural constructs[128]". The East and the West are opposing concepts, and the East is interpreted in contrast to the West[129]. As an extraordinary case in the East, Japan has inherited cultures from the Far East, Central (India) and Southern Asia, but at the same time modernized itself involving Western science and technology[130]. Umesao claims that the rapid civilization of Japan during the Meiji era separates Japan from the East (such as China and India); furthermore, as an "advanced civilization", Japan does not necessarily follow the Western agenda after modernization and is able to create its own route paralleling to the West[131]. Hence, Umesao agrees that Japan culture in the modern era is a hybrid totality, and ought to provide Japanese people with a new foundation of identification[132].

Umesao's discussion on the historical construction of the East and the West is the key of contemporary discussion on Orientalism. His demonstration of re-locating Japan in the world shows the invalidity of traditional understanding of the map of global politics and economics. The identity shifting between the East and the West reveals the goal of Japaneseness is to situate Japan within a non-East region, and to some extent within the juxtaposition with the West. Leo T.S. Ching points out that as the only non-Western colonial power in the beginning of the 20th century, Japan is "not quite/not white, yet alike". Showing up at the intersection between the colonized East and the colonizing West, the image of modern Japan

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[128] Ibid.
[129] Ibid.
[130] Ibid. 43.
[131] Ibid. 45.
[132] Ibid 47.

has been shaped by the vagueness and the uniqueness involved in the framework of Japaneseness. The hybrid image inspires Western travelers to write numerous travelogues that present their fantasy when traveling in Japan.

Chapter 3 Traveler as Anthropologist

> In the journal many statements are broadly made; as, for example, when I speak of the honesty of the Japanese I do not imply by these general statements that petty thefts are not known...When I declare that the Japanese do not swear, I base the statement on the fact that the Japanese have no "swear words".[133]

Edward S. Morse's confession in *Japan Day by Day* highlights the fundamental question of epistemology: how a tourist, or anthropologist, observes and interprets a culture? Is culture able to be observed and interpreted as a unity of totality? To which degree the observation and interpretation can be valid and objective? On the other hand, should a reader assume a narrative is valid and objective? This chapter first of all goes through Morse's *Japan Day by Day*, as well as the works of two Western travelers in Japan- Isabella L. Bird and Erwin Baelz. Then the research by anthropologist Clifford Geertz, which interprets the culture of Bali, will be analyzed in order to examine the anthropological methodology of Morse's travelogue.

3.1 The Journey of *Japan Day By Day*

While writing his journal, Edward S. Morse often presents his strong interests and favor in Japanese society by means of comparing the West and Japan. He describes the West in negative adjectives such as hoodlumism,

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[133] Morse xii.

unsightly, disfigurement, defacement and rude; on the contrary, he has never hesitated to take advantage of positive vocabulary to talk about Japan, employing words such as "profound", "delicate", "gracefully", "quaint", "safe" and "politeness". For him, Japan and the West are two poles on earth, and obviously he prefers the former to the latter. Although westerners are proud of their own culture, Morse is disappointed to find that compared with Japan, the West is not a civilization worth being proud of.

3.1.1 Japan: A Different but Understandable Country

While traveling in Japan, Morse is subjected to many new experiences. He tries some Japanese-style food and concludes that it is enjoyable:

> I had for supper marine worms, - actual worms, resembling our angleworms, only slightly larger, and judging from the tufts about one end they probably belonged to the genus *Sabella*. They were eaten raw and the taste was precisely as seaweed smells at low tide. I ate a large plateful and slept soundly.[134]

Morse is interested in trying all kinds of food in Japan, even grasshoppers. He explains that since they are tasty, there should be no reason not to eat them:

> Sunday afternoon Professor Chaplin and I walked through the streets for miles, coming across something new all the time. In one place a man had grasshoppers for sale as an article of food, the insects having either boiled or baked. I ate one and found it

[134] Morse Volume 1, 440.

very good, tasting like a dried shrimp. The grasshoppers looked precisely like our common grasshoppers, and there is no reason why they should not be eaten with us.[135]

Besides food, Morse argues that in fact a lot of customs in Japan are not that unreasonable; instead, they are understandable and may have been practiced by westerners long ago. Taking nakedness as an example:

> Here I must digress for a moment and express some plain truths about the subject of nakedness, which in Japan for centuries has not been looked upon as immodest, while we have been brought up to regard it as immodest. The exposure of the body in Japan is only when bathing and then everybody minds his own business. On the streets of the city or country I never saw a man looking at the ankles or legs of a girl; I have never seen a low-necked dress. I have, however, seen at Narragansett Pier, and at similar places, girls with the tightest of bathing costumes with legs and contour exposed, in full sunlight, lounging about in the sand with men having still less on. I lived for ten weeks beside a famous bathing beach in Japan and never saw anything remotely approaching such a sight. The men when naked always wear a loin-cloth. It is related that when an English frigate entered a port in New Zealand and the sailors went in bathing entirely naked, the chief of the village sent earnest protests to the commanding officers complaining of the immodesty of the men being without clothing, for the natives always wear an apron or girdle around the waist.[136]

3.1.2 Japanese Education

In contrast with the opinion of most foreign writers, Morse describes Japan as

[135] Ibid. 345.
[136] Morse Volume 1, 97-98.

a "paradise for children[137]", as Japanese children are treated so well by the adults. Furthermore, within such a liberal atmosphere Japanese children are able to enjoy colorful life:

> As infants forever riding on their mother's back or somebody's else back; no punishment, no chiding, no scolding, no nagging; such favors and privileges are they allowed that one would certainly think that they would be spoiled, and yet no nation possesses children that can approach the Japanese children in love of parents and respect for the aged. Honor thy father and thy mother, is an ingrained characteristic of the Japanese.[138]

After children grow up and attend schools, Japanese schooling provides them with an educative and fun environment similar to the one that they enjoy at home. While observing shrine schools in Japan, Morse was surprised to find that "mischievous[139]" boys attend class freely mixing with other classmates. Then he finds that because of gentle educative ways of Japan, these boys will not harm the class. On the contrary, students are able to enjoy class thouroughly:

> The expression in our country that "boys will be boys"- an apology for hoodlumism, the greatest menace to our country- is never heard in Japan.[140]

3.1.3 Japanese Intelligence

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[137] Morse Volume 1, 41.
[138] Ibid.
[139] Ibid. 48.
[140] Ibid.

Japanese children grow up into intelligent adults. When Edward S. Morse was working in the Tokyo Imperial University, he found students had been trained intellectually, as they were quite proficient in languages and games:

> Most of them are medical students, and at the University the medical students are taught by Germans, so that these young men have to acquire the German language before they can enter. Some of them speak a few words of English. I go into their room frequently to watch them play their games, which, it must be confessed, are all much more profound than any of ours. Their chess is infinitely more difficult; in comparison ours is kindergarten.[141]

In Morse's opinion, Japanese chess is evidence of Japanese intelligence. He was amazed to see even villagers play this complicated game:

> It was interesting to see the villagers engaged in a game of chess, a game more complex than our chess.[142]

Therefore, Morse suggests that the Japanese are commonly intelligent regardless of their class or background. He confirms his suggestion when he talks about the man whom he hired to assist him with his house keeping:

> The general intelligence of everybody in Japan is well illustrated by this man. He assorts the material in the proper bottles after having had explained to him the crustacea,

[141] Ibid. 210.
[142] Ibid. 61.

mollusks, echinoderms, etc.[143]

Even an old woman using chopsticks is an example of the general intelligence of people in Japan:

> I watched an old woman making shell flowers, and where we should have used forceps she used a delicate pair of chopsticks in picking up the tiny shells. If our armies could be taught the use of the chopsticks, knife, fork, and spoon could be eliminated from the soldier's kit. Every prisoner should be taught the use of the chopsticks; every public institution should be furnished with them.[144]

3.1.4 Japanese Aesthetics

In addition to intelligence, Morse affirms that Japanese people have a special affinity for the arts and beauty superior to that of the West. He observes how Japanese people draw, and suggests that the brush is the key making Japanese art different and attractive, as it is able to spread the power and at the same time discipline the power:

> One thing that gives vigor and quaintness to their drawings is that they always use a brush, and consequently get clear lines of varying thickness as well as great freedom in their work. The subjects they select, such as foliage and figures, are graphically rendered by their technique. Their figures are all draped in loose folding robes. The common dress for men is a sort of robe gracefully draped, and their hats are

[143] Ibid. 191.
[144] Ibid. 143.

picturesque. Their foliage, the bamboo grass, pines, flowers, etc., are drawn with a strength and dash that render Japanese drawing very attractive.[145]

Drawing and space arrangement both show that Japan has very different aesthetics from the West. When he traveled to the Nikko Temples, Morse spent some time illustrating the hotel where he stayed. He compares the space arrangement of the hotel and the village in New England:

From the veranda downstairs we look out on a quaint little garden with evergreens, a few flowering shrubs, and clean paths. To the left is a veranda leading to the latrine, a good illustration of the artistic refinement of the Japanese in concealing what in a New England village usually forms an unsightly and conspicuous object.[146]

For Morse, the space of England is a space lacking beauty, and he presents it as chaotic and ugly. He complains that a shed for travelers in England may be defaced with graffiti. However, in Japan, graffiti looks artistic and thus turns out to be an elegant addition to the shed:

At a deserted shed used by travelers for a resting-place I noticed for the first time that signatures had been written on the boards and rafters, done with a brush in Japanese script. I had before observed the absence of all disfigurement of public places by names, or rude pictures, or inscriptions, as is so common in our country. This deserted shed was so far in the wilds that this gentle abuse of making an autograph album of it did not

[145] Ibid. 224.
[146] Ibid. 78.

seem an offense.[147]

Morse discovers that Japanese aesthetics exists in the whole country. Even people from the laboring class know how to decorate their houses beautifully.

> Allusion has been made to the skill of the Japanese in dwarfing trees. I saw the other day a sturdy apple tree just two feet high; it was growing in an ordinary teapot and bore twenty apples. The apples were equally dwarfed, but sound-looking. What centrepieces for the table could be made if our horticulturists turned their attention to this ingenious art of the Japanese!
>
> ...
>
> Thus far in my few weeks in this country I have come in contact, with few exceptions, with the laboring classes,-the farmers and work-people,- and yet what a record of sobriety, artistic taste, and cleanliness it has been![148]

As a result, Morse asserts that the West is far behind Japan in terms of art and beauty.

> When I recalled the things that decorate the walls of similar places at home,- prize fights, burlesque, horse-race, or naked women,- we agreed that the Japanese were far superior in refinement. Now, all this exquisite taste was in one of the poorest villages and shows how universal the appreciation of artistic things is in this pagan country.[149]

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[147] Ibid. 86.
[148] Ibid. 125.
[149] Ibid. 108.

3.1.5 Japanese Virtues

As he found in the shed for travelers, Morse suggests that Japanese people do not harm the order of public space. They keep the environment clean, in contrast to the people in Morse's own country.

> In riding through the country there has gradually dawned on me the entire absence of all marks, scratches, or other signs of the defacement of fences or buildings. No buildings in this country have so much as a mark upon them, and yet the workmen carry with them an equivalent of a pen or pencil, the *yatate*, with all the facilities of writing their names and inscribing choice sayings and proverbs if they chose to do so. I could not help contrasting this feature with the behavior of our own people in this respect. The defacement of our schoolhouses and other structures in our country districts proves this tendency.[150]

Japanese often seem to take the initiative to protect the environment, and the initiative is so natural and inherent that no warnings or remindings are necessary in Japan:

> I went to the Exhibition again this afternoon and realized the comfort it was to walk through the crowds that throng the place without having to hold on to your pocketbook, and to feel that you could leave your umbrella beside a bench and find it there an hour later. You see no signs, "Keep off the grass," "Look out for pick-pockets," etc. (258)

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[150] Ibid. 199-200.

In Morse's opinion, Japanese people have the tendency to maintain public order. He often travels alone or with only an interpreter, and in Japan he can enjoy traveling at midnight without any worries about his safety.

> It is lonely enough at night: the rats tear around overhead, and the ceiling being made of thin boards papered they make a tremendous noise; the floor crack with the change of temperature; an occasional earthquake makes the roof creak; and by midnight a person is prepared to take his oath that he hears stealthy footsteps on the piazza. However, I am in a pagan country where house-breaking, pocket-picking, etc., are unknown; in fact, I feel a great deal safer here than I should in my quiet town of Salem.[151]

The way people behave in Japan impresses Morse. People are polite and never act aggressively towards others, even including animals:

> I met another dog in the street, and deliberately stopped, pickup a stone, and threw it at him; he did not run away or growl at me, simply watched the stone as it went by him. Since boyhood I have observed that the mere movement of picking up a stone will cause a dog to slink or even to run away. Such experiences here prove that cats and dogs are not stoned at sight, and to the credit of our people I must say we have improved vastly in these respects since I was a boy. However, in the poorer regions of our cities the hoodlum class behave precisely as all boys did fifty years ago.
>
> ...
>
> Nothing indicates the politeness of the Japanese people more forcibly than the fact that good manners are universal from the highest to the lowest classes. The kindness to dependents does not seems to spoil them; all know their places and keep them with

[151] Ibid. 257.

respect.[152]

3.1.6 Japanese Gentleness

Therefore, Morse defines the characteristic of Japanese people is gentleness. While traveling in Japan, Morse experiences people's gentle characters. In contrast with the West, people treat each other politely and gently:

> In our efforts to return to the riverbank where we had embarked, we met many boats going in the opposite direction, the boatmen with their long poles avoiding one or assisting another, and not a cross word in all this confusion, only "Arigato," "Arigato," "Arigato,"(Thanks, thanks, thanks), or, "Go men na sai" (Excuse me). Such a lesson in refinement and gentleness, from boatmen too! Little by little the realization of why the Japanese have always called us barbarians is dawning upon us.[153]

Again, it reminds him of the safety of traveling alone at night. Morse contributes the privilege in Japan to Japanese gentleness:

> Here I was with a hundred dollars in my pocket, traveling at night, through dark bamboo thickets and some poverty-stricken villages, having a single jinrikisha man, now and then meeting a traveler, sometimes a crowd of travelers, and I was never spoken to. I had no pistol, no cane even, and yet so assured was I of the gentle character of the people that I did not feel the slightest apprehension.[154]

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[152] Ibid. 194.
[153] Ibid. 131.
[154] Ibid. 196.

Morse claims that the gentleness of Japanese people results from Japanese paganism. Japanese paganism is a kind of mentality, which differs from that of the West, and it makes westerners barbarians in Japanese people's mind.

> A pleasant smile always greeted me from all, and though I chased their barking dogs through the single street and occasionally threw stones at them, they looked amiably upon my behavior as the eccentricities of a foreign barbarian and laughed! Now this is paganism- to be kind and obliging, courteous and hospitable, generous with their food and their time, sharing their last bowl of rice with you; and whatever you may be doing, - collecting, pulling up a boat, or anything else,- jinrikisha men, or fishermen, always ready to lend, or rather to give in abundance, a helping hand.[155]

3.1.7 Japanese Love for Nature

Morse finds out the origin of Japanese paganism, which is the love for nature. Due to the fact that people love and respect nature, the innate good quality of humankind is easily discerned:

> The more I see of these gentle people the more they remind me of a set of overgrown, good-natured, kind-hearted, laughing children. In many ways they are childish, in precisely the same way that our children are childish, and some of the resemblances are striking. In lifting a load or doing any arduous work they grunt and make a great noise with their mouths in a tone which seems to say, "See what a big thing I am doing!"[156]

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[155] Ibid. 245-246.
[156] Ibid. 228-229.

Innocent people are not willing to attack nature; instead, they admire and worship nature

> No civilized nation on the face of the earth exceeds the Japanese in the love for nature in every aspect. Storm or calm, mist, rain, snow, flowers, the varying tints of the seasons, placid rivers, raging waterfalls, the flight of birds, the dash of fishes, towering peaks, deep ravines- every phase of nature is not only admired, but depicted in unnumbered sketches and kakemono. A realization of this keen love for nature is shown in the fact that the directory of the city of Tokyo has among its prefatory chapters a guide to places where the varying aspects of nature may be seen to the best advantage.[157]

Therefore, Japanese people treat nature with such respect. In Morse's perspective, all creatures get along with humankind equally in Japan. This is the difference between Japanese paganism and the western Catholic tradition:

> A single bull is driven in a two-wheeled cart and the shaft is a wooden loop which goes over the back and rests on the neck. You will notice a large awning of straw matting suspended from the cart protecting the beast from the rays of the sun. The feet also are protected by straw sandals which are tied on. One sees by this the care bestowed by these Buddhist pagans on their dumb beasts, and one cannot help recalling the corresponding treatment of these creatures in Catholic Spain.[158]

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[157] Ibid. 253.
[158] Ibid. 234-235.

3.1.8 Japanese Social Justice

Morse states that Japanese people show respect not only for plants and animals, but also for each other. Morse claims that within Japanese society all social classes respect one another, and that the noble class is never arrogant when dealing with the lower classes:

> It (the Noble's School) was in this school that I learned for the first time that even the children of nobles dressed in the simplest and plainest of clothing. They were no better dressed than the schoolchildren of the public schools from the primary to the high schools, though this plainness of garb was in no way a school uniform. My attention has slowly been drawn to this simplicity of clothing of school-children no matter of what grade or class, and here at the Noble's School I got an answer to my query. Asking of Count Tachibana an explanation of this method of simple dressing, he said it had always been the custom in Japan for wealthy families to dress their children plainly when they attended school so that the poor children would not be ashamed of their own clothing![159]

In addition, Morse contends that poor quarters in Japan do not look as dirty and disorderly as those he is used to seeing in the West. Instead, people are disciplined and willing to obey the law. Social classes coexist in harmony:

> On our ride to the crematory and back we went through the poorest quarters of the city at an hour when similar regions at home would be crowded with open bar-rooms

[159] Morse Volume 2, 204.

and charged with vociferous talk. The most decorous New England village could not have exceeded the quiet and order prevailing everywhere. It is certainly a wonderful fact that these people are all so orderly in their obedience to law. The Police Commissioner of Boston has said that hoodlumism is the greatest menace to our country. There is certainly no such menace in Japan; indeed, everybody is well behaved.[160]

Similarly, Japanese beggars- the bottom of the society- never bother anyone in streets. They are rather polite and humble:

An odd way they have of begging; the moment you appear in sight they kneel on the ground with their head touching the ground and remain in this position without a sign of life. I had to ask my jinrikisha man by pantomime if the man was at his devotions or was begging. A rare sight is a beggar in Japan, and the absence of the tramps, vagabonds, and hoodlums adds greatly to the charms of the country.[161]

Due to the harmony among social classes, Morse suggests that crimes must be rarely committed in Japan. Hence, he was impressed when he finally meets some criminals:

With the absence of all hoodlumism, rowdyism, vandalism, and alcoholism one wonders where all the criminals come from, when one meets in the street, as I did today, a band of prisoners chained together, dressed in a sort of orange-colored cloth, with policemen armed with iron rods the size of a light walking-stick. They were a hard-looking set, and certainly, if there is any truth in the criminal face and expression, they showed them quite as distinctly as a

[160] Morse Volume 1, 339.
[161] Ibid. 179.

similar class at home. From my limited experience, if I had been told that this small band comprised every known criminal in Japan, a nation of over thirty millions, I should hardly have doubted the statement.[162]

3.1.9 Japanese Superiority to the West

Morse gradually believes that in fact Japan is not inferior to the West. He asserts that as long as Japanese people are willing to make an effort, they can be as good as the West.

> On the 3d of November, Count Enouye, Minister of Foreign Affairs, gave a great party in honor of the Emperor's birthday… I was amazed at the crispness and accuracy with which they played and at the progress they had made in four years; for I had heard the Army band play four years ago and remembered distinctly how crude the performance was, and that I came to the conclusion then that however perfectly the Japanese could acquire foreign methods, in our music they would certainly fail to grasp its meaning and its proper rendering. I argued this way because the two musics were so entirely unlike. Now I must alter that conclusion and admit that, so far as our music is concerned, practice only was required. It would have been impossible for any one but an expert to have told whether Japanese were playing or good foreign musicians.[163]

Moreover, along with his stay in Japan, Morse has developed the idea that Japan is a country with rich culture, profound spirituality, civilized society and comprehensive virtues. On the other hand, his home country- the west- appears to

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[162] Ibid. 247.
[163] Ibid. 343-344.

be simplistic, superficial, rude, and selfish. As a result, he felt extremely ashamed when he bumped into an American teacher at a party:

> In our party was a tall foreign teacher (American) recently appointed to the University. He was like a bull in a china shop. He stalked through the grounds and saw nothing to admire; indeed, his comments were so rude and ridiculous that we finally got rid of him.[164]

Eventually Morse concludes that Japan that the "Japanese way" is superior to its western counterpart. His reasoning for this is that Japan is much older and more civilized, and hence their way must be the "right" way.

> Whatever I am about in my room seems to interest the curious people in the other rooms, who can look across and watch my every action. It is hard to realize that all my ways must be as curious to them as their ways are to me. The first observation a foreigner makes on coming to Japan is that the Japanese in certain things do just the reverse from us. We think our way is undeniably right, whereas the Japanese are equally impressed with the fact that we do everything differently from them. As the Japanese are a much older civilized race, it may be possible that their way of doing some things is really the best way.[165]

3.2 Other Travelogues

During the Meiji era, various Western scholars and travelers visited Japan, and wrote numerous diaries and travelogues. Isabella L. Bird visited Japan at the

[164] Morse Volume 2, 342.
[165] Morse Volume 1, 220-221.

same time as Edward S. Morse. Erwin Baelz arrived in Japan in 1876, the year after Morse. Here their writings are reviewed and compared with Morse's *Japan Day by Day* as an exploration of Western experiences in Japan.

3.2.1 Isabella L. Bird: *Unbeaten Tracks in Japan*

Isabella L. Bird arrived in Japan 1878 as a traveler. Her aim of writing *Unbeaten Tracks in Japan* is not to produce an analytical document on Japan; instead, she means to present a "narrative of travels[166]" in Japan based on her own experiences. When traveling in Japan with her interpreter Ito, she recorded what she had seen and heard, and within her travelogue there are a good numbers of points that contrast with Morse's perspective.

When Bird just arrived in Tokyo, Bird surprisingly found that the city a "hybrid city[167]." She describes:

> The first thing that impressed me on landing was that there were no loafers, and that all the small, ugly, kindly-looking, shriveled, bandy-legged, round-shouldered, concave-chested, poor-looking beings in the streets had some affairs of their own to mind. At the top of the landing-steps there was a portable restaurant, a neat and most compact thing, with charcoal stove, cooking and eating utensils complete; but it looked as if it were made by and for dolls, and the mannikin who kept it was not five feet high. At the custom-house we were attended to by minute officials in blue uniform of European

[166] Bird vii.
[167] Bird, 12.

pattern, and leather boots; very civil creatures, who opened and examined our trunks carefully, and strapped them up again, contrasting pleasingly with the insolent and rapacious officials who perform the same duties at New York.[168]

However, at the same time, she still found traditional Japanese scenes. For her, some of these scenes fit in well with the Japanese style of life and do not need to be done away with in spite of the Westernization plans of the Government. The nude man with the cart in the streets is one of the examples:

The inference from the sight is that human labour is cheap and abundant. Government has made nudity a punishable offence in this and other cities, and these poor cart coolies toil in the same precarious and inconvenient garment that the boatmen wear. My inference is, that the compulsory wearing of clothing is a concession to foreign opinion.[169]

Nonetheless, unlike Morse, Bird does not admire Japanese traditions all the time. On the contrary, a lot of traditionally Japanese things are not to Bird's taste. While Morse stresses that he does not have any problems with Japanese food, Bird does not hesitate to show that she does not really like Japanese food:

The fact is that except at a few hotels in popular resorts which are got up for foreigners, bread, butter, milk meat, poultry, coffee, wine, and beer, are unattainable, that fresh fish is rare, and that unless one can live on rice, tea, and eggs, with the addition now and then of some tasteless fresh vegetables, food must be taken, as the fishy and vegetable abominations known as "Japanese food" can only be swallowed and digested by a few,

[168] Ibid. 17-18.
[169] Ibid. 24.

and that after long practice.[170]

While Morse praises the virtue and politeness of Japanese people, Bird complains that the gaze of people makes her uncomfortable.

Children, with barely the rudiments of clothing, stood and watched me hour after hour,, and adults were not ashamed to join the group, for they had never seen a foreign woman, a fork, or a spoon.[171]

Morse points out that Japanese people behave properly and have a sense of aesthetics, but Bird seems to think that the custom is somewhat offensive. When visiting Fujihara with her interpreter, Ito, Bird describes women's costumes:

> Only the short petticoats in their houses, and I saw several respectable mothers of families cross the road and pay visits in this garment only, without any sense of impropriety.[172]

Morse observes that Japanese people are kind and tender to animals, but Bird thought Japanese people treated animals violently. She assumes the violence is a result of a lack of knowledge:

> When the horse arrived, the men said they could not put on the bridle, but after much talk it was managed by two of them violently forcing open the jaws of the animal, while a third seized a propitious moment for slipping the bit into her mouth. At the next change a bridle was a thing unheard of, and when I suggested that the creature would

[170] Ibid. 53.
[171] Ibid. 152.
[172] Ibid. 159.

> open her mouth voluntarily if the bit were pressed close to her teeth, the standers-by mockingly said, "No horse ever opens his mouth except to eat or to bite," and were only convinced after I had put on the bridle myself.[173]

Both Morse and Bird experience the interaction between two languages as well as two cultures. Morse commends that Japanese people are intelligent; however, Bird demonstrates her mixed evaluation on her interpreter, Ito during the trip to Fujihara. They did not have a nice sleep due to fleas, noisy dogs and rain:

(Ito) says that he would not have believed that there was such a place in Japan, and that people in Yokohama will not believe it when he tells them of it and of the costume of the women. He is "ashamed for a foreigner to see such a place," he says. His cleverness in traveling and his singular intelligence surprise me daily. He is very anxious to speak good English, as distinguished from "common" English, and to get new words with their correct pronunciation and spelling. Each day he puts down in his note-book all the words that I use that he does not quite understand, and in the evening brings them to me and puts down their meaning and spelling with their Japanese equivalents. He speaks English already far better than many professional interpreters, but would be more pleasing if he had not picked up some American vulgarisms and free-and-easy ways.[174]

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[173] Ibid. 153-154.
[174] Ibid. 159-160.

3.2.2 Erwin Baelz: *Awakening Japan: the Diary of a German Doctor*

To get a different view, we now turn to Baelz, who presents another perspective on Japan. His *The Diary of a German Doctor* is his "retrospect of his work in Japan[175]". As an appointed professor at the medical academy in Yedo-Tokyo, Baelz looks at the modernization of Japan with empathy and sympathy, and at the same time demonstrates his expectations of the country during the transformation from an old Japan to a new Japan.

When landing in Japan, Baelz found that Japanese customs officials seem to be quite cautious about Westerners, but he does not mind:

> I did not expect to find everything as it was in Europe. You must not think that I have allowed this to depressed me. After all, it is not surprising that the Japanese are mistrustful of Europeans and Americans. They have been cheated so often.[176]

After arriving in Tokyo, he was amazed by the enthusiasm of university professors and students. He regards the enthusiasm as a power pushing the country toward modernization:

> The country is thus undergoing an immense cultural revolution- for the term "evolution" is inapplicable to a change so rapid and so fundamental.[177]

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[175] Baelz, xi.
[176] Ibid. 13.
[177] Ibid. 16.

Baelz thinks himself lucky to be able to experience the turning point of Japanese history. For him, the whole country, including the old feudal powers, have devoted themselves to the modernization. In addition, he strongly feels that European countries should respect the achievements of Japan:

> I cannot but think that a good deal of the blame for the present antagonistic mood of the population can be ascribed to the European newspapers in Yokohama, and especially to the "Daily Herald." This journal is persistently hostile to the country in which it is published and to the government whose tolerance towards all that is European enables it to exist.[178]

From time to time, Baelz makes comments on big political events in Japan. Baelz does not admire Japan by means of belittling the ethnical essences of the West, but he asserts that Japan has its own spiritual power and has been striving to build a modern country, and thus deserves Westerners' respect. He discusses medicine as an example:

> (The history of medical education in Japan) gives plain expression to the best side of the Japanese character: great enthusiasm for a new idea; marvelous staying power and indefatigable devotion to its realization; boldness and imperturbability in the face of all the privations and dangers which its pursuit entails. That is why medicine is one of the fields in which Japan has made the greatest progress.[179]

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[178] Ibid. 23.
[179] Ibid. 162-163.

Similar to Morse, Baelz commends the delightfulness of Japanese people, although he does not compare them directly to Westerners. When observing how people rebuilt their shelter after a conflagration, he found that some people were hard at work rebuilding with the limited materials available. However, it was the actions of those who were not at work that were of real interest to him:

> Those who are not occupied in carpentry or in turning over rubbish sit about smoking as if nothing had happened. In groups of from three to six, women, men, and children squat round a little fire, sucking at their pipes and chattering. Not a sign of melancholy upon their faces. I saw many of them joking and laughing as if they had never a care in the world.[180]

Meanwhile, Baelz suggests that Japanese people should not follow the West all the time, because Western ways are not necessary a good fit for the Japanese. When he observes how Japanese people celebrate New Year's Day, he writes:

> On New Year's Day we have the plainest demonstration of the grotesque way in which misunderstood European customs are being apishly imitated in Japan. Europeans in this country, even the English, have dropped a good deal of western etiquette, so that one hardly ever sees a foreigner in a tall hat. The Japanese government, however, has, in its wisdom, thought fit to prescribe frock-coat and tall hat as the official dress for New Year visits. For this reason, today the streets have been full of figures more comical than you could possibly imagine. They look positively ridiculous, these unfortunate Japanese, in

[180] Ibid. 27-28.

their incredibly ill-fitting frock-coats and trousers![181]

3.2.3 Whose Japan?

Comparing the diaries of Morse, Bird and Baelz, one can discover that Japan has been represented in different ways by different authors. For Morse, Japan is an exotic but wonderful land compared with the West that he knew. For Bird, Japan is an Eastern country full of people and things she does not understand nor appreciate. For Baelz, Japan is a growing country full of hope and conflict. None of their writings can totally represent Japan, but at the same time each of them provides an alternate dimension of Japan. The goal of analyzing a narrative- diary or travelogue- is not to determine it is true or false, as a narrative can be a demonstration of personal value, emotion and way of thinking, or can be something that is true for a certain time or place only. While analyzing a diary, there is no objective standard to examine its validity. However, it is necessary to analyze based on what kind of aim, assumption, methodology and approach the author creates his/her understanding of Japan. It can be assumed that Morse's perspective on Japan originates from his own interests, his value system and his feeling toward to his hometown, and the interaction among these factors create his portrait of Japan.

Morse's journal categorizes the East and West by means of anthropological methodology- observation and participation-, and his ultimate goal is to reinforce

[181] Ibid. 30.

the distinction between Japan and the West, and in addition to draw a line between superiority and inferiority. His methodology and his assumption will be examined in order to understand how his evaluation of Japan is created.

3.3 Clifford Geertz: Symbolic Systems of Culture

3.3.1 Cultural Symbols: System of Representation

In his book *The Interpretation of Cultures* Geertz shows how he observes and explains cultural phenomena as an anthropologist. The anthropological approach tends to regard cultural symbols, such as ritual, as a specific system of representation. It refers to the semiotic linkage between signifier versus signified. For anthropologists, the truth exists beyond the specific system of representation, and their goal is to discover the social meaning hidden behind the system of metaphors. For example, he defines religion as:

> (1) a system of symbols which acts to (2) establish powerful, pervasive, and long-lasting moods and motivations in men by (3) formulating conceptions of a general order of existence and (4) clothing these conceptions with such an aura of factuality that (5) the moods and motivations seem uniquely realistic.[182]

For Geertz, religion is a system of symbols that employs transcendental

[182] Geertz, 91.

metaphors to represent the real world, social and psychological contexts[183]. Religious discourse and practice are the reflection of the real world, and thus are passive products of the social and psychological orders. Human emotions evoked during a ritual are established, in other words, are artificial. Therefore, in order to find out the essence of religion, the first step for anthropologists is the analysis of metaphors; secondly, the system of symbols has to be examined within social-structural and psychological contexts[184].

3.3.2 Deep Meaning of Culture

While observing the Cockfight in Bali, Geertz claims that the Balinese cockfight is not merely a game of fight and gamble; instead, the cockfight is a cultural symbol providing anthropologists with a source of deep cultural meaning. For Geertz, cultural symbols are related to cultural contexts, and able to reveal the essence of cultures.

Geertz's methodology is presented by his interpretation of the details within the Balinese cockfights. He admits that not all cockfights are this exciting, and some of them are even "trivial" and "shallow[185]"; however, the number of exciting fights is sufficient to disclose the reality of a culture:

> That fact no more argues against my interpretation than the fact that most painters, poets,

[183] Ibid. 123.
[184] Ibid., 125
[185] Ibid. 431.

and playwrights are mediocre argues against the view that artistic effort is directed toward profundity and, with a certain frequency, approximates it.[186]

In order to find out the cultural meanings of those exciting fights, Geertz assumes:

The Balinese attempt to create an interesting, if you will, "deep", match by making the center bet as large as possible so that the cocks matched will be as equal and as fine as possible, and the outcome, thus, as unpredictable as possible.[187]

While witnessing the fights and bets along side the fights, Geertz discovers that what is at stake during a Balinese cockfight is not merely money, but esteem, honor, dignity and respect[188]. The cockfight is dramatic, and the emotions- affirmation and insults; pain and pleasure- brought about by the result of gambling represent the rise and falls of a participant's reputation within the community, which is called "status gambling" by Geertz[189].

At the same time, Geertz finds that among the people who joined the wager there is a sociomoral hierarchy[190]. Those participate only small bets at the every edge of the cockfight area are socially powerless people, such as women, children, youngsters, the poor, the socially despised and the personally idiosyncratic[191]. Some people who are slightly higher respected are those who bet on small cockfights but do not fight cocks

[186] Ibid. 431-432.
[187] Ibid. 431.
[188] Ibid. 433.
[189] Ibid. 435.
[190] Ibid.
[191] Ibid.

themselves. Above them are those who fight cocks in small and medium matches[192]. The most respected level is those who fight cocks in large matches - they are normally the powerful members of the community and reputable citizens in local life[193]. According to Geertz, these people are in the dominant class of cockfights as well as the whole community.

In summary, cockfights are matches between socioeconomic classes, genders, ages, and political statuses. Cockfights are channels for anthropologists to witness the core of the Balinese culture, society and politics, as Geertz reaffirms:

> What makes Balinese cockfighting deep is thus not money in itself, but what, the more of it that is involved the more so, money causes to happen.[194]

3.3.3 Psychology of Cockfights

Geertz discovered the collective cultural meaning of cockfight and also how cockfights symbolize the psychological motion at the individual level. He claims that the hierarchical system and behavior of cockfights is mirrored by humans:

> Psychologically an Aesopian representation of the ideal-demonic, rather narcissistic, male self, sociologically it is an equally Aesopian representation of the complex fields of tension set up by the controlled, muted, ceremonial, but for all that deeply felt,

[192] Ibid.
[193] Ibid.
[194] Ibid. 436.

interaction of those selves in the context of everyday life.[195]

Geertz stresses that the psychological motion is in fact the representation of individual's personality, human relationship and the reality of society. Through the enthusiasm about cockfights and the recognition of the rules of cockfights, the Balinese reinforce the present order of individual's personality, human relationship and the reality of society.[196]

On the other hand, Geertz reveals the falsity of the psychological effect. By quoting Auden's "Poetry makes nothing happen[197]", Geertz argues that in spite of the dramatically psychological impact, cockfights do not substantially change a person mentally and physically, nor do they influence a person's social status and power relationship. Cockfights are like poetry or mirror, which provide the viewer with a hallucination[198]. All of its significance is purely emotional and psychological, and it occurs and appears within a short while: from the beginning to the end of the match. Nonetheless, cockfights are not merely empty forms of art; instead, they function as a medium exhibiting excitement and passion, and are a beneficial and practical element in Balinese life. Geertz describes:

An image, fiction, a model, a metaphor, the cockfight is a means of expression; its function is neither to assuage social passions nor to heighten them (though, in its playing-with-fire way it does a bit of both), but in a medium of feathers, blood, crowds, and

[195] Ibid.
[196] Ibid.
[197] Ibid. 443.
[198] Ibid.

money, to display them.[199]

For Geertz, the cockfight is a metaphorical battlefield and its power of aesthetics involves various levels of real life[200]. In Bali, the social class is formed of a mixture of Polynesian title ranks and a Hindu caste[201], but it appears that social hierarchy does not exist since most of time people in Bali maintain good manners within human relationships, and they hesitate to be aggressive and quarrelsome with one another[202]. However, during the cockfight, their real emotions are allowed to be released, and the self-portraits of individuals are harsh, violent and cruel, and thus cockfights provide individuals with the opportunity to feel emotions such as jealousy, envy and brutality[203]. Furthermore, Geertz claims that individuals fight cocks and gamble in order to strike against the anxiety of being aberrant from the normative social order, and hence, cockfights are in fact imaginative human relationships within the community[204]. Therefore, the psychological activities cannot be detached from collective life, which is the hierarchical order of social classes as well as a person's status within a specific social class[205]. In other words, cockfights are means for game players to protect and reinforce his/her position within the community.

3.3.4 Culture as a Totality

[199] Ibid. 444.
[200] Ibid.
[201] Ibid. 447.
[202] Ibid. 446.
[203] Ibid. 447.
[204] Ibid. 446.
[205] Ibid. 447.

As Geertz describes: "like most of the rest of us, Balinese are a great deal more interested in understanding men than they are in understanding cocks."[206] He tends to go beyond cockfights and seeks out the hidden meaning. Geertz analyzes the Balinese cockfight- a cultural symbol- from two dimensions: the collective meaning including society, economy and politics, as well as the individual meaning of psychology. Furthermore, collective life and individual psychology are not separate models; instead, they are related to each other, and individual's psychological movement is engaged in the fluctuation of social status and reputation. Therefore, the cockfight discloses the deep meaning of the Balinese culture to Geertz: the reality of community life in Bali. For him, a cockfight presents the full picture of Balinese culture, and thus he affirms as a system of cultural symbols cockfights is surrounded by an aura of "enlarged importance", and thus it can be a source of "metasocial commentary (Geertz 448)" worth interpreting. Geertz's perspective shows that he views cockfights as a totality: there is not much exceptional interpretations other than collective meaning of the game; similarly, he views Balinese society as a totality consisting of fixed social classes, and there is not much space for any individual to articulate his/her own interests during cockfights, and social life.

3.4 Cultural Symbols in Japan

Clifford Geertz's anthropological analysis of the Balinese culture reveals that any cultural symbols including cockfights and religions are hints that disclose the

[206] Ibid. 448.

whole picture of a culture. Hence, although cultural symbols seem to be realistic and substantial, they are in fact metaphors representing a culture. In other words, a cultural symbol takes place not merely because of superficial reasons; instead, it is driven by the function and the necessity in response with deep social and cultural needs.

Furthermore, Geertz's approach shows that his understanding of the culture is a totality, and there is not much space for alternative or accidental interpretation. If the system of social class is a comprehensive and fixed fact of the Balinese society, then different cultural symbols including cockfights, as well as any rituals or events will automatically be applied to the same social meaning. Various cultural symbols can refer to a singular cultural meaning since the culture and society is seen as a whole.

To some extent Edward S. Morse's *Japan Day by Day* presents a Geertzian perspective. For Morse, fragmented experiences he encounters in Japan provide him with coherently ample information to access the core of Japanese culture. They refer to several unitary images of Japan: loving, intelligent, aesthetic, gentle, virtuous, naturalistic and harmonious. For Morse, these above characteristics refer to a unified quality of Japan, which is a distinct and unique culture in the world.

According to Morse's observation and interpretation, Japan is a loving country. Cultural symbols include doting parents and school mixed with

mischievous boys and other children. The deep meaning of culture Morse's discovers is that Japan provides children with colorful life. Love, honor and respect exist between two generations, and between teachers and students.

For Morse, Japan is an intelligent nation. Cultural symbols include university students speaking German, villagers playing chess, housekeeper making handicrafts, and old women using chopsticks. Morse interprets that these symbols come from the general intelligence of Japanese people.

Japan is an aesthetic nation, too. Cultural symbols include a villager's home decoration, a hotel in Nikko, a shed for travelers, Japanese calligraphy, and the Japanese art of dwarfing trees. Morse therefore affirms that Japanese people have an affinity for beauty and art, regardless their background or social class.

Japan is also a virtuous and gentle nation. Morse surprisingly finds that Japanese people seem willing to take the initiative to maintain a clean and safe environment. The maintenance is automatic and natural, rather than compelled. Hence Morse suggests that Japanese people inherently respect others and behave gently. He often travels at midnight and knows that there are no nasty robbers or murderers to worry about. For Morse, his conclusions about the character of the Japanese have been confirmed.

For Morse, the gentle essence of Japanese people can be connected to their

love of nature. Japanese people appreciate nature, including animals, birds, plants, mountains, rivers, snow and wind. Morse affirms that Japanese people are as pure as nature. Thus, it is not surprising when he learns that even a bull or a dog is treated nicely in Japan. Morse enjoys the peoples' naturally happy disposition, and he claims that that the purity of mind is the reason why Japanese adults smile as innocently as children.

Japanese peoples' respectful nature can be seen in the relations between social classes as well. Both the modesty within the Noble School and the order within a ghetto in Tokyo remind Morse of the peaceful and general quality of the nation. Being moved by the harmonious aura, he affirms that Japanese people naturally know how to avoid upsetting the social order and to respect each other. Therefore, beggars on streets are humble, and the number of criminals is very limited.

Geertz infers from cockfights that the Balinese have a strong sense of belong to a specific social class; Morse infers from his visiting in Japan that Japanese people have unique qualities in terms of mind and spirituality. Both of Geertz and Morse are inferring, and their conclusion is drawn from what they observe and how they interpret. Their inferences bring fragmented cultural symbol and a totalitarian paradigm together. Their inferences could be either correct or wrong, could be either arbitrary or fragile. Instead of examining if Morse's inference is valid or fallacious, the formation of his inference is more the focus of Edward

Said and Michel Foucault's interests.

Chapter 4 The East Versus the West

4.1 Edward Said: The Constructed Orient

Clifford Geertz's work presents how a Western anthropologist interprets the Balinese culture. As an outsider of a culture, Geertz chooses cockfights as a means of understanding and interpreting the foreign culture. On the other hand, while discussing how the Orient is presented in Western academia, scholar Edward Said argues:

> Men make their own history, that what they can know is what they have made, and extend it to geography: as both geographical and cultural entities. The Orient is not an inert fact of nature. It is not merely there, just as the Occident itself is just there, either…men make their own history, that what they can know is what they have made, and extend it to geography: as both geographical and cultural entities… as much as the West itself, the Orient is an idea that has a history and a tradition of thought, imagery, and vocabulary that have given it reality and presence in and for the West. The two geographical entities thus support and to an extent reflect each other.[207]

Said's *Orientalism* was published in 1978 and drew people's attention to the post-colonial condition. *Orientalism* describes the political connection between the Western academy and the Western imperialism, and how the two parties shape the image of the Orient. For Said, the linkage between geography and cultural entities is the relationship of power, and Orientalism serves colonialism in order to

[207] Said 4-5.

reinforce the linkage. The Occident understands the Orient by understanding the representation of the Orient, and within the system of representation the Orient is merely a colony as well as an otherness[208]. Furthermore, Orientalism makes the Orient serve to define the Occident. Therefore, the Orient has been involved in European material civilization and culture[209]. Following the Foucauldian methodology, Said stresses that Orientalism is a "mode of discourse" supported by institutions, and conveys the imaginary image of the Orient in assistance of powers[210].

4.1.1 Genealogy of Orientalism

> Orientalism (is) a Western style for dominating, restructuring, and having authority over the Orient.[211]

Said claims that Orientalism used to be a "British and French cultural enterprise[212]". Orientalism covers India, the Levant and the Mid East; colonial powers have controlled the economy, military and administration. Furthermore, these powers meant to import their culture to the colonies and took advantage of local elites and intellectuals as a medium to convey the West's knowledge[213]. Said observes that Orientalism originated from the British and French colonial experiences in the Orient- India and the Mid East- before the 19th, and until the

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[208] Ibid. 1.
[209] Ibid. 2.
[210] Ibid. 2.
[211] Ibid. 3.
[212] Ibid. 4.
[213] Ibid.

early 19th. The second stage proceeds from the beginning of the 19th to the end of World War II, in which Britain and France ruled the Orient. Since World War II, America has participated in the construction of Orientalism, and it dominated the Orient as France and Britain had done[214]. Since then, Orientalism does not belong only to Britain and France, but exceeds to the realm of the Occident, which covers powers in the European-Atlantic area. Said calls the bodies of the realm Orientalists[215].

Said asserts that the Orient is a Western invention, and had been connected with the images of being romantic, exotic, haunting memories, landscape and extraordinary life experiences[216]. However, the most efficient and long-lasting Orientalism exists in Western academia, which serves in publishing, lectures and faculty designation[217]. Because of the invention of Western academia, Orientalism is systematized into a comprehensive field of studies. Thus Said claims:

> Orientalism is a style of thought based upon an ontological and epistemological distinction made between "the Orient" and "the Occident".[218]

Said observes that within Western academia, Orientalists have constructed knowledge regarding the Orient according to the following qualifications: first, the Orient is a created idea instead of a concrete being, and Orientalism shapes the

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[214] Ibid.
[215] Ibid.
[216] Ibid. 1.
[217] Ibid.
[218] Ibid. 2.

"constellation" of ideas' consistency by means of attaching them with specific and distinct meaning[219]; Second, the relationship between the Orient and the Occident is a fabricated idea as well, and by defining the hierarchical relationship, the Occident is able to dominate the Orient within a complex power relationship as a hegemony[220]. Third, however, Orientalism cannot be seen as a lie merely existing in language or thought; instead, it has been involved in the material order including through institutionalization, and thus been practiced by the Occident and the Orient physically[221]. These qualifications reveal that Orientalism is engaged in a duality of discourse and materiality.

4.1.2 Duality of Orientalism: Discourse and Materiality

> The Orient has helped to define Europe (or the West) as its contrasting image, idea, personality, experience.[222]

4.1.2.1 Foucauldian View of Discourse

Said argues that for the Occident, the Orient is a geography of imagination and a narrative of representation[223]. He employs Michel Foucault's methodology of discursive analysis to reveal the speculative essence of Orientalism. Only when Orientalism is defined as a discourse instead of a pre-existing fact, one can go

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[219] Ibid. 5.
[220] Ibid. 5.
[221] Ibid. 6.
[222] Ibid. 1.
[223] Ibid. 3.

through the knowledge, the institutions, disciplines and power relationship within the realm of Orientalism[224]. Meanwhile, Said asserts that the Orientalist discourses have been constructed in politics, sociology, military, ideology, science, and imagination since the post-Enlightenment period[225]. He stresses that Orientalism is not merely a political or academic being, but it is also a geographic sense of cultural difference. Orientalism as a discourse acts to produce essential differences between cultures, to convey the differences, and to maintain the differences[226]. Therefore, powers manipulating Orientalism are diverse, including political and economic powers of colonial authority, intellectual power of science and linguistics, cultural power and moral power of normative values and behaviors belonging to each of the Orient and the Occident[227].

Furthermore, for the Occident, the invention of Orientalism is beneficial for both ruling the Orient and at the same time reinforcing the self-esteem of the Occident. Said argues that by means of contrasting the Occident and the Orient, Orientalism provides the Occident with a theoretical basis for strengthening European identity and a European sense of superiority[228].

4.1.2.2 Gramscian view of Materialism: Modification of Mechanical Materialism

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[224] Ibid.
[225] Ibid.
[226] Ibid. 12.
[227] Ibid.
[228] Ibid. 3.

In addition to Michel Foucault, Said has been inspired by Antonio Gramsci's assumption of hegemony. As an Italian Marxist scholar, Gramsci assumes that economic relationships are the base of all ideological activities[229]. However, in spite of the fact of being a Marxist, Antonio Gramsci stands against simple mechanism as traditional Marxism suggests. He asserts that limited sense of subjectivity exists in human society since social relationship is complex and cannot be determined by any reductionism[230]. He admits that an individual has its agency to understand, desire and create within the scope of what they understand, desire and create[231]. Therefore, human beings are not totally passive; instead, they can be initiative and conscious to some extent. Therefore, structure is not necessary to be repressive, as it can be "a means of freedom" through which people are able to reform political-ethic form[232].

For Gramsci, human beings' initiation and consciousness are shown in the process of hegemony. Gramsci divides society into two: political society, consisting of dominating institutions of state, and civil society, consisting of voluntary affiliations such as families and schools, and the interaction between political society and civil society results in hegemony[233]. For Gramsci, hegemony is a process of class struggle, rather than a result mechanically determined by economic structure. Although Gramsci's assumption of limited sense of subjectivity gives hegemony possibilities to change the existing structure rather

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[229] Gramsci 1770.
[230] Ibid. 352.
[231] Ibid.
[232] Ibid. 367.
[233] Said 6-7.

than to reinforce it, Said suggests that cultural hegemony operated by the Occident's aims to shape civil society's understanding of the Orient[234]. Orientalism goes beyond politics and economy, and is rather a cultural understanding. It has developed a full range of artistic and academic professions[235]. Meanwhile, Orientalism is a process of identity formation. The concept of European identity is superior to any non- European identity, and thus hegemony does not challenge but rather reinforces the determining relationship[236].

4.1.3 Pursuing Neutral Knowledge

> It appears to be that knowledge is divided into two types: pure knowledge and political knowledge. Pure knowledge refers to humanism which is not involved in anything political. It seems to have no direct political effect upon reality in the everyday sense. Political knowledge implies economics, politics, and sociology in the modern academy are ideological sciences—and therefore taken for granted as being "political".[237]

For Said, Orientalism is not "pure" and neutral, but subordinate to imperialism, and thus Oriental studies are considered political. He argues that Orientalism is an institutional practice and a mode of power, and he aims to change the existing academic literary studies in North America in order to reveal the reality of the Orient. Although Said admits the difference between the east and

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[234] Ibid. 7.
[235] Ibid.
[236] Ibid.
[237] Ibid. 9.

the west exists, he stresses that knowledge should not be a tool of political power but should be neutral. However, Said's use of theories of Antonio Gramsci and Michel Foucault at the same time has brought him enormous critiques, and some scholars have doubted a neutral knowledge is possible to be achieved.

Marx suggests that the truth of history does not exist in the superstructure or false consciousness, but in the infrastructure, which is material condition. However, Said rejects the Marxist model and claims the truth can be found within culture, which is part of the superstructure. Between *Orientalism* and Marxism, Leela Ghandhi argues: "Said betrays an uneasy relationship with Marxism[238]". Similarly, Aijaz Ahmad argues that Said has taken a classical western perspective in that he divides the world into nations, instead of classes as Marx suggests. For Said, knowledge is merely western and intellectualized history, which is called superstructure and false consciousness by Marx[239].

On the other hand, Ahmad assesses that Foucault's view of history is denaturalized history. Everything is representation and it provides room for critique. Foucault reviews the boundaries and claims that the difference of space and time is the difference of meaning[240]. Therefore, for Ahmad, Said does not fit in to Foucauldian discursive analysis nor materialist Marxism[241]. He argues that Said looks at representation from binary oppositions. This binary, the east and the

[238] Ghandhi 64.
[239] Ahmad, 162, 167.
[240] Ibid., 164.
[241] Ibid., 165.

west, is stable and transhistorical. Said does not believe in narrative history and narrative truth but believes in nationalism and creates a category which is sameness and otherness, insideness and outsideness. On the contrary, Marxism does not categorize nations. For Marxism, the truth of material truth is universal and historical[242].

Said's theoretical problems result from his shifting position within contradictions. He employs a Foucauldian discursive structure, which is a system of language and institutionalized practice. It allows for a diverse context and discourse. However, at the same time, he employs Gramscian material structure, namely, hegemonic orders. The universal view does not draw any boundary between nations. However, his Orientalism has concealed the fact that the Occident's understanding of the Orient in academia can be created and formed, rather than an eternal truth which has no space for critique. Michel Foucault's theory of discourses and power help go further in the process of analyzing a narrative.

4.2 Comparing Japan with the West

While analyzing the history of Orientalism, Edward Said affirms that the making of Orientalism has occurred since the emergence of European and American colonialisms. The operation of Orientalism has involved colonial governments, militaries, and academia alike. The cooperation among the three

[242] Ibid.

parties produced the category of the Occident and the Orient, as well as the attached cultural and social meanings.

Said argues that the Orient is a constructed concept, and that it is an imaginary system of vocabulary. Geographical and cultural differences appear to be realistic, but they act as a basis for Orientalism to draw the line between the superior and the inferior, as well as the center and the otherness, and by which the domination of the West in Asia has been legitimized. The ultimate purpose of Orientalism is to bolster the colonial system in the fields of politics, culture, and knowledge.

The goal and the operation of Orientalism have been practiced in the fields of both discourses and materiality. Here Said employs Foucauldian methodology in order to assess the relationship between power, knowledge, institution and subjects. Furthermore, Said claims that during the creation of Orientalism, the concept of the Orient has to coexist with the concept of the Occident, and the two concepts provide each other with supportive foundation and nutrition. In other words, the Orient cannot exist as an independent idea without comparison and contrast to the Occident.

Morse's interpretation of Japan is based on his perspective of the West. His approach of comparison manifests the difference between Japan and the West. For Morse, Japan is superior to the West, and his work employs the culture of the West in order to observe Japan. Hence, the West is necessary and indispensable for the existence of Japan. Without articulating the West, Japan cannot exhibit its own

positive characteristics. Eventually the West turns out to be the indivisible part during the conceptualization of Japan.

While in Japan, Morse experimented and tasted some Japanese delicacies such as marine worms and grasshoppers. He was not shocked by the experience and explains that the insects are not any different from other delicacies in the West. He actually enjoyed the experience. Another cultural phenomenon Morse explores is nakedness in Japanese bathrooms. In fact, he attempts to provide reasonable explanation for the nakedness in Japanese public bathroom. First he asserts that while being naked in bathrooms Japanese people do not pay attention to other people's bodies and respect each others privacy. Second, Japanese girls do not wear clothes exposing their bodies (unlike Western girls.) Thirdly, this kind of lifestyle has been practiced by an English frigate that entered a port in New Zealand. Hence, again, Morse suggests that even nakedness in public bathroom is not a phenomenon or a concept so difficult for the West to grasp.

On the one hand, Morse addresses the similarity between the West and Japan in order to reason that certain styles of Japanese life is normal and acceptable. Morse provides the differences between the West and Japan in order to prove that Japan is superior to the West. He complains that Western ways of education result in hoodlumism, which does not exist in Japan. He criticizes that Western chess is not as complex as Japanese chess. He suggests the Western institutions should abandon knife, fork and spoon because they are less intelligent and less efficient

than chopsticks. He sneers at villages in New England because they are uglier than villages in Japan. He admires Japanese travelers' sheds because they are not full of messy signatures and graffiti as they are in his country. He complains that people in his country lack the virtues of Japanese people. One example he cites is the defacing of public buildings. People in his country lack respect for others such is the case in his town Salem in New England which does not give him the feeling of security like it in Japan. People in his culture also lack a kindness for animals – such is the case with the Spanish corrida. He appraises that the shortage of social justice and manners make ghettos in New England dirty and dangerous areas. Towards the end of his writings, he mentions that an American teacher looks monstrous in a china shop and far behind Japanese people in terms of civilization and refinement.

As Said claims, the Occident and the Orient are created ideas instead of preexisting truth. For Morse, Japan's value is not neutral; instead, it results from its contrast with the West. Although missing any analysis of other cultural units in the world, Morse insists in choosing the West as the antithesis of Japan, and therefore, Japan's uniqueness is illuminated. Hence the exceptional qualities and virtues of Japanese people observed by Morse can be his imagination since they are based upon merely the comparison with the West. In other words, for Morse, the statement that Japan is better than the West is equivalent to the statement that Japan is the most unique and superior culture in the world.

Even if all cultural units have been analyzed by Morse, it is always risky to claim a cultural unit is a simple totality without any diversity. For Morse, the West and Japan are two inter-fulfilling totalities. The West, including New England and Spain, provides Japan with supportive proof, including both similarities and differences, to be the greatest nation. Morse's dissatisfaction with the West becomes obvious as he addresses his satisfaction with Japan. The more he is unhappy with the West, the more eagerly he searches for Utopia in Japan. In the beginning he involves the similarities between the two in order to persuade himself and readers that Japan is not a awkward, backward nation; then he takes advantage of the difference between the two in order to affirm that Japan is not only understandable for the West, but also superior. Therefore, Morse's interpretation of Japanese society and culture is a discourse based upon his feeling toward the West, which will be verified by Michel Foucault's discussion of discursive order.

4.3 Michel Foucault: Power, Knowledge and Discourse

Said's opposition with Foucault is that on the one hand he suggests knowledge is discourse and political, but on the other hand, he believes that the truth can be found by analyzing texts of the Western intellectual history interpreting the Orient. Since Said criticizes the texts as being false, how can his analysis be valid? How can we produce an exceptional knowledge which is not political? If we can never know the truth, how can we judge that the

representation is true or false?

Michel Foucault's analysis of discourse and history shows that history is represented discourse. Discourse is everywhere, and thus subjects cannot go beyond the discursive order and find out the truth. Therefore it can be asserted that there is no neutral knowledge, but only political knowledge. Said believes it is impossible to rely on evidence from the past for an accurate history of the Orient. However, at the same time, Michel Foucault does not admit that subjects are determined to be passive and ignorant; instead, discourse is not the only and superior power in history, as various and even reverse discourses can exist simultaneously, and the conflicts and interaction among them can reveal another dimension of the history, as well as human's will to understand themselves.

4.3.1 Discursive Regime

4.3.1.1 The Changing Truth

> Madness fascinates man... When man deploys the arbitrary nature of his madness, he confronts the dark necessity of the world; the animals that haunts his nightmares and his nights of privation is his own nature, which will lay bare hell's pitiless truth; the vain images of blind idiocy *Magna Scientia*; and already, in this disorder, in this mad universe, is prefigured what will be the cruelty of the finale.[243]

In order to find out the transformation of discursive regime, Foucault has

[243] Foucault 1988, 23.

been interested in the history of psychiatry and through which he reveals how human beings define and discipline abnormality: unreason and irrationality. *Madness and Civilization* is his archaeological research on this topic. As he observes, psychosis has gradually been considered illnesses through the Western history, and thus psychiatric patients in the end are obliged to receive treatment in the modern medical institutions. His review of the history shows that knowledge is a produced discourse instead of the pre-existing truth. Furthermore, the definition shift of psychiatry conceals human's attitude toward the darkness of life and the world.

In *Madness and Civilization*, by reviewing the history from Middle Ages[244], the Renaissance[245], the classical age[246], to modern period[247], Foucault finds that each historical period defines madness in different ways. In the Middle Ages, "leprosy disappeared from the Western world[248]" because it was regarded as "non-human[249]" and it was not put in the scope of human knowledge. In the Renaissance, madness was considered as "the irony of its illusions[250]". In the classical age madness was defined as unreason and enormous houses of confinement were founded such as the Hopital General in Paris[251]. The patients who were arrested were called "the insane", "demented" men, individuals of

[244] Ibid., chapter 1: *Stultifera Navis.*
[245] Ibid.
[246] Ibid., chapter 2: *The Great Confinement*; chapter 3: *The Insane.*
[247] Ibid., chapter 5: *Aspects of Madness*; chapter 8: *The New Division*; chapter 9: *The Birth of the Asylum.*
[248] Ibid., 3.
[249] Ibid.
[250] Ibid., 32.
[251] Ibid., 38-39.

"wandering mind" and "persons who have become completely mad[252]". This is how public knowledge and public institution first dealt with the psychological status. Categorizing reason and madness/human and animality, power has achieved the goal of muting the voice of the mad.

Once the power comes in, knowledge is created and discourses are constituted. According to Foucault, this is the "discursive regime[253]" in which power dominates and affects. The different definitions of madness from the Middle Ages to the modern period have shaped different understandings of mental status. Power has been exploring the discursive regime until the modern period. Therefore, madness is not an inherent thing. For Foucault, "discourse covers the entire range of madness[254]" and "language is the first and last structure of madness[255]".

4.3.1.2 Power: Ruling Body

During Foucault's analysis of mental illness, one can find out that discourses have cooperated with institutions in order to discipline the body. For Foucault, this is a power-knowledge-pleasure linkage:

> Power operated as a mechanism of attraction; it drew out those peculiarities over which it kept watch. Pleasure spread to the power that harried it; power anchored the

[252] Ibid., 65.
[253] Faucault 1972, 109.
[254] Foucault 1988, 99.
[255] Ibid., 100.

pleasure it uncovered. The pleasure that comes of exercising a power that questions, monitors, watches, spies, searches out, palpates, brings to light.[256]

Power draws the border between right and wrong and this norm exists in discourse. Thus the control over the body is carried out in language. While civilization goes on, power has been developing knowledge to define bodies. Thus the scope of control has been explored. Within the scope of control, discourse serves as a model of normative knowledge. Power runs knowledge in discursive regime by fixing the differentiation of reason and unreason, normal and abnormal. Subjects who are not qualified to be normal will be forced to be treated in medical institutions. Doctors represent the power to check and censor patients' mental and physical status in order to pull them back to the scope of reason. Subjects lose their autonomy over their own body and transfer their body to doctors.

4.3.2 Certain Moments, Certain Events

Since knowledge has been changed along with the exploration of the discursive regime, Foucault assumes that history is the stage where new forms of knowledge take place[257]. However, instead of simply regarding history as a discontinuity, Foucault's interests are:

How is it that at certain moments and in certain orders of knowledge, there are these sudden take-offs, these hastenings of evolution, these transformations which fail to

[256] Foucault 1978, 45.
[257] Foucault 1972, 112.

correspond to the calm, continuist image that is normally accredited?[258]

In other words, Foucault regards each form of knowledge or discourse as an event of the history[259]. For Foucault, history is not a continuous concept, since it consists of events rather than an evolutionary totality. Furthermore, an event is not merely a representation of transcendental languages or signs; instead, an event is the battle or war among languages involving power which results from relations of power[260]. Therefore, the truth which knowledge carries in each event is not exclusive and eternal concept. Foucault asserts that first, truth ought to be understood as:

> "Truth" is to be understood as a system of ordered procedure for the production, regulation, distribution, circulation and operation of statements.
> "Truth" is linked in a circular relation with systems of power which produce and sustain it, and to effects of power which it induces and which extend it.[261]

Different from the hypothesis of Marx, which divides the society into the transcendental superstructure and the material infrastructure, Foucault suggests that the language of history has involved the marriage of power, institutions and actions.

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[258] Ibid.
[259] Ibid., 113.
[260] Ibid., 114.
[261] Ibid., 133.

4.3.3 Alternative Meaning Beyond Discourse

> To account for the fact that it is spoken about, to discover who does the speaking, the positions and view points from which they speak, the institutions which prompt people, to speak about it and which store and distribute the things that are said. What is at issue, briefly, it's the over-all "discourse fact", the way in which sex is "put into discourse". It brings out the "will to knowledge" that serves as both their support and their instrument.[262]

In Foucault's analysis of mental illness, individuals have transformed into subjects of certain power, certain knowledge, and certain institutions. In *History of Sexuality* Foucault uncovers that subjects are not necessarily passive. In his analysis of sexuality, he discovers that the more perversion has been defined as illness, the better opportunities perverts have to describe themselves as well as the sickness. Power defines madness and sexuality as illness, but at the same time it gives space for subjects to talk about themselves. Consequently, the more institutions are founded, the more illness, unreason and irrationality, is spoken out and exposed. The paradoxical process provides human with opportunities to understand themselves, which is the abnormal side of human beings. Thus, discourse is productive.

Furthermore, Foucault has argued, a reverse discourse is an alternative discourse of power.

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[262] Foucault 1990, 60.

> Discourses are, not once and for all subservient to power or raised up against, any more than silence are. We must make allowance for the complex and unstable process whereby discourse can be both an instrument and an effect of power, but also a hindrance, a stumbling-block, a point of resistance and a starting point for an opposing strategy. Discourse transmits and produces power; it reinforces it, but it also undermines and exposes it, renders it, fragile and makes it possible to thwart it.[263]

Because discourses are not stable or simple, their cultural contexts and effects need to be analyzed. As Foucault argues:

> Discourses are tactical elements or blocks operating in the field of force relations; there can exist different and even contradictory discourses within the same strategy; they can, on the contrary, circulate without changing their form from one strategy to another, opposing strategy.[264]

Foucault does not subvert the discourse but changes the way of reading in order to approach an alternative meaning within the context. Foucault suggests double voice: a reverse, even ironic, way of reading. Within such a complex relationship among power, discourses and subjects, a discourse does not have one single meaning; on the contrary, the complex relationship multiplies the possibility of the meaning of discourses, and the interaction between discourses can reveals new meanings.

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[263] Ibid., 100-101.
[264] Ibid., 101-102.

4.4 Alternative Reading of *Japan Day by Day*

The text does not "gloss" the images, which do not "illustrate" the text. For me, each has been no more than the onset of a kind of visual uncertainty, analogous perhaps to that *loss of meaning* Zen calls it *satori*. Text and image, interlacing, seek to ensure the circulation and exchange of these signifiers: body, face, writing; and in them to read the retreat of signs.[265]

Based on the assumption originating from Foucault's conceptualization of discourse, knowledge and power, Said claims that there is no neutral knowledge in the world, and all narratives are results of certain kinds of power relationship. As Foucault discovers by means of his genealogical approach, knowledge is created at a specific historical context, and it is not a fixed form of truth as it has transformed along with social changes. Nonetheless, in spite of being a transformative form of narrative, knowledge has its power to draw a line between good and evil, and furthermore to discipline the body.

Foucault's perspective on history presents the temporariness of knowledge, as well as the passive essence of narratives. On the one hand, a narrative is an event that takes place at a certain moment; on the other hand, a narrative is not authoritarian; instead, alternative ways of reading are allowed to discover hidden meaning within the text. In addition, the cultural context and effect have to be involved in the interpretation of a narrative. Hence, when reading Morse's *Japan*

[265] Barthes Preface.

Day by Day, the mission is not to evaluate its validity; instead, it is to discover the formation of Morse's ambition of defining Japan as superior and the West inferior; in addition, it is to find out how Morse constructs the idealness and the perfection of Japan.

For a Westerner who does not have much knowledge about Japanese society and tradition, all the experiences Morse encounters in the country are transformed into significant signs. As Roland Barthes demonstrates, the meaning of sign has been circulating within each material being, and gone beyond the sign itself and created a new system of meaning. Morse uses his own interpretative system to decipher these signifiers, as do Bird and Baelz. For Morse, what he has seen in Japan is not merely a person, a painting, a hotel, a chess game, a university, or a party anymore. His interpretative system attaches new meaning to what he has physically experienced, and constructs another Japan, which is different from Bird's and Baelz's Japan, or Japanese people's understanding of their homeland.

Morse's interpretative system originates from his discontent with the Western world. He does not appreciate Western education system, Western aesthetics, Western chess, Western language, and the most important, rude and unsightly Westerners. Morse's unhappiness with the West is the source of his happiness in Japan. Traveling gave him the opportunity to escape his dissatisfaction and embrace a new wonderland. Hence, when visiting Japan, the cultural and social differences between Japan and the West have been employed by Morse as an exit

to release his discontent. For him, the differences provide him with a possibility of exiling from his hometown; furthermore, the differences show the possibility of a Utopia which has been longing for.

Morse's emphasis on the difference between the East and the West, Japan and New England, is a means to draw the line between right and wrong, virtue and hoodlumism, as well as beauty and disfigurement. The more he stresses the difference, the better the Utopia can be. Hence, Morse's writing keeps the fashion of comparison and contrast. He aims to highlight the distinction between Japan and the West in order to show how wonderful a land in contrast to the West.

Said argues the category of the Orient and the Occident is a theoretical basis for Western powers to colonize the East in the areas of politics, economics and culture. However, for Morse, he employs a similar policy which results in a totally contrary conclusion: Japan is different from the West, and thus it is culturally, intellectually and virtuously superior to the West. During this ratiocination, his experiences in Japan have been magnified and exaggerated in order to bolster up his conclusion.

Japan might have its own problems and challenges that its citizens can experience. Within their perception, Japan is presented in a different image from Morse's. However, similar to Morse's ratiocination, when traveling abroad, the cultural differences he/she experiences can be taken advantage as a potential to

reach a Utopia. The longing for a new land has driven countless travelers and immigrants to move among cities and nations.

Morse's Japan is not invalid, and neither are Bird's Japan or Baelz's Japan. Based on the specific desire and expectation of the travelers, each of them presents a real Japan for the author. Hence, travelogues become a system of language connected to the material world. Nonetheless, readers have their own desire and expectation as well, and therefore during the reading they judge the travelogue, and create their own image of the East and the West. Reading travelogues is an interaction between the writer and the reader, and there is not any fixed singular method to decipher Japan.

Chapter 5 Conclusion

While absorbing Western science, technology, political systems and languages, Japan discovers its uniqueness, which separates it from the West and other Eastern countries. Hence, during the Meiji era, the appeal to cultural nationalism went along with rapid economic and military development. As Leo T.S. Ching observed, the combination of cultural nationalism and economic harvest is involved in Japanese fashion of colonialism. At the same time, the uniqueness was created and promoted by government and intellectuals as a foundation of Japanese cultural identity. Tadao Umesao claims that the uniqueness is the foundation for Japanese to deal with the world and themselves after the country's modernization.

Edward S. Morse's *Japan Day by Day* has to be analyzed within the context of Japan's modernization/westernization. Along with him, western travelers and scholars such as Isabella L. Bird and Erwin Baelz visited Japan, and left travelogues and diaries as a record of the Meiji Japan. They interpret Japan differently, but each of them provides readers with a separate dimension of Japan.

Morse employs anthropological method recording his experiences, and attaches these experiences with his own thought. Clifford Geertz points out that for anthropologists, cultural symbols must be analyzed within cultural and social contexts- as a totality- in order to discover the deep meaning of superficial

phenomena. For Morse, fragmented experiences have been connected in order to make an intact image of Japan: intelligent and peaceful mentality is the basis for all desirable phenomena.

Morse highlights the differences between Japan and the West in order to show the advantage of Japan and the disadvantage of the West. When tracing the trajectory of Orientalism, Edward Said claims that Orientalism is constructed as a knowledge system by which the West is able to discipline the East politically, economically and culturally. The discursive essence of knowledge originates from Foucault's assumption of knowledge and power. Foucault reveals that knowledge is a result of certain time and space, and it has transformed along with history. By means of alternative interpretation of knowledge, one can discover multiple meanings in a singular narrative. Alternative interpretation is able to reveal hidden truth and satisfy people's will to know.

Hence, Morse's Japan Day by Day has to be analyzed within his own context as well. His life experiences, emotion, feeling toward his home country and understanding of the West create his own perception system. This micro context- his perception system- interacts with his visiting in Japan and result in a portrait, which present a different Japan from other sources. Morse's discontent drives him to praise Japan by means of comparing it to the West. The difference between two cultures is the tool for Morse to transform Japan into a Utopia and to denounce the West. Comparison legitimizes Morse's feeling to his home country. Therefore,

Japan Day by Day is not only a retrospective exhibition of Meiji Japan, it is also a biography of Edward S. Morse. When following his trips in Japan during the reading, one views people and scenes in Japan, as well as Morse's life history at the same time.

To recognize that narratives are not an exclusive and eternal system of knowledge allow readers to go beyond the dilemma of true or false. To recognize knowledge is an event taking off from a certain moment allows readers to trace the motivation of author, and to discover the desire behind words. Therefore, numerous travelogues written by Westerners in Japan can be seen as a dialogue between their own life and Japan.

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