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‘Hand and Soul’:
Japanese Craft and Embodied Spirituality in
Lafcadio Hearn’s *Gleanings in Buddha-Fields* (1897)

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Reporting on the Jidai Matsuri festival to celebrate the eleven hundredth anniversary of the foundation of Kyōto in October 1895, Lafcadio Hearn describes finding himself confronted by a dizzying array of crafts. ‘I saw a young man writing Buddhist texts and drawing horses with his feet’, Hearn recalled, noting his admiration also for ‘Butterflies of paper’, ‘maidens “made by glamour out of flowers”’ and an ‘artificial cuttlefish’ which could ‘move all its tentacles’ when air was blown into ‘a little rush tube fixed under its head’.¹ Sent to the festival by the *Japan Chronicle*, Hearn documented the city’s ‘festive appearance’: ‘A committee has been appointed which has decorated almost every street in the city with lanterns and flags, and [...] the town wears a most holiday-like appearance’.² When he expanded his taut reportage into a later article for the *Atlantic*, republished in his essay collection *Gleanings in Buddha-Fields* (1897), Hearn focused especially on the handicrafts he had encountered. He was particularly impressed by the virtuosic speed of their creation, which signalled to Hearn an extraordinary manipulation of the relationship between mind and matter. Describing himself ordering ‘twenty tiny paper dolls, each with a different coiffure’ from a doll-maker, he marvels at the speed with which a ‘girl went to work with white paper, paint, paste, thin slips of pine; and the dolls were finished in about the same time that an artist would have taken to draw a similar number of such figures’.³ The girl’s swift work is not, for Hearn, the ponderous process of an artist but something far more impressive and direct, raising the enticing suggestion that the activity of thinking might be outsourced from the brain to the hands themselves: ‘The actual time needed was only enough for the necessary digital movements, – not

for correcting, comparing, improving: the image in the brain realized itself as fast as the slender hands could work' (p. 63).

The relationship between mind and matter, and craft's potential to disturb any easy distinction between the two, is a common preoccupation across the essays collected in *Gleanings in Buddha-Fields*. The book's subtitle, *Studies of Hand and Soul in the Far East*, points first to matters of Japanese craft and religion, while also hinting at Hearn's fascination with the integration of the two in the act of craftmaking: figuratively, the hand's ability to touch and mould the soul. Through its reference to Dante Gabriel Rossetti's story 'Hand and Soul' (written 1849; pub. 1869) it also registers the collection's engagement with Western art writing more broadly.⁴ At the same time, the distinction between 'hand' and 'soul' also comes to register the tension between individual and collective identity in Hearn's work. Where the 'hand' is necessarily personal (discrete to the extent that bodies are), the concept of 'soul' is less clearly individual. Indeed, across the essays of *Gleanings* Hearn suggests that craftsmakers might be able to channel someone else's soul, whether through the inherited memory of previous generations of artisans or a looser sense of cultural unconscious. A young calligrapher's handprint, 'the red imprint of a tiny, tiny hand, – a *living* hand' (p. 47), signals to Hearn both personal identity and the impact of inherited supernatural skill; festival decorations represent the work of individual craftsmakers blended into a spectacle greater than the sum of its parts, 'the labor [...] of tens of thousands of hands and brains' (p. 62).

This article places Hearn's *Gleanings* in the context of his engagement with the Pre-Raphaelite and Arts and Crafts movements to reveal the central importance of collective craftmaking in his distinctive art writing. Critics have often tended to treat Hearn's art writing as marginal, both in terms of overlooking its prominence within his work and, more crucially, viewing it as disconnected from Western aesthetic debates due to Hearn's geographical displacement as a naturalized Japanese citizen. As Stefano Evangelista notes, the fact that 'art rarely features as the headline topic of [Hearn's] essays' has allowed the significant body of art writing within his work

to go largely unnoticed and, indeed, the question of genre surrounding the essays of *Gleanings* seems to have prevented critics from appreciating the breadth of their engagement with aesthetic debates.⁵ Viewed as ‘travel writing’, Hearn’s essays thus tend to be secluded in a separate generic category, allowing their many commonalities with the aesthetic essays of the likes of Vernon Lee and Walter Pater to go overlooked.

Hearn’s accounts of Japanese crafts in *Gleanings* bring prominent debates in Western art writing into dialogue with Buddhist and Shintō beliefs. In doing so, they develop a complex theory of collective mind in which the embodied processes of craftmaking express the workings of a communal soul channelled by, but not reducible to, the individual craftsman. Hearn lectured on Rossetti and William Morris at the University of Tokyo from 1896, praising the former in his second series of lectures (1900–1903) as the ‘greatest of the Pre-Raphaelite poets’ and the latter as ‘[n]ext to Rossetti’ in literary quality, and Hearn inherited a decadent interest in decorative arts from his wider reading which came to influence his appreciation of Japanese crafts.⁶ Writing with almost Wildean disdain about *ikebana* or Japanese flower arranging, Hearn remarks in *Gleanings* that

[f]ive years ago I wrote that a little acquaintance with the Japanese art of flower arrangement had made it impossible for me to endure the sight of that vulgarity [...] which in the West we call a ‘bouquet.’ To-day I must add that familiarity with Japanese interiors has equally disgusted me with Occidental interiors, no matter how spacious or comfortable or richly furnished (pp. 174–75).⁷

Craft was a much-contested category in late-Victorian art criticism, still subject in many circles to the assumed distinction between fine art as supposedly the thoughtful product of individual genius and craft as purely material decoration, or between ‘the painting [...] that is full of thought, and of the panel that merely decorates’, as Whistler characterized it in his influential lecture ‘Mr Whistler’s “Ten O’Clock”’ (1885).⁸ More recently, this distinction has been examined in detail by Raymond Williams, in addition to Rachel Teukolsky’s discussion of late-Victorian aestheticism as the belief that ‘a whole utopian social world might be constructed out of art’ and

Jacques Rancière's examination of a fin-de-siècle discourse of 'aesthetic regeneration' associated with socialist artisanal cooperatives inspired by Morris and Ruskin, which aimed to recapture an originary 'unity of art' supposedly lost 'since the separation between "fine arts" [...] and so-called decorative arts'.⁹ A similar dichotomy is endorsed in Leo Tolstoy's essay 'What is Art?' (1897), which holds that 'art is not a handicraft' because it involves 'the transmission of feeling the artist has experienced', reiterating a common belief that craftmaking bears little connection to subjective 'inward' experience.¹⁰ Hearn himself read Tolstoy's study carefully, describing its publication as 'a very great literary event' and observing in a lecture that Tolstoy 'reinforces a great many truths' that Hearn had attempted to describe in other work.¹¹ Hearn's depictions of craftmaking as an embodied process of thinking in *Gleanings* trouble these distinctions, aligning more with Morris' suggestion that craftmakers treat their work as 'the material in which their thought could be embodied'.¹²

In this respect, Hearn took influence from late nineteenth-century *japoniste* artists, who used the post-Meiji Restoration influx of Japanese art into the West to question the distinction between fine and decorative arts that had long been foundational to Western aesthetics.¹³ As Evangelista has suggested, such artists cultivated public attention to Japanese craftworks as not 'merely decorative' artefacts but *objets d'art* that might encourage 'new ways of seeing that challenged artistic conventions'.¹⁴ This attitude was quickly embedded within late-Victorian popular culture: the exhibition of a 'Japanese Village' in Knightsbridge, for instance, in 1885–87 featured a staff of Japanese artisans who, as Grace E. Lavery describes, 'were displayed making various handicrafts while Londoners paid for the privilege of watching'.¹⁵ Drawing on such *japoniste* influences allowed Hearn not only to 'criticize [...] Western societies' by contrasting them with Japan's supposedly perfected 'democracy of the "beautiful"', as Evangelista suggests, but also to make considerable interventions within Western aesthetic debates.¹⁶

Hearn's continual emphasis on the role of touch within Japanese craftmaking enables him to blur the boundary not merely between fine and decorative art but also between matter and mind, bodily and spiritual experience. His close attention to the 'hands' of craftmakers (pp. 47, 48, 62, 63) registers his fascination with the processes by which seemingly 'inward' artistic designs become externalized as crafted physical objects. Aesthetic experience, similarly, is for Hearn a kind of touch: entering a garden in Kyōto, he remarks that his awareness of its 'vast antiquity [...] touch[es] the chord of the æsthetic feeling which brings the vibration of awe' (p. 50). Most interestingly, Hearn suggests that even 'thought' itself might be 'a modification of touch' (p. 226). Drawing upon his extensive reading in late-Victorian evolutionary science, particularly the work of Herbert Spencer whose theory of mind, as William Cohen describes, emphasised the 'dynamic interchange between inner and outer, material and immaterial, states of being' via the skin as sensory organ, Hearn contends that, because 'all the senses are modifications of touch', cognition itself, as a product of the senses, is equally an extension of touch: 'All our knowledge is derived and developed, directly or indirectly, from physical sensation, – from touch' (p. 226).¹⁷ Hearn's fascination with craftmaking, then, can be understood as an extension of his interest in the tangibility of mental processes, presenting artisanal evidence of thinking through touch in which manual dexterity offers a way of composing thought.

I here consider Hearn's representations of embodied crafting through the lens of recent scholarship on distributed cognition, bringing Erin Manning and Brian Massumi's identification of craft practices as 'a mode of thought, already in the act' (a way of thinking familiar to many late-Victorian art writers) to bear on Hearn's representations of craftwork and collective mind.¹⁸ Distributed cognition refers, broadly, to a critical approach that challenges an 'orthodox internalist tradition' of locating the act of thinking solely within the individual brain, giving attention instead to the ways in which cognition is often spread out, implicating the body, external tools, other individuals, environments and even social structures in the act of thinking.¹⁹ In recent years, this

framework has proven fruitful for critical examinations of the role of the body within literary depictions of thought, notably within several studies of decadent art writing. Marion Thain suggests that the emphasis on ‘tactile modes of perception’ within fin-de-siècle aesthetics serves as an important precursor for present-day theories of ‘embodied cognition’ while Benjamin Morgan has similarly argued that much late-Victorian art writing demonstrates an ‘exteriorization of mind’ by presenting aesthetic experience as ‘an event during which the embodied corporeality of a person and an artwork came into contact’.²⁰ Hearn’s playful blending of mind and matter in his own art writing contributes directly to this fin-de-siècle aesthetic discourse. At the same time, examining the distinctive stylistic aspects of Hearn’s literary depictions of craft reveals the potential limitations of the technical theoretical registers that often characterize work on distributed cognition. Hearn’s spiritualized descriptions of craftmaking flirt with the suggestion that such actions might bypass the workings of ‘cognition’ entirely, conjured up by the body alone: ‘Thus most of the wonders of festival nights are created: toys thrown into existence with a twist of the fingers, old rags turned into figured draperies with a few motions of the brush, pictures made with sand’ (p. 64).

I first examine Hearn’s presentation of touch as an extension of thought in his discussion of *kakemono* calligraphy in ‘Notes of a Trip to Kyōto’, in which nineteenth-century studies of fingerprints enable Hearn to explore the tension between the craftsman’s individual imprint and inherited generational skill. I then consider the role of the craft object as a vehicle for the transmission of thought in ‘In Ōsaka’, reading Hearn’s depictions of both Japanese festival decorations and crowds as types of what Gustave Le Bon called ‘collective mind’.²¹ This leads me in turn to discuss Hearn’s interest in animate matter and his description of a ‘universe of psychical units’ in ‘Dust’ (p. 259). I close by examining Hearn’s representation of his own writing process as a kind of ghostly crafting.

Thinking Through Touch

Hearn's longstanding interest in Japanese crafts finds its most sustained expression in *Gleanings*, where he reflects at length on the psychological processes involved in craftmaking and the relationship between craft objects and embodied cognition. Touch, in particular, becomes a way of communicating and manipulating thought, suggestive even of a kind of 'plasticity of the soul' – that the individual craftmaker might themselves be moulded by the act of making.²² Brushing past an array of paintings at the festival exhibition in Kyōto, Hearn finds something he considers 'more interesting than any picture': a 'specimen of handwriting, intended to be mounted as a kakemono later on', depicting a 'Japanese poem' (p. 47). *Kakemono* scrolls are a ubiquitous feature of Japanese homes, typically displayed in the *tokonoma* alcove, a space where art objects are placed to be viewed by guests of the household and which is linked to the Japanese idea of *yama*, 'a mediating space between humans and gods'.²³ Like most of the craft objects Hearn describes in *Gleanings*, this *kakemono* calligraphy acts as a physical mediation between the spiritual and the material. The calligraphy itself is a masterpiece that 'no Occidental artist [...] could repeat', and Hearn describes it with religious fervour as a 'miracle' and a 'wonder' (pp. 47–48). What Hearn finds most remarkable about the scroll, however, is not its letterwork but the unusually bodily signature that accompanies it: 'Instead of the usual red stamp or seal' that features on traditional Japanese artworks, the scroll bears 'the red imprint of a tiny, tiny hand, – a *living* hand, which had been smeared with crimson printing-ink and deftly pressed upon the paper' (p. 47). This turns out to be the handprint of the calligrapher, a five-year-old child called Ito Medzui who produced the work in the presence of the Japanese Emperor, a 'wonder of calligraphy' that '[f]ew adult calligraphers could surpass' (pp. 47–48).

Hearn finds this experience touching in the fullest sense; from his poignant description of a 'tiny, tiny hand' to the italicized realisation that this hand is still '*living*', his account conjures the full physicality of the hand 'pressed upon the paper' and renders it with tenderness. Hearn

identifies the minute details of this handprint with care, to the level of picking out individual fingerprints: 'I could distinguish those little finger-marks of which Mr. Galton has taught us the characteristic importance' (p. 47). Hearn refers here to Francis Galton's recently published *Finger Prints* (1892), an early treatise which identified fingerprints as 'an incomparably surer criterion of identity than any other bodily feature', describing them as 'most trustworthy sign-manuals' that 'form patterns [...] which are little worlds in themselves'.²⁴ Reading Galton's monograph, Hearn would likely have been intrigued by the claim that fingerprints had been 'regarded by the cheiromantists in Japan' as a prediction of an individual's fortune where European palmists had overlooked them.²⁵ The fingerprints of Hearn's five-year-old calligrapher serve as an impression of the child's individual identity, a means of marking off both the handprint and the artwork as his own, underlined by Hearn's act of 'distinguish[ing]' each separate finger, a way of looking that disaggregates the hand into its distinct elements.

Hearn, however, unusually balances this mark of individuality against the perceived influence of a wider collective – the submerged workings of a broader, distributed mind: 'it was not the beauty of the thing in itself which impressed me, but the weird, extraordinary, indubitable proof it afforded of an inherited memory' (p. 48). Hearn discerns '[g]enerations of dead calligraphers revived in the fingers of that tiny hand'. In the context of his discussion of the tiny hand's 'imprint', Hearn's use of the word 'impressed' feels knowingly fleshed-out. The aesthetic experience registers as a haptic one, leaving its stamp on Hearn himself. This is not quite the same as the framing of aesthetic experience in bodily terms that characterized much fin-de-siècle art writing, such as Pater's description of the task of the 'aesthetic critic' as identifying the 'pleasurable sensations' produced by a work of art, or Lee and Clementina Anstruther-Thompson's 'psychological aesthetics' which traced the viewer's physiological responses to art objects, from changes in breathing to 'palpitations'.²⁶ Hearn's account here goes further than much decadent art writing by being fully attentive to the physicality of the craftmaking process that produced the

work it describes, closer in this respect to Morris' account of stonemasonry in 'The Story of the Unknown Church' (1856) – 'all my thoughts now were in my carving' – or Oscar Wilde's description of an artist who 'could only think in bronze' in his *Poems in Prose* (1895).²⁷

What is most distinctive in Hearn's account of the child's handprint is the idea it suggests to him of 'inherited memory', drawn in part from his reading of Buddhist discussions of rebirth which he had begun in New Orleans in the 1880s.²⁸ Such theories of inherited or 'ancestral' memory received 'widespread circulation, though not necessarily widespread acceptance' at the end of the century particularly through the work of Thomas Laycock and Samuel Butler, as Athena Vrettos has explored in depth, and Hearn's account should be recognised as an attempt not only to interpret Japanese culture through these Darwinian theories but equally to examine these theories through his exposure to Japanese Buddhist practices.²⁹ The extraordinary calligraphy is not really the achievement of the individual five-year-old child, Hearn suggests, but rather the tangible expression of a generational craft 'memory':

The thing was never the work of an individual child five years old, but beyond all question the work of ghosts, – the countless ghosts that make the compound ancestral soul. It was proof visible and tangible of psychological and physiological wonders justifying both the Shintō doctrine of ancestor worship and the Buddhist doctrine of preexistence (pp. 48-49).

Hearn here develops a suggestion he had first raised in *Glimpses*, that 'every artist is a ghostly worker' whose 'fingers are guided by the dead in the delineation of a flying bird, of the vapors of the mountains'.³⁰ In both accounts, the spectral is made tangible through the act of craftmaking, the 'dead' guiding the 'fingers' of both painter and calligrapher whose handprint registers the impression not only of individual worker but 'ancestral soul'. Hearn draws on a common trope in Arts and Crafts writing: the representation of craft as the product of inherited expertise, exemplified by Morris' description in 'The Lesser Arts of Life' (1882) of a 'body of almost mysterious skill' passed down from 'father to son, from generation to generation'.³¹ To this, Hearn

adds the notion of the ‘ancestral soul’, an idea which he associates with Buddhist and Shintō beliefs but which draws more from the lexicon of explicitly racialized sociological theories common at the end of the nineteenth century.³² This comes close to what Gillian Beer has called Hearn’s ‘darkly evolutionist’ understanding of touch expressed in his later essay ‘Nightmare-Touch’ (1900), where Hearn evocatively suggests that ‘the common fear of ghosts is *the fear of being touched by ghosts*’, an anxiety he attributes to ‘*some point of dream-contact with the total race-experience of shadowy seizure*’.³³ The same suggestion of a ‘a threshold between the living and the dead, the present and the past’ that Beer associates with Hearn’s ‘dream touch’ is evident in his interpretation of the child’s calligraphy, which resurrects the skill of the dead in the emphatically ‘*living*’ hand.

Hearn here invokes a sense of ‘craft’ as specialist knowledge that might be passed down through ghostly touch. Touch acts as a way of training the hand, via an apprenticeship that Hearn presents as spanning generations. As he suggests in *Glimpses*, ‘What was conscious effort in the beginning became unconscious in later centuries, – becomes almost automatic in the living man, – becomes the art instinctive.’³⁴ Hearn’s cautious use of the qualifier ‘almost’ holds him back from describing this work as entirely ‘automatic’, highlighting the contested ground that the concept of automation occupied in the late nineteenth century.³⁵ An action that is fully automatic has had all trace of mind removed, a suggestion that when applied to human agents risks subverting the very notion of the soul at the heart of Western Christian mores, partly explaining, perhaps, why Hearn’s idol Spencer took pains to stress in *The Principles of Psychology* (1855) that ‘the commonly assumed line of demarcation between Reason and Instinct has no existence’.³⁶ Thomas Hardy would exemplify the spiritual quandary surrounding automatic action in his poem ‘Nature’s Questioning’, in which the poet ventriloquises nature as enquiring:

[...] come we of an Automaton
Unconscious of our pains? ...
Or are we live remains
Of Godhead [...]?³⁷

While Hardy equates the possibility of an ‘Unconscious’ automatic universe with a bleak image of a disenchanted world, Hearn uses the same terms to convey his own feeling of wonder, hinging on a much earlier sense of the word ‘automaton’, traceable to Aristotle, as indicating ‘spontaneity’.³⁸ Hearn ‘almost’ hints again at his fascination with the thought that the highly seasoned artisan might be able to entirely bypass conscious thought and produce crafts purely automatically, a marvellous achievement that Hearn presents as a secular version of God-like creation: ‘the divine art of creating the beautiful out of nothing’ in which the ‘power of enchantment puts human grace under contribution’ (pp. 60, 64). The craftmakers that Hearn singles out in *Gleanings* serve as almost-candidates for this kind of ability: the Kyōto dollmaker who works too fast to think and the five-year-old calligrapher who (Hearn implies) is too young to think. In each instance of craftmaking, the role of inherited memory outweighs the conscious knowledge of the individual artisan, a suggestion which comes to imply that the craft object might even know more than the craftmakers themselves.

‘Tens and Thousands of Hands and Brains’: Craft as Vehicle for Thought

At the same time as Hearn toys with the possibility of automatic craft, in which the individual’s soul is subordinated to a collective, his accounts of craftmaking often go as far as attributing souls to the craft objects themselves. In *Glimpses of Unfamiliar Japan* (1894), Hearn discusses the belief, historically ‘less rare than it is now’ in Japan, that ‘a doll which is preserved for a great many years in one family [...] gradually acquires a soul’.³⁹ Hearn’s accounts of Japanese toys typically muddy the waters between the physical and spiritual, bringing together his extensive reading of Charles Baudelaire – who had suggested in ‘Morale du joujou’ [A Philosophy of Toys] (1853) that the ‘overriding desire of most children is to get at and *see the soul* of their toys’ – with Japanese depictions of animate objects or *tsukumogami*.⁴⁰

In *Gleanings*, craft objects are frequently presented as suffused with a kind of externalized cognition, rather than ‘soul’. This is clearest in Hearn’s depiction of handmade ‘mementos’ across the volume. The experience of being gifted a ‘new wine-cup of pure white clay’ as a festival ‘souvenir’ in Kyōto prompts Hearn to reflect on the many ‘queer little presents’ ubiquitous in Japanese towns:

Such small gifts and memories make up much of the unique pleasure of Japanese travel. In almost any town or village you can buy for a souvenir some pretty or curious thing made only in that one place, and not to be found elsewhere (p. 72).

Later in *Gleanings*, Hearn finds further examples in the form of souvenirs of the ‘Hat-Pine’, ‘an extraordinary tree’ whose trained branches form the shape of ‘an enormous green hat’ (p. 169).

Almost ‘every visitor’, Hearn remarks

buys some memento of it, – perhaps a woodcut of the tree, or a printed copy of verses written by some poet in praise of it, or a girl’s hairpin, the top of which is a perfect little green model of the tree, – framework of poles and all, – with one tiny stork perched on it.

All these objects demonstrate to Hearn the Japanese skill of ‘obtaining the maximum of beauty with the minimum of cost’ (p. 173).

Hearn’s frequent reference to the cheapness of Japanese materials echoes a common observation in Western accounts of Japanese crafts, demonstrated by reviews of the Knightsbridge ‘Japanese Village’ which noted the ‘conscientious perfection of detail’ evident ‘in the cheapest and most trifling toys’.⁴¹ While Hearn’s admiration for Japanese thrift echoes Morris’ valorisation of simplicity in ‘The Beauty of Life’ (1880) (‘the greatest foe to art is luxury [...] the higher the art rises, the greater the simplicity’),⁴² Hearn’s comments must also be understood in the context of the marketisation of Arts and Crafts products in the West, centred on the London shops of Morris & Co., Heal & Son, and Liberty, an enterprise to which affordable imported Japanese crafts posed a significant threat. As the *Furniture Gazette*’s reviewer remarked, ‘unrivalled in beauty and in cheapness’, these items became ‘the despair of workmen in this and every European country’ for their skilful balancing of quality and cost.⁴³

Hearn's choice of words for Japanese souvenirs highlights their role in the traveller's thought process as aides-mémoire, presenting them either as physicalized and external 'memories' in themselves, 'mementos' relatedly, or with the term 'souvenir', recalling the act of remembering via its cognate verb in French, which Hearn knew fluently. Rolf Potts has noted the function souvenirs play as reminders of a trip after returning, serving frequently as both 'a mechanism of reflection and wonder' as well as material 'proof that the owner has gone someplace most people haven't and gained knowledge that most people don't possess'.⁴⁴ The souvenir here acts as both a stand-in for, and prompt towards, the knowledge that one gains on a journey. Much like Hearn's travel essays themselves, the 'little green model of the tree' serves as a receptacle for the learning he has taken from his trip. In a period when mass-produced souvenirs were beginning to invade the global market, Hearn's emphasis on these objects' status as handmade and local – 'some pretty or curious thing made only in that one place' (p. 72) – allows them to retain their aura of artisanal significance.⁴⁵ Though Hearn had long since abandoned creedal belief, his Roman Catholic education at St Cuthbert's College, Ushaw, also primed him to approach these items as kinds of relics: charged objects that might satisfy 'the old spiritual hunger for some visible object of worship, – something to touch, or put close to the heart', as he ventures later in the volume as explanation for 'how strong Roman Catholicism remains to-day' in the West (p. 165). Where touch serves to express creative ownership and build intimacy with the viewer in Hearn's account of Medzui's calligraphy, here the touching of devotional objects offers to satisfy a 'spiritual hunger' and suggests a comparable form of moulding the self through the practice of 'worship'.

In Japan, meanwhile, craft objects carry specifically Buddhist import for Hearn: 'there is scarcely an object of handiwork', he suggests later in *Gleanings*, 'possessing any beauty or significance of form [...] which does not in some way proclaim the ancient debt to Buddhism of the craft that made it' (pp. 185-86). This is not simply a claim about Buddhism's cultural influence; rather, Hearn seems to think that 'Buddhist thoughts' permeate the handicrafts themselves. 'One

may discern Buddhist thoughts', Hearn suggests, 'in the cheap cotton prints from an Ōsaka mill not less than in the figured silks of Kyōto', and everything from the 'reliefs upon an iron kettle' to the 'patterns of screen-paper [...] relate, with equal eloquence, the traditions of faith' (p. 186). There is more than a little orientalized over-reading in Hearn's account, a foreign commentator's tendency to interpret every unfamiliar object as thick with significance, evident in Hearn's particularly comical claim that 'cries of itinerant street-venders [...] recall to me some story of saints and Bodhisattvas, or the text of some sutra' (p. 187). Hearn's discussion of the 'traditions' of faith, however, point to a less fanciful sense of inheritance: in much the same way as knowledge is handed down to Medzui the calligrapher, crafts demonstrate legacies of embodied expertise as much as customs of faith.

Hearn's emphasis on the potential for craft objects to act as vehicles for disseminating thought is particularly evident in his discussion of the spectacle of craft decorations made for festivals. The production of such objects draws on the skills of many workers, and, in the Kyōto festival, this suggests to Hearn a kind of distributed cognition, in which the often-anonymous craft displays at *matsuri* come to represent the 'labor, perhaps, of tens of thousands of hands and brains', an echo, again, of the subtitle of Hearn's collection (pp. 62–63). This public work hinges on the affordability of its elements: Hearn's observation that 'Anybody can contribute to such an occasion; and everybody does, for the cheapest material is used' exemplifies what Pamela Genova has described as the late-Victorian tendency to view Japanese culture through the lens of European preoccupations as demonstrating a 'fundamental democratization of art'.⁴⁶ Hearn claims that 'each individual contributor to the public effort works according to his particular thought and taste, even while obeying old rules, so that the total ultimate result is a wondrous, a bewildering, an incalculable variety' (p. 62). John Ruskin's influence is detectable in Hearn's admiration for varied decoration, recalling Ruskin's praise of 'perpetually varied ornamentation' in architecture as a necessary consequence of it being 'thoughtful': 'as men do not commonly think the same thoughts twice,

you are not to require of them that they shall do the same thing twice'.⁴⁷ In contrast to Ruskin's emphasis on the individual craftsman, Hearn's 'wondrous, [...] bewildering' variety is a collective work, a 'public effort' which merges 'tens of thousands of hands and brains' into a unified, if incalculably various, whole.

Hearn develops a parallel to this communal craftwork a few pages later when describing the sensation of being pressed in by the festival crowd, which he presents as a collective entity able to communicate via touch. His account of the experience of moving through the crowd is remarkably similar to his description of Japanese cooperative crafts, a 'universal gliding and slipping, as of fish in a shoal' (p. 65). He goes on to note his wonder at the crowd's smooth coexistence: 'How any crowd could be packed so closely, and yet move so freely, is a riddle to which Japanese character alone can furnish the key. I was not once rudely jostled' (p. 66). Hearn frequently remarked on the apparent cohesion of Japanese crowds, making a similar comment on a crowd at the Bon festival he visited in 1891: 'there is no jostling, no rudeness; everybody, even the weakest and smallest, has a chance to see everything'.⁴⁸ Despite Hearn's uncritical appeal to a monolithic 'Japanese character', he was well aware that not every crowd in Japan is quite so considerate, noting that 'Japanese crowds are not all alike: there are some through which an attempt to pass would be attended with unpleasant consequences', which he prudently leaves unspecified. In this 'good-natured and good-humored' Kyōto crowd, however, the mass of festival-goers manage to function in harmony.

Like the aesthetic phenomenon of festival decorations, in which 'tens and thousands of hands and brains' blend into a coherent spectacle which nevertheless leaves room for 'individual [...] thought and taste', a 'good-natured' crowd suggests to Hearn the harmonious working of a collective. Hearn was writing at a time when the sociological function of crowds was beginning to receive sustained attention. In 1895, Gustave Le Bon described the *fin de siècle* as the 'era of crowds', theorising crowds as a 'collective mind' characterized by 'unconscious working' that

dissolves the individual's 'conscious personality'.⁴⁹ A crowd, according to Le Bon, becomes 'a new body possessing properties quite different from those of the bodies that have served to form it'.⁵⁰ In a ghostly register close to Hearn's, Le Bon noted that crowds often 'appear to be guided by those mysterious forces which the ancients denominated destiny, nature, or providence, which we call the voices of the dead'.⁵¹

While Hearn's crowds are 'good-natured', however, Le Bon is far more suspicious. Le Bon's crowds risk becoming a mob, flashing into existence 'under the influences of certain violent emotions – such, for example, as a great national event' (p. 21). A witness to the Paris Commune of 1871, where he was scandalized at the destruction of the Palais de Justice and the Louvre's Richelieu Library ('If they did not burn Paris completely [...] it was only because their means were at fault', he excoriated in 1899), Le Bon viewed crowds as a degenerative influence: 'In crowds it is stupidity and not mother-wit that is accumulated.'⁵² Hearn's depictions of Japanese crowds, by contrast, are far more harmonious and optimistic on account, perhaps, of Hearn's lifelong practice of 'following the drift of the crowd'.⁵³ A *flâneur* among shrine visitors, festival processions, and temple markets, Hearn rarely records experiences more punishing than 'long waiting' in 'densely packed streets' (pp. 66-67). 'I mingle with crowds of pilgrims at the great shrines', Hearn remarked in a letter to Joseph Tunison; 'I ring the great bells; and burn incense-rods before the great smiling gods.'⁵⁴ Far from being a hazardous mob, Hearn's Japanese crowds often prioritise egalitarianism, arranging themselves 'in the least egotistical manner possible, – little children to the front, adults to the rear' (p. 66). Like Le Bon, though, Hearn still finds Japanese crowds as evidence for spuriously essentialising racial claims, treating the 'squeezing and crowding' of Ōsaka houses as indications of 'an indefinable Far-Eastern queerness, – a sort of racial character' (p. 141).

The influence of what Paul Murray identifies as one of Hearn's 'most important perceptions about Japan' – 'that it was assimilative, not imitative' – can be detected in his recurrent desire to become part of a coherent spectacle, be it in crowd or craft form.⁵⁵ Hearn's attentiveness

to the crowd, and admiration for its perhaps exaggerated cohesion, must be understood in terms of his own desire for assimilation into the Japanese polis as a foreigner. Seven months after his arrival in Japan, Hearn noted in a letter to Henry Watkin that ‘I pass much of my time in the temples, trying to see into the heart of this mysterious people. In order to do so, I have to blend with them and become part of them: It is not easy.’⁵⁶ Hearn’s desire to enter into what he figures as the Japanese collective requires a shift in personal identity similar to the processes of craftmaking described in *Gleanings*. He is careful, meanwhile, to avoid depicting this Japanese collective as an indistinct mass; turning a racist trope – of ‘Oriental inscrutability’, as Xine Yao has termed it – on its head.⁵⁷ Here, Hearn observes that:

The newly arrived Westerner often complains of his inability to distinguish one Japanese from another [...]. He does not imagine that our more sharply accentuated Occidental physiognomy produces the very same effect upon the Japanese. Many and many a one has said to me, ‘For a long time I found it very hard to tell one foreigner from another: they all seemed to me alike’ (p. 111).

Hearn visualizes himself as already part of an undifferentiated crowd, but one that is potentially unintelligible to members of his newly adopted community, raising the question of whose contribution can be incorporated into the collective – a familiar anxiety for Hearn as a migrant writer. At the same time, Hearn’s interest in crowds, like craftmaking, returns continually to touch – or rather the notable lack of it which he finds in most Japanese crowds, attended by ‘no jostling, no rudeness’ but only decorous ‘gliding and slipping’ despite being ‘packed so closely’. Much like the deft and delicate work of the craftsman’s ‘automatic’ hands, the minute adjustments in movement required to regulate the harmony of a crowd function almost unconsciously at the level of each individual participant. The elegance that attracts Hearn both to Japanese crowds and craftmaking processes can be attributed to a kind of entrainment discernible in each, by which a semi-conscious mode of movement becomes second nature to the individual participant whose agency is subordinated to the collective mind either of the procession or the artisanal ‘ancestral soul’.

A 'Universe of Psychical Units'

Across the essays of *Gleanings*, Hearn associates Japanese aesthetics with the 'subordination of individualism to type, of personality to humanity, of detail to feeling' (p. 107). In painting a flower, for instance, he claims that the average Japanese artist tends not to 'depict a particular, but a typical flower', presenting 'the morphological law of the species, or, to speak symbolically, nature's *thought behind the form*' (p. 108, my emphasis). This suggestion that craftmaking might channel a kind of 'thought' acting as a submerged feature of the nonhuman world is part of what Murray describes as Hearn's 'life-long attempt to reconcile' Buddhism with 'evolutionary philosophy'.⁵⁸ In the passage that follows, Hearn refers to the work of Alfred Russel Wallace to support his claim that Japanese art depicts 'the law of the type', relevant equally to late-Victorian evolutionism and to craftmaking, both of which rely on repeated iterations of patterns. The notion of a 'universe of psychical units' instead of 'physical atoms', as Hearn took Buddhist cosmology to suggest (p. 259), preoccupies Hearn across *Gleanings* and represents his understanding of mind at simultaneously its most distributed and most material. 'The man of science to-day cannot ignore', Hearn suggests, the evidence pointing to 'the development of what we call mind as a general phase or incident in the ripening of planetary life throughout the universe' (p. 209). As such, he predicts that a 'future union of Western knowledge with Eastern thought' will one day produce 'a Neo-Buddhism inheriting all the strength of Science, yet spiritually able to recompense the seeker after truth' with a sense of wonder lacking in Western science (pp. 209–10).

This spiritualized understanding of matter as coextensive with 'what we call mind' finds clearest expression in 'Dust', one of the most remarkable essays in the volume. Here, Hearn takes inspiration from a quotation that he attributes to 'Engaku-Shō' later in *Gleanings* (p. 220) and uses

to close 'Dust': '*there shall not remain even one particle of dust that does not enter into Buddhahood*' (p. 96, Hearn's emphasis). This leads him to muse at length on what he considers the necessary conclusion of both Buddhist rebirth and Western evolution: that even inanimate matter is mixed with mind. The influence of the *Kegon Kyō* or 'Flower Garland' sūtra (central to East Asian Buddhism) is clear, which uses the image of dust to present a universe of total interpenetration, describing Buddhas who 'perceive that [...] the beings and aeons which are as many as all the dust particles, are all present in every particle of dust'.⁵⁹ Hearn presents readers with a list of charged questions in an energetic sequence that recalls Pater's 'Conclusion' to *The Renaissance* in its evocation of a 'perpetual motion' of elements:⁶⁰

Is there aught visible, tangible, measurable, that has never been mixed with sentiency? – atom that has never vibrated to pleasure or to pain? – air that has never been cry or speech? – drop that has never been a tear? Assuredly this dust has felt. It has been everything we know; also much that we cannot know. It has been nebula and star, planet and moon, times unspeakable (p. 89).

Hearn again mixes the 'tangible' and the sentient, using his signature move of blending matter and spirit to make the disorientating claim that even dust has 'felt'. Where Pater presents 'each mind keeping as a solitary prisoner its own dream of a world', Hearn takes cosmic flux as evidence for a radically distributed and open vision of mental processes.⁶¹ In addition to the 'ancestral' memory he finds in craftmaking, Hearn posits the existence of a material memory, in which each particle of the endlessly reconstituted universe retains the memory of its previous experiences as a conscious being ('everything we know'). The essay reaches a head in a particularly breathless paragraph in which Hearn rejects Catholic liturgy in favour of Buddhist cosmology, calling on the dust to 'Remember':

'Remember, Man, thou art but dust!' – a saying profound only as materialism, which stops short at surfaces. For what is dust? 'Remember, Dust, thou hast been Sun, and Sun thou shalt become again! ... Thou hast been Light, Life, Love; – and into all these, by ceaseless cosmic magic, thou shalt many times be turned again!' (p. 89).

The dizzying recirculation of Hearn's dust particles recalls again the Flower Garland sūtra, in which Sudhana sees 'as many worlds as atoms in a buddha-land [or Buddha-field] forming and dissolving in each particle of fire, water, earth, diamond, various jewels, flowers, perfumes, incenses, arrays of gems, and all objects'.⁶² At the same time, the essay bears the influence of Hearn's work translating Gustave Flaubert's *La tentation de Saint Antoine* [*Temptation of St Anthony*] (final version pub. 1874), begun in 1875 or 1876 though published posthumously, particularly Anthony's desire to 'be in everything [...] penetrate each atom – descend to the very bottom of matter, – be matter itself'.⁶³ Indeed, Flaubert's novel presents an image of material flux which Hearn was already interpreting through a Buddhist lens in 1876. In an unpublished footnote to the manuscript of his translation, Hearn explains that the 'idea of the universe being a perpetual ebb and flow of shapes, a flood of forms [...] passing away to reappear like waves, is that of the *Nidana Sutra*'.⁶⁴

The perpetual ebb and flow of Hearn's dust comes to parallel the depictions of craftmaking presented across the essays of *Gleanings*. Where the 'ceaseless cosmic magic' of Hearn's mutable universe is characterized by infinite variety yet continually returns to the same forms, the 'miracle[s]' conjured up by Hearn's craftmakers are both bewilderingly novel yet follow the 'law of type' in constantly reproducing the same patterns. By locating 'nature's thought' within the very matter of his endlessly circulating universe, Hearn sidesteps conventional Western depictions of craft as devoid of thought and purely decorative: how can craftmaking possibly lack thought if even the material it manipulates once 'felt'? Cotton prints and iron reliefs divulge 'Buddhist thoughts', while a 'twist of the fingers' is all the cogitation needed to produce 'wonders'. In the lecture on Rossetti in which he discusses 'Hand and Soul', Hearn explicitly compares the crafting process – this time of his own craft of writing – to the Buddhist cosmology of continual rebirth: 'Like everything else, even a good story must die and be re-born hundreds of times before it shows the highest possibilities of beauty.'⁶⁵ Alongside haunted calligraphy, virtuosic doll-making and festival decorations, Hearn often described his approach to writing as a similar kind of extended

consciousness that might commune with crowds of the dead: ‘It is like spiritualism’, Hearn summarized his writing process in a letter to Basil Hall Chamberlain; ‘Just move the pen, and the ghosts do the wording.’⁶⁶ Channelling the ghosts of Morris, Rossetti, and Pater – one among many generations of dead art writers – Hearn’s depictions of craftmaking find him as a collaborator among the labour of tens of thousands of hands and brains.

¹ Lafcadio Hearn, ‘A Trip to Kyōto’, *Atlantic*, 77 (May 1896), pp. 613–24 (p. 617). Hearn quotes Alfred Tennyson, *Idylls of the King* (Edward Moxon, 1895), p. 40.

² Hearn, ‘The Kyoto Memorial Festival’, *Japan Chronicle*, 26 October 1895; typescript by P. D. Perkins held in Small Special Collections Library, University of Virginia (UVA), MS 6101.

³ Hearn, *Gleanings in Buddha-Fields: Studies of Hand and Soul in the Far East* (Houghton Mifflin, 1897), p. 63. Subsequent references to this edition are cited in the text.

⁴ In a lecture given at the University of Tokyo, Hearn described Rossetti’s story as ‘a little philosophy of art that is well worth studying’; see *Pre-Raphaelite and Other Poets: Lectures*, ed. by John Erskine (Dodd, Mead, 1922), pp. 109, 112.

⁵ Stefano Evangelista, ‘Translating the Beauty of Japan: Lafcadio Hearn’s Art Writing’, *19: Interdisciplinary Studies in the Long Nineteenth Century*, 34 (2023), pp. 1–10 (p. 3), doi.org/10.16995/ntn.9130.

⁶ Hearn, *A History of English Literature in a Series of Lectures*, [ed. by R. Tanabé and T. Ochiai] (Hokuseido Press, 1927), 2 vols, II, pp. 664, 695.

⁷ Hearn refers to comments he made in his article ‘The Chief City of the Province of the Gods’ which appeared in the November 1891 issue of the *Atlantic*, 68.409, pp. 621–35.

⁸ James McNeill Whistler, ‘Mr Whistler’s “Ten O’Clock”’, in *The Gentle Art of Making Enemies* (Lovell, 1890), pp. 131–59 (p. 138).

⁹ Raymond Williams, *Culture and Society* (Chatto & Windus, 1958; repr. 1959), pp. xv–xvi. Rachel Teukolsky, *The Literate Eye: Victorian Art Writing and Modernist Aesthetics* (Oxford University Press, 2009), p. 147. Jacques Rancière, *Aisthesis: Scenes from the Aesthetic Regime of Art*, trans. by Zakir Paul (Verso, 2013), p. 135.

¹⁰ Leo Tolstoy, *What is Art?*, trans. by Aylmer Maude (Crowell, 1899), p. 195.

¹¹ Hearn, ‘Tolstoi’s Theory of Art’, in *Life and Literature*, ed. by Erskine (Dodd, Mead, 1917), pp. 288–99 (p. 288).

¹² *Collected Works of William Morris*, 24 vols (Cambridge University Press, 2012), xxii, p. 236.

¹³ Williams identifies the emergence of the academic discipline of Western ‘aesthetics’ with the distinction between ‘artist and craftsman’ which developed from the 1840s onwards, the former associated with ‘a special kind of [...] “imaginative truth”’; Williams, *Culture and Society*, p. 13. Rancière, by contrast, considers the distinction between ‘fine arts’ and ‘mechanical arts’ (associated with the leisure class and working class, respectively) to predate the development of Western aesthetics, tying the emergence of ‘Art as a notion designating a form of specific experience’ to social upheavals in the late eighteenth century which allowed this ‘hierarchy of forms of life’ to become more flexible; see Rancière, *Aisthesis*, p. ix.

¹⁴ Evangelista, ‘Japan: Decadence and Japonisme’, in *The Oxford Handbook of Decadence*, ed. by Jane Desmarais and David Weir (Oxford, 2022), pp. 264–82 (p. 266).

¹⁵ Grace E. Lavery, *Quaint, Exquisite: Victorian Aesthetics and the Idea of Japan* (Princeton University Press, 2019), p. 71.

¹⁶ Evangelista, ‘Decadence and Japonisme’, p. 273. For a recent study of *japonisme*’s influence on Hearn, see Naomi Charlotte Fukuzawa, *Japan and Japonisme in Late Nineteenth Century Literature* (Routledge, 2025).

¹⁷ William A. Cohen, *Embodied: Victorian Literature and the Senses* (University of Minnesota Press, 2009), p. 5.

¹⁸ Erin Manning and Brian Massumi, *Thought in the Act: Passages in the Ecology of Experience* (University of Minnesota Press, 2014), p. vii.

¹⁹ Miranda Anderson, Michael Wheeler, and Mark Sprevak, ‘Distributed Cognition and the Humanities’, in *Distributed Cognition in Victorian Culture and Modernism*, ed. by Anderson, Peter Garratt, and Sprevak (Edinburgh University Press, 2020), pp. 1–17 (p. 19).

²⁰ Marion Thain, ‘Aesthetic Perception and Embodied Cognition: Art and Literature at the *Fin de Siècle*’, in *Distributed Cognition*, pp. 79–94 (p. 80); Benjamin Morgan, *The Outward Mind: Materialist Aesthetics in Victorian Science and Literature* (University of Chicago Press, 2017), pp. 5–6.

- ²¹ Gustave Le Bon, *The Crowd: A Study of the Popular Mind*, 2nd edn (T. Fisher Unwin, 1897), p. 20.
- ²² I borrow Niklaus Largier's term 'plasticity of the soul' from 'The Plasticity of the Soul: Mystical Darkness, Touch, and Aesthetic Experience', *MLN*, 125.3 (April 2010), pp. 536–51, doi:10.1353/mln.0.0268.
- ²³ Masao Yamaguchi, 'The Poetics of Exhibition in Japanese Culture', in *Exhibiting Cultures: The Poetics and Politics of Museum Display*, ed. by Ivan Karp and Steven D. Lavine (Smithsonian, 1991), pp. 57–67 (p. 58).
- ²⁴ Francis Galton, *Finger Prints* (Macmillan, 1892), p. 2.
- ²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 26.
- ²⁶ Walter Pater, *Studies in the History of the Renaissance*, ed. by Matthew Beaumont (Oxford University Press, 2010), p. 4; Vernon Lee and Clementina Anstruther-Thomson, *Beauty and Ugliness* (Bodley Head, 1912), p. 251.
- ²⁷ Morris, I, p. 155; Oscar Wilde, 'The Artist', in *The Complete Works of Oscar Wilde*, 8 vols (Oxford University Press, 2000–2017), I, *Poems and Poems in Prose*, ed. by Bobby Fong and Karl Beckson (2000), pp. 173–74 (p. 173).
- ²⁸ Paul Murray, *A Fantastic Journey: The Life and Literature of Lafcadio Hearn* (University of Michigan Press, 1997), pp. 20, 84.
- ²⁹ Athena Vrettos, "'In the Clothes of Dead People': Vernon Lee and Ancestral Memory", *Victorian Studies*, 55.2 (Winter 2013), pp. 202–11 (p. 203), doi.org/10.2979/victorianstudies.55.2.202. See also Vrettos, "'Little bags of remembrance': du Maurier's *Peter Ibbetson* and Victorian Theories of Ancestral Memory", *Romanticism and Victorianism on the Net*, 53 (February 2009), doi.org/10.7202/029899ar.
- ³⁰ Hearn, *Glimpses of Unfamiliar Japan*, 2 vols (Houghton Mifflin, 1894), I, p. 10.
- ³¹ Morris, XXII, p. 236.
- ³² E.g., Le Bon similarly focused on the role of collective 'hereditary influences' on individual acts, presenting these as the result of 'innumerable common characteristics handed down from generation to generation, which constitute the genius of a race'; in *Crowd*, p. 25.
- ³³ Gillian Beer, 'Dream Touch', *19: Interdisciplinary Studies in the Long Nineteenth Century*, 19 (2014), pp. 1–12 (p. 3), doi.org/10.16995/ntn.702; Hearn, *Shadowings* (Little, Brown, 1919), pp. 237, 246; Hearn's emphasis.
- ³⁴ Hearn, *Glimpses*, I, p. 10.
- ³⁵ See, for example, Vanessa L. Ryan, *Thinking Without Thinking in the Victorian Novel* (Johns Hopkins University Press, 2012), pp. 79–83; Suzy Anger, 'Introduction: The Victorian Automata/Automatism Schema', in *Victorian Automata: Mechanism and Agency in the Nineteenth Century* (Oxford University Press, 2024), pp. 1–25; Daniel Tiffany, *Toy Medium: Materialism and Modern Lyric* (University of California Press, 2000), pp. 146–49.
- ³⁶ Herbert Spencer, *The Principles of Psychology* (Longman, 1855), p. 564.
- ³⁷ Thomas Hardy, *Wessex Poems and Other Verses* (Harper, 1899 [1898]), p. 166.
- ³⁸ See Ross Hamilton, *Accident: A Philosophical and Literary History* (University of Chicago Press, 2007), p. 18.
- ³⁹ Hearn, *Glimpses*, I, p. 267. Fabio Gygi identifies the doll Hearn describes as an *Ichimatsu* doll, typically gifted to new parents as a 'body substitute[]' for the child, though Gygi presents Westerners' beliefs in these dolls' 'animation' as 'fantasies'; 'Things that Believe: Talismans, Amulets, Dolls, and How to Get Rid of Them', *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies*, 45.2 (2018), pp. 423–52 (pp. 437–38), doi.org/10.18874/jjrs.45.2.2018.423-452.
- ⁴⁰ Charles Baudelaire, *The Painter of Modern Life and Other Essays*, trans. by Jonathan Mayne (Phaidon, 1964), p. 202. For animate objects in Japanese culture, see Noriko T. Reider, 'Animating Objects: *Tsukumogami ki* and the Medieval Illustration of Shingon Truth', *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies*, 36.2 (2009), pp. 231–57, doi.org/10.18874/jjrs.36.2.2009.231-257.
- ⁴¹ Unsigned review, 'Japanese Life and Industry', *Furniture Gazette*, 22, n.s., 17 January, 1885, p. 56.
- ⁴² Morris, XXII, pp. 75–77.
- ⁴³ 'Japanese Life and Industry', p. 56.
- ⁴⁴ Rolf Potts, *Souvenir* (Bloomsbury Academic, 2018), pp. 99–100.
- ⁴⁵ Potts identifies the 1889 Paris Exposition (which sold 'future gift-shop staples such as snow globes and collectible thimbles') and the 1893 World's Columbian Exposition (which started a global 'souvenir spoon craze') as decisive moments in the development of an 'organized, globally minded' souvenir industry, pp. 53–55.
- ⁴⁶ Pamela A. Genova, *Writing Japonisme: Aesthetic Translation in Nineteenth-Century French Prose* (Northwestern University Press, 2016), p. 4.
- ⁴⁷ John Ruskin, *Lectures on Architecture and Painting* (Routledge, 1854), pp. 105–06.
- ⁴⁸ Hearn, 'At the Market of the Dead', *Atlantic*, 68 (July–December 1891), pp. 382–88 (p. 386).
- ⁴⁹ Le Bon, *Crowd*, pp. 11, 20, 4.
- ⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 24.
- ⁵¹ *Ibid.*, *Crowd*, p. 4.
- ⁵² Le Bon, *The Psychology of Socialism* (Macmillan, 1899), p. 359; *Crowd*, p. 27.
- ⁵³ *Historical Sketch Book and Guide to New Orleans and Environs*, ed. by Hearn and others (Coleman, 1885), p. 258.
- ⁵⁴ Hearn, letter to Joseph Tunison, [10 June 1890], in Oscar Lewis, *Hearn and his Biographers: The Record of a Literary Controversy* (Westgate, 1930), pp. 9–12 (p. 10).
- ⁵⁵ Murray, *A Fantastic Journey*, p. 128.

- ⁵⁶ Hearn, letter to Henry Watkin, 25 April 1890, in *Letters from the Raven: Letters from Lafcadio Hearn to Henry Watkin*, ed. by Milton Bronner (Brentano's, 1907), p. 94.
- ⁵⁷ Xine Yao, *Disaffected: The Cultural Politics of Unfeeling in Nineteenth-Century America* (Duke University Press, 2021), p. 172.
- ⁵⁸ Murray, *A Fantastic Journey*, p. 20.
- ⁵⁹ Luis Oscar Gómez, trans., in 'Selected Verses from the Gaṇḍavyūha' (unpublished doctoral thesis, Yale, 1967), p. lxxxviii.
- ⁶⁰ Pater, *Studies in the History of the Renaissance*, p. 118.
- ⁶¹ Ibid. p. 119.
- ⁶² Thomas Cleary, *The Flower Ornament Scripture: A Translation of the Avatamsaka Sutra* (Shambhala, 1993), p. 1312; for the translation of 'Buddha-field', see Cleary, p. 1532.
- ⁶³ Elizabeth Bisland claimed that Hearn began translating Flaubert's *Tentation* in Cincinnati in 1875/76; see Murray, *A Fantastic Journey*, p. 37. Gustave Flaubert, *The Temptation of St. Anthony*, trans. by Hearn (Harriman, 1910), p. 260.
- ⁶⁴ Hearn, in MS translation of Flaubert's *Tentation*; UVA, MSS 6101a–6101d, vol. 2, fol. 518.
- ⁶⁵ Hearn, *Pre-Raphaelite*, p. 120.
- ⁶⁶ Hearn, letter to Basil Hall Chamberlain, 23 January 1893, in *The Japanese Letters of Lafcadio Hearn*, ed. by Elizabeth Bisland (Houghton Mifflin, 1911), pp. 41–45 (p. 44).