Henry Adams’s Fin de Siècle
— Toward the Science of History —

Nobunao Matsuyama

This paper intends to describe the fin de siècle of Henry Adams, who tried in the early years of the 20th century to establish a scientific theory of history, applying scientific rules to the interpretation of the course of history. A series of articles and documents comprise his theories of history: 1 “A Dynamic Theory of History,” published as Chapter XXXIII (1904) of The Education of Henry Adams; 2 “A Law of Acceleration,” Chapter XXXIV (1904) of Education; 3 “The Rule of Phase Applied to History,” an article refused by American Historical Association and published posthumously in The Degradation of the Democratic Dogma; and 4 “A Letter to American Teachers of History,” sent privately by Adams and published also posthumously in Degradation.

As is well-known, Education skips over the years between 1871 and 1892, a period which seemed to be one of his most productive periods with the publication of two novels, The History of the United States, and so on. But as it turned out, it was the most tragic because of his wife’s suicide. Obsessed with a sense of failure, Adams seemed to have lost interest in his activities as historian and observer of the political scene. “Life had been cut in halves,” said Adams in Education, “and the old half had passed away, education and all, leaving no stock to graft on.”

However, Adams’s education was resumed in 1893. During this year he saw the panic and felt “for the first time since 1870 . . . that something new and curious was about to happen to the world.” From this panic Adams learned the radical change of historical process due to the working of some new force. It was then he met his brother Brooks, who was about to publish The Law of Civilization and Decay and the discussions with him taught Adams much about the work of forces in historical changes, the interpretation of the panic as the indication of the newly established economic power, and the accelerating speed of social changes as a result of the developing tech-
technology. In addition, his visits to the Chicago Exposition, which seemed to him to reveal the chaos and the "breach of continuity—a rupture in historical sequence," contributed much to his realization that history had moved into a new phase and he came to have an interest to foresee where the development of civilization was destined to go.

In "The Tendency of History," which came out in 1894 as the capstone of his experience of 1893, Adams seemed to have sensed in the future of civilisation a prospect of "degradation." However, he did not yet formulate any convincing scientific theory, for his resumed education was yet to be made. We know that some time later Adams concentrated himself on studying statistics and science, learned the overall meaning of the Middle Ages, and studied the significance of the power of the dynamo he saw at the Paris Exposition of 1900. However, the renewed education, which finally resulted in his scientific interpretation of the course of history, started with his experiences of 1893; that is, the panic, Brooks Adam’s theory of historical law, and the Chicago Exposition. The year 1893 marks Adam’s fin de siècle to accept the 20th century.

A Reconsideration of Ignatius Donnelly’s World

Takashi Hirano

The purpose of this paper is to analyze the basic frame of thought of Ignatius Donnelly, a writer of utopian and dystopian fictions, and one of the outstanding orators of the populist movement during the last decades of the nineteenth century. Special attention is paid to the way in which the problems of race and ethnicity are dealt with in Donnelly’s world. The major motifs which combined in his works to form the historical process of mankind were a classical agrarian garden, a dystopian industrial=urban society which emerged as a result of the decline of the garden, a dramatic apocalyptic cataclysm, and the birth of a new arcadia. For Donnelly, populism was not only the Noah’s Ark which promised men of moral superiority survival in the coming catastrophe, but also the key devices which
would make the coming arcadia last. The garden is not the same as the former classic one. Donnelly envisioned intelligent planning, namely populism, freeing it from the doom and allowing the chosen people creative independence.

Donnelly was not a single-minded anti-semite as has been thought generally. He had mixed feelings of both respect and awe towards the Jews, "the noble race". In Donnelly's world, however, Jews cannot adapt themselves to the garden comfortably, for they "are a trading, not an agricultural people". Ephraim's proposal to establish a new separate Jewish state "in the ancient seats of commerce" in The Golden Bottle, therefore, can be understood as Donnelly's proposal of segregation of Jewish people out of his utopia.

There is evidence of an anti-Oriental, especially anti-Chinese, attitude in Donnelly—the passages in Caesar's Column, and several editorials in the Representative—. He apparently opposed Chinese immigration into the United States, not only because of cheap labor but also for the Chinese's immorality which, he thought, would conflict with American Christianity and civilization. Donnelly opposed, too, the granting to Cubans and Filipinos of U.S. citizenship after the Spanish-American War, because such uncivilized people would possibly endanger American liberty and democracy.

As for blacks, in Doctor Huguet they are entitled to be members of the garden in the south in spite of their inferiority to whites. But their relationship to the garden is as sharecroppers subordinate to white planters, not proprietors of the soil. They are to be segregated within the garden. According to Donnelly's standard, the southern plantation was an ideal, self-sufficient, organic agrarian community, and when the existence of the garden is threatened by eastern money interests, blacks should have joined to their white breathren to recue it from ruin by ballot or bullet. For Donnelly, who had a strong confidence in white supremacy, political equality did not "imply social equality, or physical equality, or moral equality, or race equally".

In short, the future garden Donnelly envisioned was a utopia which would become stabler by being furnished with Populism and more homogeneous in his agrarian sense of morality than the former one.
John Muir was among those who began to worry about their nation’s future supply of natural resources in the late nineteenth century. The vast forests of the West were fast dwindling, and the price of remaining timber lands were increasing rapidly. In 1890 the Census Bureau declared that it was no longer possible to draw a line between the areas of settlement and wilderness. Then Frederick Jackson Turner proclaimed the end of an era. American democracy, according to Turner, was born of free land and gained strength each time it touched a new frontier. In a frontierless America, how could it be possible for her to keep democracy alive? Turner was not sure, but he held that the state university had a duty in adjusting pioneer ideals to the new environment. Another hope could also be found in the conservation movement, a major component of the Progressive reforms which might safeguard democracy. John Muir was a colorful figure in the beginning of the conservation movement, but he differed from Roosevelt or Pinchot who believed in the wise use of natural resources. With Muir, the university of “wilderness” was more important than the state university. He wished to preserve the unspoiled wilderness for the coming generation. Although Muir and his friends lost the battle of Hetch-Hetchy, he defended and popularized the wilderness, which would become more meaningful than the frontier in the twentieth century.

The Establishment of the Philippine Gold-Exchange Standard: A View of the Turn of the Century

Isao Sutou

At the turn of the century, the United States’ financial policy
toward foreign dependent areas developed from the introduction of the gold-exchange standard system into the Philippines. The American occupation of the Philippines made U.S. businessmen and bankers open their eyes to the great markets in Asia. They had a growing need to protect the new markets against the counteracting influences of other powers seeking a foothold. Since the beginning of the American occupation, the Philippines had suffered considerable inconvenience from the wide variation in the value of silver. As a result of the unsteady silver market, the government was forced to give up its efforts to maintain the local currency on a two-to-one ratio. The difficulties experienced by merchants centered chiefly on foreign trade with gold standard countries like the U.S. Monetary reform was clearly required.

The object of the currency reform in 1903 was to establish in the Philippines a form of the gold standard which would function automatically without the necessity of circulating gold coin and maintaining a gold reserve there. In this pure system, the Philippine peso became “token money” or money not possessing its full value in bullion, and a draft upon the Gold Standard Fund in New York became as valuable as gold coin. The draft upon New York banks was only a medium for the settlement of the Philippine foreign trade balances, and it was an important means to develop the dollar exchange in the de facto sterling standard. The Philippine Gold-Exchange Standard, however, had to change the way of operation. A part of the Gold Standard Fund had been deposited in Manila banks, and had been invested in the securities of public works, railroads, and sugar centrals since 1908. Though these deposits and investments contravened the principle of the Gold-exchange Standard, U.S. financial policy toward the Philippines had to be inevitably changed when the Philippines ran up a trade deficit and could not but import American capital in order to cover it up. In short, America’s dominant economic interests tried to stimulate their own export trade and to provide an investment climate for the building of infrastructure which required massive capital imports.

After the end of the 19th century, America’s new interests in the financial community viewed relations with Britain in a generally competitive framework. They not only sought a stable climate for foreign investments and exports, but also tried to create a gold-dollar
bloc through spreading this Americanized gold-exchange standard in Asia and Latin America.

Josiah Strong and the End of the Nineteenth Century

Koichi Mori

Josiah Strong, a Congregational minister and Social Gospelist, wrote *Our Country* in 1886, a book which became a best-seller at the end of the nineteenth century. In this book, he maintained that the end of the nineteenth century was an extraordinary period which would determine the future of the United States. He thought of the cities as the new frontier and the testing ground for the new era. He saw in them many possibilities and many perils for the idealistic American republic. He pinpointed eight perils: immigration, Romanism, secularization of the public school, Mormonism, intemperance, socialism, wealth, and cities. He believed that America could overcome these perils by Republicanism and the purest Christianity which was for him the Protestant Social Gospel. He believed that the Kingdom of God would come when the cities were saved from these periods. Facing the severe realities in the cities, he was optimistic about the America's future. It was his belief in Social Darwinism that made him so optimistic.

Strong thought that the Anglo-Saxon race had a special mission to civilize the world and to prepare for the coming of the Kingdom of God. Strong has been generally accepted as a nativist, imperialist, and racist. I do not think he was a nativist or racist, but he was an imperialist and an expansionist. Scholars do not recognize Strong’s ambiguous and ambivalent usage of the term “Anglo-Saxon race.” It is, for him, not a racial conception, but signifies a civilization represented by Republicanism and Christianity.

Recent studies on Anglo-Saxonism shows that the people and academic circles at the end of the nineteenth century generally believed that Anglo-Saxon “race” was superior to other races. Strong was less racialistic compared to the general trend of his time. How-
ever, he was an imperialist and an expansionist, because he thought that Anglo-Saxon "civilization" was superior and that it should be expanded across the world. In this sense, he believed that the world should be Anglo-Saxonized.

Strong was not the exception. Liberal church leaders and theologians of his time had similar tendencies. The Spanish-American War made this tendency clearer. Reinhold Niebuhr criticized Christian intellectuals during the Spanish-American War for being hypocritical and self-deceptive. They objected to the political and military expansion, but welcomed the possibilities for their mission which were the results of the political and military expansion. Strong more positively supported the Spanish-American War. He thought it was the first step in America's new responsibility for a new world order. It was the racial and rationalistic myths (or the irrational beliefs) that made Strong and his contemporaries optimistic, ambiguous, and ambivalent. It was their beliefs in Anglo-Saxonism, Social Darwinism, and Republicanism.

At the same time, we have to remember that there were a few ministers like George D. Harren who could transcend the spirit of the time, and criticize and demythologize the myths of the time.

The Midway Plaisance and the World Columbian Exposition at Chicago in 1893: A Cultural History of an Origin of the Design Concept of Fast Food Restaurants

Naohito Okude

McDonald's, a fast-food restaurant chain, is a representative emblem of American popular culture. From inside, each restaurant is run under an efficient and rational system of production, but from outside, it is covered by a decorated signature design whose purpose is to stimulate consumption.

The first expression of this combination can be located in the World's Columbian Exposition held at Chicago in 1893. There the
utopian image of a rational social system was enshrined in the carefully planned “White City” portion of the fair. Its architects such as Mckim, Mead and White and Richard Hunt ensured visual unity by adhering to a neo-classic design scheme known as the Beaux Arts school.

Just behind the White City, there were the Women’s Buildings and the Japanese Buildings. Following these buildings, medieval villages, the dwellings of colonial days, cabins of South Seas islanders, Javanese, Egyptians, Bedouins, and Indians, Chinese buildings and the Ferris Wheel were relegated to the narrow, crowded strip called the Midway Plaisance, where the builders utilized an irrational design concept to call attention to their buildings.

The exhibition as a whole represented an ideology of evolution, which prevailed among the American genteel class at the end of the century. The Women’s Buildings and Japanese Buildings were designed to signify a certain achievement in the path of evolution, while the Midway Plaisance was constructed to show the various stages of human evolution around the world, promoting a culture of consumption. With it, newly arrived immigrants from abroad would learn about American civilization and the genteel class might share the same experience with them.

Henry Adams noticed the ideological implication of the fair and said “Chicago was the first expression of American thought as a unity; one must start there.” This unity, however, was intentionally made to express the genteel white male hegemony presented in the White City through the culture of consumption promoted in the Midway.

The juxtaposition of the White City and the Midway Plaisance was seen in later world fairs, but the emphasis was gradually shifted. Then the committee of the Panama-Pacific International Exposition in 1915 required for the first time that the buildings in the Midway were to be self-identifying without the aid of billboards or signs. This led a new idea of architecture; building itself became signature.

Then this design concept left the fair ground to the street. First, in the 1920s, there were the Hoot Owl Ice Cream Shop in Los Angeles, a poultry store known as the Big Duck in Long Island, a gigantic milk bottle dairy stand in Boston, and so on. Such signature architecture soon established itself as a successful medium for
merchandising.

When McDonald's adopted the method of signature architecture as a way to produce a "package appearance" for their fast-food franchise restaurants in the 1950s, a structure of the cultural hegemony of the rational genteel class was reversed in a way that the White City aspect of the design was to maintain production of the hamburgers as effectively and implicitly as possible and the Midway portion to send a message of consumption explicitly. We do not yet know who benefits the most from this new structure of the cultural hegemony of consumption.

James Studies Reconsidered—Van Wyck Brooks and F.O. Matthiessen

Reiko Maekawa

This study focuses on two critical works on Henry James, namely, The Pilgrimage of Henry James (1925) by Van Wyck Brooks and Henry James: The Major Phase (1944) by F.O. Matthiessen. Brooks and Matthiessen were often considered the respective leaders of opposite factions of the Jacobite controversy. Yet their contrasting assessments of James should not be approached as merely accidental episodes in this critical controversy. I intend to reexamine their works in relation to the cultural and intellectual milieu in which they came to hold their unique views on James.

Brooks was one of the early instigators of a rebellion against the genteel tradition and Yankee pragmatism. In America's Coming of Age (1915) Brooks stated his conviction that the arts have the power to cure the ills of a stagnant culture. Brooks also insisted that the critic should rediscover the American past and make it available to those who could use it. In the 1920s Brooks felt uneasy with literary "modernism" whose adherence to cosmopolitanism and the "religion of art" seemed to undermine his effort to create a national culture. In the midst of this anxiety, Brooks wrote The Ordeal of Mark Twain (1920) and The Pilgrimage of Henry James. While Brooks portrayed Twain's "arrested career" as a consequence
of the double conspiracy of materialism and Puritanism, he insisted that James’ decline in his later period can be explained by his divorce from American life. Brooks, often resorting to a psycho-analytical method, denounced James’ later style as a protective cover of a habitually embarrassed man who remained a stranger in England. Brooks’ objection to James’ later works reflects his conviction that for the artist his own race and soil is the sacred fount of his creativity. It is as if Brooks tried to make sure of his continued commitment to his “America” by condemning James for his expatriation.

Matthiessen, like Brooks, realized the need to repossess cultural continuity through a rediscovery of the durable American traditions. However, Matthiessen established his critical identity in a changed intellectual milieu. The urgent issue of Matthiessen’s age was the moral and political crisis of the Western World. Furthermore, Matthiessen, unlike Brooks, showed a profound understanding of a modern sensibility represented by such writers as Eliot, Joyce and Proust. In *American Renaissance* (1941) Matthiessen found the common denominators of Hawthorne, James and Eliot to be their intense involvement in the inner life and their awareness of spiritual reality. In *Henry James: The Major Phase* Matthiessen refuted Brooks’ thesis of James’ flight, frustration and decline by emphasizing the acuteness of James’ moral and social perception. Yet he felt that in the Jamesian world the individual’s moral awareness is frozen inside the shell of his consciousness. Matthiessen concluded that the present-day reader could create more durable humanistic values through a renewed synthesis of James’ moral awareness and a continued commitment to human solidarity.

Seen together, Brooks and Matthiessen share one important critical assumption. Both of them believed that aesthetic criticism cannot be separated from social and cultural criticism. The James studies by Brooks and Matthiessen continue to stand impressively for their broader frameworks that illuminate their concerns and anxieties about American culture and society.
Military or Economic Assistance: The Japanese Entry into the Mutual Security Program

Yoko Yasuhara

The U.S.-Japanese negotiations on the Mutual Defense Assistance Agreement (MDAA) from July 1953 to March 1954 hold a significant place in Japanese history in that they gave birth to the present Self Defense Forces. The negotiations at that time, however, were not confined only to the MDAA. The agreements formed under the Mutual Security Act included three others: (1) Agreement on the Purchase of Surplus Agricultural Commodities, (2) Agreement on Economic Arrangement, and (3) Agreement on Guarantee of Investments.

In Japan, *Tokyo-Washington no Mitsudan* (Secret Talks between Tokyo and Washington) by Kiichi Miyazawa, the present Minister of Finance, has been widely cited as the authoritative account of the U.S.-Japanese negotiations on the Mutual Security Program. The book, however, biased by political expediency, does not always give an accurate picture of the situation at that time. As one of the participants in the negotiations, Miyazawa describes them as successful, especially in opening a wedge for obtaining economic assistance. Yet, such an account covers up the fact that throughout the MSA negotiations, the United States never intended to give Japan the economic assistance which the Japanese requested.

Indeed, the whole process of the negotiations reveals a miscellany of discrepancies in the expectations of the two countries as well as their naiveté, especially that of the Japanese: the lack of Japanese political astuteness in finding out the intention of the newly-inaugurated budget-conscious Dwight Eisenhower administration; insufficient legal knowledge on the Mutual Security Act among the Japanese and to a lesser extent among the Americans; inadequate communication between Washington, the U.S. embassy in Japan, and the Japanese government; the persistent Japanese requests for economic assistance, and the resolute U.S. opposition to it. Full of misunderstandings, thus, the negotiations, initially projected for one
month, eventually lasted over nine months.

In fact the three other agreements were nothing but a "sugar-coating" of the MDAA, which was added during the U.S.-Japanese negotiations in order to make the MDAA palatable to the Japanese. Yet, viewed from another perspective, the inadequate preparations by the Japanese may have helped the Yoshida government to obtain a "go-slow rearmament," although economically the negotiations failed to satisfy the initial Japanese expectations.