Revolution Absent in the Text: Old Benjamin Franklin and the French Revolution

Ichiro Hayashi

The news of the Fall of the Bastille had reached Benjamin Franklin nine months before his death, but in the letters and documents he wrote in his final days any reference to the French Revolution is virtually absent: the Revolution is referred to only in a handful of letters of the period: and even when the political tumult in France becomes a topic in his letters, it is touched upon only tangentially so that one might get the impression that the Revolution was deliberately being avoided in the text. This absence of the French Revolution in Franklin’s writings, however, does not mean that this “Rousseau of America” was losing interest in the political change that was going on in “the Sister Republic.” Rather, this silence and avoidance should be interpreted as the politically implicit gesture through which we can see what would happen when any society placed in the phase of an accomplished revolution should face the breakout of another revolutionary movement.

For Franklin, now the patriarchal authority figure of the post-revolutionary America, the real problem to be faced was not the political assessment of the Revolution in France, but how the post-revolutionary American society, with its uncertainty about the future and highly mixed opinions, could secure order and stability against the possibility of collapse through internal dissension. Faced with this urgent need to secure consensus at any cost, Franklin used the text, personal letters as well as public documents, as the means to contain and control differences of opinion.

This rhetorical strategy can be seen in Franklin’s “explanation” of the French Revolution as the coming-of-age of an apprentice to liberty. This metaphorical interpretation, though shunning an explicit assessment of the Revolution, nonetheless manipulates the audience into taking a neutral position by emphasizing the now independent state of
the French nation and thus covertly precluding the possibility of American's interfering with France. The same kind of linguistic maneuver can be found in Franklin's use of the concept of constitution. While Franklin as a political realist had kept an ambivalent attitude toward the U. S. Constitution itself, in his letters the concept of constitution was offered as the only and the most effective authority to restore peace and order in revolutionary France. Here the concept of constitution is intentionally elevated to the absolute authority, and by so doing Franklin attempted to reinforce the newly conceived and fragile authority of the U. S. Constitution as the basis of government in the post-revolutionary America.

Thus in Franklin's letters during his deathbed days the political affairs in France were referred to as the rhetorical excuse for extracting consensus in post-revolutionary American society. Faced with the possibility of a disruption of the domestic social order, Franklin and other patriarchal figures had to assume the task of controlling the differences of opinions through these strategies of political-linguistic maneuver.

New Yorker's Republican Festival and the July Revolution

Hidetaka Yasutake

Immediately after the July Revolution, Thomas Hamilton, a Scotch gentleman, paid a visit to the United States and later published *Men and Manners in America* (1833), based on his experiences during the trip. There he found capitalism's social problems as in the Old World and came to view them in the broad perspective of the Modern Western World. He was critical of American democracy and pessimistic about its future. This paper shall summarize the book's narrative about the New York Evacuation Day Festival in 1830, and examine it in the context of the transformation of the urban artisan's world.

Evacuation Day, the 25th of November, was "the anniversary of the
evacuation of the city by the British army" in 1783. "But it was
determined, in addition to the ordinary cause of rejoicing, to get up a
pageant of unusual splendour, in honour of the late Revolution in
France." Hamilton enjoyed watching the pageant of tradesmen, but he
concluded, "On the whole, the affair was a decided failure." He
expected "to see a vast multitude animated by one pervading feeling of
generous enthusiasm; to hear the air rent by the triumphant shouts of
tens of thousands of freemen, hailing the bloodless dawn of liberty, in
a mighty member of the brotherhood of nations." But he "witnessed
nothing so sublime." The finale of the day, the delivery of a public
oration in Washington Square was mobbed. He saw in the disorder a
portent of social revolution in America. Although his prophecy did not
come true, the class antagonism he saw was not a illusion but a
harbinger of the bloody industrial warfare of the late 19th century.

The festival, particularly the parade, originated in the craft guild
culture of late medieval England. Until the mid-1820's artisan's
parades had been ceremonies for all tradesmen (masters, journeymen,
and apprentices) in the city to participate and confirm the solidarity
among themselves. But New York Working Men's Party was formed
in 1829 and the first great upheaval of the trades union movement in
New York took place in mid-thirties. The artisan's communal world
in most trades of the city had almost collapsed by the 1830's. The
festival of 1830 saw the fall of the good old world.

Russian Revolution and Wilsonism

Hidesaburo Kusama

The Russian revolution must have been the biggest shock to the
United States, since President Wilson, too, was going to reform the
world in terms of harmony between labor and capital. Wilson and
Lenin both tried to solve problems as self-determination of nations or
overseas activities of big companies by establishing an international
organization. To Wilson, it was the League of Nations and, to Lenin,
the Comintern, though Lenin also considered a possible later reform of
the League of Nations. Thus, both leaders' major response to the new
century was the League of Nations (the United Nations today), derived from their similar visions of the twentieth century world.

The purpose of this paper, therefore, is to make clear the following points: (1) how Lenin responded to the League of Nations, (2) how Stalin as Lenin's successor responded to the League of Nations and later to the United Nations, and (3) how Gorbachev's perestroika UN policy was linked to Lenin's revolutionary ideals. The writer regards Wilson's League of Nations ideals as Wilsonism and sets it up as the standard for making these points. The writer also believes that Wilsonism, though it was abstracted for a time by isolationists, became the basic foreign policy of the United States, and that it became the basis for the United Nations as it is today.

Based on research, we can point out that, first, what Lenin criticized was not necessarily Wilson's League of Nations ideals but the League of Nations as distorted by American isolationists or imperialistic powers at the Peace Conference. Second, Lenin, as his plan of coincidental revolution in Europe began to fade, began to consider the possibility of League of Nations reform after the overthrow of capitalism. Third, Stalin's rapid embrace of Wilsonism was made in contradiction to Lenin's revolutionary ideals insofar as his disregard for the continuing vitality of capitalism, and his stress on Russian nationalism over proletarian internationalism. Fourth, Gorbachev's new UN policy revived the UN's function of collective security as demonstrated in the Gulf War, and his new policy was recognized, at least partially, as reflecting Lenin's revolutionary ideals in terms of the possibility of the League of Nations reform.

In the days of Gorbachev, Lenin's pre-conditions for reform—the overthrow of capitalism—became unnecessary, due to the fact not only that capitalism has softened but also that international circumstances have greatly changed with the rise of the Third World and thousands of NGOs. Gorbachev's proposals seem to have influenced subsequent UN activities. In this sense, we can say that Gorbachev's new UN policy owes a debt to Wilsonism.
Sublimating "Arms" into "Palms": Reflection of World War I and A Farewell to Arms in The Wild Palms

Fumiyo Hayashi

The impact of World War I on American novelists was so great that the label "lost generation," given to the disillusioned and despairing young writers of the age by Gertrude Stein, their mentor and patroness in post-war Paris, has held a secure place in the history of American literature. Among others, William Faulkner and Ernest Hemingway, born in 1897 and 1899 respectively, are two representative figures of the "lost generation."

When the war broke out, they were both romantic young men eager to participate in the great event taking place in Europe, dreaming of gaining some military honor. But only Hemingway could fulfill that youthful dream. He was "on time" for the war and served as a Red Cross ambulance driver in Italy whereas Faulkner was "too late," because the war ended while he was still in Toronto training as a RAF pilot.

In either case, however, the war left psychological and/or physical trauma. Hemingway was seriously injured after only two months in the front. That this event did not damage his body alone can be seen in the fact that he had a hard time writing A Farewell to Arms, a novel heavily based on his experience, and could not publish it until in 1929, eleven years after the end of the war. Nevertheless Hemingway was "lucky" compared to Faulkner, for he had participated in the war and could transform his experience into an art form. Faulkner missed this chance and the absence of experience may well have left a greater trauma; long after he had steeped himself in the world of Yoknapatawpha publishing such masterpieces as The Sound and the Fury and Absalom, Absalom !, he wrote The Wild Palms which not only does not belong to the world of Yoknapatawpha but, curiously enough, was heavily obsessed by A Farewell to Arms.
Some critics have noted similarities between the two novels but their discussion stops short of delving into the effect the structural and thematic analogy produces in *The Wild Palms*. By closely comparing the plot and characterization, the present paper tries to show that *The Wild Palms* is Faulkner’s *A Farewell to Arms*, that it is his version of the impact of the World War I, a novel in which he tried to “sublimate” (Faulkner’s term for transforming reality into art form) his trauma, the “absence of experience,” the failed dream of participating in the World War I.

The French Revolution and Federalists in the Early American Republic

Yoshio Higomoto

The 1790s witnessed tremendous political violence and passion in the early American republic. American historians have been very much interested in this decade. A number of papers and monographs on the “Federalist Era” have so far been published. In assessing the Federalists some historians praised them as the true founders of the U.S. federal system, while others have labeled them as merely an aristocratic group of conservative men. The interpretation of the Federalists and Republicans of the 1790s has keenly reflected the historiographical changes which have accompanied major shifts in American social and cultural circumstances. This is indeed one of the most intriguing topics for historians. Yet strangely enough, Japanese scholars have not paid much attention to this important decade. Perhaps they have focused too exclusively on the American Revolution and the drafting of the Constitution. Hence they tend to dismiss the 1790s as a mere epilogue to the Revolution.

This paper attempts to fill in this historiographical gap in Japanese scholarship; it examines the effect of the French Revolution on American society with particular emphasis on the Federalist mind of the 1790s. Although the influence of the American Revolution on
France has been pointed out, the impact of the French Revolution on the newly established American republic has not been well analyzed. However, the French Revolution was the single most critical issue for American people in this decade. When the revolution broke out in France, most Americans rejoiced at the news, expecting a sister republic to be born in opposition to European monarchs. As the course of the Revolution was doomed by Jacobin despotism, however, traditional Calvinist clergy and Federalist leaders were alarmed at the confusion of Europe and the radicalism of the revolutionary ideology. Thus the French Revolution accelerated the polarization of political ideology in American society which had sprung up from the controversy over Hamilton’s financial policies.

The impact of the French Revolution was ubiquitous in American society and politics. A multitude of democratic clubs mushroomed all over the new republic. Printers were divided into Federalist and Republican camps and a series of fierce press wars began. Almost all issues were debated in terms of the pro- or anti-French cause. Gradually the Federalist leaders found themselves on the defensive, faced with the rapid increase of Republican popularity in American society. Embued with the minds of the 18th-century political culture, the “traditional, notable-oriented and deferential politics,” they became utterly frustrated in their attempts to form a national party and feared the rise of democracy in the republican nation. They interpreted the coming of an increasingly democratic and egalitarian society as a bad omen for the new republic. They tried to defend “true republicanism” and federalism against the Jeffersonian Republicans who were often associated with the French Jacobins. Unfortunately, however, Federalists’ efforts could not save their own disintegrating party in the late 1790s. Many ordinary people, who had rapidly freed themselves from the older concept of society and politics, began to reject the Federalist world view and became increasingly optimistic about the future of the rising republic.
The Forging of a New Upper Class at Boston’s Back Bay, 1850-1932

Kohei Kawashima

This study demonstrates that a new upper class emerged in Boston’s Back Bay area toward the end of the nineteenth century. The formation of this new class was based upon the union between descendants of the ante-bellum elite group, the so-called “Brahmins,” and nouveau-riche industrialists and professionals who rose to power and eminence during the Gilded Age. These two groups not only lived in the same neighborhood, but also formally and informally interacted with each other through various forms of networks, including correspondence, club and church membership, professions, and marriage. As a result of these multi-layered interactions, Boston elites in the Back Bay came to hold distinct images and perceptions of their residential area and themselves. These developments underlay the formation of the Back Bay upper class.

This study’s particular contribution to American historical scholarship lies in the following two points. First, it provides a new perspective regarding the fortunes of Boston elites between 1870 and 1930. Opposing recent Brahmin scholars’ interpretation of this period as the Brahmins’ “twilight,” my study argues that the Brahmins’ encounter with newcomers produced a much more positive and creative atmosphere. Second, this study focuses on human interactions in this fashionable neighborhood—an aspect which preceding studies of the Back Bay have rarely explored.

Sources for my study include Back Bay residents’ journals, letters, published works, and statistical information deriving from the Boston Blue Book, Social Register, City Directories, and others. Computer software Excel and HyperCard are used for drawing 46 tables, 7 maps, and 33 charts.
Morality and American Foreign Policy: George F. Kennan’s ‘Realism’

Koji Terachi

George F. Kennan is known as a “realist” and a critic of the “legalistic-moralistic” aspect of American foreign policy. This does not mean that Kennan believes that there is no place for morality in foreign policy. He may sometimes sound as if he were discarding morality as one of the major considerations in foreign policy. This, however, is not true. When we analyze his statements on morality, Kennan’s moralism seems to be an integral part of his thinking on foreign policy.

Kennan’s views on morality and foreign policy have been surprisingly consistent. He may argue that the moral obligations of states and those of individuals are not the same. He may insist that national interest should be the foundation of foreign policy; morality should not be the primary motivation of foreign policy. Unfortunately these do not necessarily reveal what Kennan really thinks on this question. How does his well-known “realism” relate to his views on morality? His arguments on morality and foreign policy are sometimes contradictory. It is therefore necessary to reconstruct his ideas from a diversity of his writings such as the “Morality and Foreign Policy” article in 1985, his private papers and other published writings over the last 40 years. This paper attempts to do this. It finds that there seem to be several principles inherent in Kennan’s thinking that closely relate moral considerations to foreign policy. What Kennan argues or implies may be summarized as follows:

1. First, we should recognize our own limitations, take control of and improve ourselves within those restraints. This applies to the behavior of states as well as to that of the individual.

2. It is not necessarily true that the moral obligations of states are different from those of individuals.
(3) States and individuals have a universal moral responsibility for the integrity of our environment and the survival of the human race.

(4) International morality exists in the case of (3) and in specific issue areas.

(5) When we apply moral standards to foreign policy, we should make a sharp distinction between our own behavior and the behavior of others.

(5)-1 We should recognize our limitations and the diversity among nations, and firstly make our behavior satisfy our own moral standards.

(5)-2 We should refrain from moral pretensions and from overemphasizing our moral standards.

(5)-3 We cannot force our moral standards on others, but we could resort to universal moral standards in such cases as (3) and (4).

(6) We should apply our moral standards to the means of foreign policy. In democracy the ends cannot justify the means.

(7) Considerations of national interest cannot be separated from considerations of morality.

These arguments seem to reveal to what extent Kennan the moralist often prevails over Kennan the realist.

American Attitudes toward Japan during the Late Occupation Period
—The Case of Receiving the 1950 Japanese Diet Delegation—

Hiromi Chiba

During the Allied occupation (1945-52), U. S.-Japan relations went through a significant change. Only a few years after the war, the primary objective of U. S. policy in Japan was economic recovery. With the intensification of the Cold War, Japan’s position in U. S. policy was transformed from a defeated enemy to an anti-Red bulwark and a key ally in Asia. This paper is an attempt to examine how American
public opinion reacted to this quick change in the U.S. government's attitude toward Japan. How were American popular views about Japan transformed at that time? Was there a gap between the official policy and public opinion? This study explores these questions by focusing on the American reception of the Japanese Diet delegation in 1950. It should also provide a clue to the further understanding of American attitudes toward Japan thereafter.

From January to March 1950, fourteen representatives of the Japanese Diet traveled to various parts of the U.S. This tour was part of a project carried out by the Reorientation Branch of the Office of the Under Secretary of the Army, in an effort to provide the Japanese leaders with a chance to witness American democracy in action. In general this tour proceeded smoothly and the Japanese received cordial treatment. However, there was one noteworthy exception. When they arrived in Boston, the City Council voted 11 to 8 to bar a visit by the delegation to the Council Chamber. Those councilors who refused the visit based their decision primarily on their wartime memories and distrust of the Japanese. This "Boston incident" was reported by newspapers all over the U.S., and aroused much public discussion. Though the incident itself did not have any direct impact on the course of U.S.-Japan relations, the official, media, and public reactions to the incident, as reported by newspapers, illustrate well the American state of mind about Japan at that time.

For example, U.S. officials, representing the Massachusetts Legislature, the State Department, Congress, etc., termed the incident "regrettable," and emphasized America's friendly intentions towards the Japanese. The press also widely deplored the incident. Boston newspapers especially were unanimous in denouncing the City Council. Some papers who conducted opinion surveys or published readers' letters about the incident, emphasized that Bostonians were strongly against the City Council's action. In addition, the fact that no overt opposition to treating the Japanese cordially was expressed in any other city they visited, also suggests that the American public generally followed or accepted the official government policy and media opinion.

However close examination of the media coverage and citizens' comments reveal that there was no fundamental improvement in the understanding of the Japanese by the American public. The Americans tended to favor welcoming the Japanese primarily because of
such situational factors as the Cold War in Asia their respect for MacArthur who sent the delegation, and their desire to maintain world peace by “teaching democracy” to the Japanese.

Silence andSpeaking—Mother-Daughter Relationship in Japanese American Women Writers

Fukuko Kobayashi

Owing to the groundbreaking studies done by Nancy Chodorow and other influential feminist scholars on the subject of the mother-daughter relationship, it is now thought that mothers and daughters tend to have much closer ties, and hence more problematic relations, than were previously believed. But, so far, few writers have been able to explore in depth this important theme in their works.

Two Chinese American women writers, Maxine Hong Kingston and Amy Tan, are among those very few who achieve this analysis in their landmark works. They celebrate the mother-daughter bond with the affirmation of their Asian American ethnic identity, thus establishing a basic pattern dealing with mothers and daughters in the newly recognized genre of the cross-cultural Asian American literature.

In the case of the Japanese American women writers to be discussed here, a similar pattern can be discerned in their treatment of the mother-daughter relationship, namely the bond between the two leading to their final acknowledgement of their identity as Japanese American women. However, what distinguishes them most from their Chinese American counterparts is the existence of a wider gap between the two due to the profound silence of the Japanese American mothers portrayed in these works.

This silence can be partly explained as a sign of the common reticence actually found in many Japanese American mothers, deeply rooted in their own native culture. More importantly, it can be regarded as a result of the traumatic experience of the wartime incarceration imposed on the majority of the West Coast Japanese
American people, which caused in a tragic loss of ethnic pride, as well as diminution of their self-worth as mothers. As we examine the mother-daughter relationships in the works by four of the most prominent Japanese American (and Japanese Canadian) women writers of the nisei and sansei generations, we can clearly witness the process in which mothers and daughters regain their lost ties, simultaneously recovering their lost ethnic pride and identity as well.

While neither of the daughters depicted in the works by Monica Sone and Hisaye Yamamoto can read what is hidden in their mothers' silence, Canadian writer Joy Kogawa’s daughter can finally achieve this through a long and painful process, leading in turn to her full-fledged growth as a mature Japanese Canadian woman. In Janice Mirikitani’s poem, the mother is the one that breaks the long kept silence not only toward her own daughter but toward the general American public as well, by agreeing to speak as a witness for a government commission investigating the harm done to the Japanese American citizens during World War II. Thus the mother-daughter relationship depicted in Mirikitani’s works corresponds with what is envisioned by Adrienne Rich—namely, the mother-daughter bond functioning as the foundation upon which all oppressed marginal people can bond together toward the establishment of a more humane society.

The Resurgence of Ethnicity and Americanization among Japanese Americans

Yasuko I. Takezawa

This paper analyzes the transformation of ethnicity among Japanese Americans, with particular focus on the effects of wartime internment and the redress movement. Based on long-term fieldwork conducted in the Japanese American community in Seattle, it attempts to elucidate the process by which Japanese American ethnicity has been reconfirmed through the movement, and further argues that the resurgence of ethnicity and the Americanization of Japanese Amer-
icans are not trends in a zero-sum relationship but are coexisting forces.

Ethnicity among Japanese Americans has been transformed over time in four stages: from fundamentally primordial attachments before World War II, to a period of stigma during and after the war, then a collective sense of suffering upon the re-opening of the past, and finally ethnic pride derived from a positive evaluation of the movement and the success of redress.

The ethnicity of the Japanese in the United States before the war was based on primordial attachments, that is, a belief that they shared the same racial and cultural characteristics. Their ethnicity reached a major turning point upon internment during W. W. II. Many Nisei suffered from a sense of guilt and shame during and after the war due to the internment experience which occurred because of their Japanese ancestry. In the post-war years, they aspired to assimilate into mainstream society, often at the expense of their ethnic traditions and identity.

Japanese Americans’ ethnicity, however, reached another turning point when the redress movement began in the early 1970’s. The silence regarding internment was broken in the earlier stage of the campaign when various events evoked memories and helped individuals start talking about their wartime experience. In this process, Japanese Americans came to realize that they all shared the same suffering, which, in turn, became a collective ethnic marker.

Further, as the redress movement progressed, the stigma once attached to ethnicity was repudiated and ethnic pride took its place. The theme that is emphasized in redress, namely, correcting injustice, appealed to Japanese Americans as well as other Americans since it is an embodiment of one of the strongest social ideologies in American society.

On the other hand, the redress movement played a significant role in Americanizing Japanese Americans in their values, behavioral norms, and identification. The emphasis of the pursuit of true “Americanism” in demanding redress for past injustice is observed in various activities related to the campaign. Japanese Americans themselves, both the Nisei and the Sansel, have demonstrated their reconfirmation of identity as Americans, which is now distinguished in their cognition from “assimilation” into the mainstream society.

Being Japanese American today means more than being a member
of the Japanese race and having a cultural residue of Japanese traditions. Ethnicity has been reinforced through cultural reformulation of the past, and Japanese Americans have reconfirmed their ethnicity while at the same time Americanizing themselves.

The "Official Language Movement" in the United States: National Unity or Intolerance in a Multicultural Society?

Yasuhiro Katagiri

For the past twenty years, the United States has been faced with an unprecedented number of Hispanic and Asian immigrants, both legal and illegal. The increase of immigrants, who adhere to their native languages, has generated social and political controversies over the role and value of the English language and the process by which non-English-speaking immigrants acquire the English language. The so-called "Official Language Movement," the movement attempting to designate English as the official government language of the United States, has played a central role in these controversies.

This paper reviews the brief history of federal bilingual policies in the field of education and politics. In particular, it focuses on the meaning and impact of two federal acts, the Bilingual Education Act of 1968 and the 1975 Amendment to the Voting Rights Act of 1965, which linked language and politics.

The organization U. S. English, established by former Senator S. I. Hayakawa of California in Washington D. C. in 1983, has been the strongest vehicle to promote the designation of English as an official government language of the United States at both the federal and state levels. Utilizing information obtained from the membership services assistant of the organization, this paper has probed into the ideas and activities of the advocates of the "Official Language Movement." Their ideas and contentions can be summarized as follows: establishing English as a means and symbol of national unity; opposing the Maintenance Bilingual Programs in public schools, which place impor-
tance on teaching immigrants their native cultures and languages; opposing the usage of bilingual ballots in certain voting districts; and achieving equal opportunities for immigrants by having them learn a common language.

At the federal level, several joint resolutions to amend the federal Constitution as well as bills, all of whose purposes are to designate English as an official government language, have been introduced to the federal legislature since the 97th Congress. But because of the vagueness of these resolutions and bills, no substantial progress has been made in Congress.

At the state level, on the other hand, due to the energetic activities of U. S. English, one-third of the fifty states have already designated English as their official state language by means of either state constitutional amendments or state laws. However, several questions have arisen over the implementation of official language policies as the constitutional amendment provision has manifested itself in Arizona.

The full outcome of policy decisions will not be clear until they have been implemented. Presently, the arguments over the implementation and applications of official language policies are lacking in scope at the federal and the state level. For its many advocates, the "Official Language Movement" might seem to be merely an expression of their patriotism. However, advocacy of national unity in terms of language policies has a potential to foster intolerance in a multicultural society.