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Thomas Jefferson in Japan

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I

The existence of the United States had been known to the Tokugawa Shogunate for a half century before the arrival of Commodore Matthew C. Perry's "black ships." In 1808, when the Shogunate government learned that American ships chartered by the Dutch East India Company had entered the port of Nagasaki, it requested its Commissioner at Nagasaki to provide information about America, a country that had been unknown to Edo. In January 1809, the Shogunate Commissioner at Nagasaki sent to Edo information on the United States that had been obtained from the head of the Dutch Commercial House. His report stated that "the people of North America revolted against England, because the English...had treated the colonies cruelly, exploiting their labor and levying heavy taxes on them. They continued to struggle through 1780 or 1781, drove out the English and secured their independence." The report mentioned the names of two American founding fathers: George Washington and Thomas Jefferson. Washington, a capable general, "fought bravely against English forces, and led the Americans to the final victory." Jefferson was mentioned as "the most highly regarded" of those who served as provincial governors at the beginning of nation building. This report was the first Japanese document that recorded Jefferson's name.[1]

Japanese interest in the United States increased in the 1850s. During 1854, the year in which the Shogun's representative and Commodore Perry signed the first U.S.-Japanese treaty, several editions of American history books were published in Japan.[2] Knowledgeable Japanese learned that the Americans had achieved independence less than a hundred years before. They were impressed by American valor in the war for independence against Great Britain and the rapid growth of the United States as an independent nation.

Although the United States had resorted to forceful diplomacy to open Japan's door, Japanese did not develop hostile feelings toward the United States. This was because Japan had been able to begin its relations with the United States peacefully. Besides, an influential Chinese book of American history, several Japanese editions of which appeared in 1854, was originally written by an American missionary named Elijah C. Bridgman.[3] Naturally, his description of American history, particularly of the American Revolution, was favorable to the United States. Books of world geography published in the Netherlands, the other sources of information about America, also treated the United States with sympathy. Such scholars in Dutch learning as Kazan Watanabe and Shogo Mitsukuri wrote of the United States very favorably as a consequence.[4]

In the preface to an 1854 Japanese edition of Bridgman's book on American history, Koan Fujimori, a respected Confucian scholar, expressed his admiration for American independence. "On the eve of American independence, Americans felt that they could no longer bear British tyranny. They called a congress of the notables and elected Washington as their leader. Then they informed other nations of British abuses in America and fought strenuously to drive out the British oppressors and won independence from them. When I learned about their struggle, I was impressed by their cause and pleased with their victory."[5] Why was he pleased with their victory? For him and many other Japanese intellectuals, Britain, which had humiliated the Qing Empire with its military force, seemed to be an aggressive power and a great threat to Japan. Compared with Britain, the United States seemed to be a benign Western power. The United States was the country that had fought Britain and gained its independence. These intellectuals felt not only that the American spirit of independence could be a model for Japanese but also that Japan might rely on America as a counterforce against Britain. Further, because some Japanese intellectuals, like Shonan Yokoi, trusted the United States, they idealized American republicanism through their Confucian frame of reference as a government by most virtuous men.[6]

The political upheaval which led to the demise of the Shogunate regime began as the prestige of the regime declined in the face of its weak response toward foreign powers. The promoters of the Meiji Restoration used the slogan, "Respect the Emperor and Repulse Foreigners," since they wanted to assert the legitimacy of their movement while depriving the Shogunate of its legitimacy. The Shogunate, whose duty was supposed to be the defense of the nation against foreign threats, lost its legitimacy when its inability to do so became evident. The Shogunate, originally a military government, had become a peaceful, civilian regime during the long years of national seclusion. It could not enforce the policy of national isolation when Western powers began to disturb its peaceable world; nor could it begin to remilitarize itself effectively by adopting Western weapons and the Western method of warfare.[7] The anti-Shogunate leaders did not really intend to "repulse foreigners." What they really meant was to replace the Shogunate regime by a new, more energetic national regime that would make Japan strong enough to defend its independence against external threat. Thus the spirit of the American Revolution, or that of the American War for Independence, seemed to be an example for them to emulate. Shintaro Nakaoka, a famous anti-Shogunate activist, considered the American Revolution a successful struggle against oppressive foreigners.[8]

For the Japanese who lived through the closing years of the Edo Period and the Era of the Meiji Restoration, *the* American hero was George Washington, he who had successfully led the American struggle for independence. The first Japanese multi-volume encyclopedic book on world geography, published in 1845-46, included a highly eulogistic biography of Washington. Ever since this introduction of his life and achievements, Japanese developed a heroic image of Washington as a founder of the American nation, a patriotic leader of great military and political genius, and a kind of philosopher king.[9] Although the elite of Meiji Japan began to look toward monarchical Europe for their institutional models in the 1880s, they considered Japanese school children should be taught about Washington as a great patriot. Japanese school children read stories about him and sang a song about him.[10] Meanwhile, Thomas Jefferson's name did not loom large in the Japanese mind.

Although it took some time for Japanese intellectuals to understand the ideas of the American Revolution, they began to understand them in the 1860s. Japanese words equivalent to basic terms in Western social, political and economic thought were created by enlightened Japanese intellectuals in the latter half of the 19th century. Yukichi Fukuzawa, the foremost champion of enlightenment in Meiji Japan, was the first Japanese who translated both the Declaration of Independence and the United States Constitution into intelligible Japanese. His book on the countries of the Western World, published in 1866, included a translation of these documents, and it became a best seller immediately.[11] Since there was no equivalent in Japanese or Chinese to "right" in English, Fukuzawa had first to invent a Japanese word combining available Chinese characters. Fukuzawa was impressed by the phrase, "All men are created equal," in the Declaration of Independence and used his version of that phrase at the beginning of another best-selling book, *Gakumon no susume* [An Encouragement of Learning], published in 1872.[12] But neither Fukuzawa nor other Japanese intellectuals of his era studied Jefferson's thought any further. In his writings, Fukuzawa never mentioned Jefferson as the drafter of the Declaration of Independence. This was natural, in a sense, because Jefferson did not write any book which presented systematically his political, social, and economic ideas. Jefferson need not have written such a book since he considered that most of his compatriots shared his basic political ideas. As Louis Hartz remarked, liberalism in America was a "natural phenomenon," and the American Revolutionaries did not need to establish the legitimacy of their liberalism. It was taken for granted in America.[13] Jefferson's only theoretical tract discussed the nature of the British Empire, not the nature of political society. If he had written a book on the nature of human society or government, his name would have been known more widely in Meiji Japan. Instead, Jefferson was not much known among Japanese even when they began to gain some knowledge of the intellectual aspects of the American Revolution.

There was probably another reason why Fukuzawa and other enlightened intellectuals did not pursue discussions of Jefferson's egalitarianism. Fukuzawa used the phrase, "Heaven did not create a person above or below another person," to urge young Japanese to learn.[14] As the rigid status system in feudal Japan was abolished by the Meiji government, there were opportunities newly opened for young Japanese to climb up the social ladder through self-help and self-improvement. Thus Fukuzawa emphasized the importance of learning for the young and ambitious, regardless of their family background in the former society of rigid status. Egalitarianism was commendable as an idea to energize Japan through individual self-help and self-improvement. If the equality of human beings was pursued to its logical conclusion, however, the result would be the denial of monarchical government under the Emperor. This was something Fukuzawa and his colleagues in enlightenment did not want. Arinori Mori, the leader of the Meiji Six Society (Meirokusha), an association of intellectuals seeking to civilize and enlighten their nation, wrote in 1871: "While we entertain an exalted opinion of what is called a republican form of government, we confess that it is not without disadvantages and dangers." He declared that they would not argue for the adoption of republican government in Japan.[15] Japanese liberal intellectuals considered that British constitutional monarchy was a more practical model for Japan than the American system. Besides, Britain had enjoyed a long history of political continuity since the Glorious Revolution. Fukuzawa and his colleagues in the society were greatly impressed by British stability. The United States seemed to be more turbulent, for it had just experienced the Civil War. Like the leaders of the Meiji regime, Meiji Six intellectuals themselves looked to monarchical Europe for institutional models for modern Japan. Hiroyuki Kato, who had once introduced the ideas of modern Western revolutions, became an admirer of the British system and rejected the concept of natural rights.[16] Willing to go along with *tenno* monarchism, Fukuzawa and his colleagues did not pursue Jeffersonian egalitarianism to its logical end.

Although Fukuzawa expounded the idea of equality in *An Encouragement of Learning*, he did not repeat his famous phrase on human equality in his later writings. Rather, his egalitarianism continued to encourage individual effort in self-improvment. In Fukuzawa's writings, Jefferson's egalitarian philosophy shrank into Benjamin Franklin's philosophy of personal success through self-improvement. Naturally enough, it was Fukuzawa who introduced Franklin's life and his "Poor Richard" proverbs to young Japanese audiences in 1872.[17] In a short essay, Yasaka Takagi, a pioneer of American studies in Japan, compared Fukuzawa with Jefferson and stressed the intellectual similarities shared by the two men: rationalism, respect for scientific truths, recognition of the importance of education. Both were opposed to institutionalized religions, but both shared a belief in the Creator. Citing from a note Fukuzawa had written to give his own children moral lessons, Takagi considered it remarkable that Fukuzawa taught his children the concept of God as the creator of the universe and exhorted them to believe in God.[18] Fukuzawa has been more often compared with Franklin than Jefferson, since both Fukuzawa and Franklin taught the importance of self-help and self-improvement. Besides, as Sukehiro Hirakawa pointed out, they were both free from religious bigotry, emphasized the need of promoting useful knowledge, and propagated the spirit of capitalism. What is more, both wrote a classic autobiography.[19]

Franklin became the second best known American in Meiji Japan. During the Meiji Period, several biographies of Franklin were written, and a number of translated versions of his autobiography and other writings were published. His example and writings inspired many young Japanese who hoped to make use of opportunities newly opened to the common people after the Meiji Restoration.[20] Franklin's encouragement of diligence and other virtues was given royal recognition in Japan. In 1875, Empress Meiji wrote a series of short poems for Japanese school children which encouraged them to learn the virtues exhorted by Franklin.[21] Thus Jefferson was overshadowed by Franklin in Japan.

Meanwhile, Jefferson was also being overshadowed in Japan by Patrick Henry, the legendary agitator for colonial resistance. Since the Meiji government remained an autocracy for two decades, a movement demanding a constitutional regime gradually developed during this period. Champions of this movement often mentioned the American Revolution in their writings and built up their arguments on such concepts as liberty, equality and inalienable rights. Since 1876 was the centennial of the American Revolution, proponents of Freedom and People's Rights exhorted the people to learn from the spirit of 1776. Citing the Declaration of Independence and paraphrasing its ideas, one writer argued for the right of resistance to unjust laws. "Let us be Patrick Henrys," he declared, "We might perish, but the unjust laws shall perish with us!"[22] Among the People's Rights activists, Patrick Henry was a popular hero. Many Japanese in the movement loved to recite his legendary phrase: "Give me liberty, or give me death!"[23] Jefferson the philosopher was not so flamboyant as Henry in his speech. People's Rights activists were political romantics and tended to romanticize the American Revolution. They were attracted more by Henry's style as a fierce revolutionary than by Jefferson's thought as a liberal philosopher. Thus Jefferson was less appealing to them than Henry. Although People's Rights activists remembered the first part of the Declaration of Independence, they rarely mentioned the name of the man who had drafted it. Emori Ueki, one of the active People's Rights intellectuals, regarded the War for American Independence as the worthiest of wars, and he might have learned the first part of the Declaration of Independence by heart.[24] But he never mentioned Jefferson's name in his writings.[25]

The ideas Jefferson wrote into the Declation of Independence inspired Japanese liberals and radicals, but his ideas were able to live for themselves and develop in places where their author's name was not known. Therefore, even those Japanese who learned and were inspired by the philosophy of the Declaration did not take much interest in its author. But at least one famous statesman of Meiji Japan had some knowledge of Jefferson's life. Shigenobu Okuma, who later twice served as Prime Minister, organized a political party called the Constitutional Progressive Party in 1882 and founded Waseda University in the same year. Okuma's Waseda, together with Fukuzawa's Keio, have become the two most prestigious private universities in Tokyo. When he was young, Okuma was taught English by G. H. F. Verbeck, a Dutch-born American missionary teacher. It is said that Verbeck used the American Constitution and the Declaration of Independence as well as the Bible as reading materials for his students. Okuma learned about Jefferson from Verbeck and decided to organize a political party and establish a university partly because he wanted to follow Jefferson's example.[26]

II

Once the institutional foundations of modern Japan had been established on European, particularly German, models, the Japanese elite lost interest in American studies. Japanese institutions for higher education invited European scholars as professors and sent their junior faculty members to European universities. For Japanese professors teaching Western history, history meant primarily European history. American history was not much taught in Japanese universities.

During the Taisho Period, Japan witnessed the rise of a new democratic spirit, particularly after the end of World War I. Impressed by the rise of the United States as a leading world power, liberal Japanese intellectuals felt democracy would be the spirit of the new age. Academic American studies in Japan marked a modest beginning. In 1918, Inazo Nitobe, a liberal internationalist intellectual, stated in his lecture at the Tokyo Imperial University that the growing importance of U.S.-Japanese relations and the spread of democratic thought had made "American studies a very important task for the Japanese."[27] Nitobe wrote several books on American history before he took the post of Under-Secretary General of the League of Nations in 1920, but the task of pioneering in American studies in Japanese academia was largely left to Yasaka Takagi, a liberal academician who has often been called the father of scholarly American studies in Japan.

In 1931, Takagi published *Beikoku seijishi josetsu*,[28] the first scholarly Japanese book based on extensive research in American history. Although he did not say much about Jefferson in this discourse on the political history of Colonial and Revolutionary America, he had discussed Jefferson's thought in his lectures printed in 1924. He also had translated Allen Johnson's biographical sketch of Jefferson in 1928.[29] But Takagi's best discourse on Jefferson's thought was not published until after the end of World War II.

In 1945, Japan surrendered itself to the Allied powers. Since it was the United States that defeated and occupied Japan on behalf of the Allies, and since Japan was adopting democracy under the supervision of the occupation authority, the Japanese interest in American studies naturally increased. In this atmosphere, academic American studies began to develop. The most remarkable Japanese product of American studies in the early postwar years was the publication of *Genten Amerika-shi*,[30] a project organized by Yasaka Takagi. It was a multi-volume documentary history of the American people which translated and annotated important historical documents and included essays surveying American history. Its editorial policy reflected Takagi's viewpoint and his life-long aspiration to contribute to the development of democracy in Japan through American studies.

Since the new Japanese Constitution of 1947 adopted such a key concept as fundamental human rights from the American Declaration of Independence, Yasaka Takagi thought it appropriate for him to publish his reflections on the American document. In an essay published in 1948, he discussed the intellectual background of the Declaration and explained the political philosophy of its author. "It is most important for understanding his political philosophy," Takagi said, "to remember the fundamental fact about it, that is to say, the fact that it had moral, ethical implications." When he spoke of the equality of men, he meant "equality in their moral relationship with God." Thus their equality in rights was accompanied by their equality in duties — duties to follow their sense of justice, which was provided by God. The affirmation of the self-evident truth, "All men are created equal," was indeed a very solemn moral act. Jefferson, though a pantheist, Takagi said, embodied in his ethical sense the very best of the Puritan spirit. Emphasizing that Jefferson's individualism and democratic ideal were based on a profound ethical sense, Takagi wanted to remind the Japanese of moral duties as democratic citizens. If Americans had pursued only a high living standard, forgetting their moral duties to do justice, American democracy must have become hollow. When they tended to be absorbed in excessive materialism, Takagi observed, there were always prophets who spoke to awake their moral spirit.[31] Thus he hoped the Japanese would understand the spiritual aspect of American democracy.

In postwar Japan, there was renewed interest in the author of the Declaration of Independence. Two biographies of Jefferson were written by non-specialists in American studies soon after the war. But the only reliable Japanese biography of Jefferson was published in 1961.[32] The author, Torao Tomita belongs to the first generation of Japanese historians who received university education and majored in American history after the end of World War II. This generation of Japanese scholars, influenced by Takagi, began their American studies to learn from American democracy. Tomita may be called the first Jefferson scholar in Japan. His interest in Jefferson originated in his respect for and sympathy with Jefferson's struggle for independence and democracy.[33]

Tomita's book, discussing Jefferson's role during the Revolutionary War years and his response to the French Revolution, suggests major characteristics of the American Revolution. Jefferson was certainly the foremost ideologue of the American Revolution, but his personality was unbecoming a revolutionary activist or a wartime political leader. When Virginia was threatened by British invading forces in 1780, Jefferson was the governor of Virginia. Lacking self-confidence in his own ability to lead the state in a time of crisis, Jefferson wanted to resign from the governorship, and he left the post in 1781. One of the reasons he became weary of serving as governor was the very limited constitutional power of the governor under the Virginia Constitution.[34] It is remarkable that constitutional government was maintained even during the critical years of the Revolutionary War, not only in Virginia but also in the other states. This was one of the major characteristics of the American Revolution. Virginia in particular was able to endure the trial of the Revolutionary War with a weak governorship because the existence of a homogenious elite made it possible to maintain political unity.

In other words, Virginia did not experience a social revolution. The revolution in Virginia was a revolt of the colonial upper class against British rule. Jefferson never intended to create a really revolutionary change in Virginia, that is, the abolition of slavery. When the French Revolution erupted, as Tomita points out, Jefferson expected that the existing French upper class, that is, the aristocracy, would assume leadership in political reform just as the Virginian aristocracy had done. Jefferson was gradually disillusioned with the French aristocracy and began to shift his hope to a coalition of the enlightened part of the aristocracy and the best part of the bourgoisie. Because he had not experienced a "real revolution," he could not anticipate great social upheavals in France.[35]

From another perspective, it can be said that the success of the American Revolution depended upon America's military fortune, but its historical significance was mainly in the political ideas it embodied. Thus Jefferson was a hero of the American Revolution and one of the foremost founding fathers of the United States. Naturally, Tomita's major interest in his biography of Jefferson was to describe the evolution of his political thought against the background of political and socio-economic conditions in Virginia and the United States from the middle of the 18th century to the early decades of the 19th century. Although Tomita had no intention of idealizing Jefferson, he generally discussed the Virginian's efforts for liberal democracy in America with respect. He critically examined Jefferson's ambivalent attitude toward slavery and his racial prejudice against the people of African origin. He pointed out that Jefferson, a philosophical opponent of slavery but an owner of slaves, participated in drafting Virginia's new slave code. On the other hand, he spoke highly of Jefferson's humane attitude toward the Native Americans.[36]

During the 1960s, Tomita's view of American history underwent considerable change in response to the rise of African American and Native American movements in the United States. Tomita began to stress the racial aspect of the American Revolution and discuss Jefferson's racism more critically. In 1970, Tomita characterized the American Revolution as a war for an American Empire. It was a struggle of the colonists against the mother country for control of an empire in America. The Americans of European descent, he argued, succeeded in capturing control of the empire, a system of exploiting the Blacks as slaves and dispossessing the Indians of their lands, and developed this system more vigorously after independence. The Revolution was a national liberation for white Americans; but it was intertwined with the repression of the Blacks and the Indians.[37]

Tomita's academic interest was then shifting to Native American history. He became much more critical of Jefferson than before, particularly of his attitude toward the Native Americans. Citing a letter of August 1776 in which Jefferson conveyed his rage against the Indian tribes which sided with Britain, Tomita noted his extreme hostility toward the Indians blocking the Westward movement of the Americans. He argued that Jefferson's vision of the United States as a democratic agrarian nation would be realized only by dispossessing the Indians of most of their land at least east of the Mississippi. Therefore, his vision "presumed incessant wars of aggression against the Indians."[38]

No new biography of Jefferson has been written in Japan since the publication of Tomita's book in 1961. As he remarked at the beginning of his book, Jefferson's life was not dramatic. It was not dramatic enough to attract editors in Japanese publishing houses. This may be the primary reason for the lack of a new biography. The relative decline of Japanese respect for Jefferson in the age of civil rights struggles and the black American movement might be another reason. This does not mean, however, that few Japanese historians have studied Jefferson. Although most Japanese specialists in American history are interested in more recent periods, a few of them retain their interest in the Revolutionary and Early National Periods, and they have produced a number of works on Jefferson.

A few words about Japanese translations of Jefferson's writings may be appropriate here. Tomita translated a selection of Jefferson's writings edited by Saul K. Padover in 1961.[39] In addition to the second and third volumes of the aforementioned *Genten Amerika-shi* which compiled documents relating to the American Revolution and the creation of the federal republic, there are several Japanese editions of American writings that represent American thought during the Revolutionary and Early National Periods. In these editions, a number of Jefferson's writings are included. *Amerika kenkoku no shiso* edited by Shigeharu Matsumoto, for example, includes *A Summary View*, the Declaration of Independence, several chapters of *Notes on the State of Virginia*, the Virginia Statute for Religious Freedom, the First Inaugural Address and nineteen letters.[40] His plan for educational reform in Virginia and other writings on education were also translated.[41] A complete translation of *Notes on the State of Virginia* was made available.[42]

III

In the 1970s and 80s Atsushi Shirai wrote a series of essays on Jefferson's economic thought. He argues that agriculture was the basis of Jefferson's spiritual as well as economic life. It is his view that Jefferson's agrarianism developed from his own experience as a planter on the periphery of Virginia's plantation area where many farmers lived with planters. Jefferson's agrarianism was different from that of the French physiocrats. Although he spoke highly of such French physiocrats as Jean Baptiste Say, Anne Robert Jacques Turgot, and Antoine de Tracy, he did not favor the large-scale capitalist farming they advocated. Jefferson respected Adam Smith and made use of part of his argument in *The Wealth of Nations*, but did not accept it as a whole. Because Jefferson was an agrarian, he could not accept Smith's industrialism. He thought more highly of Say than Smith. Thus Shirai stresses Jefferson's anti-capitalism and anti-industrialism.[43]

In the later years of his life, as Torao Tomita argued, Jefferson had to recognize manufacturing as a legitimate productive activity in the American republic because of the development of manufacturing in America.[44] How much Jefferson accommodated his agrarianism to industrialism has always been a debatable point among historians. While Shirai believes that Jefferson conceded the minimum to industrialism, another Jefferson scholar, Norio Akashi, tends to think that he modified his thought so far as to embrace manufacturing in America. He states hypothetically that it was probably not the most important part of Jefferson's social philosophy to compare the moral value of agriculture and manufacturing. More important for him, Akashi maintains, was the preservation of diligence and thrift among the American people. Manufacturing was acceptable if it seemed to be able to sustain these virtues. It was Akashi's view that Jefferson was not necessarily anti-manufacturing or anti-capitalist.[45]

Takeshi Igarashi, a political historian, holds a different view on this issue. He maintains that although Jefferson had to recognize the necessity of manufacturing for the economic independence of the United States, he entertained an increasing fear of the evil effect of industrial development in the North and became a defender of the political power of the South against the North in his later years. Igarashi relates Jefferson's view on manufacturing to his classical concept of a republic. Slavery was of course incompatible with his concept of a republic. Because Jefferson believed that a republic required a high degree of social homogeneity within its citizenry, he would not approve of emancipated Africans remaining in America. Since his concept of a republic demanded participatory democracy at the local level, and since his estimate of Black intelligence was very low, he could not accept them as active citizens of the republic. But he never had the opportunity to advocate publicly their emancipation and return to Africa. Likewise, he failed to preserve the economic basis of the virtuous American republic by containing industrial development. His attempt to guarantee the spread of independent farming in Virginia through a land grant law did not succeed. His attempt to legislate a system of public education to develop an educated citizenry in Virginia also failed, except for the founding of the University of Virginia. The reform of Virginia's local government, which he considered very important to promote participatory democracy at the local level, was not realized either. Thus Jefferson failed almost totally in his efforts to prepare the foundation for a classical republic.[46]

Although Igarashi does not mention it, there may remain one area in which Jefferson might have felt he had succeeded in laying the foundation for a virtuous republic. That is the "Virginia Statute for Religious Freedom," which was drafted by Jefferson and enacted in 1786. This statute embodied his belief that the true Christian morality necessary for a virtuous republic could be best preserved by establishing absolute religious freedom.[47] Akashi is the only Japanese historian to have studied the making of this statute. He analyzes its legislative history and concludes that religious liberals who promoted the religious freedom bill found allies in Presbyterians and other minorities and also in part of the Episcopalian establishment.[48] In view of the rapid increase of Baptist influence among small farmers, which was emphasized by Rhys Isaac's study,[49] this writer suspects that this legislation might have been an attempt by the enlightened part (religious liberals and politically sophisticated Episcopalians) of the Virginia elite to retain their political leadership by separating religious matters from politics.

Jefferson's attitudes toward African Americans and Native Americans have been focuses of Japanese scholarly interest in Jefferson since the 1960s. Tadashige Shimizu tries to connect his thought on human nature with his attitude towards slavery in America. According to him, Jefferson regarded virtue and reason as part of innate human nature and considered that the farmer's life would preserve virtue while education would activate reason to develop knowledge. Thus Jefferson thought the development of agriculture and public education was essential to the maintenance of republican government. While Jefferson admitted that the Africans did not lack in such qualities as integrity, benevolence, gratitude, and fidelity, he thought they were definitely inferior in intelligence. In his view, no amount of education would make them good citizens. He was ambivalent in the defense of the natural rights of the Black people, a people who seemed to be unable to exercise their natural rights. When he wrote to Europeans, he based his opposition to slavery on the principle of natural rights. This was his "formal" or apparent logic, one not really compelling to him. He had another fear: slavery would undermine the virtue of the white yeoman republic. This was the "bottom line" in his opposition to slavery. Since his objection to slavery was based primarily on his fear of its possible effect upon the moral health of the master race, not on his concern for the natural rights of African American slaves, his opposition was inevitably weak. Since he feared that it would be very harmful for the American republic if many freed Africans unfit for citizenship remained in America, he clung to the belief that any plan of emancipation of African slaves should be accompanied by a plan for their repatriation.[50]

Shimizu's argument is quite logical, but it may be debatable whether the formal logic and the bottom line logic in Jefferson's opposition to slavery can be neatly differentiated, because it seems that neither logic was compelling for him. If Jefferson was truly worried about the moral decay of the slaveowners, he should have been more assertive about the urgent necessity of eliminating slavery. Actually, he became more cautious in voicing his criticism of slavery in his later years. It seems to this writer that Jefferson's conscience was more disturbed by the principle of human rights than by the fear of possible moral decadence of the planter class.

Akashi believes Jefferson was sincere in his intellectual rejection of slavery, but argues that he shrank from voicing his opposition as he was deeply aware of the practical difficulty of emancipation. Akashi explains that Jefferson was even willing to approve slavery in Missouri in 1820 because he saw behind the Missouri controversy a sinister Federalist conspiracy to divide and weaken the Republicans, the true defenders of republican government.[51] It may be said that Jefferson tried to lighten the moral burden of his evasion of the slavery question by downgrading the issue into the problem of a Federalist conspiracy just as he had tried to do in drafting the Declaration of Independence by making the slavery question an example of the British king's abuses.

Akashi and Shimizu compare Jefferson's view of the American Indians with his view of the people of African origin. Citing his admiring comments on Indian eloquence from *The Notes on the State of Virgina*, both Akashi and Shimizu point out that Jefferson considered Indians endowed with innate intelligence that would enable them to assimilate themselves into American society.[52] Since Jefferson saw several American Indians in leadership roles, while the Africans he knew, excepting Benjamin Banneker, were all slaves, it might have been much easier for him to recognize intelligence in the American Indians. But there must have been other reasons for his drawing a sharp line between the Indians and the Africans. Perhaps Jefferson had to emphasize the inferiority of the latter because he was tempted to lighten his moral burden in holding them as slaves. In the case of the Indians, it is quite probable that he tended to emphasize their mental ability because of his pride in North America. Jefferson recognized their innate intelligence, but did not approve of their way of life. They had to civilize themselves, and the change in their way of life would make it possible for them to evacuate most of their lands for use by white Americans. Should they refuse and try to resist the progress of civilization, then they would have to be forcefully removed. Thus several Japanese scholars, such as Akashi and Masashi Shimamura, agreeing with Bernard Sheehan, argue that Jefferson's attitude toward the American Indians, though not hostile, was quite destructive in result.[53] Shimizu, however, cautions that it would be wrong to consider Jefferson's attitute toward the Indians the same as that of Andrew Jackson, who wanted to remove all the Indians east of the Mississippi. He points out that Jefferson considered the Indians equal to the white in moral and intellectual ability, respected the right of civilized Indians to hold their own lands, and hoped they would be mixed with white Americans in the future.[54]

On another subject of contemporary interest, some Japanese scholars treat the Jefferson-Hemings liaison as if it were an established fact, without scrutinizing the alleged episode.[55] In America the controversy over this issue seems to have calmed down in recent years, because this writer does not hear orthodox Jefferson scholars raising their objections to the making of the new movie, *Jefferson in Paris*. This may be because the film is not the same as the TV version of Barbara Chase-Riboud's novel that CBS once planned to make and decided to abort when Jefferson scholars objected. It is reported that the script of the new film suggests a love affair, but does not play it up.[56] It may also be because orthodox Jefferson scholars have come to feel that they ought better avoid inflaming a public controversy. Had they raised vocal objections, they would certainly have provoked criticism from feminist and African American intellectuals. Although there is no evidence that supports the allegation of a love affair, there is no evidence that disproves it, either. No argument would be decisive. Furthermore, they would not be able to clear Jefferson's moral position, even if they were able to prove that he never made his female slave his mistress. As this writer explained in a brief comment last year, as a historian he cannot say whether the allegation is true or false, but he would rather like to believe that the love affair occurred, because he wishes to retain his respect for Jefferson.[57] This writer would honor the Jefferson who cared for, loved, and protected Sally Hemings, who might have been a half-sister of his deceased wife, much more than the Jefferson who just shrugged his shoulders and allowed his nephew to exploit her sexually. If the real Jefferson were the latter, he would be a miserable accomplice in the common immoral practice of upper-class male Virginians of his age.

IV

The bicentennial of American independence did not immediately produce any notable work on the Declaration of Independence in Japan. But it certainly gave Japanese Americanists an opportunity to renew their interest in the famous document. The document logically presents a case for American independence. At the beginning, there is a statement of the fundamental principles of basic human rights and government, next comes an indictment of King George III for numerous cases of violating these principles in the colonies. This is followed by an announcement that because of these abuses and misconducts, the united colonies are compelled to absolve themselves from all allegiance to the British Crown and separate themselves completely from Britain. In structure, the declaration is like a lawyer's document. But its style is not prosaic. The declaration is very powerful and inspiring, particularly in stating the fundamental principles. The choice of the word "self-evident" is very appropriate to enhance the effect of a succinct statement of fundamental principles such as "all men are created equal." The document inspired Americans in 1776 and has continued to inspire many people not only in America but also throughout the world.[58] It may be said that the Declaration has been the most influential document in the modern world. If its author's life was not very dramatic, the Declaration itself has lived a dramatic life.

This writer, being a diplomatic historian, once questioned why those leaders of the American Revolution who sought foreign assistance, particularly from despotic monarchies of France and Spain, wrote such a revolutionary doctrine in the Declaration of Independence. Did they expect that the rulers of France and Spain would provide their assistance in accordance with the logic of power politics inspite of the revolutionary doctrine? Or did they consider the declared principles of government not to be so radical as to alienate the French and Spanish rulers?[59] This writer would answer the first question affirmatively. They believed that France and Spain, particularly the former, would have to help America gain independence because of international power considerations. American revolutionaries wanted to inform the Europeans of their decision for American independence, but, as Makoto Saito argues, the whole logic and rhetoric of the declaration mostly aimed to appeal to the American audience. It might also be possible, however, to answer the second question affirmatively. The Declaration contains doctrines potentially highly destructive to absolute monarchy, such as the principles of human rights and government based on the consent of the governed. The Declaration, on the other hand, does not propagate republican government nor deny the legitimacy of monarchical government. What is more, it states that a revolution can be justified only in the exceptional case of repeated injuries and usurpations by an existing government. The examples of "repeated injuries and usurpations" indicated in the Declaration may have sounded like much ado about nothing to the ears of European rulers, but Jefferson and other leaders truly felt they had been subjected to repeated injuries and usurpations. The British king subordinated the colonies to Britain, thus denying his subjects in America the same rights and privileges granted to his subjects in Britain.

Harumi Taneya's book-length study of the Declaration of Independence and other declarations of rights in the American Revolution, though published nearly a quarter century ago, stands out as the only solid Japanese work on the legal background of human rights ideas in Revolutionary America.[60] Although Taneya did not consult American historians' works published in the 1960s, such as Bailyn's and Colbourn's[61], he presented a very balanced analysis of the legal background and characteristics of the human rights ideas of the American Revolution, combining his knowledge of the history of English and European legal thought with his careful reading of American human rights documents.

Taneya's major interest in this book was to analyze the intertwined relationship between natural law and English law that shaped human rights ideas in Revolutionary America. His views in this analysis were not much different from Bailyn's. As for Jefferson's natural rights philosophy, Taneya emphasized the influence of Jean J. Burlamaqui, who discussed the pursuit of happiness as a basic natural right. Taneya understood that Jefferson differentiated natural rights into two categories — inalienable rights and alienable rights and that he classified the property right into the second category. Although Jefferson knew the concept of property could be defined in a broader sense, Taneya reasoned, he avoided using the term property and used the phrase "the pursuit of happiness" instead because he regarded property right as a means to satisfy more basic human rights.[62]

Makoto Saito, the elderly dean of Japanese Americanists, published *Amerika kakumei-shi kenkyu*[63] in 1992, his magnum opus on the American Revolution. Like Saito's other works, this book is full of historical insight. This book includes a chapter entitled "Separation, Revolution, and Union in the Declaration of Independence: The Meaning of Independence for Thomas Jefferson." A shorter English version of this chapter was published in 1985.[64] Saito notes that the Declaration uses the terms "colony" and "state" interchangeably in referring to the North American colonies. The author surmises that Jefferson used the two terms interchangeably because he considered the North American colonies to have become separate political entities independent of the mother country at the time of their establishment. They had then voluntarily entered a confederation with the latter through their allegiance to the British king. In Jefferson's view, the British Parliament possessed no power whatsoever over the colonies since Great Britain and each of the colonies were equal and mutually independent components of the union.

Thus American independence was for him "not independence of colonies that had been subordinate to the mother country, but separation of a group of states from the other state with which they had maintained a confederation on equal terms." Saito also emphasizes that the Declaration was not simply a declaration of independence but also a document to unify the American people. All the thirteen states had to become independent jointly. Otherwise it would have been difficult to wage war effectively at home and to establish credibility for their independence abroad. Jefferson's logic and rhetoric in the Declaration, Saito says, aimed at convincing the public of the need for unity among the states. Thus "Unanimous" and "United" were the two key words in the formal title of the declaration.[65]

A number of Japanese scholars have translated the Declaration of Independence since the 1850s. There are several modern versions, among which Makoto Saito's has been used most widely.[66] In the middle of the 1980s Atsushi Shirai, assisted by two graduate students, surveyed the history of Japanese translations of the Declaration of Independence and tried to present a definitive Japanese version. In their research, Shirai and his associates studied the meaning of the document's sentences in detail, almost word by word, and critically examined the various Japanese translations.[67] This is the first well researched commentary upon the document in Japan. The authors tried to give the best translation to every word, phrase, and sentence in the Declaration, and they supplied appropriate annotations to phrases unfamiliar to Japanese, such as "Nature's God." Their research demonstrated that previous Japanese translations of the document still left much to be desired. Unfortunately they suspended their work before they could cover the last two paragraphs of the declaration. This writer sincerely hopes that Shirai will find time to complete the commendable project and publish his definitive translation of the declaration, with his extensive annotations, in book form.

V

In 1993, the 250th anniversary of the birth of Thomas Jefferson, Norio Akashi published the first book-length study of the philosopher-statesman.[68] Akashi revised and arranged for this very substantial volume numerous articles he had written on Jefferson's philosophy and political activities. Since part of Akashi's view of Jefferson has already been introduced in this essay, and since his article on Jefferson's legacies appears in this volume, this writer would like to limit the discussion of his book here to its basic theme. The title of Akashi's book will be translated into English as "Thomas Jefferson and the Idea of the 'Empire of Liberty'." The term, "empire of liberty," contains contradictions within it, as Robert W. Tucker and David C. Hendrickson point out.[69] While "empire" connotes great power, "liberty" connotes freedom from such power. While "empire" allows for the existence of slaves and other subordinate groups, "liberty" does not allow their existence. By choosing "empire of liberty" as the key term in the title, Akashi alludes to ambiguities and contradictions in Jefferson's thoughts and policies. He does not classify Jefferson as a classical republican or a modern liberal. He recognizes both strands in Jefferson's thought. He considers Jefferson to have genuinely held a pastoral vision but also to have embraced manufacturing as a legitimate industry in America. He regards Jefferson as a sincere opponent of slavery who nevertheless retained his slaves for several reasons.[70]

It is possible for a scholar to give a plausible explanation of these ambiguities and contradictions. It is what Akashi and other authors try to do. Whatever explanations can be given, though, it is still very strange that a slaveholder could be the drafter of the Declaration of Independence or that the drafter could remain a slaveholder until his death. How was it possible? There is something enigmatic in Jefferson. If Jefferson is a paradox, so are the American people and the United States. How could a people so proud of their country as the republic of free citizens tolerate the existence of slavery so long? How could the United States, so eager to spread the gospel of democracy to the world, tolerate the existence of racial discriminations at home? Japanese are often tempted to think both Jefferson and his compatriots were mere hypocrites giving lip service to the idea of human rights. But the truth is that Jefferson and a great many of his compatriots were true believers. Otherwise Jefferson could not have been esteemed as a great philosopher, and the United States could not have exercized such great ideological influence over the world. Jefferson is a great man whose enunciation of the principles of liberal democracy and self-determination has had profound influence over modern life. And yet, he is so vulnerable to criticism. Likewise, the United States is a great nation whose enunciation of universal principles has exerted profound influence. Nevertheless, the United States is a nation vulnerable to criticism in many respects because of gaps between its principles and its practices. Thus Jefferson symbolizes the United States in his paradoxical greatness and vulnerability.

Finally it may be argued that problems so glaring in America today are due more to the loss of Jeffersonian republicanism than to the magnification of the Jeffersonian paradox. Takeshi Igarashi suggested in 1984 that because the Jeffersonian vision of a virtuous republic had not been inherited by today's America dominated by the excessive Madisonian pluralism, that vision might be able to play the role of a guide, pointing to the problem of excess and giving a warning for Americans.[71] More recently, Keishi Saeki writes in a similar vein that the decadence of the United States today has developed as Americans have replaced "civic liberalism" by business liberalism, which he calls "Americanism." The civic liberalism embodied by Jefferson was the spiritual backbone that created the United States in the 18th century. It was the spirit of the virtuous citizenry that worked together for the public good. But the United States and other post-modern democracies, for that matter, have lost the spirit and fallen into rampant business liberalism. It defines liberty as freedom in the pursuit of private economic gains. Their social illness can be addressed, Saeki argues, only if they restore the lost spirit of civic liberalism.[72] In Igarashi's and Saeki's views, Jefferson's philosophy is regarded as the possible savior of demoralized liberalism in contemporary America and other democracies. Their views once again testify to Jefferson's importance in the American experience and in the modern world.

NOTES

* In this essay, all the Japanese personal names are romanized in the Western name order: given name first and family name second. This is contrary to normal conventions among Western specialists in Japanese studies. Since it is the general policy of this journal to romanize Japanese personal names in the given name-family name sequence, as Japanese usually do when they romanize their names, this writer follows this policy to maintain consistency. In the case of a personal or geographical name, long vowels ō and ū are romanized simply as o and u.

[1] Shosuke Sato, *Nihon yōgaku-shi no kenkyū* [Studies in the History of Western Learning in Japan] (Tokyo, Chūō Kōronsha, 1979), pp. 176-197. The Dutch officials at Nagasaki, who had reported on world affairs to the Shogunate from time to time, somehow had not told the Japanese of the news of American independence until 1808. This writer presented a detailed overview of Japanese images and interpretations of the American Revolution and American history from the middle of the 19th century through the 1980s in the editor's introduction for the second number of this

journal, "Editor's Introduction: Japanese Interpretations of the American Revolution," *Japanese Journal of American Studies*, No. 2 (1985), pp. 5-45. In writing this essay on Jefferson, he relies partly on his previous historiographical study cited above. For a historiographical survey of Japanese studies on the American Revolution, this writer wishes interested readers would refer to the editor's introduction in the second number of this journal. There are some overlaps between the two essays, but they are kept to a minimum.

[2] In 1854, three different Japanese editions of the American volume of Wei Yuan's World Geography and History Series, originally published in Chinese in 1842, were published.

[3] Atsushi Shirai, Yoshikazu Tanaka, and George Harada, "Amerika dokuritsu sengen no hōyaku ni tsuite (2)" [On Japanese Translations of the Declaration of American Independence: A Research Note, 2], *Mita gakkai zasshi*, Vol. 77, no. 4 (Oct. 1984), pp. 563-574. This is the second installment of their research notes. See note 63, below.

[4] Shosuke Sato, "Watanabe Kazan to Takano Chōei" [Kazan Watanabe and Choei Takano], in *Watanabe Kazan ... Hashimoto Sanai* (Nihon shisō taikei, Vol. 55) (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1971), pp. 601-618, 626-644; Kaikoku Hyakunen Kinen Bunka Jigyō-kai, ed., Sakoku jidai Nihonjin no kaigai chishiki — sekai chiri seiyōshi ni kansuru bunken kaidai [Japanese Knowledge of the Outside World During the Age of National Seclusion: A Bibliographical Guide] (Tokyo: Kangensha, 1963), pp. 176-178.

[5] *Amerika sōki* [General Introduction to the United States], translated by Tatsu (Chikuan) Hirose (Edo, 1854), introduction, p. 3.

[6] Masatada Yamazaki, *Yokoi Shonan ikō* [Shonan Yokoi's Posthumously Found Writings] (Tokyo: Nisshin Shoin, 1942), pp. 508, 908-909. Yamazaki, *Yokoi Shonan den* [A Biography of Shonan Yokoi] (3 vols., Tokyo: Nisshin Shoin, 1942), Vol. 3, 259-261.

[7] For a more detailed argument on this point, see this writer's essay, "Foreign Policy and Social Change: The Cases of Japan and the United States," which will be published in the autumn 1995 issue of the *Tocqueville Review*. See also Hideo Sonoda, *Seiyōka no kōzō: kurofune, bushi, kokka* [The Structure of Westernization: Black Ships, the Samurai Class, and the State] (Kyoto: Shibunkaku Shuppan, 1993).

[8] Michio Hirano, *Nakaoka Shintaro* (Tokyo: Hakuryūsha, 1966), pp. 205-206.

[9] For Japanese intellectual responses to America and their American images during the 19th century, see Shunsuke Kamei, "The Sacred Land of Liberty: Images of America in Nineteenth Century Japan," in Akira Iriye, ed., *Mutual Images: Essays in American-Japanese Relations* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1975), pp. 73-99. For a survey of Japanese images of George Washington in the last years of the Edo Shogunate and the Early Meiji Period, see Chapter 3, "Bakumatsu Meiji-ki no chishikijin: Washinton zō no hensen" [Japanese Intellectuals of the Late Edo and Meiji Periods and Their Images of George Washington], of *Amerika kenkoku no rinen to Nichi-Bei kankei* [The Founding of the United States and U.S.-Japan Relations] (NIRA Research Report, No. 940051) (Tokyo: National Institute for Research Advancement, 1995), pp. 51-66. The chapter was written by Yasuo Endo.

[10] For a survey of the Western great men and women who appeared in elementary school textbooks in the Meiji Period, see Chapter 4, "Meiji no shotō kyōiku to Amerika" [America in the Elementary School Education in the Meiji Period], of NIRA Research Report, No. 940051, cited in note 7, pp. 67-82. The author of the chapter is Fumiko Fujita. George Washington, Fujita says, was the only American

whose life was introduced in the Ministry of Education textbooks for moral education during 1904-09, but Benjamin Franklin was newly included in 1910. Before 1904, licensed commercial publishers had published elementary school textbooks.

[11] Fukuzawa, *Seiyō jijō* [Conditions in the Western World]. *Fukuzawa Yukichi zenshū* [The Complete Works of Yukichi Fukuzawa] (21 vols., Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1958-64), Vol. 1, pp. 311-327, 351-355.

[12] *Fukuzawa Yukichi zenshū*, Vol. 3, p. 29. *Gakumon no susume* was translated by David Dilworth and Umeyo Hirano as *An Encouragement of Learning* and published by Sophia University, Tokyo, in 1969.

[13] Louis Hartz, *The Liberal Tradition in America* (New York: Harcourt Brace, 1955), p. 5.

[14] *An Encouragement of Learning*, p. 1.

[15] Mori's introduction to *Life and Resources in America* (1871) in *Mori Arinori zenshū* [The Complete Works of Arinori Mori] (3 vols., Tokyo: Sembundō, 1972), Vol. 3, English Writing Section, p. 6.

[16] For Fukuzawa's admiration of the stability of British parliamentary government, see *Minjō isshin* (1879), in *Fukuzawa Yukichi zenshū*, Vol. 5, pp. 42-54. For Kato's view, see his *Kokutai shinron* [A New Treatise on the Forms of Government] (Tokyo: Taniyamarō, 1874), reprinted in *Meiji bunka zenshū* [Meiji Culture Collection] (28 vols., plus 3 supplementary vols. and 1 appendix vol., Tokyo: Nihon Hyōronsha, 1928-38, 1955-69), Vol. 2, pp. 111-126. For an incisive analysis of the ideas of the Meirokusha intellectuals, see Uete Michiari, *Nihon kindai shisō no keisei* [The Shaping of Japanese Modern Thought] (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1974).

[17] Fukuzawa, *Dōmō oshie gusa* [Teachings for School Children] (1872), *Fukuzawa Yukichi zenshū*, Vol. 1, pp. 30-37.

[18] Takagi, "Hito no ue ni hito o tukurazu: Fukuzawa Yukichi to Jefason to no omoide" [Heaven did not creat a person above a person: Reflections on Yukichi Fukuzawa and Jefferson] (1959), in *Takagi Yasaka chosakushū* [Works of Yasaka Takagi] (5 vols., Tokyo: Tokyo Daigaku Shuppankai, 1971), Vol. 4, pp. 403-409.

[19] Hirakawa, "Shinpo ga mada kibō de atta koro" [When Progress Was Still a Robust Hope], *Shinchō*, Vol. 31, no.2 (Feb. 1984), pp. 6-105. It was also published in book form with the same title (Tokyo: Shinchōsha, 1984).

[20] Teruko Imai, "Nihon ni okeru Furankurin no juyō — Meiji jidai" [Japanese Acceptance of Franklin — the Meiji Era], *Tsudajuku Daigaku kiyō*, Vol. 14, no.2 (1982), pp. 1-39.

[21] Poems by Empress Meiji (Empress Dowager Shoken) are printed in Ki Kimura, *Nichi-Bei bunka kōryūshi no kenkyū* [Studies in the History of Cultural Interactions Between Japan and the United States] (Tokyo: Kōdansha, 1960), pp. 236-345. According to Kimura, the empress learned about virtues enumerated by Franklin from Motozane Nagata, a tutor to the royal family, who drafted the Imperial Rescript on Education for the emperor.

[22] "Assei seifu tempuku subeki ron" [An Oppressive Government Should Be Overturned], *Sōmō zasshi*, No. 3 (June 9, 1876), reprinted in *Meiji bunka zenshū*, Vol. 5, pp. 419-422.

[23] Daikichi Irokawa, *Kindai kokka no shuppatsu* [Japan's Start as a Modern State] (Nihon no rekishi [A History of Japan], Vol. 21) (Tokyo: Chūō Kōronsha, 1974), pp. 113, 261, 275.

[24] Ueki Emori, *Jiyū shirin* [Poems and Essays on Liberty] (1987), reprinted in *Ueki Emori shū* [Writings of Emori Ueki] (10 vols., Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1990), Vol. 1, pp. 281-282.

[25] Ueki mentioned the name of Patrick Henry and cited his famous phrase in his "liberty song," but did not mention Jefferson's name in his poems and essays on liberty (*ibid.*, pp. 312-317). For that matter, Ueki did not mention Thomas Paine, either. Why did not radical People's Righters introduce radical Paine? Even if they had known him, which seems to be doubtful, they would have found no practical value in *Common Sense*, because it was not their purpose to deny the legitimacy of monarchical government itself. Their objective was to have government by consent or at least establish the principle of no taxation without representation.

[26] Ki Kimura, *Nichi-Bei bunka kōryūshi no kenkyū*, pp. 230-231; Waseda Daigakushi Henshujō, ed., *Waseda Daigaku hyakunenshi* [The Centennial History of Waseda University] (3 vols. plus 2 supplementary vols., Tokyo: Waseda Daigaku Shuppanbu, 1987-1990), Vol. 1, pp. 116-126.

[27] Nitobe's statement here is cited from *Nitobe Inazo zenshū* [The Complete Works of Inazo Nitobe] (16 vols., Tokyo: Kyōbunkan, 1969-70), Vol. 3, p. 25. See Makoto Saito, "American Studies in Pre-War Japan," *Amerika kenkyū*, No. 4 (1970), pp. 1-24, for Nitobe's contribution to American studies.

[28] [An Introduction to the Political History of the United States] (Tokyo: Yūhikaku, 1931).

[29] His lectures originally printed in 1928 were included in Takagi, *Beikoku seijishi no kenkyū* [Studies in American Political History] (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1950). For the list of his publications, see *Takagi Yasaka chosakushū*, Vol. 1, pp. 525-544.

[30] Amerika Gakkai [The Japanese Association for American Studies], ed. [A Documentary History of the American People] (5 vols. plus a supplementary volume, Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1950-58). The supplementary volume was replaced by Volumes 6 and 7 in 1981-82.

[31] "Beikoku dokuritsu sengen no kaiko" [Reflections on the American Declaration of Independence], *Takagi Yasaka chosakushū*, pp. 431-451, especially, pp. 444-451.

[32] Torao Tomita, *Jefason: Amerika dokuritsu kakumei* [Jefferson and the American Revoluton] (Tokyo: Seibundō Shinkōsha, 1961).

[33] *Ibid.*, pp. 270-271.

[34] *Ibid.*, pp. 142-147.

[35] *Ibid.*, pp. 169-179.

[36] *Ibid.*, pp. 126-130, 228-229.

[37] Tomita, "Hokubei shokuminchi" [The North American Colonies], in *Iwanami kōza: Sekai rekishi* [Iwanami Series in World History] (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1970), Vol. 16, pp. 234-292. See also his chapter on the American Revolution in Tomohisa Shimizu, Akira Takahashi, and Torao Tomita, *Amerika-shi kenkyū nyūmon* [An Introduction to American History] (Tokyo: Yamakawa, 1974), pp. 67-68.

[38] Tomita, "Jefason to nōhonshugi" [Jefferson and Agrarianism], in Makoto Saito, ed., *Kikai to seikō no yume* [Opportunity and the Dream of Success] (Tokyo: Nan'undō, 1938), pp. 85-120.

[39] Saul K. Padover, ed., *Thomas Jefferson on Democracy* (New York: New American Library, 1939). Japanese translation, *Jefason no minshushugi shisō*, was published by Yūshindo, Tokyo, 1961.

[40] Shigeharu Matsumoto, ed., *Furankurin, Jefason, Hamiruton, Jei, Madison, Tokuviru* [Franklin, Jefferson, Hamilton, Jay, Madison, and Tocqueville] (Sekai no meicho [World Classics], Vol. 33) (Tokyo: Chūō Kōronsha, 1970). Other anthologies are *Amerika no kenkoku shisō* [ed. and trans. by Makoto Saito, et al.(Sekai shisō kyōyō zenshū [World Classics in Philosophy], Vol. 7) (Tokyo: Kawade

Shobō Shinsha, 1963) and *Amerika kakumei* [The American Revolution], ed. and trans. by Makoto Saito and Takeshi Igarashi (Amerika koten bunko [American Classics Library], Vol. 16) (Tokyo: Kenkyūsha, 1978).

41 *Amerika dokuritsuki kyōikuron* [American Tracts on Education During the Revolutionary and Early National Periods] (Tokyo: Meiji Tosho, 1971), translated by Miyao Mano and Yoshiharu Tsufura.

42 *Vājinia oboegaki* (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1972), translated by Kenichi Nakaya and published as a volume in the Iwanami Pocket Classics.

43 Shirai, "Tomasu Jefason no keizai shisō (1)" [The Economic Thought of Thomas Jefferson (1)], *Mita Gakkai zasshi*, Vol. 69, no.8 (Dec. 1976), pp. 627-640; "Tomasu Jefason to Furansu jūnōshugi" [Thomas Jefferson and French Physiocracy], *ibid.*, Vol. 71, no.5 (Oct. 1978), pp. 148-160; "Tomasu Jefason to Arubumaru gun" [Thomas Jefferson and Albemerle County], *ibid.*, Vol. 75, no.3 (June 1982), pp. 93-106; and "Tomasu Jefason to Adamu Sumisu" [Thomas Jefferson and Adam Smith], *ibid.*, Vol. 75, special issue (Feb. 1983), pp. 70-81.

44 Tomita, "Jefason to nōhonshugi," *loc. cit.*, pp. 85-120.

45 Norio Akashi, *Jefason to 'jiyu no teikoku' no rinen* [Jefferson and the Idea of the "Empire of Liberty"] (Kyoto: Mineruva Shobō, 1993), pp. 142-145.

46 Takeshi Igarashi, *Amerika no kenkoku* [Nation Building in America] (Tokyo: Tokyo Daigaku Shuppankai, 1984), pp. 3-51.

47 Garrett Ward Sheldon, *The Political Philosophy of Thomas Jefferson* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1991), p. 107.

48 Akashi, *Jefason*, pp. 272-276.

49 Rhys Isaac, *The Transformation of Virginia, 1740-1790* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1982), pp. 161-177.

50 Tadashige Shimizu, "Tomasu Jefason no ningen honsei ron, kyōwakoku ron, niguro doreisei ron" [Thomas Jefferson: His Thought on Human Nature, the Republic, and Negro Slavery], *Dōshisha Amerika kenkyū*, Vol. 27 (March 1991), pp. 1-10.

51 Akashi, *Jefason*, pp. 97-98, 466-470.

52 *Ibid.*, pp. 78-80; Shimizu, "Tomasu Jefason no Indian ron" [Thomas Jefferson's Understanding of the Nature of the Indians], *Kobe Jogakuin Daigaku ronshū*, Vol. 41, no. 3 (March 1995), 23-39.

53 Akashi, *Jefason.*, pp. 79-83; Masashi Shimakawa, "Jefason to Indian mondai" [Jefferson and the Indian Question], *Amerika kenkyū*, No. 12 (March 1978), pp. 163-181; Bernard W. Sheehan, *Seeds of Extinction: Jeffersonian Philanthropy and the American Indian* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1973).

54 Shimizu, "Tomas Jefason no Indian ron," *loc. cit.*, pp. 34-35, 36n, 37n.

55 For example, see Shigeru Usami, *Amerika daitōryō* [The American Presidents] (Tokyo: Kōdansha, 1988).

56 Richard Bernstein, "'Jefferson': Turning Rumor Into Movie Fact," *International Herald Tribune*, April 13, 1995, p. 20; and Brent Staples, "Trailing Jefferson to the Bedroom Door," *loc. cit.*, April 20, 1995, p. 9. This writer's understanding of the controversy over the alleged Jefferson-Hemings affair is based on Scot A. French and Edward L. Ayers, "The Strange Career of Thomas Jefferson: Race and Slavery in American Memory, 1943-1993," in Peter S. Onuf, ed., *Jeffersonian Legacies* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1993), pp. 418-456. The inclusion of the French-Ayers essay in this volume itself indicates change in the attitude of the Jefferson scholar establishment toward the alleged episode.

57 Tadashi Aruga, "Jefason no doreitachi" [Jefferson's Slaves] in Aruga, et al.,

eds., *Amerika-shi* [American History] (2 vols., Tokyo: Yamakawa Shuppansha, 1993-94), Vol. 1, pp. 94-96.

58 Aruga, *Amerika kakumei* [The American Revolution] (Tokyo: Tokyo Daigaku Shuppankai, 1988), p. 128.

59 *Ibid.*, p. 126. See also Aruga's article, "Revolutionary Diplomacy and the Franco-American Treaties of 1778," *Japanese Journal of American Studies*, Vol. 2 (1985), pp. 59-100.

60 Taneya, *Amerika jinken sengen shiron* [Human Rights Declarations in America: A Historical Study] (Tokyo: Yūhikaku, 1971).

61 Bernard Bailyn, *The Ideological Origins of the American Revolution* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1967) and H. Trevor Colbourn, *The Lamp of Experience: Whig History and the Intellectual Origins of the American Revolution* (Capel Hill, University of North Carolina Pess, 1965). Taneya referred, however, to articles published in law journals during the 1960s.

62 Taneya, *Amerika jinken sengen shiron*, especially pp. 142-149, 162-170.

63 Saito, *Amerika kakumei-shi kenkyū: Jiyū to tōgō* [An Interpretation of the American Revolution: Confederation vs. Consolidation] (Tokyo: Tokyo Daigaku Shuppankai, 1992).

64 Saito, "What Was Meant by 'Independence' in the Declaration of Independence?" *Japanese Journal of American Studies*, Vol. 2 (1985), pp. 49-59.

65 Saito, *Amerika kakumei-shi kenkyū*, pp. 141-176.

66 His latest translation is published in Saito, *Amerika towa nani ka* [What is America?] (Tokyo: Heibonsha, 1995), pp. 134-143. His translation was printed in a number of anthologies and books.

67 Shirai, Tanaka, and Harada, "Amerika dokuritsu sengen no hōyaku ni tsuite", *Mita gakkai zasshi*, Vol. 77, no. 3 (Aug. 1984), pp. 434-443; no. 4 (Oct., 1984), pp. 563-547; no. 6 (Feb., 1985), pp. 786-793; Vol. 78, no. 2 (June 1985), pp. 163-172; Vol. 79, no. 1 (April 1986), pp. 118-130. For the full citation of this work, see Note 3 above.

68 Akashi, *Jefason*. For the full citation of this book, see Note 42 above.

69 Contradictions inherent in the phrase "empire of liberty" are pointed out by Tucker and Hendrickson in their *Empire of Liberty: The Statecraft of Thomas Jefferson* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1990), p. 1, a study of Jefferson' foreign policy. Incidentally, there is no detailed study of Jefferson's foreign policy as a whole by a Japanese scholar. Akashi's book has two chapters on his foreign policy: one chapter on the Louisiana purchase and another on the Embargo. But foreign policy is a minor subject in the book. Makoto Saito's book has a chapter in which the author discusses the Jeffersonian approach to foreign policy in comparison with the Hamiltonian approach. Saito considers the former characterized by "rejection of the European type of a major power, quest for a continental nation, policy based on republican consciousness, and preference of isolation," and the latter characterized by "acceptance of the European type of a major power, quest for a maritime nation, policy based on power consciousness, and willingness to involve the nation in international politics." He argues that the two approaches, alternately dominating U.S. foreign policy, have shaped the American diplomatic tradition. Saito says his interest in this chapter is to delineate two contrasting ideal types in the American diplomatic tradition, adding that he does not mean that Jefferson's foreign policy itself did not contain any element of the Hamiltonian approach, and vice versa. Saito, *Amerika kakumei-shi kenkyū*, pp. 369-407.

70 Akashi, *Jefason*, especially pp. 1-195.

71 Igarashi, *Amerika no kenkoku*, pp. 49-51.

72 Saeki, '*Amerikanizumu*' *no shūen* [The End of 'Americanism': Toward a Rediscovery of Civic Liberalism] (Tokyo: TBS Buritanika, 1993). See particularly pp. 175-244.