East Asian History 1600 - Present

A Source

Reader For

East Asian History Hist 3402

Andrew Walsh, MA.

Kean University

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Article Summary Form
Instructions for Submission

When reading the assigned article, remember to underline passages that express the article's main point ("thesis"). Use one separate sheet of paper for each assigned article. At the top, type -

- Your name
- The date of submission
- The name of this course
- The author, title, and date of the document
- The document's source and page range

Checklist - for each summary, (see the sample for comparison). Did you

- Limit to one page? (I will not read additional pages.)
- Type in single space?
- Type each heading in bold face?
- Type each summary in 12-point, Times New Roman type with 1" margins?
- **Staple** together *all summaries* together as one set that are due each class meeting?

Using just one page (single-space), complete four sections. Type each heading in bold face, your responses in roman type (see sample):

Thesis summary- In just 2-3 sentences, carefully sum up the article's main argument in your own words. You must read the entire article to determine its thesis.

Four specific "thesis" ideas - List four distinctive ideas expressed in your thesis summary. Quotations and their relationships to the thesis - Select and quote one brief passage from the article to illustrate each of the four ideas in order- four passages in all. Use passages that you underlined in the article. Please note:

- After each quoted passage, indicate (in parenthesis} the document author and the page number of the article or the Source Reader where the passage appears. (If there is no author, indicate the document's title, then page number. If there is no page number, number each document page sequentially.)
- For each quoted passage, be sure to comment in your own words, showing in 1-2 sentences exactly how the passage illustrates the document's thesis. Do not merely reprise a thesis point.

Historical context - In this section you must compare each document you are summing up (A) with one other document (B)

- Select document B from documents you already summed up in the preceding weeks;
- Select a *different* document B for each document A you are summing up;
- In 1-3 sentences, show the similarities and the differences between documents A and B - be
- specific and refer to both documents by title and/or author;
- In another 1-3 sentences, use your class lecture and discussion notes to show how both documents
- reflect key, contemporary political developments.

For reading assignments accompanied by audio notes, add a fifth section --
Audio notes - Briefly explain how the audio notes clarified the assigned reading they introduced.
Submit your completed form, stapled together with summaries of other assigned articles, at the end of class on the class day when the summary or summaries are due. *Under no circumstances will I accept submissions at any other time.*

Article Summary Form - Sample

Your summaries should look just like this form (substituting your words/or those below).

Jane Hasno Doe September 23, 2021
Western Civilization / Dr. Klein
Martin Luther, "Address to the Nobility of the German Nation" (1520), Source Reader, pgs. 108-109.

Thesis summary:
Luther attacked the powerful Church in Europe on three grounds: Its absolute power ("spiritual over temporal"); the Pope's control over scriptural, or biblical, interpretation; and the Pope's insistence that only he can summon an advisory council.

Four specific "thesis" ideas:

1. Luther argued that all Christians are equally spiritual
2. The Pope is just as likely as any other Christian to behave poorly, even wickedly
3. Christians generally, and not only a rubber-stamp council, are obligated to punish a pope who violates scriptural teaching
4. Luther was particularly unhappy about the Church's defenses, or "walls, designed to protect the Church from criticism

Quotations and their relationships to the thesis:

1. "All Christians are truly of the spiritual estate, and there is no difference among them, save office alone" (Luther, 108). - The "Church" and its leader, the pope, is not above its faithful believers.
2. The Church wrongly claims, "that the Pope cannot err in matters of faith, whether he be evil or good" (Luther, 108a). - How can the Church claim control over scriptural interpretation when he, too, can err (sin), and even act in evil ways?
3. "If the Pope acts contrary to the Scriptures, we are bound to stand by the Scriptures [and] to punish and to constrain him" (Luther, 108a). a faithful Christian, in order to preserve real Christian teaching, must punish a sinful Pope.
4. "The Romanists have ... drawn three walls round themselves, with which they have hitherto protected themselves, so that no one could reform them, whereby all Christendom has fallen terribly" (Luther, 10). – Luther stands out among Church critics by challenging the Church's claim that no one can criticize it. He believed that, by challenging an errant Church, he was preserving Christianity itself.

Historical context
Luther's attack on the Church stirred a disenchanted Cl1ristian Europe to challenge the Church's power. His attack resulted in a new "'Protestant" version of Christianity. Machiavelli, too, from a secular perspective, exhorted leaders to assert their "will" rather than succumb to higher principles. Both Luther and Machiavelli affirmed the right to declare their independence from religious or secular authority. One result was the new standard of national sovereignty, or self-rule.

Common Mistakes

Jane Hasno Doe September 23, 2021
Western Civilization / Dr. Klein
Martin Luther, "Address to the Nobility of the German Nation" (1520), Source Reader, pgs. 108-109. -**Remember citation that includes year and page numbers**

Thesis summary: -**Remember to bold face headings**
Luther attacked the powerful Church in Europe on three grounds: Its absolute power ("spiritual over temporal"); the Pope's control over scriptural, or biblical, interpretation; and the Pope's insistence that only he can summon an advisory council.

Four specific "thesis" ideas: -**Use the Numbering tool to list the ideas.**

1. Luther argued that all Christians are equally spiritual -This Idea should match the 1st Quote
2. The Pope is just as likely as any other Christian to behave poorly, even wickedly
3. Christians generally, and not only a rubber-stamp council, are obligated to punish a pope who violates scriptural teaching
4. Luther was particularly unhappy about the Church's defenses, or "walls, designed to protect the Church from criticism

Quotations and their relationships to the thesis:
-Use Quotation marks. -End the Quote and put the Author and the page range in Parentheses. The period should follow the citation. See Quotation 1 (below) for example.

1. "All Christians are truly of the spiritual estate, and there is no difference among them, save office alone" (Luther, 108). - The "Church" and its leader, the pope, is not above its faithful believers. -This Quote should match the 1st idea. Same goes for the others.
2. The Church wrongly claims, "that the Pope cannot err in matters of faith, whether he be evil or good" (Luther, 108a). - How can the Church claim control over scriptural interpretation when he, too, can (sin), and even act in evil ways?
3. "If the Pope acts contrary to the Scriptures, we are bound to stand by the Scriptures [and] to punish and to constrain him" (Luther, 108a). a faithful Christian, in order to preserve real Christian teaching, must punish a sinful Pope.
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Historical context
Luther's attack on the Church stirred a disenchanted Cl1ristian Europe to challenge the Church's power. His attack resulted in a new "'Protestant" version of Christianity. Machiavelli, too, from a secular perspective, exhorted leaders to assert their "will" rather than succumb to higher principles. Both Luther and Machiavelli affirmed the right to declare their independence from religious or secular authority. One result was the new standard of national sovereignty, or self-rule.

- Compare/ Contrast this summary to a second source; A previously completed Summary's source. Make sure to cite (in parentheses) the additional source.

Writing Effective Essays

Written By: Dr. Dennis Klein. Union, NJ: Kean University, 2010.

Defeating "Writer's Block," a Common Affliction

Before writing, review your reading assignments, the notes you kept on these assignments, and your class notes.

To save time overall, first prepare a basic outline of your paper, beginning with a thesis statement and providing key supportive observations. (Note in your outline the source and page numbers for each observation. You will need these for your paper.) For take-home exams, it is essential that you explicitly and repeatedly address the essay question.
Write a first draft. A first draft deals with how you organize your paper. It contains only the main ideas and their development. Ignore style or even complete sentences until subsequent drafts so that you can pay attention just to your paper's content and organization.

Constructing a Successful Essay

To produce a strong, tight paper, be sure to observe the following steps:

- Use only your class notes and reading assignments to respond to the essay question (and do not use encyclopedias);
- The paragraph is the basic unit of composition. In the opening paragraph, clearly and briefly state your thesis;
- In each subsequent paragraph, begin with a topical sentence that specifically refers to your thesis;
- Support your thesis with ample quotations from the reading assignments (usually primary sources). Since it is imperative that you show why quoted passages are historically significant, be sure to relate the text of each quoted passage to its historical context.
- Adhere closely to citation guidelines (see below);
- Meet the paper-submission deadline.

"Citations": Lending Your Paper Authority

For the most part, the sources you consult and cite for your paper constitute class assignments. You can therefore feel confident that they are reliable and credible. For papers that require external sources as well, pay close attention to details that confirm their credibility: Use publications whose publishers are scholarly (i.e., a university press); use electronic sources whose domain is. edu. For all other external sources, be sure to discuss with me beforehand.

For a source to pass the test of credibility, it doesn't have to be unbiased. It rarely, if ever, is. An author may well have a point of view and still present a compelling argument Since every author permits their opinions to sway even well-documented arguments (and not always the other way around), it is important to identify the author's bias in order to indicate that his or her argument represents one particular perspective. At the same time, it is perfectly acceptable to present your own opinions, but they should never dominate your paper or prevent you from considering all sides. Reserve judgment until the end of your paper.

Citations Style

I. References

You must end all written work with a bibliography on an additional, separate page which you should entitle "References." If a work, or source, is in your list of references, you must cite it at least once in the body of your paper. Conversely, every footnote or endnote must be reflected in the list of references, and the only way to make sure it does is to match both *by source author* (or, if a political document or film, by document or film title). A successful references page reflects considerable attention to detail and, consequently, achieves a high professional standard.

You must list your sources on a references page in *alphabetical order* by the author's last name. Do not number or bullet entries and do not subdivide the list. *Single space* within entries, *doublespace* between entries. Each entry's first line must be indented; subsequent lines a justified alongthe left margin.

II. Footnotes or Endnotes

You must confer appropriate credit on sources (evidence) you use to support your argument. Thisattribution is called a "citation." Citations give your paper weight and authority. You must cite source authors in your papers even if you already explicitly referred to the source author in your paper immediately before or after your citation.

Failure to give credit to others for information you present as your own constitutes serious procedural infractions, otherwise known as plagiarism or intellectual theft, and will result, at theinstructor's discretion, in an "F" either on the paper or for the entire course.

Please note that omnibus source summaries, such as encyclopedias or book reviews, do not count as permissible sources. Read and cite only original sources, such as assigned readings. Exceptions to this rule will be announced in class or in the course syllabus. You may and shoulduse material presented in class lectures, but do not cite class lectures in your papers.

Also note that some citations begin with a title if no author is apparent (e.g., "Articles of the Peasants") or if a document doesn't have an author, such as a political document ("The VersaillesTreaty") or a film ("Triumph of the Will").

III. Examples

Historians use *The Chicago Manual of Style* for citations. For online help, visit http://www.kean.edu/~histo1y/resources/workscited.html

Source Reader Document

References

Orwell, George. "Literature and Totalitarianism." In *The Assault Against Humanity: A Source Reader,* Andrew Walsh. Union, NJ: Kean University, 2021.

Note

George Orwell, "Literature and Totalitarianism," in *The Assault Against Humanity: A Source Reader,* Andrew Walsh (Union, NJ: Kean University, 2021), 41.

* In this example, pages 40-42 reflect pagination throughout the source reader. It isacceptable to use page numbers pre-printed on document pages to paginated within adocument, such as ... (Union, NJ: Kean University, 2021), 2.

Book with one author

References

Woodthrush, John R. *Songs My Father Taught Me.* New Haven: Birdwatchers Press, 1985.

Note

'John R. Woodthrush, *Songs My Father Taught Me* (New Haven: Birdwatchers Press, 1985), 212-24.

*For subsequent references to the first citation, never use ibid., idem, or op. cit. Simply shorten to the author and page number after the first, full reference. If you consulted two or more books by the same author, add a short title to distinguish among his or her books.Following are examples, a model that applies to all citations.

Note

[2]Woodthrush, 351.

Note

[2]Woodthrush, *Songs,* 351.

Journal articles

Bibliography

Robertson, Noel. "The Dorian Migration and Corinthian Ritual." *Classical Philology* 75(1980): 1-22.

Note

Noel Robertson, "The Dorian Migration and Corinthian Ritual," *Classical Philology* 75(1980): 9-14.

Article in an online journal

We recommend that you visit the following website:
https://owl.purdue.edu/owl/research_and_citation/chicago_manual_17th_edition/cmos_formatting_and_style_guide/chicago_manual_of_style_17th_edition.html

Reference

Kossinets, Gueorgi, and Duncan J. Watts. "Origins ofHomophily in an Evolving SocialNetwork." *American Journal of Sociology* 115 (2009): 405-50. *JSTOR.* February 28, *2010.*

Note

Gueorgi Kossinets and Duncan J. Watts, "Origins ofHomophily in an Evolving Social Network," *American Journal of Sociology* 115 (2009): 411. *JSTOR.* February 28, 2010.

Films (DVDs or World Wide Web)

Reference

"Triumph of the Will." DVD. Dir. Leni Riefenstahl. Berlin: UFA, 1935.

Reference

"Triumph of the Will." YouTube. Dir. Leni Riefenstahl. Berlin: UFA, 1935. >http://wwvv.voutube.com/watch?v=BBfYncHshJc>. January 16, 2012.

Note

"Triumph of the Will," DVD, dir. Leni Riefenstahl (Berlin: UFA, 1935).

Note

"Triumph of the Will." YouTube. Dir. Leni Riefenstahl. Berlin: UFA, 1935, >http://..vvvw.youtube.comhvatch?v=BBfYncHshJc>, January 16, 2012.

Public or Audio Lecture

References

Walzer, Michael. "Just War: Theory and Case Studies." Paper presented at Kean University, March 29, 2012.

Note

Michael Walzer, "Just War: Theory and Case Studies" (paper presented at KeanUniversity, March 29, 2012).

Other Sources

Encyclopedia entries

[Do not use encyclopedias, including Wikipedia, for your papers.]

Book with two authors

References

Unwin, L.P., and Joseph Galloway. *Peace in Ireland.* Boston: No Such Press, 1984.

Note

[3]L.P. Unwin and Joseph Galloway, *Peace in Ireland* (Boston: No Such Press, 1984), 19.

Book with an editor, compiler, or translator

References

Wiley, Bell I., ed. and trans. *Slaves No More: Letters from Liberia, 1833-1869.* Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1980.

Note

Bell I. Wiley, Bell I., ed. and trans., *Slaves No More: Letters from Liberia,* 1833-1869(Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1980), 367-412.

Books with more than one volume

References

Byrne, Muriel St. Clare, ed. *The Lisle Letters.* 6 vols. Chicago: The University ofChicago Press, 1981.

*Note*Muriel St. Clare Byrne, ed., *The Lisle Letters* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1981), 5:124.

Chapters or parts of a book with multiple authors and an editor

References

Kaiser, Ernest. "The Literature of Harlem." In *Harlem: A Community in Transition,* ed. J. H. Clarke. New York: Citadel Press, 1964.

Note

Ernest Kaiser, "The Literature of Harlem," in *Harlem: A Community in Transition,* ed. J. H. Clarke (New York: Citadel Press, 1964), 53.

World Wide Web

References

Limb, Peter. "Alliance Strengthened or Diminished? Relationships Between Labor & African Nationalist/Liberation Movements in Southern Africa." <http://neal.ctstateu.edu/history/world_history/archives/limb-I.html>. May 1992.

Note
Peter Limb, "Relationships Between Labor & African Nationalist/Liberation Movements in Southern Africa," <http://neal.ctstateu.edu/history/world_history/archives/limb-1.html>, Mayl992.

Submitting Your Best Work

The second and often final draft polishes your paper because here you pay attention only to style, word choice (diction), punctuation, spelling, and effective sentence structure.

Finally, after a day or two, return to your paper with fresh eyes, sit back, and read **it** for pleasure and for occasional reorganization or word replacement that can transform a really good paper into your best expression.

Use this checklist to make sure you are meeting all procedural requirements:

- ✓ ls your name, the paper title (such as Term Paper or Extra-Credit Paper), and the course title on the title page?
- ✓ Is your paper typed in double space, except for the References page, where single spacing exists within each entry?
- ✓ Did you follow the guidelines presented in the section on page I of this manual called "Constructing a Successful Essay"?
- ✓ Did you staple your paper (to avoid lost pages)?
- ✓ Are you submitting your paper on time (to avoid late-submission penalties)?

CHAPTER 6

China and the Eighteenth-Century World

6.1 Lord Macartney's Commission from Henry Dundas, 1792

By the end of the eighteenth century, the expansion of foreign trade, and especially trade in Asia, was a central preoccupation of the Crown government. The foundations for British rule of India had been laid down by the time of the passage of the India Bill of 1784 and at the end of the eighteenth century thousands of English merchants, soldiers, and missionaries were already living on the Indian sub-continent. At the same time British East India Company had discovered that India was an ideal trading base in Asia and was regularly organizing far-flung expeditions designed to extend the radius of English trading activities.

The British East India Company (BEIC), organized in 1600 to compete with the Dutch in Asia, was a trading monopoly that completely dominated English trade with China until the dissolution of its monopoly rights in 1834. In India, the Company was both a mercantile combine and was evolving into the agency of British rule in colonial Asia. By the time of the Macartney mission, the BEIC was amassing huge profits from its traffic in Indian and Chinese tea and had already begun, albeit on a small scale, to smuggle contraband opium from Bengal to Canton where it was exchanged for silver.

From the British perspective, the framework for Indian-Chinese trading activities was far from satisfactory. The Canton system limited British ships to a single port and imposed numerous vexing conditions on trading activities. To seek remedies for these problems, Sir Henry Dundas (1742–1811), a member of William Pitt's inner circle, president of the board of the BEIC, and, in 1792, Great Britain's home minister, urged the dispatch

of a mission to Peking. Subsequently, Lord Macartney, who was a personal friend of Dundas, was appointed "Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary from the King of Great Britain to the Emperor of China" and in September 1792 set out with an eighty-four-man mission from London to make contact with the Chinese.

The document that follows was the official charge of the Home Ministry to Macartney. While it sharply outlines the Crown's hopes for the mission, it also shows a certain befuddlement about the nature of the Chinese government. It is important to note that Dundas' charge shows that Great Britain was willing to negotiate a reduction in opium imports if more important conditions were met by the throne. In the time of Qianlong (1736–1795), China was able to resist British pleas for wider relations but they were to be reasserted in an increasingly forceful way until, by the time of the Opium War, such pleas became demands backed with military might.

Whitehall 8th September 1792
My Lord.

Having to signify to your Excellency His Majesty's Commands and Instructions on the subject of the Embassy to which he has been pleased to appoint you, I shall introduce them by recalling to your attention the occasion and object of this measure.

A greater number of His Majesty's subjects than of any other Europeans, have been trading for a considerable time past in China. The commercial intercourse between several nations and that great empire, has been preceded, accompanied or followed, by special communications with its Sovereign. Others had the support of Missionaries, who from their eminence in Science or ingenuity in the arts, were frequently admitted to the familiarity of a curious and polished Court, and which Missionaries in the midst of their care for the propagation of their faith are not supposed to have been unmindful of the view and interests of their Country; while the English traders remained unaided, and as it were, unavowed, at a distance so remote, as to admit of a misrepresentation of the national character and importance, and where too, their occupation was not held in that esteem which ought to procure their safety and respect.

Under the circumstances it would become the dignity and character of his Majesty, to extend his paternal regard to these his distant subjects, even if the commerce and prosperity of the Nation were not concerned in their success; and to claim the Emperor of China's particular protection for them, with the weight which is due to the requisition of one great Sovereign from another.

A free communication with a people, perhaps the most singular on the Globe, among whom civilization has existed, and the arts have been cultivated thro' a long series of ages, with fewer interruptions than elsewhere, is well worthy, also, of this Nation, which saw with pleasure, and applauded with gratitude,

the several voyages undertaken already by his Majesty's command, and at the public expense, in the pursuit of knowledge, and for the discovery and observation of distant Countries and manners.

The extent and value of the British dominions in India, which connect us in some degree with every part of that Country, point out also the propriety of establishing sufficient means of representation and transaction of business with our principal Neighbours there.

The measures lately taken by Government respecting the Tea trade, having more than trebled the former legal importation of this article into Great Britain, it is become particularly desirable to cultivate a friendship, and increase the communication with China, which may lead to such a vent throughout that extensive Empire, of the manufactures of the mother Country, and of our Indian Territories, as beside contributing to their prosperity will out of the sales of such produce, furnish resources for the investment to Europe, now requiring no less an annual sum than one million, four hundred thousand pounds.

Hitherto, however, Great Britain has been obliged to pursue the Trade with that Country under circumstances the most discouraging, hazardous to its agents employed in conducting it, and precarious to the various interests involved in it. The only place where His Majesty's subjects have the privilege of a factory is Canton. The fair competition of the Market is there destroyed by associations of the Chinese; our Supercargoes are denied open access to the tribunals of the Country, and to the equal execution of its laws, and are kept altogether in a most arbitrary state of depression, ill suited to the importance of the concerns which are entrusted to their care, and scarcely compatible with the regulations of civilized society. . . .

His Majesty from his earnest desire to promote the present undertaking and in order to give the greater dignity to the Embassy, has been graciously pleased to order one of His Ships of War to convey you and your Suite to the Coast of China. With the same view he has ordered a Military Guard to attend your Person, to be composed of chosen Men from the light Dragoons, Infantry and Artillery, with proper Officers, under the command of Major Benson, whom he has determined to raise to the rank of Lieutenant Colonel upon this occasion. This guard will add splendour and procure respect to the Embassy; the order, appearance and evolutions of the Men may convey no useless idea of our military Character and discipline, and if it should excite in the Emperor a desire of adopting any of the exercise or maneuvers, among the Troops, an opportunity thus offers to him, for which a return of good offices on his part is natural to be expected. It will be at your option to detach one of the Lieutenants of the Ship, or of your Guard, in His Majesty's uniform to accompany the Messenger whom you will send to announce at Pekin [Peking] your arrival on the coast, if you should approach that Capital by Sea.

Besides the Chinese Interpreters whom you have already procured you will

perhaps meet in your progress some Portuguese, Spanish, or Italian Missionary, or other intelligent Person free from national attachments or prejudices, who may be useful to be employed in your Service.

Should your answer be satisfactory, and I will not suppose the contrary, you will then assume the Character and public appearance of His Majesty's Ambassador Extraordinary, and proceed with as much ceremony as can be admitted without causing a material delay, or incurring an unreasonable expense. You will procure an audience as early as possible after your arrival, conforming to all ceremonials of that Court, which may not commit the honour of your Sovereign, or lessen your own dignity, so as to endanger the success of your negotiation.

Whilst I make this reserve, I am satisfied you will be too prudent and considerate, to let any trifling punctilio stand in the way of the important benefits which may be obtained by engaging the favourable disposition of the Emperor and his Ministers. You will take the earliest opportunity of representing to His Imperial Majesty, that your Royal Master, already so justly celebrated in Foreign Countries on account of the voyages projected under his immediate auspices, for the acquisition and diffusion of knowledge, was from the same disposition desirous of sending an embassy to the most civilized as well as most ancient and populous Nation in the World in order to observe its celebrated institutions, and to communicate and receive the benefits which must result from an unreserved and friendly intercourse between that Country and his own. You will take care to express the high esteem which His Majesty has conceived for the Emperor, from the wisdom and virtue with which his character has been distinguished. A like compliment may be made in the event of the death of Hienlong [Qianlong], to the Prince who will be his Successor, as he has been in the management of the Public affairs for some time.

It is not unlikely that the Emperor's curiosity may lead to a degree of familiarity with you, in conversing upon the manners or circumstances of Europe and other Countries; and as despotic Princes are frequently more easy of access than their Ministers and dependents, you will not fail to turn such contingency to proper advantage. I do not mean to prescribe to you the particular mode of your negotiation; much must be left to your circumspection, and the judgement to be formed upon occurrences as they arise; but upon the present view of the matter, I am inclined to believe that instead of attempting to gain upon the Chinese Administration by representations founded upon the intricacies of either European or Indian Politicks, you should fairly state, after repeating the general assurances of His Majesty's friendly and pacific inclinations towards the Emperor, and his respect for the reputed mildness of his Administration, first the mutual benefit to be derived from a trade between the two Nations, in the course of which we receive beside other articles to the amount of twenty millions of Pounds weight of a Chinese herb, which would find very little vent, as not

being in general use in other Countries, European or Asiatic, and for which we return woolens, cottons, and other articles useful to the Chinese, but a considerable part is actually paid to China in bullion.

Secondly, that the great extent of our commercial concerns in China, requires a place of security as a depot for such of our Goods as cannot be sold off or shipped during the short season that is allowed for our shipping to arrive and depart, and that for this purpose we wish to obtain a grant of a small tract of ground or detached Island, but in a more convenient situation than Canton, where our present warehouses are at a great distance from our Ships, and where we are not able to restrain the irregularities which are occasionally committed by the seamen of the Company's Ships, and those of private traders.

Thirdly, that our views are purely commercial, having not even a wish for territory; that we desire neither fortification nor defense but only the protection of the Chinese Government for our Merchants or their agents in trading or travelling thro the Country and a security to us against the encroachments of other powers, who might ever aim to disturb our trade; and you must here be prepared to obviate any prejudice which may arise from the argument of our present dominions in India by stating our situation in this respect to have arisen without our intending it, from the necessity of our defending ourselves against the oppressions of the revolted Nabobs, who entered into Cabals to our prejudice with other Nations of Europe, and disregarded the privileges granted to us by different Emperors, or by such other arguments as your own reflections upon the subject will suggest.

This topic I have reason to believe will be very necessary to enforce by every means in your power, as it is the great object of other European Nations to injure not only the Indian powers, but likewise the Emperor and Ministers of China with an idea of danger in countenancing the Subjects of Great Britain, as if it were the intention of this Country to aim at extending its territory in every quarter. As nothing can be more untrue than these representations it will not be difficult for you to find arguments which may counteract the effect of them.

If any favorable opportunity should be afforded to your Excellency it will be advisable that the difficulties with which our trade has long laboured at Canton should be represented; but in making such a representation you will endeavour to convince the Emperor that it is from His Majesty's design to attribute any act of misconduct to persons employed under the Chinese Government but with a view only to appease his Imperial Majesty that such difficulties do exist, in full confidence that from his wisdom and justice they will not hereafter be experienced.

Should a new establishment be conceded you will take it in the name of the King of Great Britain. You will endeavour to obtain it on the most beneficial terms, with a power of regulating the police, and exercising jurisdiction over

our own dependents, for which competent powers would be given so as effectually to prevent or punish the disorders of our people, which the Company's Supercargos in their limited sphere of action must see committed with impunity. Should it be required that no native Chinese be subject to be punished by our jurisdiction, or should any particular modification of this power be exacted it is not material ultimately to reject either of these propositions provided British subjects can be exempted from the Chinese jurisdiction for crimes, and that the British Chief or those under him be not held responsible if any Culprit should escape the pursuit of Justice, after search has been made by British and Chinese Officers acting in conjunction. . . .

It is necessary you should be on your Guard against one stipulation which, perhaps, will be demanded from you: which is that of the exclusion of the trade of opium from the Chinese dominions as being prohibited by the Laws of the Empire; if this subject should come into discussion, it must be handled with the greatest circumspection. It is beyond a doubt that no inconsiderable portion of the opium raised within our Indian territories actually finds its way to China: but if it should be made a positive requisition or any article of any proposed commercial treaty, that none of that drug should be sent by us to China, you must accede to it, rather than risk any essential benefit by contending for a liberty in this respect in which case the sale of our opium in Bengal must be left to take its chance in an open market, or to find a consumption in the dispersed and circuitous traffic of the eastern Seas.

A due sense of wisdom and justice of the King of Great Britain, which it will be your business to impress, as well as of the wealth and power of this Country, and of the genius and knowledge of its People, may naturally lead to a preferable acceptance of a treaty of friendship and alliance with us, as most worthy of themselves; and in a political light, as most likely to be useful to them, from our naval force, being the only assistance of which they may foresee the occasional importance to them.

In case the embassy should have an amicable and prosperous termination, it may be proposed to his Imperial Majesty to receive an occasional or perpetual Minister from the King of Great Britain, and to send one on his own part to the Court of London, in the assurance that all proper honours will be paid to any person who may be deputed in that sacred character. . . .

During the continuance of the Embassy you will take every possible opportunity that may arise, of transmitting to me for His Majesty's information, an account of your proceedings, and also of communicating with Earl Cornwallis, or the Governor General of Bengal for the time being, with whose views and efforts for promoting the trade of India to the East, it is particularly desirable you should co-operate, as far as they may be consistent with the present instructions.

Sincerely wishing your Excellency a prosperous voyage and complete success

THE *NEW YORK TIMES* BESTSELLER

"As refreshing as a cool glass of beer on a hot day and as stimulating as that first cup of coffee in the morning. There aren't many books this entertaining that also provide a cogent crash course in ancient, classical and modern history." —Wendy Smith, *Los Angeles Times*

A HISTORY *of* WORLD *in* 6 GLASSES





TOM STANDAGE

Author of *The Victorian Internet* and *The Turk*

9
Empires of Tea

Better to be deprived of food for three days than of tea for one.
—*Chinese proverb*

Thank God for tea! What would the world do without tea? How did it exist?—*Sydney Smith, British writer (1771-1845)*

-The Drink That Conquered the World

WITH FAR-FLUNG TERRITORIES stretched around the world, the British Empire was famously described in 1773 by Sir George Macartney, an imperial administrator, as "this vast empire on which the sun never sets." At its height, it encompassed a fifth of the world's surface and a quarter of its population. Despite the loss of its North American colonies following American independence, Britain expanded its sphere of influence dramatically from the mid-eighteenth century, establishing control of India and Canada, setting up new colonies in Australia and New Zealand, and displacing the Dutch to dominate European sea trade with the East. Intertwined with Britain's emergence as the first global superpower was its pioneering adoption of a new system of manufacturing. Workers were brought together in large factories where tireless labor-saving machines driven by steam engines amplified human skill and effort—a cluster of innovations collectively known today as the Industrial Revolution.

Linking these imperial and industrial expansions was a new drink—new to Europeans, at least—that became associated with the English and remains so to this day. Tea provided the basis for the widening of European trade with the East. Profits from its trade helped to fund the advance into India of the British East India Company, the commercial organization that became Britain's de facto colonial government in the East. Having started as a luxury drink, tea trickled down to become the beverage of the working man, the fuel for the workers who operated the new machine-powered factories. If the sun never set on the British

Empire, it was perpetually teatime, somewhere at least.

With its associated drinking rituals of genteel afternoon tea and the worker's tea break, tea perfectly matched Britain's self-image as a civilizing, industrious power. How odd, then, that this quintessentially English drink initially had to be imported at great cost and effort from China, that vast and mysterious dominion on the other side of the world, and that the cultivation and processing of tea were utter mysteries to its European drinkers. As far as they were concerned, the chests of tea leaves simply materialized on the dock in Canton; tea might as well have come from Mars. Even so, tea somehow became a central part of British culture. The drink that already lubricated China's immense empire could then conquer vast new territories: Having won over the British, tea spread throughout the world and became the most widely consumed beverage on Earth after water. The story of tea is the story of imperialism, industrialization, and world domination, one cup at a time.

The Rise of Tea Culture

According to Chinese tradition, the first cup of tea was brewed by the emperor Shen Nung, whose reign is traditionally dated to 2737-2697 BCE. He was the second of China's legendary emperors and was credited with the inventions of agriculture and the plow, along with the discovery of medicinal herbs. (Similarly, his predecessor, the first emperor, is said to have discovered fire, cooking, and music.) Legend has it that Shen Nung was boiling some water to drink, using some branches from a wild tea bush to fuel his fire, when a gust of wind carried some of the plant's leaves into his pot. He found the resulting infusion a delicate and refreshing drink. He later wrote a medical treatise, the *Pen ts'ao,* on the medicinal uses of various herbs, in which he supposedly noted that an infusion of tea leaves "quenches the thirst, lessens the desire for sleep, and gladdens and cheers the heart." Yet tea is not, in fact, such an ancient Chinese beverage; the story of Shen Nung is a far later invention. The earliest edition of the *Pen ts'ao,* dated to the Neo-Han dynasty (25-221 CE), makes no mention of tea. The reference to tea was added in the seventh century.

Tea is an infusion of the dried leaves, buds, and flowers of an evergreen bush, *Camellia sinensis,* which seems to have evolved in the jungles of the eastern Himalayas on what is now the India China border. In prehistoric times, people noticed the invigorating effect of chewing its leaves, and the healing effect of

rubbing them on wounds, practices that survived for thousands of years. Tea was also consumed in a medicinal gruel in southwest China, the chopped leaves being mixed with shallot, ginger, and other ingredients; tribal peoples in what is now northern Thailand steamed or boiled the leaves and formed them into balls, then ate them with salt, oil, garlic, fat, and dried fish. So tea was a medicine and a foodstuff before it was a drink.

Exactly how and when it spread into China is unclear, but it seems to have been helped along by Buddhist monks, adherents of the religion founded in India in the sixth century BCE by Siddhartha Gautama, known as the Buddha. Both Buddhist and Taoist monks found that drinking tea was an invaluable aid to meditation, since it enhanced concentration and banished fatigue—qualities that are now known to be due to the presence of caffeine. Lao-tzu, the founder of Taoism who lived in the sixth century BCE, believed that tea was an essential ingredient in the elixir of life.

The earliest unambiguous Chinese reference to tea is from the first century BCE, some twenty-six centuries after Shen Nung's supposed discovery. Having started out as an obscure medicinal and religious beverage, tea first seems to have become a domestic drink in China around this time; a contemporary book, *Working Rules of Servants,* describes the proper ways to buy and serve it. Tea had become so popular by the fourth century CE that it became necessary to begin the deliberate cultivation of tea, rather than simply harvesting the leaves from wild bushes. Tea spread throughout China and became the national beverage during the Tang dynasty
(618-907 CE), a period that is regarded as a golden age in Chinese history.

During this time, China was the largest, wealthiest, and most populous empire in the world. Its overall population tripled between 630 and 755 to exceed fifty million, and its capital, Changan (modern Xi'an), was the greatest metropolis on Earth, home to around two million people. The city was a cultural magnet at a time when China was particularly open to outside influences. Trade thrived along the trade routes of the Silk Road and by sea with India, Japan, and Korea. Clothing, hairstyles, and the sport of polo were imported from Turkey and Persia, new foodstuffs from India, and musical instruments and dances from central Asia, along with wine in goatskin bags. China exported silk, tea, paper, and ceramics in return. Amid this diverse, dynamic, and cosmopolitan atmosphere, Chinese sculpture, painting, and poetry flourished. The prosperity of the period and the surge in population were helped along by the widespread adoption of the custom of drinking tea. Its powerful antiseptic properties meant it was safer to drink than previous beverages such as rice or millet beer, even if the water was not properly boiled during preparation. Modern research has found that the phenolics (tannic acid) in tea can kill the bacteria that cause cholera, typhoid, and dysentery. Tea could be prepared quickly and easily from dried leaves and did not spoil like beer. It was, in effect, an efficient and convenient water-purification technology that dramatically reduced the prevalence of waterborne diseases, reducing infant mortality and increasing longevity.

Tea also had a more visible economic impact. As the size and value of the Chinese trade in tea grew during the seventh century, the tea merchants of Fujian, who were required to handle large sums of money, pioneered the use of a new invention: paper money. Tea itself, in the form of bricks, also came into use as a currency. It was ideally suited to the purpose, providing a light and compact store of value that could also be consumed if necessary. Paper money had the drawback that its value diminished the farther it was taken from the imperial center, whereas tea actually increased in value in remote areas. Brick tea remained in use as a currency in some parts of central Asia into modern times.

Tea's popularity during the Tang dynasty was reflected by the imposition of the first tax on tea in 780, and by the success of a book published the same year: The Classic of Tea, written by Lu Yu, a celebrated Taoist poet. Written at the behest of the merchants who sold tea, it describes the cultivation, preparation, and serving of tea in great detail. Lu Yu wrote many more books about tea, no aspect of which escaped his gaze. He described the merits of the various kinds of leaves, the best sort of water to use in its preparation (ideally, from slow-flowing mountain streams; well water only if no other is available), and even enumerated the stages in the process of boiling water: "When the water is boiling, it must look like fishes' eyes and give off but the hint of a sound. When at the edges it clatters like a bubbling spring and looks like pearls innumerable strung together, it has reached the second stage. When it leaps like breakers majestic and resounds like a swelling wave, it is at its peak. Any more and the water will be boiled out and should not be used." Lu Yu's palate was so sensitive that he was said to be able to identify the source of water from its taste alone, and even to determine the part of the river from which it had been drawn. More than anyone else, Lu Yu transformed tea from a mere thirst-quenching drink to a

symbol of culture and sophistication. Tea tasting and appreciation, particularly the ability to recognize different types, became highly regarded. Making tea became an honor reserved for the head of the household; an inability to make tea well, in an elegant manner, was considered a disgrace. Drinking parties and banquets centered on tea became popular at the court, where the emperor drank special teas made with water transported from particular springs. This led to the tradition of presenting special "tribute teas" to the emperor every year.

Tea production in China. Processing leaves into tea was a complicated process, all of which was done by hand.

Tea's popularity continued in the prosperous Sung dynasty (960-1279), but it fell from official favor as China came under the rule of the Mongols during the thirteenth century. The Mongols were originally a nomadic, pastoral people who tended herds of horses, camels, and sheep on the open steppes. Under Genghis Khan and his sons, they established the largest connected land empire in history, encompassing much of the Eurasian landmass, from Hungary in the west to Korea in the east, and as far south as Vietnam. Fittingly for a nation of skilled horsemen, the traditional Mongol drink was koumiss, made by churning and then fermenting mare's milk in a leather bag, to transform the lactose sugars in the milk into alcohol. This explains why the Venetian traveler Marco Polo, who spent many years at the Chinese court during this period, made no mention of tea other than to note the tradition of the tea tribute to the emperor (though he did remark that koumiss was "like white wine and very good to drink"). China's new rulers showed no interest in the local drink and maintained their own cultural traditions. Kublai Khan, ruler of the eastern portion of the Mongol Empire, had grass from the steppes grown in the courtyards of his Chinese palace and drank koumiss specially prepared from the milk of white mares.

To emphasize the extent and diversity of the Mongol Empire, Kublai's brother Mangu Khan installed a silver drinking fountain at the Mongol capital of Karakorum. Its four spouts dispensed rice beer from China, grape wine from Persia, mead from northern Eurasia, and koumiss from Mongolia. Tea was nowhere to be seen. But the sprawling empire symbolized by this fountain proved unsustainable and collapsed during the fourteenth century. A renewed enthusiasm for drinking tea was then one way in which Chinese culture reasserted itself following the expulsion of the Mongols and the establishment of the Ming dynasty (1368-1644). The preparation and consumption of tea began to become increasingly elaborate; the meticulous attention to detail advocated by Lu Yu was revived and extended. Harking back to its religious roots, tea came to be seen as a form of spiritual as well as bodily refreshment.

The idea of the tea ceremony was, however, taken to its greatest heights in Japan. Tea had been drunk in Japan as early as the sixth century, but in 1191 the latest Chinese knowledge about the growing, picking, preparation, and drinking of tea was brought into the country by a Buddhist monk named Eisai, who wrote a book extolling tea's health benefits. When Japan's military ruler, or shogun, Minamoto Sanetomo, fell ill, Eisai cured him with the help of some homegrown tea. The shogun became a strong advocate of the new drink, and its popularity spread from his court to the country as a whole. By the fourteenth century, tea had become widespread at every level in Japanese society. The climate was well suited for the cultivation of tea; even the smallest households could maintain a couple of bushes, picking a leaf or two when needed.

The full Japanese tea ceremony is an immensely intricate, almost mystical ritual that can take more than an hour. Merely to describe the steps of grinding the tea, boiling the water, mixing and stirring the tea is to overlook the significance of the particular form of the utensils, and the order and the nature of their use. The water must be transferred from a specific kind of jar to the kettle using a delicate bamboo dipper; a special spoon is used to measure out the tea; there must be a special stirrer, a square silk'cloth to wipe the jar and spoon, a rest for the kettle lid, and so on. All of these items are to be brought in by the host in the correct sequence and placed on the correct mats. Ideally, the host is even to gather the firewood himself, and the whole ceremony should take place in a teahouse situated in an appropriately laid-out garden.

In the words of Japan's greatest tea-master, Rikyu, who lived in the seventeenth century, "If the tea and eating utensils are of bad taste, and if the natural layout and planning of the trees and rocks in the tea-garden are unpleasing, then it is as well to go straight back home." Although incredibly formal, some of Rikyu's rules, such as the decree that the conversation was not to turn to worldly matters, are not so different from the unwritten rules that govern a ceremonious European dinner party. The Japanese tea ceremony was the very pinnacle of tea culture, the result of taking a drink from southern Asia, imbuing it with a diverse range of cultural and religious influences, and filtering it through hundreds of years of accumulated customs and rituals.

Tea Reaches Europe

In the early sixteenth century, when the first Europeans reached China by sea, the Chinese justifiably regarded their country as the greatest on Earth. It was the world's largest and most populous nation, with a civilization far older and more enduring than any in Europe. The Celestial Empire, as it was known, was assumed by its inhabitants to be located at the center of the universe. Nobody could compete with its cultural and intellectual achievements; outsiders were dismissed as barbarians or "foreign devils" who might understandably wish to imitate China but whose corrupting influence was best kept at arm's length. Nor was any European technology of the time unknown to the Chinese, who were ahead of Europe in almost every field; the magnetic compass, gunpowder, and printed books on board European ships were all Chinese innovations. The Portuguese explorers who had sailed from their trading post at Malacca on the Malay Peninsula in search of the legendary riches of the East were met with condescension. China was self-sufficient and lacked nothing.

The Portuguese agreed to pay tribute to the emperor in return for the right to trade, and they maintained sporadic commercial contact with China for several years. European manufactured goods were of no interest to the Chinese, though they were happy to sell silk and porcelain in return for gold and silver. Eventually, in 1557, the Chinese authorities allowed the Portuguese to establish a trading post on the tiny peninsula of Macao in the Canton estuary, through which all goods were to be shipped. This allowed the Chinese to levy duties and minimized contact with the foreigners; other Europeans were excluded from direct Chinese trade altogether. When the Dutch arrived in the East Indies toward the end of the sixteenth century, they had to buy Chinese goods through intermediaries in other countries in the region.

Tea is first mentioned in European reports from the region in the 1550s. But shipping it to Europe did not occur to the earliest traders. Small quantities may have been brought to Lisbon privately by Portuguese sailors, but it was not until 1610 that a Dutch ship brought the first small commercial consignment of tea to Europe, where it was regarded as a novelty. From the Netherlands, tea reached France in the 1630s and England in the 1650s. This first tea was green tea, the kind that had always been consumed by the Chinese. Black tea, which is made by allowing the newly picked green leaves to oxidize by leaving them overnight, only appeared during the Ming dynasty; its origins are a mystery. It came to be regarded by the Chinese as suitable only for consumption by foreigners and eventually dominated exports to Europe. Clueless as they were to the origins of tea, Europeans wrongly assumed green and black tea were two entirely different botanical species.

Although it was available in Europe a few years earlier than coffee, tea had far less impact during the seventeenth century, largely because it was so much more expensive. It began as a luxury and medicinal drink in the Netherlands, where arguments raged over its health benefits from the 1630s.

An early opponent of tea (and of coffee and chocolate, the other two newfangled hot drinks) was Simon Pauli, a German doctor and physician to the king of Denmark. He published a tract in 1635 in which he conceded that tea had some medical benefits, but that they were far outweighed by its drawbacks. Transporting the tea from China, he claimed, made it poisonous, so that "it hastens the death of those that drink it, especially if they have passed the age of forty years." Pauli boasted that he had used "the utmost of my Endeavors to destroy the raging epidemical Madness of importing Tea into Europe from China."

Taking the opposite view was Nikolas Dirx, a Dutch doctor who championed tea and regarded it as a panacea. "Nothing is comparable to this plant," he declared in 1641. "Those that use it are for that reason, alone, exempt from all maladies and reach an extreme old age." An even more enthusiastic advocate of tea was another Dutch doctor, Cornelius Bontekoe, who wrote a book recommending the consumption of several cups of tea each day. "We recommend tea to the entire nation, and to all peoples!" he declared. "We urge every man, every woman, to drink it every day; if possible, every hour; beginning with ten cups a day and subsequently increasing the dosage—as much as the stomach can take." People who were ill, he suggested, should consume as many as fifty cups a day; he proposed two hundred as an upper limit. Bontekoe was honored by the Dutch East India Company for his help in boosting tea sales; indeed, the company may have put him up to writing his book in the first place. It is notable that he disapproved of the practice of adding sugar to tea, which had by this time started to become popular. (Some medical authorities of the time regarded sugar as harmful.)

Another European addition to tea was milk. As early as 1660 an English advertisement for tea declared that among its many supposed medical benefits, "it (being prepared and drank with Milk and Water) strengtheneth the inward parts, and prevents consumption, and powerfully assuageth the pains of the Bowels or griping of the Guts or Looseness." In France, where tea enjoyed a brief spell of popularity among the aristocracy between 1650 and 1700, people also began to drank tea with milk, both for the flavor and to reduce its temperature. Cooling tea using milk protected both the drinker and the fine porcelain cup in which the tea was served. But tea was soon eclipsed in France by coffee and chocolate. Ultimately it was Britain, rather than France or the Netherlands, that emerged as the most tea-loving European nation, with momentous historical consequences.

Britain's Peculiar Enthusiasm for Tea

It is not too much of an exaggeration to say that almost nobody in Britain drank tea at the beginning of the eighteenth century, and nearly everybody did by the end of it. Official imports grew from around six tons in 1699 to eleven thousand tons a century later, and the price of a pound of tea at the end of the century was one-twentieth of the price at the beginning. Furthermore, those figures do not include smuggled tea, which probably doubled the volume of imports for much of the century until the duty levied on tea was sharply reduced in 1784. Another confounding factor was the widespread practice of adulteration, the stretching of tea by mixing it with ash and willow leaves, sawdust, flowers, and more dubious substances—even sheep's dung, according to one account—often colored and disguised using chemical dyes. Tea was adulterated in one way or another at almost every stage along the chain from leaf to cup, so that the amount consumed was far greater than the amount imported. Black tea began to become more popular, partly because it was more durable than green tea on long voyages, but also as a side effect of this adulteration. Many of the chemicals used to make fake green tea were poisonous, whereas black tea was safer, even when adulterated. As black tea started to displace the smoother, less bitter green tea, the addition of sugar and milk helped to make it more palatable.

Whatever the true extent of smuggling and adulteration, it is clear that by the end of the eighteenth century there was easily enough tea coming into Britain for everyone in the country to drink one or two cups a day, no matter what their station in life. As early as 1757 one observer noted that "there is a certain lane near Richmond, where beggars are often seen, in the summer season, drinking their tea. You may see laborers who are mending the roads drinking their tea; it is even drank in cinder-carts; and what is not less absurd, sold out in cups to haymakers." What explains the speed and enthusiasm with which the British took to tea? The answer consists of several interlocking parts.

Tea got its start when it became fashionable at the English court following the marriage in 1662 of Charles II to Catherine of Braganza, daughter of King John IV of Portugal. Her enormous dowry included the Portuguese trading posts of Tangier and Bombay, the right to trade with Portuguese possessions overseas, a fortune in gold, and a chest of tea. Catherine was a devoted tea drinker and brought the custom with her. Sipping tea in small cups—"not bigger than thimbles," according to one contemporary account—caught on almost immediately among the aristocracy. The year after Catherine's marriage to the king, the poet Edmund Waller wrote her a birthday poem, "On Tea," in which he highlighted her two gifts to the nation: tea and easier access to the East Indies.

Catherine of Braganza, the wife of Charles II, introduced tea to the English court.

The best of Queens, and best of herbs, we owe
To that bold nation, which the way did show
To the fair region where the sun doth rise,
Whose rich productions we so justly prize.
The Muse's friend, tea does our fancy aid,
Repress those vapors which the head invade,
And keep the palace of the soul serene,
Pit on her birthday to salute the Queen.

After the initial impetus provided by the tea-drinking queen, the second factorin the rise of tea was the role of the British East India Company, which had been granted a monopoly on imports to England from the East Indies. Though it initially lacked direct access to China, the company's records show that it began to bring in small quantities of "good thea" from the Netherlands during the 1660s as gifts for the king, to ensure that he would "not find himself totally neglected by the Company." This and other gifts won Charles's favor, and he gradually granted sweeping powers to the company, including the rights to acquire territory, issue currency, maintain an army, form alliances, declare war and make peace, and dispense justice. Over the course of the next century, what had started out as a simple trading company ended up as the manifestation of British power in the East, wielding more power than any other commercial organization in history. As the Scottish economist and writer William Playfair observed in 1799, "From a limited body of merchants, the India Company have become the Arbiters of the East." This was due in large part to the way the company fostered, expanded, and profited from the trade in tea.

Tea was served at meetings of the company's directors in London from the mid-1660s, and it was imported on a private basis by the captains and other officers of the company's ships, who were granted an allowance of space on each ship for "private trade." Tea was an ideal commodity for such purposes, given its scarcity and high value; the profit on a ton of tea could be worth several years' wages, and an allowance of ten tons was not unusual for a ship's captain. The private trade in tea probably helped to stimulate early demand, but it was banned in 1686 for fear it would undermine the company's small but growing official trade.

The company's first tea imports from the East Indies (from Bantam, in what is now Indonesia) arrived in 1669, and tea slowly became more widely available. It was initially a minor commodity as the company concentrated first on importing pepper, and then cheap textiles, from Asia. But opposition from Britain's domestic textile producers encouraged the company to place more emphasis on tea; there was no problem with offending domestic producers, since there were none. Tea's retail cost varied dramatically due to the sporadic nature of the supply, but the price per pound of the most expensive teas, which started at around six to ten pounds in 1660, had fallen to around four pounds by 1700. The price per pound of lesser teas was one pound. But a poor family at the time might have had an annual income of twenty pounds, so tea was still far too expensive to become universal. It remained a luxury item until the end of the seventeenth century, overshadowed by coffee, which cost much less; a cup of tea cost about five times as much as a cup of coffee.

Only when the company established trading posts in China in the early eighteenth century, and began direct imports of tea, did volumes increase and prices fall, making tea available to a far wider public. By 1718 tea was displacing silk as the mainstay of imports from China; by 1721 imports had reached five thousand tons a year. In 1744 one writer observed that "opening a Trade with the East-Indies . . . brought the Price of Tea . . . so low that the meanest labouring Man could compass the Purchase of it." At its height, tea represented more than 60 percent of the company's total trade, and the duty on tea accounted for around 10 percent of British government revenue. As a result, control of the tea trade granted the company an enormous degree of political influence and enabled it to have laws passed in its favor. Imports of tea from other European countries were banned; the duty on tea was reduced to increase sales and expand the market; adulteration of tea was punishable by huge fines. Smuggling and adulteration remained rife, but that just showed how much pent-up demand there was for tea. Finally, all that stood between Britain and total dominance of the East Indies trade were the Dutch. A series of wars ended in 1784 with a Dutch defeat, and the rival Dutch East India Company was dissolved in 1795, granting its British counterpart almost total control of the global tea trade.

Catherine of Braganza made it fashionable, and the East India Company made it available; but tea also became sociable, with the invention of new ways to consume it, both in private and in public. In 1717 Thomas Twining, the proprietor of a London coffeehouse, opened a shop next door specifically to sell tea, and to women in particular. Women were unable to buy tea over the counter in coffeehouses, which were men-only establishments. Nor did they wish to send their servants out to buy expensive tea with other household items, since that would mean entrusting them with large sums of money. (Tea's expense was reflected in the use of tea caddies—special boxes with lockable lids in which tea was stored, and to which only the lady of the house had access.) At Twining's shop, however, women could buy this fashionable new drink by the cup for immediate consumption, and as dried leaves for preparation at home. "Great ladies flocked to Twining's house in Devereaux Court in order to sip the enlivening beverage in small cups for which they paid their shillings," noted a contemporary observer. They could also have special blends of tea made up for them by Twining to match their tastes. Knowledge of tea and its ceremonial consumption in genteel surroundings at home became a means of demonstrating one's sophistication. Elaborate tea parties emerged as the British equivalent of the Chinese and Japanese tea ceremonies; tea was served in porcelain cups, imported in vast quantities as ballast in the same ships that brought the tea from China. Authors offered advice on how to prepare tea, the order in which guests of different rank should be served, what food to serve, and how guests ought to express thanks to the host. Tea was not just a drink; it eventually became an entirely new afternoon meal.

An English tea party around 1750. The ceremonial consumption of tea in genteel surroundings became an emblem of sophistication.

Another innovation in the serving of tea was the emergence of the tea gardens of London. The first to open, in 1732, was Vauxhall Gardens, a park with lit walkways, bandstands, performers of all kinds, and stalls selling food and drink, primarily bread and butter to be washed down with tea. Other tea gar dens soon followed. Their appeal was that they provided an elegant, respectable public venue, and a good place to meet members of the opposite sex. Young men at one tea garden, the White Conduit House, would "accidentally" tread on the trains of young women's gowns and offer a dish of tea in recompense; at another tea garden, the Parthenon, women would make the first move, asking their chosen young man to treat them to a dish of tea, according to a contemporary account in the *Gentleman's Magazine.* Tea gardens were particularly popular with women, who had always been excluded from coffeehouses, which were in decline by this time. The more respectable coffeehouses had begun to transform themselves into private gentleman's clubs and commercial institutions; that left only the less respectable ones, which relied on sales of alcohol and were increasingly difficult to distinguish from taverns. As the writer Daniel Defoe remarked, such establishments "are but ale houses, only they think that the name coffee-house gives a better air."

For the poor, tea gradually became an affordable luxury and then a necessity; tricks such as stretching a small quantity of tea with the addition of more water, or reusing tea leaves, finally brought the drink within everyone's reach, in some form at least. Special tea allowances were added to household servants' wages from the mid-eighteenth century; an Italian visitor to England in 1755 remarked that "even the common maid servants must have their tea twice a day." Despite having come from the other side of the world, tea eventually became cheaper than any drink except water. "We are so situated in our commercial and financial system, that tea brought from the eastern extremity of the world, and sugar brought from the West Indies . . . compose a drink cheaper than beer," noted one early nineteenth-century Scottish observer. And when consumed along with cold food, tea provided the illusion of a hot meal. Some people decried the adoption of tea by the poor and argued that rather than aping the habits of the rich, they should spend their money on more nutritious food instead. One lawmaker even suggested that tea should be made illegal for anyone with an annual income less than fifty pounds. But the truth, as one eighteenth-century writer pointed out, was that "were they now to be deprived of this, they would immediately be reduced to bread and water. Tea-drinking is not the cause, but the consequences of the distresses of the poor." The drink of queens had also become the drink of last resort.

From the top of British society to the bottom, everyone was drinking tea. Fashion, commerce, and social changes all played their part in the embrace of tea by the English, a phenomenon that was noted by foreigners even before the end of the eighteenth century. In 1784 a French visitor remarked that "throughout the whole of England the drinking of tea is general. . . . The humblest peasant has his tea twice a day just like the rich man; the total consumption is immense."

A Swedish visitor noted that "next to water, tea is the Englishman's proper element. All classes consume it, and if one is out on the London streets early in the morning, one may see in many places small tables set up under the open sky, round which coal-carters and workmen empty their cups of delicious beverage." Tea had reached around the world from the world's oldest empire and planted itself at the heart of the newest. As they drank their cups of tea at home, the British were reminded of the extent and might of their empire overseas. The rise of tea was entangled with the growth of Britain as a world power and set the stage for further expansion of its commercial and imperial might.

in the very important objects of it, I have the honour to be with great regard, My Lord,

Your Excellency's most obedient
and most humble Servant
Henry Dundas.

6.2 MACARTNEY'S AUDIENCE WITH QIANLONG

After his arrival in China in June 1793, Lord Macartney met twice with the Qianlong emperor at the Rehe summer palace. Although Macartney was treated with great courtesy by Qianlong, he was ultimately frustrated in achieving any of the concrete objects of his mission.

Despite failures in negotiating trade or diplomatic accords, Macartney was remarkably successful in piercing the veils of mystery and misconception that had hitherto prevented Europeans from grasping the nature of Qing China. The following document represents Macartney's assessment of the Qing state and is notable for its acute portrayal of many of the problems that would frustrate Manchu rulers until the abdication of Puyi in 1911. Especially prescient, in this regard, are Macartney's remarks on the frictions inherent in the system of Manchu/Han dyarchy[1] and his accurate comprehension of the dangers of peasant revolt.

Saturday, September 14. This morning at four o'clock a.m. we set out for the Court under the convoy of Wang and Chou, and reached it in little more than an hour, the distance being about three miles from our hotel. I proceeded in great state with all my train music, guards, etc. Sir George Staunton and I went in palanquins and the officers and gentlemen of the Embassy on horseback. Over a rich embroidered velvet I wore the mantle of the Order of the Bath, with the collar, a diamond badge and a diamond star.

Sir George Staunton was dressed in a rich embroidered velvet also, and, being a Doctor of Laws in the University of Oxford, wore the habit of his degree, which is of scarlet silk, full and flowing. I mention these little particulars to show the attention I always paid, where a proper opportunity offered, to oriental customs and ideas. We alighted at the park gate, from whence we walked to the Imperial encampment, and were conducted to a large, handsome tent prepared for us on one side of the Emperor's. After waiting there about an hour his approach was announced by drums and music, on which we quitted our tent and came forward upon the green carpet.

1. The system of double-rule practices throughout the Qing as Han Chinese and Manchu officials served together within many organs of the state bureaucracy.

He was seated in an open palanquin, carried by sixteen bearers, attended by numbers of officers bearing flags, standards, and umbrellas, and as he passed we paid him our compliments by kneeling on one knee, whilst all the Chinese made their usual prostrations. As soon as he had ascended his throne I came to the entrance of the tent, and, holding in both my hands a large gold box enriched with diamonds in which was enclosed the King's letter, I walked deliberately up, and ascending the side-steps of the throne, delivered it into the Emperor's own hands, who, having received it, passed it to the Minister, by whom it was placed on the cushion. He then gave me as the first present from him to His Majesty the *ju-eu-jou* or *giou-giou*, as the symbol of peace and prosperity, and expressed his hopes that my Sovereign and he should always live in good correspondence and amity. It is a whitish, agate-looking stone about a foot and a half long, curiously carved, and highly prized by the Chinese, but to me it does not appear in itself to be of any great value.

The Emperor then presented me with a *ju-eu-jou* of a greenish-coloured stone of the same emblematic character; at the same time he very graciously received from me a pair of beautiful enamelled watches set with diamonds, which I had prepared in consequence of the information given me, and which, having looked at, he passed to the Minister. Sir George Staunton, whom, as he had been appointed Minister Plenipotentiary to act in case of my death or departure, I introduced to him as such, now came forward, and after kneeling upon one knee in the same manner which I had done, presented to him two elegant air-guns, and received from him a *ju-eu-jou* of greenish stone nearly similar to mine. Other presents were sent at the same time to all the gentlemen of my train. We then descended from the steps of the throne, and sat down upon cushions at one of the tables on the Emperor's left hand; and at other tables, according to their different ranks, the chief Tartar Princes and the Mandarins of the Court at the same time took their places, all dressed in the proper robes of their respective ranks. These tables were then uncovered and exhibited a sumptuous banquet. The Emperor sent us several dishes from his own table, together with some liquors, which the Chinese call wine, not, however, expressed from the grape, but distilled or extracted from rice, herbs, and honey. In about half an hour he sent for Sir George Staunton and me to come to him, and gave to each of us, with his own hands, a cup of warm wine, which we immediately drank in his presence, and found it very pleasant and comfortable, the morning being cold and raw.

Amongst other things, he asked me the age of my King, and being informed of it, said he hoped he might live as many years as himself, which are eighty-three. His manner is dignified, but affable, and condescending, and his reception of us has been very gracious and satisfactory. He is a very fine old gentleman, still healthy and vigorous, not having the appearance of a man of more than sixty.

The order and regularity in serving and removing the dinner was wonder-

fully exact, and every function of the ceremony performed with such silence and solemnity as in some measure to resemble the celebration of a religious mystery. The Emperor's tent or pavilion, which is circular, I should calculate to be about twenty-four or twenty-five yards in diameter, and is supported by a number of pillars, either gilded, painted, or varnished, according to their distance and position. In the front was an opening of six yards, and from this opening a yellow fly-tent projected so as to lengthen considerably the space between the entrance and the throne.

The materials and distribution of the furniture within at once displayed grandeur and elegance. The tapestry, the curtains, the carpets, the lanterns, the fringes, the tassels were disposed with such harmony, the colours so artfully varied, and the light and shades so judiciously managed, that the whole assemblage filled the eye with delight, and diffused over the mind a pleasing serenity and repose undisturbed by glitter or affected embellishments. The commanding feature of the ceremony was that calm dignity, that sober pomp of Asiatic greatness, which European refinements have not yet attained.

I forgot to mention that there were present on this occasion three ambassadors from Tatze or Pegu and six Mohammedan ambassadors from the Kalmucks of the south-west, but their appearance was not very splendid. Neither must I omit that, during the ceremony, which lasted five hours, various entertainments of wrestling, tumbling, wire-dancing, together with dramatic representations, were exhibited opposite to the tent, but at a considerable distance from it.

Thus, then, have I seen 'King Solomon in all his glory'. I use this expression, as the scene recalled perfectly to my memory a puppet show of that name which I recollect to have seen in my childhood, and which made so strong an impression on my mind that I then thought it a true representation of the highest pitch of human greatness and felicity.

6.3 Macartney's Description of China's Government

The ancient constitution of China differed essentially from the present. Although the Emperor was styled despotic, and decorated with all the titles and epithets of oriental hyperbole, the power and administration of the state resided in the great councils or tribunals, whose functions were not to be violated or disturbed by court intrigue or ministerial caprice. It was government by law, and when attempts were made by their princes to render it otherwise, as often happened, rebellion was the consequence and expulsion the penalty. Hence according to history the regular succession of the crown was broken through, new sovereigns elected, and the former constitution restored. The present family on the throne is the twenty-second distinct dynasty whose hands have swayed

the sceptre of China. The government as it now stands is properly the tyranny of a handful of Tartars over more than three hundred millions of Chinese.

An uninterrupted succession of four Emperors, all endowed with excellent understandings, uncommon vigor of mind and decision of character, has hitherto obviated the danger of such an enormous disproportion, and not only maintained itself on the throne, but enlarged its dominions to a prodigious extent.

Various causes have contributed to this wonderful phenomenon in the political world. When the Tartars entered China a century and a half ago, the country had long languished under a weak administration, had been desolated by civil wars and rebellions, and was then disputed by several unworthy competitors. The Tartars availing themselves of these circumstances, at first took part as auxiliaries in favour of one of the candidates but they soon became principals, and at last by valour and perseverance surmounted every obstacle to their own establishment. The spirit of the Chinese was now effectually subdued by the weight of calamity; they were wearied with contending for the mere choice of tyrants among themselves, and they less reluctantly submitted to a foreign usurpation. The conquerors, however terrible in arms and ferocious in their manners, were conducted by a leader of a calm judgement as well as of a resolute mind, who tempered the despotism he introduced with so much prudence and policy that it seemed preferable to the other evils which they had so recently groaned under. A state of tranquil subjection succeeded for some time to the turbulence and horrors of a doubtful hostility; the government, though absolute, was at least methodical and regular. It menaced but did not injure; the blow might be dreaded, but it seldom was felt. . . .

The government of China, as now instituted, may not ineptly be compared to Astley's amphitheatre, where a single jockey rides a number of horses at once, who are so nicely bitted and dressed that he can impel them with a whisper, or stop them with a hair. But at the same time he knows the consequence of mismanagement or neglect, and that if they are not properly matched, curried and fed, patted and stoked, some of them will be liable to run out of the circle, to kick at their keepers and refuse to be mounted any longer. Considering then all circumstances, the original defect of title to the inheritance, the incessant anxiety of forcible possession, the odium of a foreign yoke, the inevitable combats of passion in a sovereign's breast, when deceived by artifice, betrayed by perfidy, or provoked by rebellion, the doubtful and intricate boundaries of reward and punishment, where vigor and indulgence may be equally misapplied, the almost incalculable population, the immense extent of dominion, the personal exertions requisite in war, and the no less difficult talents of administration in peace—considering, I say, all these circumstances, the government of such an empire must be a task that has hitherto been performed with wonderful ability and unparalleled success. That such singular skill in the

art of reigning should have been uninterruptedly transmitted through a succession of four princes for upwards of a century and a half would be very difficult to account for, if we did not constantly bear in mind a fundamental principle of the state. All power and authority in China derive solely from the sovereign, and they are not only distributed by him in his life time, but attest their origin after his decease. The appointment of his successor is exclusively vested in him. Without regard to primogeniture, without the fondness of a parent, without the partiality of a friend, he acts on this occasion as the father of the state, and selects the person of his family, whom he judges the most worthy to replace him. Every choice of this kind as yet made has been unexceptionably fortunate. K'ang-hsi proved as great a prince as his father; Yung-cheng was inferior to neither, and Ch'ien-lung surpasses the glory of all his predecessors. Who is the Atlas destined by him to bear this load of empire when he dies is yet unknown, but on whatever shoulders it may fall, another transmigration of Fo-hi into the next emperor will be necessary to enable him to sustain it on its present balance; for though within the serene atmosphere of the Court everything wears the face of happiness and applause, yet it cannot be concealed that the nation in general is far from being easy or contented. The frequent insurrections in the distant provinces are unambiguous oracles of the real sentiments and temper of the people. The predominance of the Tartars and the Emperor's partiality to them are the common subject of conversation among the Chinese whenever they meet together in private, and the constant theme of their discourse. There are certain mysterious societies in every province who are known to be dis-affected, and although narrowly watched by the government, they find means to elude its vigilance and often to hold secret assemblies, where they revive the memory of ancient glory and independence, brood over recent injuries, and mediate revenge.

Though much circumscribed in the course of our travels we had opportunities of observation seldom afforded to others, and not neglected by us. The genuine character of the inhabitants, and the effects resulting from the refined polity and principles of the government, which are meant to restrain and direct them, naturally claimed my particular attention and inquiry. In my researches I often perceived the ground to be hollow under a vast superstructure, and in trees of the most stately and flourishing appearance I discovered symptoms of speedy decay, whilst humbler plants were held by vigorous roots, and mean edifices rested on steady foundations. The Chinese are now recovering from the blows that had stunned them; they are awaking from the political stupor they had been thrown into by the Tartar impression, and begin to feel their native energies revive. A slight collision might elicit fire from the flint, and spread flames of revolt from one extremity of China to the other. In fact the volume of the empire is now grown too ponderous and disproportionate to be easily grasped by a single hand, be it ever so capacious and strong. It is possible, notwithstanding, that the momentum impressed on the machine by the vigor

and wisdom of the present Emperor may keep it steady and entire in its orbit for a considerable time longer; but I should not be surprised if its dislocation or dismemberment were to take place before my own dissolution. Whenever such an event happens, it will probably be attended with all the horrors and atrocities from which they were delivered by the Tartar domination; but men are apt to lose the memory of former evils under the pressure of immediate suffering; and what can be expected from those who are corrupted by servitude, exasperated by despotism and maddened by despair? Their condition, however, might then become still worse than it can be at present. Like the slave who fled into the desert from his chains and was devoured by the lion, they may draw down upon themselves oppression and destruction by their very effort to avoid them, may be poisoned by their own remedies and be buried themselves in the graves which they dug for others. A sudden transition from slavery to freedom, from dependence to authority, can seldom be borne with moderation or discretion. Every change in the state of man ought to be gentle and gradual, otherwise it is commonly dangerous to himself and intolerable to others. A due preparation may be as necessary for liberty as for inoculation of the smallpox which, like liberty, is future health but without due preparation is almost certain destruction. Thus then the Chinese, if not led to emancipation by degrees, but let loose on a burst of enthusiasm would probably fall into all the excesses of folly, suffer all the paroxysms of madness, and be found as unfit for the enjoyment of freedom as the French and the negroes.

6.4 and 6.5 Qianlong's Rejection of Macartney's Demands: Two Edicts

Qianlong's famous edicts to George III were the Qing government's response to the proposals carried to Peking by Lord George Macartney. In 1793, Qianlong ruled territories many times the size of Great Britain; indeed, China with its dependencies was the largest unified empire in the world and had been undefeated in all of the wars it had fought with its neighbors since the seventeenth century. Each year, in adherence to a schedule established by the Board of Rites, tribute emissaries from Burma, Korea, Vietnam, Japan, and other territories trekked to Peking to pay their respects to the Chinese throne. In return for obeisance and tribute, the Qing government condescended to allow these far-flung "vassal states" (*fanguo*) to enjoy trade with China and extended protection to their monarchies. Scholars in these countries learned Chinese and memorized the Chinese classics, and in Korea, Vietnam, and Japan, the lessons of Chinese political and institutional history were assiduously studied and imitated.

The Forbidden City was the center of a political world in which loyalties had been beaten into place the by hard-riding Manchu generals of the seventeenth century. But the historical roots of this polity stretched back some two millennia.

It is, thus, little wonder that the Qianlong emperor regarded Lord Macartney as little more than a self-important tributary emissary and rejected all of his requests without discussion or debate. In the edicts that follow, Macartney's charge from Henry Dundas was refused practically article by article. On his own turf, the Chinese emperor was used to defining things in a peremptory way but also with regard to the precedents built into the Qing scheme of foreign affairs. Qianlong's logic in these edicts was solidly founded on history, power, and a belief that a tiny maritime state thousands of *li* from China was not a force to be reckoned with.

6.4 *The First Edict, September 1793*

You, O King, live beyond the confines of many seas, nevertheless, impelled by your humble desire to partake of the benefits of our civilization, you have dispatched a mission respectfully bearing your memorial. Your Envoy has crossed the seas and paid his respects at my Court on the anniversary of my birthday. To show your devotion, you have also sent offerings of your country's produce.

I have perused your memorial: the earnest terms in which it is couched reveal a respectful humility on your part, which is highly praiseworthy. In consideration of the fact that your Ambassador and his deputy have come a long way with your memorial and tribute, I have shown them high favour and have allowed them to be introduced into my presence. To manifest my indulgence, I have entertained them at a banquet and made them numerous gifts. I have also caused presents to be forwarded to the Naval Commander and six hundred of his officers and men, although they did not come to Peking, so that they too may share in my all-embracing kindness.

As to your entreaty to send one of your nationals to be accredited to my Celestial Court and to be in control of your country's trade with China, this request is contrary to all usage of my dynasty and cannot possibly be entertained. It is true that Europeans, in the service of the dynasty, have been permitted to live at Peking, but they are compelled to adopt Chinese dress, they are strictly confined to their own precincts and are never permitted to return home. You are presumably familiar with our dynastic regulations. Your proposed Envoy to my Court could not be placed in a position similar to that of European officials in Peking who are forbidden to leave China, nor could he, on the other hand, be allowed liberty of movement and the privilege of corresponding with his own country; so that you would gain nothing by his residence in our midst.

Moreover, Our Celestial dynasty possesses vast territories, and tribute missions from the dependencies are provided for by the Department for Tributary States, which ministers to their wants and exercises strict control over their movements. It would be quite impossible to leave them to their own devices. Supposing that your Envoy should come to our Court, his language and national dress differ from that of our people, and there would be no place in which he might reside. It may be suggested that he might imitate the Europeans permanently resident in Peking and adopt the dress and customs of China, but, it has never been our dynasty's wish to force people to do things unseemly and inconvenient. Besides, supposing I sent an Ambassador to reside in your country, how could you possibly make for him the requisite arrangements? Europe consists of many other nations besides your own: if each and all demanded to be represented at our Court, how could we possibly consent? The thing is utterly impracticable. How can our dynasty alter its whole procedure and regulations, established for more than a century, in order to meet your individual views? If it be said that your object is to exercise control over your country's trade, your nationals have had full liberty to trade at Canton for many a year, and have received the greatest consideration at our hands. Missions have been sent by Portugal and Italy, preferring similar requests. The Throne appreciated their sincerity and loaded them with favours, besides authorizing measures to facilitate their trade with China. You are no doubt aware that, when my Canton merchant, Wu Chao-p'ing, was in debt to the foreign ships, I made the Viceroy advance the monies due, out of the provincial treasury, and ordered him to punish the culprit severely. Why then should foreign nations advance this utterly unreasonable request to be represented at my Court? Peking is nearly 10,000 li from Canton, and at such a distance what possible control could any British representative exercise?

If you assert that your reverence for Our Celestial dynasty fills you with a desire to acquire our civilization, our ceremonies and code laws differ so completely from your own that, even if your Envoy were able to acquire the rudiments of our civilization, you could not possibly transplant our manners and customs to your alien soil. Therefore, however adept the Envoy might become, nothing would be gained thereby.

Swaying the wide world, I have but one aim in view, namely, to maintain a perfect governance and to fulfil the duties of the State; strange and costly objects do not interest me. If I have commanded that the tribute offerings sent by you, O King, are to be accepted, this was solely in consideration for the spirit which prompted you to dispatch them from afar. Our dynasty's majestic virtue has penetrated unto every country under Heaven, and Kings of nations have offered their costly tribute by land and sea. As your Ambassador can see for himself, we possess all things. I set no value on objects strange or ingenious, and have no use for your country's manufacturers. This then is my answer to your request to appoint a representative at my Court, a request contrary to our dynastic usage,

which would only result in inconvenience to yourself. I have expounded my wishes in detail and have commanded your tribute Envoys to leave in peace on their homeward journey. It behooves you, O King, to respect my sentiments and to display even greater devotion an secure peace and prosperity for your country hereafter. Besides making gifts (of which I enclose a list) to each member of your Mission, I confer upon you, O King, valuable presents in excess of the number usually bestowed on such occasions, including silks and curios—a list of which is likewise enclosed. Do you reverently receive them and take note of my tender goodwill towards you! A special mandate.

6.5 *The Second Edict, September 1793*

You, O King from afar, have yearned after the blessings of our civilization, and in your eagerness to come into touch with our converting influence have sent an Embassy across the sea bearing a memorial. I have already taken not of your respectful spirit of submission, have treated your mission with extreme favour and loaded it with gifts, besides issuing a mandate to you, O King, and honouring you with the bestowal of valuable presents. Thus has my indulgence been manifested.

Yesterday your Ambassador petitioned my Ministers to memorialize me regarding your trade with China, but his proposal is not consistent with our dynastic usage and cannot be entertained. Hitherto, all European nations, including your own country's barbarian merchants, have carried on their trade with Our Celestial Empire at Canton. Such has been the procedure for many years, although Our Celestial Empire possesses all things in prolific abundance and lacks no product within its own borders. There was therefore no need to import the manufactures of outside barbarians in exchange for our own produce. But as the tea, silk, and porcelain which the Celestial Empire produces are absolute necessities to European nations and to yourselves, we have permitted, as a signal mark of favour, that foreign *hongs* [merchant guilds] should be established at Canton, so that your wants might be supplied and your country thus participate in our beneficence. But your Ambassador has now put forward new requests which completely fail to recognize the Throne's principle to "treat strangers from afar with indulgence," and to exercise a pacifying control over barbarian tribes, the world over. Moreover, our dynasty, swaying the myriad races of the globe, extends the same benevolence towards all. Your England is not the only nation trading at Canton. If other nations, following your bad example, wrongfully importune my ear with further impossible requests, how will it be possible for me to treat them with easy indulgence? Nevertheless, I do not forget the lonely remoteness of your island, cut off from the world by intervening wastes of sea, nor do I overlook your excusable ignorance of the usages of Our Celestial Empire. I have consequently commanded my Ministers

of the mission. But I have doubts that, after your Envoy's return he may fail to acquaint you with my view in detail or that he may be lacking in lucidity, so that I shall now proceed to take your requests *seriatim* and to issue my mandate on each question separately. In this way you will, I trust, comprehend my meaning.

1. Your Ambassador requests facilities for ships of your nation to call at Ningpo, Chusan, Tientsin and other places for purposes of trade. Until now trade with European nations has always been conducted at Macao, where the foreign *hongs* are established to store and sell foreign merchandise. Your nation has obediently complied with this regulation for years past without raising any objection. In none of the other ports named have *hongs* been established, so that even if your vessels were to proceed thither, they would have no means of disposing of their cargoes. Furthermore, no interpreters are available, so you would have no means of explaining your wants, and nothing but general inconvenience would result. For the future, as in the past, I decree that your request is refused and that the trade shall be limited to Macao.
2. The request that your merchants may establish a repository in the capital of my Empire for the storing and sale of your produce, in accordance with the precedent granted to Russia, is even more impracticable than the last. My capital is the hub and centre about which all quarters of the globe revolve. Its ordinances are most august and its laws are strict in the extreme. The subjects of our dependencies have never been allowed to open places of business in Peking. Foreign trade has hitherto been conducted at Macao, because it is conveniently near to the sea, and therefore an important gathering place for the ships of all nations sailing to and fro. If warehouses were established in Peking, the remoteness of your country lying far to the northwest of any capital, would render transport extremely difficult. Before Kiakhta was opened, the Russians were permitted to trade at Peking, but the accommodation furnished them was only temporary. As soon as Kiakhta was available, they were compelled to withdraw from Peking, which has been closed to their trade these many years. Their frontier trade at Kiakhta is equivalent to your trade at Macao. Possessing facilities at the latter place, you now ask for further privileges at Peking, although our dynasty observes the severest restrictions respecting the admission of foreigners within its boundaries, and has never permitted the subjects of dependencies to cross the Empire's barriers and settle at will amongst the Chinese people. This request is also refused.
3. Your request for a small island near Chusan, where your merchants may reside and goods be warehoused, arises from your desire to develop trade. As there are neither foreign *hongs* nor interpreters in or near Chusan, where none of your ships have ever called, such an island would be utterly

useless for your purposes. Every inch of the territory of our Empire is marked on the map and the strictest vigilance is exercised over it all: even tiny islets and far-lying sandbanks are clearly defined as part of the provinces to which they belong. Consider, moreover, that England is not the only barbarian land which wishes to establish relations with our civilization and trade with our Empire: supposing that other nations were all to imitate your evil example and beseech me to present them each and all with a site for trading purposes, how could I possibly comply. This also is a flagrant infringement of the usage of my Empire and cannot possibly be entertained.

4. The next request, for a small site in the vicinity of Canton city, where your barbarian merchants may lodge or, alternatively, that there be no longer any restrictions over their movements at Macao, has arisen from the following causes. Hitherto, the barbarian merchants of Europe have had a definite locality assigned to them at Macao for residence and trade, and have been forbidden to encroach an inch beyond the limits assigned to that locality. Barbarian merchants having business with the *hongs* have never been allowed to enter the city of Canton; by these measures, disputes between Chinese and barbarians are prevented, and a firm barrier is raised between my subjects and those of other nations. The present request is quite contrary to precedent; furthermore, European nations have been trading with Canton for a number of years and, as they make large profits, the number of traders is constantly increasing. How could it be possible to grant such a site to each country? The merchants of the foreign *hongs* are responsible to the local officials for the proceedings of barbarian merchants and they carry out periodical inspections. If these restrictions were withdrawn, friction would inevitably occur between the Chinese and your barbarian subjects, and the results would militate against the benevolent regard that I feel towards you. From every point of view, therefore, it is best that the regulations now in force should continue unchanged.
5. Regarding your request for remission or reduction of duties on merchandise discharged by your British barbarian merchants at Macao and distributed throughout the interior, there is a regular tariff in force for barbarian merchants' goods, which applies equally to all European nations. It would be as wrong to increase the duty imposed on your nation's merchandise on the ground that the bulk of foreign trade is in your hands, as to make an exception in your case in the shape of specially reduced duties. In the future, duties shall be levied equitably without discrimination between your nation and any other, and, in order to manifest my regard, your barbarian merchants shall continue to be shown every consideration at Macao.
6. As to your request that your ships shall pay the duties leviable by tariff, there are regular rules in force at the Canton Custom house respecting the amounts payable, and since I have refused your request to be allowed to trade at other ports, this duty will naturally continue to be paid at Canton as heretofore.
7. Regarding your nation's worship of the Lord of Heaven, it is the same religion as that of other European nations. Ever since the beginning of history, sage Emperors and wise rulers have bestowed on China a moral system and inculcated a code, which from time immemorial has been religiously observed by the myriads of my subjects. There has been no hankering after heterodox doctrines. Even the European [missionary] officials in my capital are forbidden to hold intercourse with Chinese subjects; they are restricted within the limits of their appointed residences, and may not go about propagating their religion. The distinction between Chinese and barbarian is most strict, and your Ambassador's request that barbarians shall be given full liberty to disseminate their religion is utterly unreasonable.

It may be, O King, that the above proposals have been wantonly made by your Ambassador on his own responsibility or peradventure you yourself are ignorant of our dynastic regulations and had no intention of transgressing them when you expressed these wild ideas and hopes. I have ever shown the greatest condescension to the tribute missions of all States which sincerely yearn after the blessings of civilization, so as to manifest my kindly indulgence. I have even gone out of my way to grant any requests which were in any way consistent with Chinese usage. Above all, upon you, who live in a remote and inaccessible region, far across the spaces of ocean, but who have shown your submissive loyalty by sending this tribute mission, I have heaped benefits far in excess of those accorded to other nations. But the demands presented by your Embassy are not only a contravention of dynastic tradition, but would be utterly unproductive of good result to yourself, besides being quite impracticable. I have accordingly stated the facts to you in detail, and it is your bounden duty reverently to appreciate my feelings and to obey these instructions henceforward for all time, so that you may enjoy the blessings of perpetual peace. If, after the receipt of this explicit decree, you lightly give ear to the representation of your subordinates and allow your barbarian merchants to proceed to Chekiang and Tientsin, with the object of landing and trading there, the ordinances of my Celestial Empire are strict in the extreme, and the local officials, both civil and military, are bound reverently to obey the law of the land. Should your vessels touch shore, your merchants will assuredly never be permitted to land or to reside there, but will be subject to instant expulsion. In that event your barbarian merchants will have had a long journey for nothing. Do not say that you were not warned in due time! Tremblingly obey and show no negligence! A special mandate!

installed him in his temple in Nikkō. From this temple, the Tōshōgū, Ieyasu continued to watch over the fortunes of the dynasty he had established.

CODE FOR THE WARRIOR HOUSEHOLDS (BUKE SHOHATTO)

The regulations for warrior households are concerned mainly with military security, the maintenance of a hierarchical order, and the avoidance of material display. Most administration is left to internal, personal "household" management. Note that article 3 asserts that law is not subject to principle, contrary to Neo-Confucian teaching.

1. One must wholly devote oneself to the civil and the military arts and to the Way of the bow and the horse.

To have the civil on the left and the military on the right is the ancient practice. One must be equipped with both. The bow and horse are the most important things for warriors. Weapons are called dismal instruments, but [sometimes] one cannot avoid using them. "In times of order, do not forget turmoil." How could one not exert oneself in training and perfecting oneself [in the use of arms]?

2. Drinking parties and idle, wanton amusements should be restricted.

The rigorous restrictions that codes of law placed [on this behavior] are especially strict. States have been lost because their rulers were infatuated with sex or made gambling their chief occupation.

3. Those who have defied the laws shall not be given sanctuary in any of the provinces.

Law is the root of ritual and decorum. Principle can be violated in the name of the law, but the law cannot be violated in the name of principle. Those who defy the laws will not be punished lightly.

4. The greater and lesser lords of all the provinces and all their stipended officials must speedily expel any soldiers in their service who have been accused of rebellion or murder.

Those who harbor untoward ambitions are the sharp instruments that overturn the state, the dart and sword that cut off people [from their livelihood]. How could one condone them?

5. From now on, no one who is not from that province shall be allowed to live there [freely] among [the inhabitants of that province].

Generally speaking, each province has its own, different customs. If someone either reported abroad the secrets of his own province or reported in his own province the secrets of other provinces, it would be the beginning of fawning and flattering.

6. Any repairs of the castles in the provinces must certainly be reported [to the *bakufu*]—as well as new construction, which is strictly forbidden!

Walls extending more than one hundred *chi* [a measure for city walls: thirty feet long by ten feet high] are a peril to the state. High fortresses and well-dredged moats are the origin of great turmoil.

7. If new [construction] is planned or bands are formed in a neighboring province, you must speedily inform [the *bakufu*].

"All men are given to factionalism, and wise men are few. For this reason they sometimes do not obey their lords or fathers, or they feud with neighboring villages."[1] Why do they plan new things instead of abiding by the old institutions?

8. One must not contract marriages privately.

The bonds of marriage are the way of yin and yang's mutual harmony. One should not enter them lightly. [The explanation of the diagram] *kui* [in the *Yijing*] says: "Marriage should not be contracted out of enmity [against others]. Marriages intended to effect an alliance with enemies [of the state] will turn out badly." The ode "Peach Blossoms" [in the *Shijing*] says: "When men and women behave correctly and marriages are arranged in the proper season, then throughout the land there will be no unmarried men."[2] To use one's marriage relations in order to establish factions is at the root of evil schemes.

9. How the daimyo should report for duty.

Chronicles of Japan, Continued[3] contains a regulation saying: "If one is not engaged in official duties, one should not at will assemble one's clansmen. One cannot move through the capital with a retinue of more than twenty horsemen." Therefore, one should not bring with oneself great masses of soldiers. Daimyo with an estate of 1 million to 200,000 *koku* should not be escorted by more than twenty mounted warriors; those with an estate of less than [1?]100,000 [*sic*] *koku* should reduce their escort proportionally. However, when a daimyo is performing his official tasks, he may be followed by as many men as his rank entitles him to.

10. Restrictions on the type and quality of clothing should not be transgressed.

One should be able to distinguish between lord and retainer, high and low. Ordinary people who have not been authorized to wear them cannot wear white robes with narrow sleeves (*kosode*) of white damask, *kosode* made of glossed unpatterned silk and dyed purple inside, or purple-lined robes (*awase*). It is against all ancient law that nowadays vassals and soldiers are wearing gaudy clothes of damask, gauze, or embroidered silk. This must be strictly regulated.

11. Ordinary people should not ride indiscriminately in palanquins.

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1. See de Bary et al., eds., *Sources of Japanese Tradition*, 2nd ed., vol. 1, p. 51, article I.
2. Neither the *Yijng* nor the *Shijing* is quoted or interpreted correctly here.
3. *Shoku Nihongi* is the second of the Six National Histories (Rikkokushi). It was finished in 797 and covers the years from 697 to 791.

In the past, depending on the person, some families rode in palanquins without [the need to obtain a special] permission, and some did so after they had obtained permission. Recently, however, even vassals and soldiers ride in palanquins. This is really the extreme of presumption. Henceforth, a lord of a province and the senior members of his house may ride [in palanquins] without first needing to ask for permission. In addition to them, attendants of nobles, members of the two professions of physicians and astrologers, people sixty years and older, and sick people will be allowed to ride [in a palanquin] after they have applied for permission. The master of vassals and soldiers who willfully ride [in palanquins] should be held to blame.

12. Warriors in the provinces should practice frugality.

The rich will flaunt their wealth more and more, and the poor will be ashamed because they cannot measure up to the average. Nothing is more demoralizing than this. It is something that should be strictly regulated.

13. The lord of a province should select those who have talent and abilities for the tasks of government.

Generally speaking, the way of ruling a state is a matter of getting the [right] men. Merit and faults should be clearly examined, and rewards and punishments should always be appropriate. When a state has good men, that state will flourish more and more; when a state does not, it will certainly perish. This is the clear admonition of the wise men of old.

The preceding [code] must be complied with.

Dated: 7th month of Keichō 20 [1615]

[*Dai Nihon shiryō*, vol. 12, pt. 22, pp. 19–22; WB]

CODE FOR THE IMPERIAL COURT AND COURT NOBILITY (KINCHŪ NARABI NI KUGE SHOHATTO)

This code does not hesitate to prescribe proper conduct for the emperor and court nobility, and it even censures the emperor's failure to observe court precedents. In addition, the official Buddhist hierarchy is treated as subordinate to the court and is seen as corrupted by it.[4]

1. Of all the emperor's various accomplishments, learning is the most important. If an emperor does not study, he will not clearly know the ancient way; [never yet has such an emperor] been able to establish great peace through his

4. Lee A. Butler, "Tokugawa Ieyasu's Regulation for the Court: A Reappraisal," *Harvard Journal of Asian Studies* 54 (1994): 532–36.

rule. *Jōgan seiyō*[5] is a clear text, and although *Kanpyō yuikai*[6] does not plumb the full depth of the classics and histories, it [should be read and memorized, as should] *Gunsho chiyō*.[7] Ever since Emperor Kōkō, [our country has known] a continuous tradition of *waka* (thirty-one-syllable verse) [composition]. Although *waka* are a matter of fine words,[8] composing them is a custom of our country that should not be abandoned. As it says in *Kinpi-shō*,[9] [the emperor] should exclusively concentrate on learning.

2. The three dukes (*sankō*)[10] take precedence over the imperial princes (*shinnō*). The reason is that the great minister of the right, Fujiwara no Fuhito, was ranked above Prince Toneri.[11] Specifically, Prince Toneri and Prince Nakano[12] were posthumously appointed prime minister, and Prince Hozumi[13] was given the same privileges (*jun*) as those of a great minister of the right. All of them already were princes of the first rank and were appointed great minister only afterward. Is this not indisputable [proof] that [imperial princes] rank below the three dukes? After the imperial princes come the former great ministers. The three dukes who are in office rank above the imperial princes, but

5. *Jōgan seiyō* (Ch. *Zhenguan zhengyao*), 10 *kan*, was composed during the Tang dynasty by Wu Jing. It purports to contain the discussions that the second emperor of the Tang, Taizong, had with his ministers. These discussions are arranged in forty different categories.

6. *Kanpyō yuikai* is a set of instructions and admonitions written by Emperor Uda for his successor, Emperor Go-Daigo, and given by him to the latter when he abdicated in his favor. The text is in *Gunsho ruijū* 475.

7. *Gunsho chiyō* (Ch. *Chunshu zhiyao*), 50 *kan*, was composed during the Tang dynasty by Wei Zheng and others, on imperial command. It consists of excerpts from the classics and works on government of later writers.

8. Fine, beautiful words but also, in a Buddhist context, "lying words"!

9. *Kinpi-shō*, 3 *kan*, was composed by Emperor Juntoku. The book treats all aspects of the life at court: buildings, utensils, rituals and ceremonies, styles of letter writing, subjects of study, and the like. The text is in *Gunsho ruijū, zatsubu*, and in *Ressei zenshū, Gosenshū* 6.

10. The term *sankō* (Ch. *sangong*) dates back to the kingdom of Zhou and denotes the three highest dignitaries at the royal, later the imperial, court. In Japan, this word denotes the prime minister (*dajō daijin*), the great minister of the left (*sadaijin*), and the great minister of the right (*udaijin*).

11. Toneri-shinnō (675–735), the third son of Emperor Tenmu and a daughter of Emperor Tenji, and the father of Emperor Junnin. He was appointed to oversee the compilation of *Nihon shoki* and, after Fujiwara no Fuhito died (720), was named acting prime minister (*chidajōkanji*). He was appointed as prime minister posthumously (735).

12. Nakano-shinnō (792–867), the twelfth son of Emperor Kanmu. He was appointed as the governor of Dazaifu (Kyushu) in 830. Both his promotion to the first princely rank (*ippon*) and his appointment as prime minister were posthumous, based on the fact that through his daughter he had become the grandfather of Emperor Uda.

13. Hozumi-shinnō (d. 715), the fifth son of Emperor Tenmu. He became acting prime minister (*chidajō kanji*) in 705. He was promoted to the first princely rank (*ippon*) in the first month of 715, half a year before his death.

In the Han and the Tang dynasties, many Chinese women chose death for the sake of rightness in defending their duties. Likewise in Japan the wives and daughters of samurai have not let considerations of success or failure alter their sense of rightness, nor have they allowed matters of life and death to change their minds about what is right. Thus some sacrificed themselves [while] fighting rebels, and others died [while] combating enemy warriors. What can femininity and softness have to do with defending propriety or standing for what is right? In women the yin forces predominate; their bodies are naturally weaker and they are more submissive in mind and heart. Therefore yielding and compliance characterize their activities, but these are to be governed by resoluteness. Lewdness should never, not even at play or in jokes, be part of one's relations with women. Taught by the moral Way of rightness and duty, shown in what is essential to the Way of the samurai, the Way of husband and wife will then be correct, and the great Confucian Way of human moral relations will be illumined [made manifest in action].

[Adapted from *Yamaga Sokō zenshū: Shisōhen*, vol. 1, pp. 481–82, 485–86, 495–97; JAT]

THE WAY OF THE SAMURAI (*SHIDŌ*)

The opening passage of *The Way of the Samurai*, which follows, lays the groundwork for Sokō's exhaustive discussion of this subject as recorded by his disciples. Reflecting the general Neo-Confucian approach to ethics (compare, for example, Yamazaki Ansai's discussion of the guiding principles of Zhu Xi's school), it is entitled "Establishing One's Fundamental Aim: Knowledge of One's Own Function." Here Sokō stresses the correct understanding of one's place and function in a feudal society and its application to Confucian ethics based on personal relationships.

The master once said: The generation of all men and of all things in the universe is accomplished by means of the marvelous interaction of the two forces [yin and yang]. Man is the most highly endowed of all creatures, and all things culminate in man. For generation after generation, men have taken their livelihood from tilling the soil, or devised and manufactured tools, or produced profit from mutual trade, so that peoples' needs were satisfied. Thus the occupations of farmer, artisan, and merchant necessarily grew up as complementary to one another. But the samurai eats food without growing it, uses utensils without manufacturing them, and profits without buying or selling. What is the justification for this? When I reflect today on my pursuit in life, [I realize that] I was born into a family whose ancestors for generations have been warriors and whose pursuit is service at court. The samurai is one who does not cultivate, does not manufacture, and does not engage in trade, but it cannot be that he has no function at all as a samurai. He who satisfies his needs without performing any function at all would more properly be called an idler. Therefore one must devote all one's mind to the detailed examination of one's calling.

Human beings aside, does any creature in the land—bird or animal, lowly fish or insect, or inanimate plant or tree—fulfill its nature by being idle? Birds and beasts fly and run to find their own food; fish and insects seek their food as they go about with one another; plants and trees put their roots ever deeper into the earth. None of them has any respite from seeking food, and none neglects for a day or an instant in a year its flying, running, or going about [for food]. All things are thus. Among men, the farmers, artisans, and merchants also do the same. He who lives his whole life without working should be called a rebel against Heaven. Hence we ask ourselves how it can be that the samurai should have no occupation, and it is only then when we ask about the function of the samurai that [the nature of] his calling becomes apparent. If one does not apprehend this by oneself, one will depend on what others say or [will understand] only what is shown in books. Since one will not then truly comprehend it with one's heart, one's purpose will not be firmly grounded. When one's purpose is not firmly grounded, owing to one's long ingrained bad habits of lethargy and vacillation, one will be inconstant and shallow. [In this condition] can the samurai's purpose by any means mature? For this reason, one must first establish the basic principle of the samurai. If one follows the suggestion of someone else or leaves matters to the shifting dictates of one's own heart, even though one may, for example, achieve what one wants in a given instance, it will be difficult for one to fulfill one's purpose in any true sense.

If he deeply fixes his attention on what I have said and examines closely his own function, it will become clear what the business of the samurai is. The business of the samurai is to reflect on his own station in life, to give loyal service to his master if he has one, to strengthen his fidelity in associations with friends, and, with due consideration of his own position, to devote himself to duty above all. However, in his own life, he will unavoidably become involved in obligations between father and child, older and younger brother, and husband and wife. Although these are also the fundamental moral obligations of everyone in the land, the farmers, artisans, and merchants have no leisure from their occupations, and so they cannot constantly act in accordance with them and fully exemplify the Way. Because the samurai has dispensed with the business of the farmer, artisan, and merchant and confined himself to practicing this Way, if there is someone in the three classes of the common people who violates these moral principles, the samurai should punish him summarily and thus uphold the proper moral principles in the land. It would not do for the samurai to know martial and civil virtues without manifesting them. Since this is the case, outwardly he stands in physical readiness for any call to service, and inwardly he strives to fulfill the Way of the lord and subject, friend and friend, parent and child, older and younger brother, and husband and wife. Within

his heart he keeps to the ways of peace, but without, he keeps his weapons ready for use. The three classes of the common people make him their teacher and respect him. By following his teachings, they are able to understand what is fundamental and what is secondary.

Herein lies the Way of the samurai, the means by which he earns his clothing, food, and shelter and by which his heart is put at ease; and he is able to pay back at length his obligation to his lord and the kindness of his parents. If he did not have this duty, it would be as though he were to steal the kindness of his parents, greedily devour the income of his master, and make his whole life a career of robbery and banditry. This would be very unfortunate. Thus I say that he first must study carefully the duties of his own station in life. Those who have no such understanding should immediately join one of the three classes of the common people. Some should make their living by cultivating the fields; some should pass their lives as artisans; and some should devote themselves to buying and selling. Then the retribution of Heaven will be light. But if by chance he wished to perform public service and to remain a samurai, he should commit himself to performing even menial functions; he should accept a small income; he should reduce his indebtedness to his master; and he should be ready to do simple tasks [such as] gatekeeping and nightwatch duty. This then is [the samurai's] calling. The man who takes or seeks the pay of a samurai and wants a stipend without understanding his function at all must feel shame in his heart. Therefore I say that what the samurai should take as his fundamental aim is to know his own function.

[*Yamaga Sokō bunshū*, pp. 45–48; RT, WTdB]

SHORT PREFACE TO THE *ESSENTIAL TEACHINGS OF THE SAGES* (*SEIKYŌ YŌROKU*)

In this preface to the *Essential Teachings of the Sages* (1665), Sokō's pupils explain the risks of publishing this work and the reasons why Sokō nevertheless insisted on going ahead with it. Indeed, the year after its publication, Sokō was sent into exile.

The sages lived long ago in the past, and their precise teachings have gradually been lost. The scholars of the Han, Tang, Song, and Ming dynasties have misled the world, piling confusion upon confusion. And if this has been true in China, how much the more has it been true in Japan.

Our teacher appeared in this country two thousand years after the time of the sages. He has held to the Way of the Duke of Zhou and Confucius and was the first to address their essential teachings. Whatever the problem—of the individual, of the family, the state, or the world—and whether it has concerned the arts of peace or the arts of war, his teaching has never failed to solve it and

deal with it effectively. Truly the presence of such a teacher among us is a sign of the beneficial influences emanating from our good government.

In order to preserve his teachings for posterity but not knowing whether the general public should be allowed to share in its benefits, we, his disciples, collected his sayings and then made this request of our master: "These writings should be kept secret and sacred to us; they should not be spread abroad among men. Your criticisms of Confucian scholarship in the Han, Tang, Song, and Ming dynasties contradict the prevailing view among scholars. Some readers might complain to the authorities about it."

The master answered, "Ah, you young men should know better. The Way is the Way of all-under-Heaven; it cannot be kept to oneself. Instead, it should be made to permeate all-under-Heaven and be practiced in all ages. If this book can help even a single man stand on his own convictions, that will be a contribution to the moral uplift of our times. The noble man must sometimes give his life in the fulfillment of his humanity. Why should my writings be kept secret?

"Moreover, to talk about the Way and mislead people concerning it is the greatest crime in the world. The textual exegesis of the Han and the Tang, the Song and Ming school of principle, so clever in speech and full of talk, wanted to clear up the confusion but ended up only making it worse. The sages were left sitting in filth and mud—a dreadful spectacle!

"The sages' scriptures are self-evident to all-under-Heaven; there is no need for lengthy comment. And I, deficient in scholarship and no master of letters—how could I aspire to write a new commentary on these sacred texts or engage in controversy with other scholars about them? And yet unless this is done, the filth and defilement of these other scholars cannot be cleansed away and the texts restored to their original purity.

"I am 'mindful of future generations' and aware of my own shortcomings. Once my sayings are out in public, all the world will publicize them, condemn them, and criticize them. Should these reports, accusations, and criticisms help correct my mistakes, it will be a great blessing to the Way. They say, 'A pig of a barbarian invites ridicule; the boastful ass is apt to fall on his own knee.' The weakness of us all lies in seeing only our own side and not seeing that of others, in the lack of open-mindedness.

"I look up to the Duke of Zhou and Confucius for guidance, but not to the Confucians of the Han, Tang, Song, or Ming. What I aim to master is the teaching of the sages, not the aberrant views of deviationists; in my work I occupy myself with everyday affairs, not with a transcendental feeling of being 'unconstrained.'[8] . . . The Way of the sages is not one person's private possession.

8. Reference to the serenity of mind that Zhu Xi attributed to his teacher Li Tong, attained through quiet sitting.

The First Opium War

The Anglo-Chinese War of 1839-1842

Essay by Peter C. Perdue

Opium clipper "Water Witch"(1831)
National Maritime Museum, London
[1831_WaterWitch_PW7719_nmm]

THE OPIUM TRADE

Introduction

The Opium Wars of 1839 to 1842 and 1856 to 1860 marked a new stage in China's relations with the West. China's military defeats in these wars forced its rulers to sign treaties opening many ports to foreign trade. The restrictions imposed under the Canton system were abolished. Opium, despite imperial prohibitions, now became a regular item of trade. As opium flooded into China, its price dropped, local consumption increased rapidly, and the drug penetrated all levels of society. In the new treaty ports, foreign traders collaborated with a greater variety of Chinese merchants than under the Canton system, and they ventured deeply into the Chinese interior. Missionaries brought Christian teachings to villagers, protected by the diplomatic rights obtained under the treaties. Popular hostility to the new foreigners began to rise.

Not surprisingly, Chinese historians have regarded the two Opium Wars as unjust impositions of foreign power on the weakened Qing empire. In the 20th century, the Republic of China made strenuous efforts to abolish what it called "unequal treaties." It succeeded in removing most of them in World War II, but this phase of foreign imperialism only ended completely with the reversion of Hong Kong to China in 1997. Conventional textbooks even date the beginning of modern Chinese history from the end of the first Opium War in 1842.

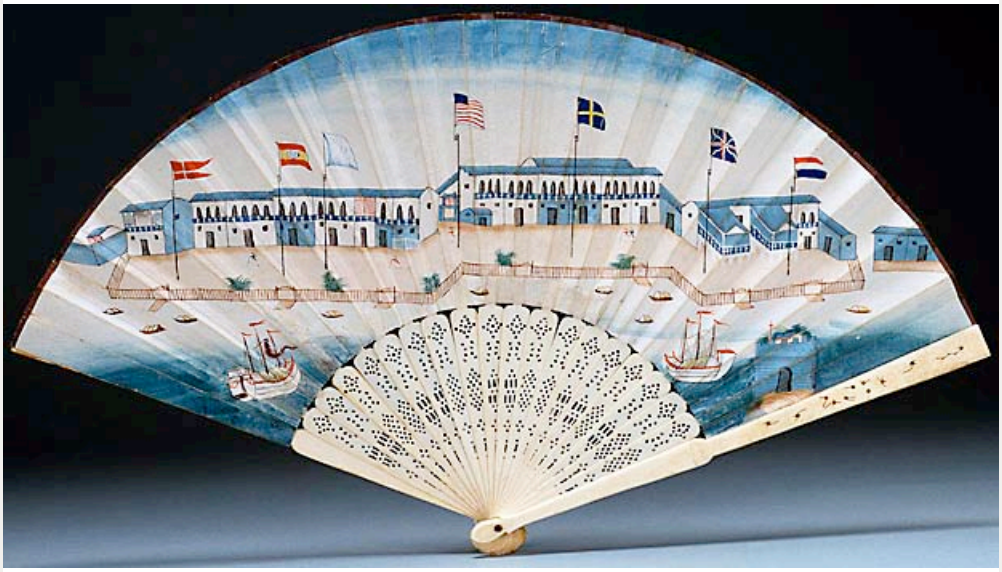
Although the wars, opium trade, and treaties did reflect superior Western military force, focusing only on Western impositions on China gives us too narrow a picture of this period. This was not only a time of Western and Chinese conflict over trade, but a time of great global transformation in which China played one important role. The traders in opium included Britain, the U.S., Turkey, India, and Southeast Asia as well as domestic Chinese merchants. The origins of opium consumption in China are very old, and its first real boom as an item of consumption began after tobacco was introduced from the New World in the 16th century and Chinese smokers took a fancy to mixing it with the drug.

The Qing court was not in principle hostile to useful trade. In 1689 and 1727, the court had negotiated treaties with Russia to exchange furs from Siberia for tea, and allowed the Russians to live in a foreigners' guest house in Beijing. Qing merchants and officials also traded extensively with Central Eurasian merchants from Bukhara and the Kazakh nomads for vital supplies of wool, horses, and meat. The court knew well the value of the southern coastal trade as well, since revenues from the Canton trade went directly into the Imperial Household department.

The Opium Wars are rightly named: it was not trade per se but rather unrestricted drug trade by the Western powers, particularly Britain, that precipitated them. As the wars unfolded, however, it became clear that far more than opium was ultimately involved. The very nature of China's hitherto aloof relationship with the world was profoundly challenged, and long decades of internal upheaval lay ahead.

Tensions Under the Canton Trade System

Under the system established by the Qing dynasty to regulate trade in the 18th century, Western traders were restricted to conducting trade through the southern port of Canton (Guangzhou). They could only reside in the city in a limited space, including their warehouses; they could not bring their families; and they could not stay there more a few months of the year. Qing officials closely supervised trading relations, allowing only licensed merchants from Western countries to trade through a monopoly guild of Chinese merchants called the Cohong. Western merchants could not contact Qing officials directly, and there were no formal diplomatic relations between China and Western countries. The Qing emperor regarded trade as a form of tribute, or gifts given to him personally by envoys who expressed gratitude for his benevolent rule.



Canton, where the business of trade was primarily conducted during this period, is depicted on this fan created for the foreign market. Seven national flags fly from the Western headquarters that line the shore.

Chinese Fan with Foreign Factories at Canton, 1790–1800

Peabody Essex Museum [cwOF_1790c_E80202_fan]

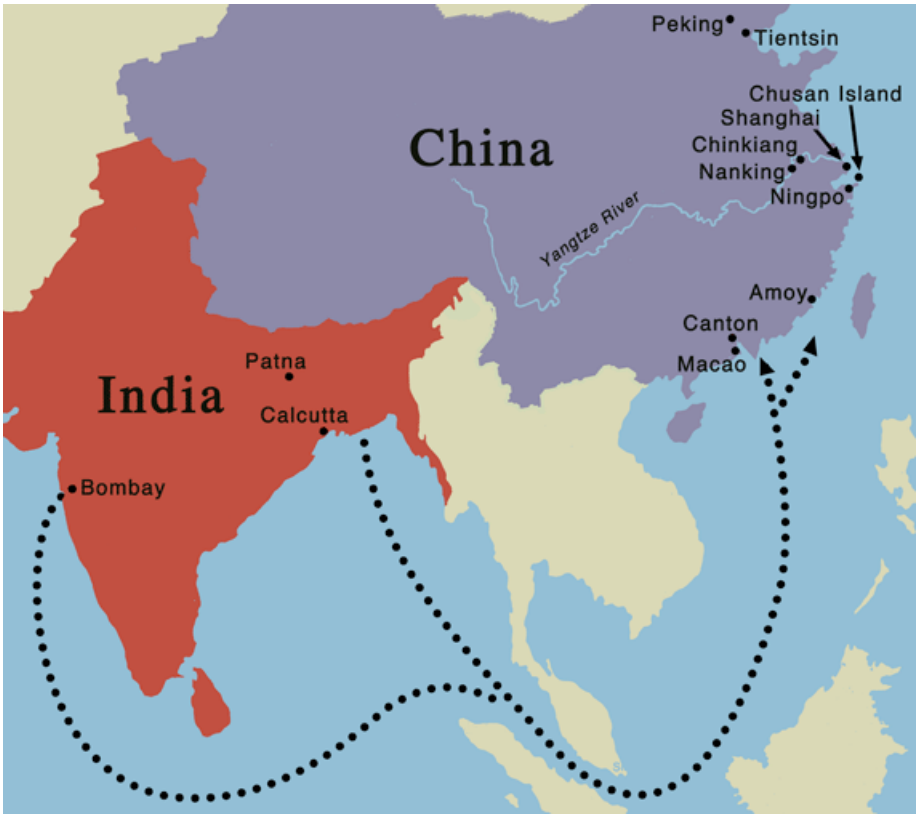
Western traders, for their part, mainly conducted trade through licensed monopoly companies, like Britain's East India Company and the Dutch VOC. Despite these restrictions, both sides learned how to make profits by cooperating with each other. The Chinese hong merchants, the key intermediaries between the foreign traders and the officials, developed close relations with their Western counterparts, instructing them on how to conduct their business without antagonizing the Chinese bureaucracy.

As the volume of trade grew, however, the British demanded greater access to China's markets. Tea exports from China grew from 92,000 pounds in 1700 to 2.7 million pounds in 1751. By 1800 the East India Company was buying 23 million pounds of tea per year at a cost of 3.6 million pounds of silver. Concerned that the China trade was draining silver out of England, the British searched for a counterpart commodity to trade for tea and porcelain. They found it in opium, which they planted in large quantities after they had taken Bengal, in India, in 1757.

British merchants blamed the restrictions of the Canton trade for the failure to export enough goods to China to balance their imports of tea and porcelain. Thus, Lord George Macartney's mission to the court in Beijing in 1793 aimed to promote British trade by creating direct ties between the British government and the emperor. Macartney, however, portrayed his embassy as a tribute mission to celebrate the emperor's birthday. He had only one man with him who could speak Chinese.

When he tried to raise the trade question, after following the tribute rituals, Macartney's demands were rejected. His gifts of astronomical instruments, intended to impress the Qing emperor with British technological skills, in fact did not look very impressive: the emperor had already received similar items from Jesuits in earlier decades. Macartney's failure, and the failure of a later mission (the Amherst embassy) in 1816, helped to convince the British that only force would induce the Qing government to open China's ports.

Opium Clippers & the Expanding Drug Trade



Opium routes between British-controlled India and China

[map_OpRoutes_BrEmpire21_234-5]

New fast sailing vessels called clipper ships, built with narrow decks, large sail areas, and multiple masts, first appeared in the Pacific in the 1830s and greatly stimulated the tea trade. They carried less cargo than the bulky East Indiamen, but could bring fresh teas to Western markets much faster. Clipper ships also proved very convenient for smuggling opium, and were openly and popularly identified as "opium clippers." Ships like the *Red Rover* could bring opium quickly from Calcutta to Canton, doubling their owners' profits by making two voyages a year.

At Canton, Qing prohibitions had forced the merchants to withdraw from Macao (Macau) and Whampoa and retreat to Lintin island, at the entrance of the Pearl River, beyond the jurisdiction of local officials. There the merchants received opium shipments from India and handed the chests over to small Chinese junks and rowboats called "fast crabs" and "scrambling dragons," to be distributed at small harbors along the coast. The latter local smuggling boats were sometimes propelled by as many as twenty or more oars on each side.

The Pearl River Delta

[map_MouthCantonRiver_p79747]

The major India source of British opium bound for China was Patna in Bengal, where the drug was processed and packed into chests holding about 140 pounds. The annual flow to China was around 4,000 chests by 1790, and a little more than double this by the early 1820s. Imports began to increase rapidly in the 1830s, however, as "free trade" agitation gained strength in Britain and the East India Company's monopoly over the China trade approached its termination date (in 1834). The Company became more dependent than ever on opium revenue, while private merchants hastened to increase their stake in the lucrative trade. On the eve of the first Opium War, the British were shipping some 40,000 chests to China annually. By this date, it was estimated that there were probably around ten million opium smokers in China, two million of them addicts. (American merchants shipped around 10,000 chests between 1800 to 1839.)

OPIUM IMPORTS TO CHINA FROM INDIA
(1 chest = approximately 140 pounds)

1773	1,000 chests
1790	4,000 chests
early 1820s	10,000 chests
1828	18,000 chests
1839	40,000 chests
1865	76,000 chests
1884	81,000 chests (peak)

Source: Jonathan Spence, *Chinese Roundabout* (Norton, 1992), pp. 233-35

"The Opium Ships at Lintin in China, 1824"
Print based on a painting by "W. J. Huggins, Marine Painter to His late Majesty William the 4th"

National Maritime Museum
[1824_PZ0240_Lintin_nmm]

In 1831, it was estimated that between 100 and 200 "fast crab" smuggling boats were operating in the waters around Lintin Island, the rendezvous point for opium imports. Ranging from 30 to 70 feet in length, with crews of upwards of 50 or 60 men, these swift rowboats could put on sail for additional speed. They were critical in navigating China's often shallow rivers and delivering opium to the interior.

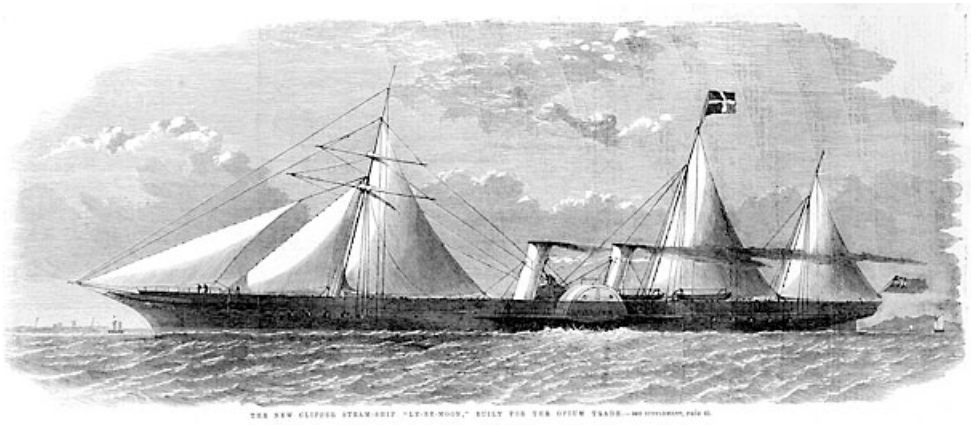
"Fast Boat or Smuggler," from Captain E. Belcher,
Narrative of a Voyage Round the World *(1843), p. 238*

[1843_belcher_238_FastBoat]

"The 'Streatham' *and the opium clipper* 'Red Rover'*"*

The Streatham, *an East India Company ship, is shown at anchor in the Hooghly River, Calcutta. Near the bank, the* Red Rover, *the first of the "opium clippers," sits with her sails lowered. Built for speed, the* Red Rover *doubled the profits of her owners by completing two Calcutta-to-China smuggling voyages a year.*

[BHC3580_opiumcl_nmm.jpg]



"The new clipper steam-ship "LY-EE-MOON," built for the opium trade," Illustrated London News, *ca. 1859*

A quarter century after revolutionizing the drug trade, the celebrated "opium clippers" had begun to undergo a further revolution with the addition of coal-fueled, steam-driven paddle wheels. This illustration appeared in the Illustrated London News *in 1859, two decades after the first Opium War began.*

[1800s_LyEeMoonILN_Britannca]

Mandarins, Merchants & Missionaries

The opium trade was so vast and profitable that all kinds of people, Chinese and foreigners, wanted to participate in it. Wealthy literati and merchants were joined by people of lower classes who could now afford cheaper versions of the drug. Hong merchants cooperated with foreign traders to smuggle opium when they could get away with it, bribing local officials to look the other way. Smugglers, peddlers, secret societies, and even banks in certain areas all became complicit in the drug trade.

Chinese Mandarins, Illustrated London News, *November 12, 1842*

[iln_1842_174_mandarins_012b]

Three paintings of the Chinese hong merchants (details)

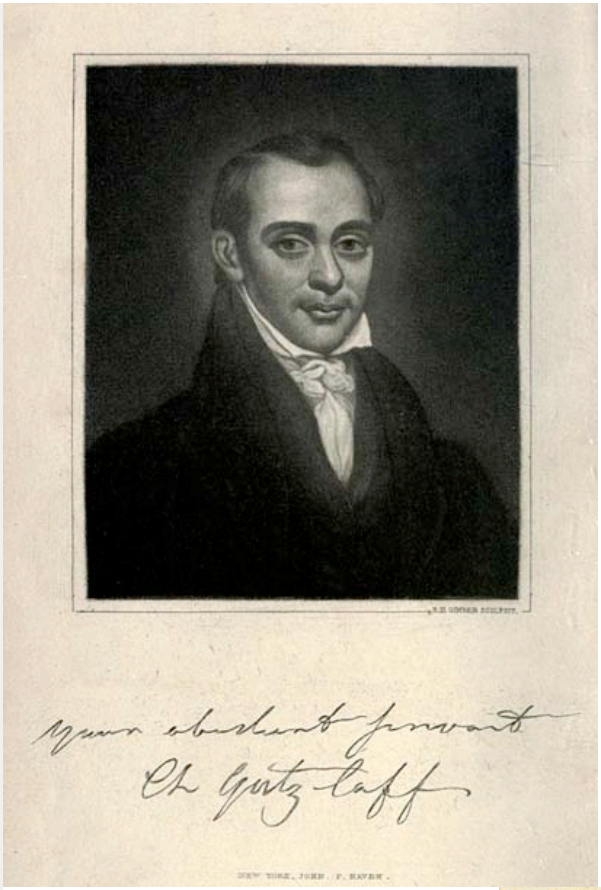
Left Howqua, by George Chinnery, 1830

Middle Mowqua, by Lam Qua, 1840s

Right Tenqua, by Lam Qua, ca. 1840s

Peabody Essex Museum
[cwPT_1830_howqua_chinnery] [cwPT_1840s_ct79_Mouqua]
[cwPT_1840s_ct78_Tenqua]

Opium, as an illegal commodity, brought in no customs revenue, so local officials exacted fees from merchants. Even missionaries who deplored the opium trade on moral grounds commonly found themselves drawn into it, or dependent on it, in one form or another. They relied on the opium clippers for transportation and communication, for example, and used merchants dealing in opium as their bankers and money changers. Karl Gützlaff (1803–1851), a Protestant missionary from Pomerania who was an exceptionally gifted linguist, gained a modicum of both fame and notoriety by becoming closely associated with the opium trade and then serving the British in the Opium War—not just as an interpreter, but also as an administrator in areas occupied by the foreign forces.



The missionary Karl Gützlaff (often anglicized as Carl or Charles Gutzlaff), who served as an interpreter for the British in the first Opium War, was well known for frequently pursuing his religious calling while dressed in native garb.

Portrait of Gützlaff (inscribed) on the frontispiece of his 1834 book, A Sketch of Chinese History: Ancient and Modern.

[1834_Gutzlaff_SHG_fronE38B]

George Chinnery's sketch of "Revd. Charles Gutzlaff, Missionary," done in 1832 [right], found later incarnation in a lithograph captioned "Revd. Chas. Gutzlaff, Missionary to China in the Dress of a Fokien Sailor" (below)

Peabody Essex Museum
[1832_M976541_Gutzlaff_pem]

Wikimedia Commons
Karl_Gutzlaff.jpg
[d_1800s_KarlGutzlaff_FujianCostume_wp]

The Daoguang Emperor & Commissioner Lin

By the 1830s, up to 20 percent of central government officials, 30 percent of local officials, and 30 percent of low-level officials regularly consumed opium. The Daoguang emperor (r. 1821–50) himself was an addict, as were most of his court.

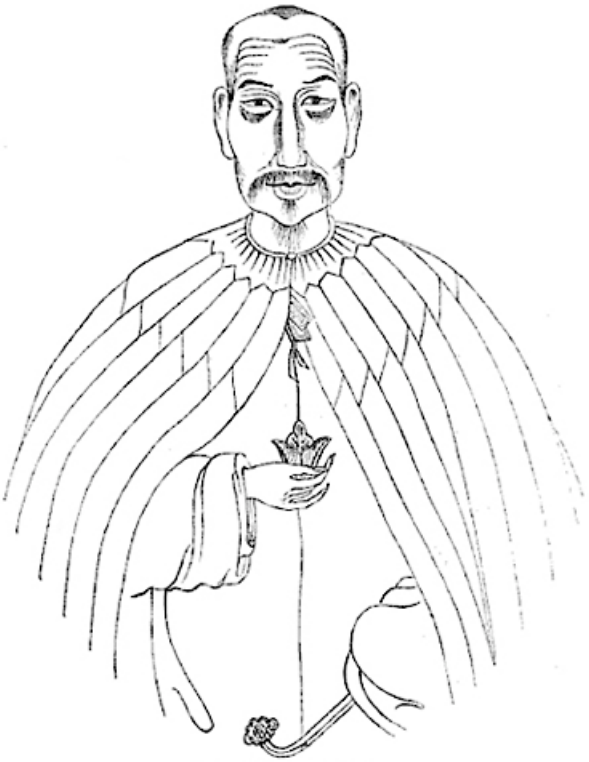
As opium infected the Qing military forces, however, the court grew alarmed at its insidious effects on national defense. Opium imports also appeared to be the cause of massive outflows of silver, which destabilized the currency. While the court repeatedly issued edicts demanding punishment of opium dealers, local officials accepted heavy bribes to ignore them. In 1838, one opium dealer was strangled at Macao, and eight chests of opium were seized in Canton. Still the emperor had not yet resolved to take truly decisive measures.

"The Imperial Portrait of a Chinese Emperor called Daoguang'"

Wikimedia Commons
[Emperor_Daoguang_wp]

This portrait of the Daoguang emperor Minning appeared as the frontispiece in volume one of John Elliot Bingham's 1843 account Narrative of the Expedition to China. *Bingham, a naval commander, fought in key battles in the first Opium War.*

[Emperor_Bingham_frontis_gb]



Titled "Mien-Ning, Late Emperor of China," this posthumous depiction appeared in The Illustrated Magazine of Art *in 1853, some three years after the emperor's death. Although copied from a portrait painted by a Chinese court artist, such realistic likenesses of the emperor were withheld from the Chinese public.*

"Mien-Ning, Late Emperor of China," The Illustrated Magazine of Art, Volume 1, *1853*

[1853_MienNing_EmpChina_IllMagArt_gb]

As opium flooded the country despite imperial prohibitions, the court debated its response. On one side, officials concerned about the economic costs of the silver drain and the social costs of addiction argued for stricter prohibitions, aimed not only at Chinese consumers and dealers but also at the foreign importers. On the other side, a mercantile interest including southern coastal officials allied with local traders promoted legalization and taxation of the drug. Debate raged within court circles in the early 1800s as factions lined up patrons and pushed their favorite policies.

Ultimately, the Daoguang emperor decided to support hardliners who called for complete prohibition, sending the influential official Lin Zexu to Canton in 1839. Lin was a morally upright, energetic official, who detested the corruption and decadence created by the opium trade. He had served in many important provincial posts around the empire and gained a reputation for impartiality and dedication to the welfare of the people he governed. In July 1838 he sent a memorial to the emperor supporting drastic measures to suppress opium use. He outlined a systematic policy to destroy the sources and equipment supporting drug use, and began putting this policy into effect in the provinces of Hubei and Hunan. After 19 audiences with the emperor, he was appointed Imperial Commissioner with full powers to end the opium trade in Canton. He arrived in Canton in March, 1839.

Although Lin's vigorous attempt to suppress the opium trade ultimately ended in disastrous war and personal disgrace, he is remembered a great and incorruptible patriot eminently deserving of the nickname he had enjoyed before his appointment as an Imperial Commissioner in Canton: "Lin the Blue Sky." Portraits of him by Chinese artists at the time vary in style, but all convey the impression of a man of wisdom and integrity. Today, statues in and even outside China pay homage to the redoubtable commissioner.

Right Commissioner Lin in scholar's robe

Yale University, Sterling Memorial Library
[1800s_LinZexu_yale]

Left Lin Zexu
from Zhonggou Jindaishi Cankao Tulu

Wikimedia Commons
[1800s_LinZexu_Zhong]

Right Lin Zexu
painting by either Lamqua or Tinqua

Wikimedia Commons
[d_1800s_Lin_Zexu_wm]

Left Lin Zexu, published 1843
From a drawing by a native artist in the possession of Lady Strange

Beinecke Library, Yale University
[1800s_LinZexu_3454-001_yale]

Statues of Commissioner Lin can be found today in many places around the world, including Canton, Fuzhou, Hong Kong, Macao, and, pictured here, Chatham Square in New York City's Chinatown.

Wikimedia Commons
[Lin_ChathamSquare_NYC]

On viewing images of a potentially disturbing nature: click here.

READING 1

The Debate on the Legalization of Opium, 1836

These documents relate to the debate that took place in the Qing court in 1836 on the topic of legalizing opium. Although opium could no longer be legally imported into Canton, it was widely smuggled up and down the coast. Opium imports and silver exports had been increasing rapidly, and the government seemed to be losing control of the coast.

Both sides in the debate reflect the limited knowledge that the Qing court had of the outside world and the limits of its powers, both in controlling the foreigners and in controlling its own people. The participants in the debate saw the problem much differently than did the leaders of the twentieth-century anti-opium campaigns, as both the prohibitionists and the legalizers assessed the threat of opium very differently than would later writers. Even Zhu Zun makes a number of statements that would have been attacked in the twentieth century, and it is hard to imagine anyone after 1900 taking many of the positions Xu Naiji takes. The debate was decided by the emperor in favor of prohibition. Lin Zexu was sent to Canton to deal with the matter, and the First Opium War resulted.

Memorial to the Emperor, Proposing to Legalize Its Importation

Xu Naiji, vice president of the sacrificial court, presents the following memorial in regard to opium, to show that the more severe the interdicts against it are made, the more widely do the evils arising therefrom spread; and that it is right urgently to request that a change be made in the arrangements respecting it, to

which end he earnestly entreats his sacred majesty to cast a glance hereon and to issue secret orders for a faithful investigation of the subject.

I would humbly represent that opium was originally ranked among medicines; its qualities are stimulant; it also checks excessive secretions and prevents the evil effects of noxious vapors. When anyone is long habituated to inhaling it, it becomes necessary to resort to it at regular intervals, and the habit of using it, being inveterate, is destructive of time, injurious to property, and yet dear to one even as life. Of those who use it to great excess, the breath becomes feeble, the body wasted, the face sallow, the teeth black: the individuals themselves clearly see the evil effects of it yet cannot refrain from it. It is indeed indispensably necessary to enact severe prohibitions in order to eradicate so vile a practice.

On inquiry I find that there are three kinds of opium: one is called company's; the outer covering of it is black, and hence it is also called "black earth"; it comes from Bengal; a second kind is called "white-skin" and comes from Bombay; the third kind is called "red-skin" and comes from Madras.[1] These are places that belong to England.

In Qianlong's reign, as well as previously, opium was inserted in the tariff of Canton as a medicine, subject to a duty of three taels per hundred catties, with an additional charge of two taels, four mace, and five candareens under the name of charge per package. After this, it was prohibited. In the first year of Jiaqing, those found guilty of smoking opium were subject only to the punishment of the pillory and bamboo. Now they have, in the course of time, become liable to the severest penalties, transportation in various degrees, and death after the ordinary continuance in prison. Yet the smokers of the drug have increased in number, and the practice has spread throughout almost the whole empire. In Qianlong's and the previous reigns, when opium passed through the customhouse and paid a duty, it was given into the hands of the hong merchants in exchange for tea and other goods. But at the present time, the prohibitions of government being most strict against it, none dare openly to exchange goods for it; all secretly purchase it with money. In the reign of Jiaqing there arrived, it may be, some hundred chests annually. The number has now increased to upward of 20,000 chests, containing each a hundred catties. The "black earth," which is the best, sells for about 800 dollars, foreign money, per chest; the "white-skin," which is next in quality, for about 600 dollars; and the last, or "red-skin," for about 400 dollars. The total quantity sold during the year amounts in value to ten and some odd million dollars, so that, in reckoning the dollar at seven mace, standard weight of silver, the annual waste of money somewhat exceeds ten million taels. Formerly, the barbarian merchants brought foreign money to China, which, being paid in exchange for goods, was a source of pecuniary advantage to the people of all the seaboard

provinces. But latterly, the barbarian merchants have clandestinely sold opium for money; which has rendered it unnecessary for them to import foreign silver. Thus foreign money has been going out of the country, while none comes into it.

During two centuries, the government has now maintained peace and, by fostering the people, has greatly promoted the increase of wealth and opulence among them. With joy we witness the economical rule of our august sovereign, an example to the whole empire. Right it is that yellow gold be common as the dust.

Always in times past, a tael of pure silver exchanged for nearly about 1,000 coined cash, but of late years the same sum has borne the value of 1,200 or 1,300 cash: thus the price of silver rises but does not fall. In the salt agency, the price of salt is paid in cash, while the duties are paid in silver: now the salt merchants have all become involved, and the existing state of the salt trade in every province is abject in the extreme. How is this occasioned but by the unnoticed oozing out of silver?[2] If the easily exhaustible stores of the central spring go to fill up the wide and fathomless gulf of the outer seas, gradually pouring themselves out from day to day, and from month to month, we shall shortly be reduced to a state of which I cannot bear to speak.

Is it proposed entirely to cut off the foreign trade and turn to remove the root to dam up the source of the evil? The celestial dynasty would not, indeed, hesitate to relinquish the few millions of duties arising therefrom. But all the nations of the West have had a general market open to their ships for upward of a thousand years; while the dealers in opium are the English alone, it would be wrong, for the sake of cutting off the English trade, to cut off that of all the other nations. Besides, the hundreds of thousands of people living on the seacoast depend wholly on trade for their livelihood, and how are they to be disposed of? Moreover, the barbarian ships, being on the high seas, can repair to any island that may be selected as an entrepot, and the native seagoing vessels can meet them there; it is then impossible to cut off the trade. Of late years, the foreign vessels have visited all the ports of Fujian, Zhejiang Jiangnan, Shandong, even to Tianjin and Manchuria, for the purpose of selling opium. And although at once expelled by the local authorities, yet it is reported that the quantity sold by them was not small. Thus it appears that, though the commerce of Canton should be cut off, yet it will not be possible to prevent the clandestine introduction of merchandise.

It is said that the daily increase of opium is owing to the negligence of officers in enforcing the interdicts? The laws and enactments are the means that extortionate underlings and worthless vagrants employ to benefit themselves; and the more complete the laws are, the greater and more numerous are the

bribes paid to the extortionate underlings, and the more subtle are the schemes of such worthless vagrants. In the first year of Daoguang, the governor of Guangdong and Guangxi, Yuan, proceeded with all the rigor of the law against the head of the opium establishment, then at Macao. The consequence was that foreigners having no one with whom to place their opium proceeded to Lintin to sell it. This place is within the precincts of the provincial government and has a free communication by water on all sides. Here are constantly anchored seven or eight large ships, in which the opium is kept, and which are therefore called "receiving ships." At Canton there are brokers of the drug, who are called "melters." These pay the price of the drug into the hands of the resident foreigners, who give them orders for the delivery of the opium from the receiving ships. There are carrying boats plying up and down the river; and these are vulgarly called "fast-crabs" and "scrambling-dragons." They are well armed with guns and other weapons and are manned with some scores of desperadoes, who ply their oars as if they were wings to fly with. All the customhouses and military posts that they pass are largely bribed. If they happen to encounter any of the armed cruising boats, they are so audacious as to resist, and slaughter and carnage ensue. The late governor Lu, on one occasion, having directed the commodore Zun Yuchang to cooperate with the district magistrate of Xiangshan, they captured a boat containing opium to the amount of 14,000 catties. The number of men killed and taken prisoners amounted to several scores. He likewise inflicted the penalty of the laws on the criminals Yaouhow(?) and Owkwan(?) (both of them being brokers) and confiscated their property. This shows that faithfulness in the enforcement of the laws is not wanting; and yet the practice cannot be checked. The dread of the laws is not so great on the part of the common people, as is the anxious desire of gain, which incites them to all manner of crafty devices, so that sometimes, indeed, the law is rendered wholly ineffective.

There are also, both on the rivers and at sea, banditti, who, with pretense of acting under the order of the government, and of being sent to search after and prevent the smuggling of opium, seek opportunities for plundering. When I was lately placed in the service of your majesty as acting judicial commissioner at Canton, cases of this nature were very frequently reported. Out of these arose a still greater number of cases in which money was extorted for the ransom of plundered property. Thus a countless number of innocent people were involved in suffering. All these widespread evils have arisen since the interdicts against opium were published.

It will be found on examination that the smokers of opium are idle, lazy vagrants, having no useful purpose before them, and are unworthy of regard, or even of contempt. And though there are smokers to be found who have

overstepped the threshold of age, yet they do not attain to the long life of other men. But new births are daily increasing the population of the empire; and there is no cause to apprehend a diminution therein; while, on the other hand, we cannot adopt, too great, or too early, precautions against the annual waste that is taking place in the resources, the very substance, of China.

Since, then, it will not answer to close our ports against [all trade], and since the laws issued against opium are quite inoperative, the only method left is to revert to the former system, to permit the barbarian merchants to import opium, paying duty thereon as a medicine, and to require that, after having passed the customhouse, it shall be delivered to the hong merchants only in exchange for merchandise, and that no money be paid for it. The barbarians, finding that the amount of duties to be paid on it is less than what is now spent in bribes, will also gladly comply therein. Foreign money should be placed on the same footing with sycee silver, and the exportation of it should be equally prohibited. Offenders when caught should be punished by the entire destruction of the opium they may have and the confiscation of the money that be found with them. With regard to officers, civil and military, and to the scholars and common soldiers, the first are called on to fulfill the duties of their rank and attend to the public good; the others, to cultivate their talents and become fit for public usefulness. None of these, therefore, must be permitted to contract a practice so bad or to walk in a path that will lead only to the utter waste of their time and destruction of their property. If, however, the laws enacted against the practice be made too severe, the result will be mutual connivance. It becomes my duty, then, to request that it be enacted that any officer, scholar, or soldier found guilty of secretly smoking opium shall be immediately dismissed from public employ, without being made liable to any other penalty. In this way, lenity will become in fact severity toward them. And further, that, if any superior or general officer be found guilty of knowingly and willfully conniving at the practice among his subordinates, such officer shall be subjected to a court of inquiry. Lastly, that no regard be paid to the purchase and use of opium on the part of the people generally.

Does any suggest a doubt that to remove the existing prohibitions will derogate from the dignity of government? I would ask if he is ignorant that the pleasure of the table and of the nuptial couch may also be indulged in to the injury of health? Nor are the invigorating drugs *footsze(?)* and *wootow(?)* devoid of poisonous qualities: yet it has never been heard that any one of these has been interdicted. Besides, the removal of the prohibitions refers only to the vulgar and common people, those who have no official duties to perform. So long as the officers of government, the scholars, and the military are not included, I see no detriment to the dignity of government. And by allowing the

proposed importation and exchange of the drug for other commodities, more than ten millions of money will annually be prevented from flowing out of the central land. On which side then is the gain, on which the loss? It is evident at a glance. But if we still idly look back and delay to retrace our steps, foolishly paying regard to a matter of mere empty dignity, I humbly apprehend that when eventually it is proved impossible to stop the importation of opium, it will then be found that we have waited too long, that the people are impoverished, and their wealth departed. Should we then begin to turn round, we shall find that reform comes too late.

Though but a servant of no value, I have by your majesty's condescending favor been raised from a subordinate censorship to various official stations, both at court and in the provinces, and filled on one occasion the chief judicial office in the region south of the great mountains (Guangdong). Ten years spent in endeavors to make some return have produced no fruit, and I find myself overwhelmed with shame and remorse. But with regard to the great advantages, or great evils, of any place where I have been, I have never failed to make particular inquiries. Seeing that the prohibitions now in force against opium serve but to increase the prevalence of the evil, and that there is none found to represent the facts directly to your majesty, and feeling assured that I am myself thoroughly acquainted with the real state of things, I dare no longer forbear to let them reach your majesty's ear. Prostrate I beg my august sovereign to give secret directions to the governor and lieutenant governor of Guangdong, together with the superintendent of maritime customs, that they faithfully investigate the character of the above statements and that, if they find them really correct, they speedily prepare a list of regulations adapted to a change in the system and present the same for your majesty's final decision. Perchance this may be found adequate to stop further oozing out of money and to replenish the national resources. With inexpressible awe and trembling fear I reverently present this memorial and await your majesty's commands.

Report of the Governor and Lieutenant Governor.
Sept. 7th, 1836

We have, in obedience to the imperial will, jointly deliberated on the subject of repealing the regulation now in force in regard to the importation of opium and of permitting it to be sold in barter for other commodities; and we herein present a draft of regulations, which we have sketched, comprising nine sections, on which we humbly illicit your sacred majesty to cast a glance. . . .

We are humbly of opinion that in framing regulations it is of the first

importance to suit them to the circumstances of the times and that, to govern well, it is essential in the first place to remove existing evils. But if in removing one evil, an evil of greater extent is produced, it then becomes the more imperative to make a speedy change suited to the circumstances of the occasion.

We, your majesty's ministers, having examined the original memorial and considered the details therein contained respecting the evils to be removed, regard the whole as true and accurate. The request for a repeal of the prohibitions and change in the system, and a return to the former plan of laying a duty on opium, is also such as the circumstances of the times render necessary; and it is our duty to solicit your majesty's sanction thereof. In case of such sanction, any foreigner, who in the course of trade may bring opium, must be permitted to import and pass it at the customhouse, paying the duty on it as fixed by the maritime tariff of Qianlong, and must deliver it to the hong merchants, in the same manner as long-ells, camlets, and other goods bartered for native commodities, but on no account may he sell it clandestinely for money.

If this plan be faithfully and vigorously carried into effect, the tens of millions of precious money that now annually go out of the empire will be saved, the source of the stream will be putrid, and the stream itself may be eventually stayed. The amount of duties being less onerous than what is now paid in bribes, transgressions of the revenue laws will cease of themselves; the present evil practices of transporting contraband goods by deceit and violence will be suppressed without effort; the numberless quarrels and litigation now arising therefrom at Canton, together with the crimes of worthless vagrants, will be diminished. Moreover, if the governmental officers, the literati, and the military be still restrained by regulations and not be suffered to inhale the drug, and if offenders among these classes be immediately dismissed from the public service, while those of the people who purchase the drug and smoke it are not interfered with, all will plainly see that those who indulge their depraved appetites are the victims of their own self-sacrificing fully, persons who are incapable of ranking among the capped and belted men of distinction and learning. And if in this way shame be once aroused, strenuous exertion and self-improvement will be the result—for the principles of reform are founded in shame and remorse. Nor, as is truly said in the original memorial, will the dignity of government be at all lowered by the proposed measure. Should your majesty sanction the repeal, it will in truth be attended with advantage both to the arrangements of the governments and the well-being of the people. . . .

1. The whole amount of opium imported should be paid for in merchandise: in this there must be no deception. The object in repealing the interdict on opium is to prevent the loss of specie occasioned by the sale of the drug for money. When opium is brought

in foreign vessels, therefore, the security and senior merchants should be held responsible for the following arrangements being carried into effect: the value of the opium to be correctly fixed; an amount of native commodities of equal value to be apportioned; and the two amounts to be exchanged in full: no purchase to be made for money payments. . . .

2. The naval cruising vessels, and all the officers and men of the customhouse stations, should be required diligently to watch the entrances and passages of rivers but at the same time to confine their search to such entrances and passages; they should not be allowed to go out to seaward and under cover thereof to cause annoyance. . . . If the soldiers, or vagabonds feigning to be soldiers, frame pretexts for cruising about in search of them [opium smugglers], not only can they effect no good, but they may also give occasion to disturbances, attended with evil consequences of no trivial character. They should, therefore, be strictly prohibited so doing.

3. [skipped]

4. [skipped]

5. This amount of duties should be continued the same as formerly, no increase is called for; and all extortionate demands and illegal fees should be interdicted. . . . Perspicuous and strict proclamations should therefore be issued, making it generally known that, beyond the real duty, not the smallest fraction is to be exacted and that offenders shall be answerable to the law against extortionate underlings receiving money under false pretexts.

6. No price should be fixed on the drug. It is a settled principle of commerce that, when prices are very low, there is a tendency to rise, and when high, a tendency to fall. Prices then depend on the supply that is procurable of any article, and the demand that exists for it in the market they cannot be limited by enactments to any fixed rate. Now, though the prohibition of opium be repealed, it will not be a possible thing to force men who buy at a high price to sell at a cheap one. Besides, it is common to men to prize things of high value and to underrate those of less worth. When therefore opium was severely interdicted, and classed among rarities, everyone had an opportunity to indulge in overreaching desires of gain; but when once the interdicts are withdrawn, and opium universally admitted, it will become a common medicinal drug, easily to be obtained.

"The gem, when in the casket, prized,
When common, is despised!"

So the price of opium, if left to itself, will fall from day to day; whereas

if rated at a fixed value, great difficulty will be found in procuring it at the price at which it is rated. It is reasonable and right, therefore, to leave the price to fluctuate, according to the circumstances of the times, and not to fix any rate.

7. [skipped]

8. The strict prohibitions existing against the cultivation of the poppy, among the people, may be in some measure relaxed. Opium possesses soothing properties but is powerful in its effects. Its soothing properties render it a luxury, greatly esteemed; but its powerful effects are such as readily to induce disease. The accounts given of the manner in which it is prepared among the foreigners are various; but in all probability it is not unmixed with things of poisonous quality. It is said that of late years, opium has been clandestinely prepared by natives, by boiling down the juicy matter from the poppy; and that thus prepared, it possesses milder properties and is less injurious, without losing its soothing influence. To shut out the importation of it by foreigners, there is no better plan than to sanction the cultivation and preparation of it in the empire. It would seem right, therefore, to relax, in some means, the existing severe prohibitions and to dispense with the close scrutiny now called for to hinder its cultivation. If it be apprehended that the simple people may leave the stem and stay of life to amuse themselves with the twigs and branches, thereby injuring the interest of agriculture, it is only necessary to issue perspicuous orders, requiring them to confine the cultivation of the poppy to the tops of hills and mounds, and other unoccupied spots of ground, and on no account to introduce it into their grainfields, to the injury of that on which their subsistence depends.

9. All officers, scholars, and soldiers should be strictly prohibited and disallowed the smoking of opium. . . . With regard to officers, civil and military, and to the scholars and common soldiers, the first are called on to fulfill the duties of their rank and attend to the public good; the others, to cultivate their talents and become fit for public usefulness. None of these, therefore, must be permitted to contract a practice so bad or to walk in a path that will lead only to the utter waste of their time and destruction of their property.

If the laws be rendered overly strict, then offenders, in order to escape the penalty, will be tempted to screen one another. This, assuredly, is not then so good a plan as to relax the prohibitions and to act upon men's feelings of shame and self-condemnation. In the latter case, gradual reformation may be expected as the result of convection. Hence the original memorial also alludes

to a reformation noiselessly effected. The suggestions therein contained are worthy of regard and of adoption. Hereafter no attention should be paid to the purchase and use of opium among the people. But if officers, civil and military, scholars, or common soldiers secretly purchase and smoke the drug they should be immediately degraded and dismissed, as standing warnings to all who will not arouse and renovate themselves. Orders to this effect should be promulgated in all the provinces, and strictly enjoined in every civil and military office, by the superiors on their subordinates, to be faithfully obeyed by everyone. And all who, paying apparent obedience, secretly transgress this interdict should be delivered over by the high provincial authorities to the Civil or Military Board, to be subjected to severe investigation.

Memorial in Favor of Banning Opium

Zhu Zun, member of the council and of the Board of Rites, kneeling, presents the following memorial, wherein he suggests the propriety of increasing the severity of certain prohibitory enactments, with a view to maintain the dignity of the laws and to remove a great evil from among the people: to this end he respectfully states his views on the subject and earnestly entreats his sacred majesty to cast a glance thereon.

I would humbly point out that wherever an evil exists it should be at once removed and that the laws should never be suffered to fall into desuetude. Our government, having received from heaven the gift of peace, has transmitted it for two centuries: this has afforded opportunity for the removal of evils from among the people. For governing the central nation, and for holding in submission all the surrounding barbarians, rules exist perfect in their nature and well fitted to attain their end. And in regard to opium, special enactments were passed for the prohibitions of its use in the first year of Jiaqing [1796]; and since then, memorials presented at various successive periods have given rise to additional prohibitions, all of which have been inserted in the code and the several tariffs. The laws, then, relating thereto are not wanting in severity; but there are those in office who, for want of energy, fail to carry them into execution.

Hence the people's minds gradually become callous; and base desires, springing up among them, increase day by day and month by month, till their rank luxuriance has spread over the whole empire. These noisome weeds, having been long neglected, have become impossible to eradicate. And those to whom this duty is entrusted are, as if hand bound, wholly at a loss what to do.

When the foreign ships convey opium to the coast, it is impossible for them

to sell it by retail. Hence there are at Canton, in the provincial city, brokers, named "melters." These engage money changers to arrange the price with the foreigners and to obtain orders for them, with which orders they proceed to the receiving ships, and there the vile drug is delivered to them. This part of the transaction is notorious, and the actors in it are easily discoverable. The boats that carry the drug and that are called "fast-crabs" and "scrambling-dragons" are all well furnished with guns and other weapons and ply their oars as swiftly as though they were wings. Their crews have all the overbearing assumption and audacity of pirates. Shall such men be suffered to navigate the surrounding seas according to their own will? And shall such conduct be passed over without investigation? . . .

It is said that the opium should be admitted, subject to a duty, the importers being required to give it into the hands of the hong merchants in barter only for merchandise, without being allowed to sell it for money. And this is proposed as a means of preventing money from secretly oozing out of the country. But the English, by whom opium is sold, have been driven out to Lintin (a small island in the Pearl River estuary) so long since as the first year of Daoguang (1821), when the then governor of Guangdong and Guangxi discovered and punished the warehousers of opium: so long have they been expelled, nor have they ever since imported it into Macao. Having once suppressed the trade and driven them away, shall we now again call upon them and invite them to return? This would be, indeed, a derogation from the true dignity of government. As to the proposition to give tea in exchange, and entirely to prohibit the exportation of even *foreign* silver, I apprehend that, if the tea should not be found sufficient, money will still be given in exchange for the drug. Besides, if it is in our power to prevent the extortion of dollars, why not also to prevent the importation of opium? And if we can but prevent the importation of opium, the exportation of dollars will then cease of itself, and the two offenses will both at once be stopped. Moreover, is it not better, by continuing the old enactments, to find even a partial remedy for the evil than by a change of the laws to increase the importation still further? As to levying a duty of opium, the thing sounds so awkwardly, and reads so unbeseemingly, that such a duty ought surely not to be levied.

Again, it is said that the prohibitions against the planting of the poppy by natives should be relaxed and that the direct consequences will be daily diminution of the profits of foreigners and in course of time the entire cessation of the trade without the aid of prohibitions. Is it, then, forgotten that it is natural to the common people to prize things heard of only by the ear and to undervalue those that are before their eyes—to pass by those things that are near at hand and to seek after those that are afar off—and, though they have a

thing in their own land, yet to esteem more highly such as comes to them from beyond the seas? Thus, in Jiangsu, Zhejiang, Fujian, and Guangdong, they will quietly be guided by the laws of the empire, but must needs make use of foreign money; and this foreign money, though of an inferior standard, is nevertheless exchanged by them at a higher rate than the native sycee silver, which is pure. And although money is cast in China after exactly the same pattern, under names of Jiangsu pieces, Fujian pieces, and native or Canton pieces, yet this money has not been able to gain currency among the people. Thus, also, silk and cotton goods of China are not insufficient in quantity; and yet broadcloths, and camlets, and cotton goods of the barbarians from beyond the place of the empire are in constant request. Taking men generally, the minds of all are equally unenlightened in this respect, so that all men prize what is strange and undervalue whatever is in ordinary use.

From Fujian, Guangdong, Zhejiang, Shandong, Yunnan, and Guizhou, memorials have been presented by the censors, and other officers request that prohibitions should be enacted against the cultivation of the poppy and against the preparation of opium; but while nominally prohibited, the cultivation of it has not been really stopped in those places. Of any of those provinces, except Yunnan, I do not presume to speak; but of that portion of the country I have it in any power to say that the poppy is cultivated all over the hills and the open campaign and that the quantity of opium annually produced there cannot be less than several thousand chests. And yet we do not see any diminution in the quantity of silver exported as compared with any previous period, while, on the other hand, the lack of the metal in Yunnan is double in degree to what it formerly was. To what cause is this to be ascribed? To what but that the consumers of the drug are very many and that those who are choice and dainty, with regard to its quality, prefer always the foreign article?

Those of your majesty's advisers who compare the drug to the dried leaf of the tobacco plant are in error. The tobacco leaf does not destroy the human constitution. The profit too arising from the sale of tobacco is small, while that arising from opium is large. Besides, tobacco may be cultivated on bare and barren ground, while the poppy needs a rich and fertile soil. If all the rich and fertile ground be used for planting the poppy, and if the people, hoping for a large profit therefrom, madly engage in its cultivation, where will flax and the mulberry tree be cultivated or wheat and rye be planted? To draw off in this way the waters of the great fountain, requisite for the production of goods and raiment, and to lavish them upon the root whence calamity and disaster spring forth, is an error that may be compared to that of a physician who, when treating a mere external disease, should drive it inward to the heart and center of the body. It may in such a case be found impossible even to preserve *life.* And shall

the fine fields of Guangdong, which produce their three crops every year, be given up for the cultivation of this noxious weed—those fields in comparison with which the unequal soil of all other parts of the empire is not even to be mentioned?

To sum up the matter—the widespreading and baneful influence of opium, when regarded simply as injurious to property, is of inferior importance; but when regarded as hurtful to the people, it demands most anxious consideration: for in the *people* lies the very foundation of the empire. Property, it is true, is that on which the subsistence of the people depends. Yet a deficiency of it may be supplied, and an impoverished people improved; whereas it is beyond the power of any artificial means to save a people enervated by luxury. In the history of Formosa we find the following passage: "Opium was first produced in Kaoutsinne[?], which by some is said to be the same as Kalapa (or Batavia). The natives of this place were at the first sprightly and active, and being good soldiers, were always successful in battle. But the people called Hongmao [*Red-hairs*, a term originally applied to the Dutch] came thither, and having manufactured opium, seduced some of the natives into the habit of smoking it; from this the mania for it rapidly spread throughout the whole nation, so that in process of time, the natives became feeble and enervated, submitted to the foreign rule, and ultimately were completely subjugated." Now the English are of the race of foreigners called Hongmao. In introducing opium into this country, their purpose has been to weaken and enfeeble the central empire. If not early aroused to a sense of our danger, we shall find ourselves, ere long, on the last step toward ruin. . . .

Since your majesty's accession to the throne, the maxim of your illustrious house that horsemanship and archery are the foundations of its existence has ever been carefully remembered. And hence the governors, the lieutenant governors, the commanders of the forces, and their subordinates have again and again been acted to pay the strictest attention to the discipline and exercise of the troops, and of the naval forces, and have been urged and required to create by their exertions strong and powerful legions. With admiration I contemplate my sacred sovereign's anxious care for imparting a military as well as a civil education, prompted as this anxiety is by desire to establish on a firm basis the foundations of the empire and to hold in awe the barbarians on every side. But while the stream of importation of opium is not turned aside, it is impossible to attain any certainty that none within the camp do ever secretly inhale the drug. And if the camp be once contaminated by it, the baneful influence will work its way, and the habit will be contracted, beyond the power of reform. When the periodical times of desire for it come round, how can the victims—their legs tottering, their hands trembling, their eyes flowing with childlike

tears—be able in any way to attend to their proper exercises? Or how can such men form strong and powerful legions? Under these circumstances, the military will become alike unfit to advance to the fight or in a retreat to defend their posts. Of this there is clear proof in the instance of the campaign against the Yao rebels in the twelfth year of our sovereign's reign [1832]. In the army sent to Yongzhou [Hunan], on that occasion, great numbers of the soldiers were opium smokers, so that although their numerical force was large, there was hardly any strength to be found among them. . . .

At the present moment, throughout the empire, the minds of men are in imminent danger; the more foolish, being seduced by teachers of false doctrines, are sunk in vain superstitions and cannot be aroused; and the more intelligent, being intoxicated by opium, are carried away as by a whirlpool and are beyond recovery. Most thoughtfully have I sought for some plan by which to arouse and awaken all but in vain. While, however, the empire preserves and maintains its laws, the plain and honest rustic will see what he has to fear and will be deterred from evil; and the man of intelligence and cultivated habits will learn what is wrong in himself and will refrain from it. And thus, though the laws be declared by some to be but wastepaper, yet these their unseen effects will be of no trifling nature. If, on the other hand, the prohibitions be suddenly repealed, and the action that was a crime be no longer counted such by the government, how shall the dull clown and the mean among the people know that the action is still in itself wrong? In open day and with unblushing front, they will continue to use opium till they shall become so accustomed to it that eventually they will find it as indispensable as their daily meat and drink and will inhale the noxious drug with perfect indifference. When shame shall thus be entirely destroyed, and fear removed wholly out of the way, the evil consequences that will result to morality and to the minds of men will assuredly be neither few nor unimportant. As your majesty's minister, I know that the laws of the empire, being in their existing state well fitted to effect their end, will not for any slight cause be changed. But the proposal to alter the law on this subject having been made and discussed in the provinces, the instant effect has been that crafty thieves and villains have on all hands begun to raise their heads and open their eyes, gazing about and pointing their finger, under the notion that, when once these prohibitions are repealed thenceforth and forever, they may regard themselves free from every restraint and from every cause of fear.

Though possessing very poor abilities I have nevertheless had the happiness to enjoy the favor of your sacred majesty and have, within a space of but few years, been raised through the several grades of the censorate, and the presidency of various courts in the metropolis, to the high elevation of a seat in the Inner Council. I have been copiously imbued with the rich dew of favors yet

have been unable to offer the feeblest token of gratitude; but if there is aught within the compass of my knowledge, I dare not to pass it by unnoticed. I feel in my duty to request that your majesty's commands may be proclaimed to the governors and lieutenant governors of all the provinces, requiring them to direct the local officers to redouble their efforts for the enforcement of the existing prohibitions against opium and to impress on everyone, in the plainest and strictest manner, that all who are already contaminated by the vile habit must return and become new men—that if any continue to walk in their former courses, strangers to repentance and to reformation, they shall assuredly be subjected to the full penalty of the law and shall not meet with the least indulgence—and that any found guilty of storing up or selling opium to the amount of 1,000 catties or upward, the most severe punishment shall be inflicted. Thus happily the minds of men may be impressed with fear, and the report thereof, spreading over the seas (among foreigners), may even there produce reformation. Submitting to my sovereign my feeble and obscure views, I prostrate implore your sacred majesty to cast a glance on this my respectful memorial.

Imperial Edict, September 1836

The councilor Zhu Zun has presented a memorial, requesting that the severity of the prohibitory enactments against opium may be increased. The subcensor Xu Qiu also has laid before us a respectful representation of his views and, in a supplementary statement, a recommendation to punish severely Chinese traitors.

Opium, coming from the distant regions of barbarians, has pervaded the country with its baneful influence and has been made a subject of very severe prohibitory enactments. But, of late, there has been a diversity of opinion in regard to it, some requesting a change in the policy hitherto adopted and others recommending the continuance of the severe prohibitions. It is highly important to consider the subject carefully in all its bearings, surveying at once the whole field of action, so that such measures may be adopted as shall continue forever in force, free from all failures.

Let Deng [Deng Tingzhen, the governor-general of Guangdong and Guangxi] and his colleagues anxiously and carefully consult together upon the recommendation to search for, and with utmost strictness apprehend, all those traitorous natives who sell the drug, the hong merchants who arrange the transactions in actions in it, the brokers who purchase it by wholesale, the boatmen who are engaged in transporting it, and the naval militia who receive

bribes; and having determined on the steps to be taken in order to stop up the source of the evil, let them present a true and faithful report. Let them also carefully ascertain and report whether the circumstances stated by Xu Qiu in his supplementary document, in reference to the foreigners from beyond the seas, be true or not, whether such things as are mentioned therein have or have not taken place. Copies of the several documents are to be herewith sent to those officers for perusal; and this edict is to be made known to Deng and Ke, who are to enjoin it also on Wan, the superintendent of maritime customs. Respect this.

NOTES

John Slade, *A Narrative of the Late Proceedings and Events in China* (Canton: Canton Register, 1839).

1. The author means Turkey.
2. This was also a serious issue for peasants, since they normally used copper cash but had to pay taxes in silver. It is not clear that the rise in the price of silver was entirely due to the opium trade.

6. Manufacturers of implements used for supplying opium to smokers, sellers of such implements, and those found in possession thereof with the intention of selling the same, and those who have imported for sale such implements from outside shall be punished with penal servitude of the fourth or lower grade, while the opium implements shall be destroyed.

7. Any customs officers and people assisting them who may import opium from outside or supply opium implements, or allow others to import, shall be punished with penal servitude of the second or third grade, while the opium and the opium implements shall be destroyed.

8. Any police, officials, and person assisting them who become aware of offenses committed against rule 5, and in consequence do not award a suitable penalty, will also, in their turn, be punished in accordance with rule 5.

9. Anyone offending against rule 6 shall be deprived of civil rights either completely or in part. If an official, he shall be removed from office.

10. In addition to the investigation and report made from time to time by the inspecting officer, anyone should publish information in regard to offenses against the above rules as well as against the sections in the Criminal Code dealing with opium. If a false charge is made the accuser shall be punished instead of the accused.

11. The above rules shall come into force from the date of their promulgation.

NOTE

The Opium Trade (Wilmington, DE: Scholarly Resources, 1974), 6:13–14, 100–103.

READING 10

The Chen Family Opium Den

This is an account of a family-run opium den in the city of Yichang. An opium den was a place for people to come to buy and smoke opium. Although the dens could be well-appointed places for a respectable clientele to socialize, most were not, and the bad reputation of opium smoking was connected in part to the bad reputation of the opium dens where it was consumed. Yichang is on the Yangzi River in Hubei and was a key transshipment point for Sichuan opium. Chen Deyuan's story is probably not that different from those of opium den operators in other parts of China, although it does have some unique features. Chen's background was somewhat unusual because, although his family was fairly well connected, he himself could probably be called a liumang *(hoodlum).*

Unlike most opium den operators Chen was able to avoid government regulation for a long time by taking advantage of extraterritoriality. During the 1930s the Nationalist state made steady attempts to close or regulate opium dens, in addition to providing the ordinary police harassment that such establishments could expect. Chen Deyuan was relatively independent also because he boiled his opium himself, which kept him from being dependent on a larger, often government-controlled, opium wholesaler.

This reading comes from a local history magazine, wenshi ziliao, *from Hubei. The Communist government encouraged people of all sorts to record their experiences under the old society. These recollections have become very valuable resources for historians, but they must be approached with care.*

During the Republic Yichang had many opium dens, one of them run by my father, Chen Deyuan.

To discuss the origins of our family's opium den we must begin with my

father. After the defeat of the 1898 reforms and the execution of Tan Sitong and others, Tan's compatriot Tang Caichang returned from Japan and created the Establishing Righteousness Society and the Independent Army to unify members of the Elder Brother's Society all along the Yangzi for an uprising. My grandfather Chen Futing joined the Independent army. The army was defeated in the fall of 1900, and Zhang Zhidong, the Hunan-Hubei governor-general, executed the leaders. Chen Futing fled to Shanghai, leaving behind his wife, Chen Sanliang, and their son, Chen Deyuan.

In 1908 Chen Deyuan returned to Yichang from Wuhan. He had worked in a restaurant run by an Anhui man and not only learned how to cook but also the martial arts. At this point he was 15 *sui*. After returning to Yichang he joined the Red Gang.[1] At that time he had no set profession and ate the bread of idleness, cheated at dice, and gambled.

In 1909 he took advantage of an introduction and got a job on a steamship. He was young, hardworking, and good looking. One day in 1910 he saw his father, Chen Futing, on the ship. Chen Futing had already put aside his family affairs and taken the tonsure and was on his way to Mount Omei in Sichuan.[2] He told his son that the Manchu Qing dynasty had controlled the country for hundreds of years. It was corrupt and incapable and had weakened the nation. It was time for it to be overthrown. "You have studied the martial arts, why not consider using your skills to serve the nation?" Chen Deyuan, hearing his father's charge, immediately went ashore. It was in the same year that he married Li Guoxiu, and not long after he was married he went to work on the Sichuan-Hankou railway.

When the revolution broke out in 1911 the revolutionary party in Yichang organized 100 men into a revolutionary army. Chen Deyuan joined, and because he had joined at the beginning of the uprising he was made a squad leader. At the capture of Jingzhou he was promoted to platoon leader. Chen Deyuan was Chen Sanliang's only child, and she was afraid that he would be killed at the front, where bullets fell like rain, and so she brought her son back home. As she was afraid that he would return to the army she gave him opium. Chen Deyuan slowly sank deeper and deeper into this quagmire and became an opium addict.

Chen Deyuan's wife urged him to open a teahouse. He saved up a little money and bought a small place, hanging up banners in the street announcing the "Drunken Moon Bar." Chen Sanliang saw that there was good profit to be made in opium and urged Deyuan to open an opium den, but he refused. There was a group of northern soldiers who came to the Drunken Moon almost every day, and after they had eaten and drunk their fill they would

smash plates and wreck the place. Soon Chen Deyuan was out of business. This was in 1919.

After Chen Deyuan closed his bar he was still unwilling to open an opium den. After his mother moved in with him he was forced to accede to her wishes and open one. Chen Deyuan was an opium den owner for 20 years, from its opening in 1920 to its closing in 1940, due to the fall of Yichang to the Japanese.

The Flat Altar

The Chen family opium den was in a good location near the south gate, and it always did a better business than any other opium den. Chen Deyuan was a real expert in the opium business. He always went personally to buy his opium, and a few times when he was sick he took me along. He bought his opium from a nearby opium wholesaler. The wholesaler was also named Chen and his son, Jinggou, was a classmate of mine at the Huaying middle school. Chen Deyuan always wanted to use Yunnan opium for his paste. Yunnan opium came in two grades, with the better grade being a bit more expensive. Actually, all Yunnan opium was expensive. I remember it took a whole handkerchief full of banknotes to buy five or six ounces of opium. To save money some wholesalers would mix cheaper Sichuan opium with the Yunnan, but Chen Deyuan never did this. After buying the opium it had to be boiled, which took skill. If it boiled too long it had a scorched taste, if it was not boiled long enough it would be too runny. Chen Deyuan did the boiling himself and was known as being a good opium boiler. He put the opium, old ashes from the bowls of the opium pipes, and water in a wood-handled copper pot. He would then put it on the stove and let it simmer down into a paste. . . .

The Chen family opium den had five or six opium pipes, one of which, called the "Flat Altar," had a special bowl. Of the tens of opium dens in Yichang the Flat Altar was one of the two most famous pipes. (The other was the Ma family's "Little Dream Maker.") The Flat Altar was famous because when someone smoked from it they got high a lot quicker. With other pipes you had to smoke two balls of opium to get high, with it one was plenty. This was enough to make an opium addict's day, and customers loved to come to the Chen family opium den. What was the secret of the Flat Altar? Ordinarily each day after we closed the ashes would be cleaned out of each bowl. After emptying the ashes out of the Flat Altar, however, Chen Deyuan would put a little bit of raw opium inside the shaft of the pipe. As the smoker heated the opium in the bowl the opium in the pipe would melt and give a much stronger smoke

than any other pipe. Chen Deyuan invested a bit in the raw opium, but it brought customers back and was thus profitable.

With the Flat Altar bringing in customers the Chen family opium den prospered, and Chen Deyuan left behind his unsuccessful past. Two years after the den opened, in the fall of 1921, Yichang became a battlefield. Sichuanese troops and northern troops were fighting on both banks of the Yangzi. Chen Deyuan fled, along with many others, and he took the Flat Altar with him. As the fighting continued, Chen Deyuan took his wife and son to Wuhan. On the ship the Flat Altar was hidden on my body (I was seven or eight *sui*). The Anti-Opium Inspectors confiscated quite a few pipes and opium paraphernalia, but did not find the Flat Altar. When Yichang fell in 1940 I went to work in Jianshi County and later brought my family along. My father brought the Flat Altar with him, but it was stolen soon afterward. By that time he was no longer running an opium den and his opium addition was cured as well.

With the fame of the Flat Altar the Chen family opium den was always full of customers and did a great business. Inside the opium den were six opium couches, each with its own teapot filled with scalding hot tea. After smoking the customers always wanted tea. The first couch had a special teapot decorated with flowers and palms and was reserved for wealthy regulars.

Labor and Management in an Opium Den

The proprietress of the Chen family opium den was Li Guoxiu. First thing every morning she would pack the boxes. Opium boxes were square and came in various sizes, and each morning she would fill several tens of them with the appropriate amount of paste. Preparing food for the customers, collecting money, and keeping the accounts were all her responsibilities. She also kept track of regulars' tabs on either a biweekly or monthly basis.

Li Guoxiu was a very strict person. Although she ran an opium den for twenty years she never smoked a single ball of it. Sometimes when she was sick Chen Deyuan would try to get her to smoke a little to make her better, but she always refused. Other than Chen Deyuan she did not allow anyone else in the family to smoke. I once broke my left foot and due to the pain had trouble sleeping. My maternal grandmother felt for me and wanted to have me smoke a little opium for the pain, but my mother would not agree. I lived in an opium den for over ten years, but because of my mother's stubbornness I never became a prisoner of opium.

Our family only ever had two employees. The first was Zeng Zicheng from Wuhan. Our family gave him room and board, and his wages were paid by giving him a box of opium every day. He would pay his sundry expenses from tips. The Dragon Boat Festival, Moon Festival, and New Years were the best times to get tips. When he wished customers a happy new year he got a large tip. Zeng would open the doors around six or seven in the morning. He would serve the customers by getting opium, collecting money, lighting the lamps, and changing the pipes. He would also boil water, fetch food, and do similar tasks. He also had less pleasant duties like fanning the fire while the opium boiled, and he was usually busy until about 12 at night when he closed up. Zeng Zicheng was an honest and sincere person, and both our family and the customers liked him. He worked for us for a long time, but when the Resistance War broke out he returned to Wuhan. He wrote to tell us that he had quit smoking opium and was working as a rickshaw puller.

The other employee was Zhang Xiaoer, from Sichuan. He came to work for us when he was about 22. He was crafty. He got tips out of customers by doing cigarette tricks. After Ichang fell my family fled to Sankeping. We heard that Zhang Xiaoer had become a bandit. Not long after he was executed in Sankeping.

About 1925 the opium dens of Yichang changed their method of preparing opium. Instead of providing it in boxes it was prerolled into balls that could be put directly in the opium pipe. The Chen family den hired an expert opium roller. The first was a young Sichuanese called Lefty. He was said to be from a wealthy and educated family and to have been driven out because of his opium addiction and ended up in Ichang. We rewarded him for his skill in rolling opium balls by letting him keep some. He was also good at serving our richer customers and got more opium balls this way, as well as tips. Lefty worked in the Chen opium den for two years, until his mother sent someone to bring him home. The other ball roller was named Zhang. He came from Yanxi, and he also had been driven out of his home for smoking opium. He worked for us for half a year and later opened his own opium den.

Operating an Opium Den and Opium Suppression

The Chen family opium den was originally on Neidihui Street, but Chen Deyuan lost it gambling. About that time an Italian *ronin* fled to Yichang, and in 1924 he bought a building on Neidihui Street and opened the "Heavenly Virtue Company."[3] The building had two floors, and he got ten opium den owners to open opium dens inside. Among them was one Pei Wenqing, who had been an officer in the Beiyang army and opened this opium den after being demobilized. The Italian made him the manager, in charge of collecting

rent and insurance charges. Chen Deyuan rented space there and opened an opium den.

The Heavenly Virtue Company had an Italian flag over the door. This flag was very useful, since neither Beiyang warlord police nor Nationalist police would dare to enter and cause trouble for fear of creating an "international incident." The opium dens flagrantly sold opium, but they were uncontrollable. The Italian sat back and got rich. When the Resistance War broke out he lowered his flag and went home.

After the Heavenly Virtue Company closed, Chen Deyuan's opium den moved back into an alley. We rented a place, and the family lived on the lower floor while the opium den was on the upper. The upper floor had a window with a view of the street, and when the police came the customers could hurry downstairs and out the back door. If the customers were caught they could be fined or put in jail, so it was in the interests of the opium den to protect them. Some of the customers were quite wealthy and socially prominent, and they especially needed protection. The safety of the customers was one of the key ingredients in an opium den's success.

To run an opium den a certain amount of money had to be given to the police. Both the local patrolman and the chief would want something, as would the policeman in the sentry post down the street. I remember that in the spring of 1938 they wanted more than we could pay, and the police came to arrest people. The customers fled out the back, but my father jumped out of the window and broke his left foot and became deaf in one ear, becoming a cripple. My mother was arrested and put in jail, but thanks to the intervention of a gentryman named He Yuangan she was later freed. That winter I was coming home, and I saw a policeman sitting on a bench. In his right hand he was holding our family's Flat Altar. My crippled father was kneeling beside him begging for mercy. Once the policeman had gotten his money he left. Even now remembering that scene makes my heart ache. When I went to school my classmates would tease me, calling me "Little opium den boss" under their breath. Opium suppression is a good thing, I agree, but the Nationalists only used the name of opium suppression for extortion. It was just a legal way of destroying people.

The Chen family opium den was a middle-rank place. The different classes of opium dens were distinguished by their size, decor, and number of pipes and the quality of their opium. Middle-rank and above places used southern opium, low-rank places used Sichuan opium.[4] Yichang had very few high-class opium dens. I knew of two, the "Sincerity North" and "Sincerity South." I went to the Sincerity South once. It was set up for the gentry. The opium booths were ornate, and the opium tools were also very beautiful. They also had

women to bring out the opium balls. Sincerity South was large, and it was on a street near the south gate, and when you pulled back the door curtain you would see many opium booths. There was no need to fear being arrested there, however. The manager had connections in the government and paid a bribe to the police every month and thus could afford to be so bold.

Opium's Harm to Customers

British imperialism forced opium on China with the guns of its warships. For over a hundred years millions of people suffered from it. Yichang got a foreign concession early (before Chongqing or Changsha), and when the imperialists set up a concession as an opium distribution center the damage was even worse. Of those who smoked opium most were weak willed and became addicts and ended up as low-class degenerates. Among the customers at the Chen family opium den there were several examples.

Chao Daifeng (a Northerner) and his wife both liked to smoke opium and drink. When they did not have money they would sell their own daughter and daughter-in-law as prostitutes. They would use the money to buy opium and liquor. Chao Daifeng's wife went crazy shortly after setting up a brothel in her home. She would come to the opium den, and after smoking many balls she would rave and gibber. Opium turned her into two different people. It happens that there was a similar case. She was a middle-aged woman named Dai Ma, and she had a daughter in middle school. Dai Ma had no job or profession, but she did have an opium addiction. She relied on the money her daughter made selling her body to buy opium. The daughter was an unlicensed prostitute who would go to rich people's houses to provide "outside activities" on a half-year contract. Dai Ma was a regular customer at the Chen family opium den, and she would sometimes bring her daughter with and have her prepare opium. The daughter was intelligent and kind, and all of those in the opium den were sorry for her.

In those days those who suffered from the "three evils" of opium, prostitution, and gambling were not always different people. Many became prostitutes because of their opium smoking. The Yangzhou brothel had one women who was a regular customer at the Chen family opium den. When she would come she would be accompanied by either her old attendant or a young man, as they feared she would escape. She was about 27 or 28 and was blind in her left eye and grew her hair long to hide it. She would often go across the railroad tracks to the "House of Dreams" to serve the foreign sailors. She had been ruined to

the point she did not seem human. She was deep in the pit of opium, using it to give her the strength to endure her sufferings. Second Alley was a place for low-class prostitutes, and "Second alley wild chicken" was a common epitaph. These prostitutes were all deeply addicted. They usually had only enough money to go to low-class opium dens; the managers and pimps were at the middle-level dens. The Chen family opium den was near Second Alley, and we saw a lot of them swallowing clouds and spitting up smoke.

An opium den also opened the gate to gambling for many people. One was a young man called Zheng Bainian. He did odd jobs at the boat landing. He was a thief and would steal things from the warehouses at the landing. He would steal relatively valuable things like gold jewelry, watches, and Russian wool blankets. Sometimes when he could not get rid of things he would pawn them at the Chen family opium den. Money came easy to Zheng Bainian, and his opium addiction grew with each smoke. He would bring a friend called Zhou Changkou, who was also a thief, along to smoke with him. After the fall of Yichang Zheng Bainian returned to Qingtan and relied on swindling people to get his opium money. Zhou Changkou became a robber and was later shot. He was 21 when he died.

There was also a man named Chang from Sichuan. He was a leader in the Han River Society. In the Yichang Han River Society he also held a high post. He was very good at martial arts. He became addicted to opium and became a thief to get opium money. He was a "smash and grab" thief, stealing things from people's houses, prying open doors, and breaking locks; there was nothing he would not dare to do. He often smoked opium at the Chen family opium den. There was also a litigator named Chen, who opened a place at the mouth of Alley #4. He had money and influence (as a lawyer he was always going to government offices), and he would often use his influence to bully people in the opium den. Once he got into an argument over the Flat Altar with Chen Wufu, and Chen hit him in the eye. The next time Chen Wufu came to the opium den he could not stand and had to drag himself in on his hands. People said that he had been caught stealing something and had his legs broken. Opium smoking had brought him to a miserable end.

The Qing, the Beiyang government, and the Guomindang all loudly proclaimed opium suppression, but the more they prohibited the more people smoked. The prosperous business the Chen family opium den did during the Resistance War is proof that all their efforts accomplished nothing. It was only after Liberation, with the anti-opium and drug movement, that opium's long harm to the Chinese people was ended. I leave to the people this bitter history.

NOTES

Chen Hongru, "Yi jia yapian yanguan de jiushi" (The story of one family's opium den), *Yichang wenshi ziliao* 8 (1987): 118–26.

1. The Red Gang is a secret society.
2. That is, he had become a Buddhist monk.
3. *Ronin* is the Japanese term for a masterless samurai. The Chinese equivalent was often applied to Japanese adventurers resident in China.
4. Southern, in this case, means Yunnan.

Watch American Perspective on 'First Contact' With Japan (1853) // Perry's Expedition // Primary Source https://youtu.be/Mq1A7lBaS_c

BLACK SHIPS & SAMURAI

COMMODORE PERRY AND THE OPENING OF JAPAN (1853-1854)

BY JOHN W. DOWER

On July 8, 1853, residents of feudal Japan beheld an astonishing sight—foreign warships entering their harbor under a cloud of black smoke. Commodore Matthew Perry had arrived to force the long-secluded country to open its doors.

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MIT VISUALIZING CULTURES

BLACK SHIPS & SAMURAI

COMMODORE PERRY AND THE OPENING OF JAPAN (1853-1854)

BY JOHN W. DOWER

CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

Perry, ca. 1854

© Nagasaki Prefecture

Perry, ca. 1856

by Mathew Brady, Library of Congress

On July 8, 1853, residents of Uraga on the outskirts of Edo, the sprawling capital of feudal Japan, beheld an astonishing sight. Four foreign warships had entered their harbor under a cloud of black smoke, not a sail visible among them. They were, startled observers quickly learned, two coal-burning steamships towing two sloops under the command of a dour and imperious American. Commodore Matthew Calbraith Perry had arrived to force the long-secluded country to open its doors to the outside world.

"The Spermacetti Whale" by J. Stewart, 1837

New Bedford Whaling Museum

This was a time that Americans can still picture today through Herman Melville's great novel *Moby Dick,* published in 1851—a time when whale-oil lamps illuminated homes, baleen whale bones gave women's skirts their copious form, and much industrial machinery was lubricated with the leviathanís oil. For several decades, whaling ships departing from New England ports had plied the rich fishery around Japan, particularly the waters near the northern island of Hokkaido. They were prohibited from putting in to shore even temporarily for supplies, however, and shipwrecked sailors who fell into Japanese hands were commonly subjected to harsh treatment.

Whale Chart, Japan in blue (detail, color added) by M.F. Maury, US Navy, 1851

New Bedford Whaling Museum

This situation could not last. "If that double-bolted land, Japan, is ever to become hospitable," Melville wrote in *Moby Dick,* "it is the whaleship alone to whom the credit will be due, for already she is on the threshold." One of the primary objectives of Perry's expedition was to demand that castaways be treated humanely and whalers and other American vessels be provided with one or two ports of call with access to "coal, provisions, and water."

The message Perry brought to Japan's leaders from President Millard Fillmore also looked forward, in very general terms, to the eventual establishment of mutually beneficial trade relations. On the surface, Perry's demands seemed relatively modest. Yet, as his own career made clear, this was also a moment when the world stood on the cusp of phenomenal change.

Nicknamed "Old Bruin" by one of his early crews (and "Old Hog" and other disparaging epithets by crewman with the Japan squadron), Matthew Perry was the younger brother of Oliver Hazard Perry, hero of the American victory over the British on Lake Erie in 1813. His own fame as a wartime leader had been established in the recent U.S. war against Mexico, where he commanded a squadron that raided various ports and supported the storming of Vera Cruz. Victory over Mexico in 1848 did not merely add California to the United States. It also opened the vista of new frontiers further west across the Pacific Ocean. The markets and heathen souls of near-mythic "Asia" now beckoned more enticingly than ever before. Mars, Mammon, and God traveled hand-in-hand in this dawning age of technological and commercial revolution.

President Fillmore's 1853 letter to "The Emperor of Japan"

New Bedford Whaling Museum

U.S. merchant firms had been involved in the China trade centering on Canton since the previous century. Indeed, “Chinoiserie”—elegant furnishings and objects d’art imported from the Far East, or else mimicking Chinese and Japanese art and artifacts—graced many fashionable European and American homes from the late-17th century on. Following England’s victory in the Opium War of 1839-1842, the United States joined the system of “unequal treaties” that opened additional Chinese ports to foreign commerce. Tall, elegant Yankee clipper ships engaged in a lively commerce that included not merely Oriental luxuries such as silks, porcelains, and lacquer ware, but also opium (for China) and Chinese coolies (to help build America’s transcontinental railway). Now, as Perry would ponderously convey to the Japanese, ports on the West Coast such as San Francisco were opening up as well. In the new age of steam-driven vessels, the distance between California and Japan had been reduced to but 18 days. Calculations concerning space, and time, and America’s “manifest destiny” itself had all been dramatically transformed.

For Americans, Perry’s expedition to Japan was but one momentous step in a seemingly inexorable westward expansion that ultimately spilled across the Pacific to embrace the exotic “East.” For the Japanese, on the other hand, the intrusion of Perry’s warships was traumatic, confounding, fascinating, and ultimately devastating.

For almost a century prior to the 1630s, Japan had in fact engaged in stimulating relations with European trading ships and Christian missionaries. Widely known as the “southern barbarians” (since they arrived from the south, after sailing around India and through the South Seas), these foreigners established a particularly strong presence in and around the great port city of Nagasaki on the southern island of Kyushu. Spain, Portugal, Holland, and England engaged in a lucrative triangular trade involving China as well as Japan.

Protestant missionaries eventually followed their Catholic predecessors and rivals, and by the early-17th century Christian converts in Kyushu were calculated to number many tens of thousands. (Catholic missionaries put the figure at around a quarter million.) At the same time, Japanese culture had become enriched by a brilliant vogue of “Southern Barbarian” art—by artwork, that is, that depicted the Europeans in Japan as well as the lands and cultures from which they had come. This new world of visual imagery ranged from large folding screens depicting the harbor at Nagasaki peopled with foreigners and their trading ships to both religious and secular paintings copied from European sources.

The arrival of “Southern Barbarians,” 17th-century folding screen

Nagasaki Prefecture

During these same decades, the Japanese themselves were venturing abroad. Their voyagers established footholds in Siam and the Philippines, for example, and a small delegation of Japanese Christians actually visited the Vatican. The country seemed poised to join in the great age of overseas expansion.

All this came to an abrupt end in 1639, when the ruling warrior government enforced a strict "closed country" (sakoku) policy: Japanese were forbidden to travel abroad, foreigners were expelled, and Christian worship was forbidden and cruelly punished.

17th-century Japanese portrait of Francis Xavier, the Spanish Jesuit who introduced Christianity to Japan in the mid-16th century

Kobe City Museum

"Hidden Christians" reluctant to recant were ferreted out by forcing them to step on pictures or metal bas-reliefs of Christian icons such as the crucifixion or the Virgin Mary known as *fumie* (literally, "step-on pictures"), and observing their reactions—a practice the Japanese sometimes forced American castaways to do as well.

The rationale behind the draconian seclusion policy was both strategic and ideological. The foreign powers, not unreasonably, were seen as posing a potential military threat to Japan; and it was feared, again not unreasonably, that devotion to the Christian Lord might undermine absolute loyalty to the feudal lords who ruled the land.

Fumie *of Virgin Mary with Christ child*

Shiryo Hensanjo, University of Tokyo

The most notable small exception to the seclusion policy was the continued presence of a Dutch mission confined to Dejima, a tiny, fan-shaped, artificial island in the harbor at Nagasaki. Through Dejima and the Dutch, the now isolated Japanese maintained a small window on developments in the outside world.

The "fan-shaped" island of Dejima in Nagasaki harbor, where the Dutch were permitted to maintain an enclave during the period of seclusion

Nagasaki Prefecture (left), Peabody Essex Museum (middle, right)

Under the seclusion policy, the Japanese enjoyed over two centuries of insular security and economic self-sufficiency. Warriors became bureaucrats. Commerce flourished. Major highways laced the land. Lively towns dotted the landscape, and great cities came into being. At the time of Perry's arrival, Edo (later renamed Tokyo) had a population of around one million. The very city that Perry's tiny fleet approached in 1853 was one of the greatest urban centers in the world—although the outside world was unaware of this.

As it turned out, Perry himself never got to see Edo. Although his mission to open Japan succeeded in every respect, the negotiations took place in modest seaside locales. It remained for those who followed to tell the world about Japan's extraordinary capital city.

While the Japanese did not experience the political, scientific, and industrial revolutions that were sweeping the Western world during their two centuries of seclusion, these developments were not unknown to them. Through the Dutch enclave at Dejima, a small number of Japanese scholars had kept abreast of "Dutch studies" (Rangaku) and "Western studies" (Yogaku). And as news of European expansion filtered in, the feudal regime in Edo became alarmed enough to relax its anti-foreign strictures and permit the establishment of an official "Institute for the Investigation of Barbarian Books."

One of the earliest accounts of North America to appear in Japanese, published in 1708, reflected more than a little confusion: it referred to "a country cold and large…with many lions, elephants, tigers, leopards, and brown and white bears," in which "the natives are pugnacious and love to fight." As happens in secluded societies everywhere, moreover, there existed a subculture of fabulous stories about peoples inhabiting far-away places.

An 18th-century scroll titled "People of Forty-two Lands," for example, played to such imagination with illustrations of figures with multiple arms and legs, people with huge holes running through their upper bodies, semi-human creatures feathered head to toe like birds, and so on.

"People of Forty-two Lands" (details), ca. 1720

Ryosenji Treasure Museum

Such grotesqueries belonged to a larger fantasy world of supernatural beings that had countless visual representations in popular art. Throughout the period of seclusion, however, naturalistic depictions of Europeans in the tradition of the "Southern Barbarian" artwork continued to be produced, particularly depicting the daily life of the "red hairs," as the Dutch in Dejima were commonly known.

Dutch dinner party by Kawahara Keiga, early-19th century

Peabody Essex Museum

Dutch family by Jo Girin, ca. 1800

Peabody Essex Museum

Dutch "surgery"

Kobe City Museum

Concrete knowledge of the West, including the United States, deepened over time. The Japanese obtained Chinese translations of certain American texts, including a standard history of the United States, and the very eve of Perry's arrival saw the publication of both a full-length "New History of America" (which, among other things, singled out egalitarianism, beef eating, and milk drinking) and a "General Account of America" that described the Americans as educated and civilized, and stated that they should be met "with respect but not fear."

Illustrations from a Japanese book about the United States published on the eve of Perry's arrival included imaginary renderings of "Columbus and Queen Isabella" (left) and "George Washington and Amerigo Vespucci" (!)

Collection of Carl H. Boehringer

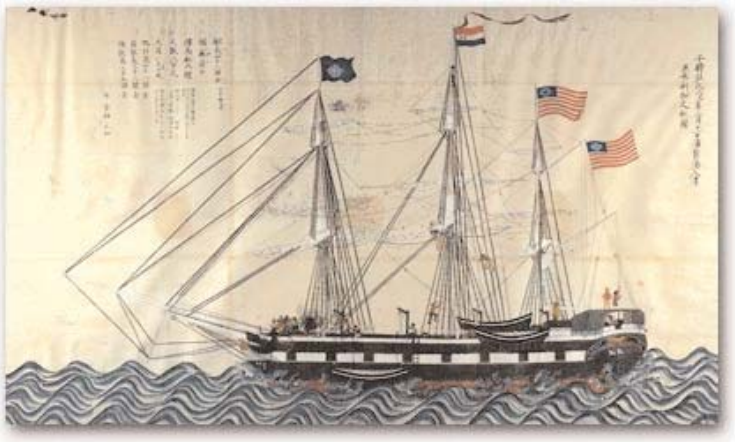
The most vivid and intimate information available to Japanese officials prior to Perry's arrival came from "John Manjiro," a celebrated Japanese youth who had been shipwrecked while fishing off the Japanese coast in 1841. Only 14 years old at the time, Manjiro was rescued by an American vessel and brought to the United States. He lived in Fairhaven, Massachusetts for three years, sailed for a while on an American whaler, and even briefly joined the gold rush to California in 1849. When Manjiro finally made his way back to Japan in 1851, samurai officials interrogated him at great length.

Manjiro praised the Americans as a people who were "upright and generous, and do no evil"—although he noted that they did engage in odd practices like reading in the toilet, living in houses cluttered with furniture, and expressing affection between men and women in public (in this regard, he found them "lewd" and "wanton"). Manjiro also regaled his interrogators with accounts of America's remarkable technological progress, including railways, steamships, and the telegraph. An account of his adventures prepared with the help of a samurai scholar in 1852 even included crude drawings of a paddle-wheel steamship and a train.

John Manjiro

When Perry's warships appeared off Uraga at the entry to Edo Bay, they were thus not a complete surprise. The Dutch in Dejima had informed the Japanese that the expedition was on its way. And John Manjiro had already described the wonders of the steam engine. As the official report of the Perry expedition later noted, "however backward the Japanese themselves may be in practical science, the best educated among them are tolerably well informed of its progress among more civilized or rather cultivated nations." Such abstract knowledge, however, failed to mitigate the shock of the commodore's gunboat diplomacy.

Perry was not the first American to enter Japanese waters and attempt to make that double-bolted land "hospitable." Several American vessels flying Dutch flags had entered Nagasaki harbor around the turn of the century, intent on commerce. In 1837, the unarmed trading ship *Morrison* had approached Uraga on a private mission to promote not only trade but also "the glory of God in the salvation of thirty-five million souls." At Uraga, and again at Kagoshima on the southern tip of Kyushu, the vessel was fired on and driven off. In 1845, the whaleship *Manhattan* was allowed to briefly put in at Uraga to return 22 shipwrecked Japanese sailors.



The whaleship Manhattan, *1845 watercolor by an anonymous Japanese artist*

New Bedford Whaling Museum

The following year, two warships commanded by Commodore James Biddle entered Edo Bay and engaged in preliminary contact with Japanese officials. Biddle was not allowed to come ashore, however, and when ordered to "depart immediately" did precisely as he had been told—leaving no legacy beyond a few American and Japanese illustrations of his warships.

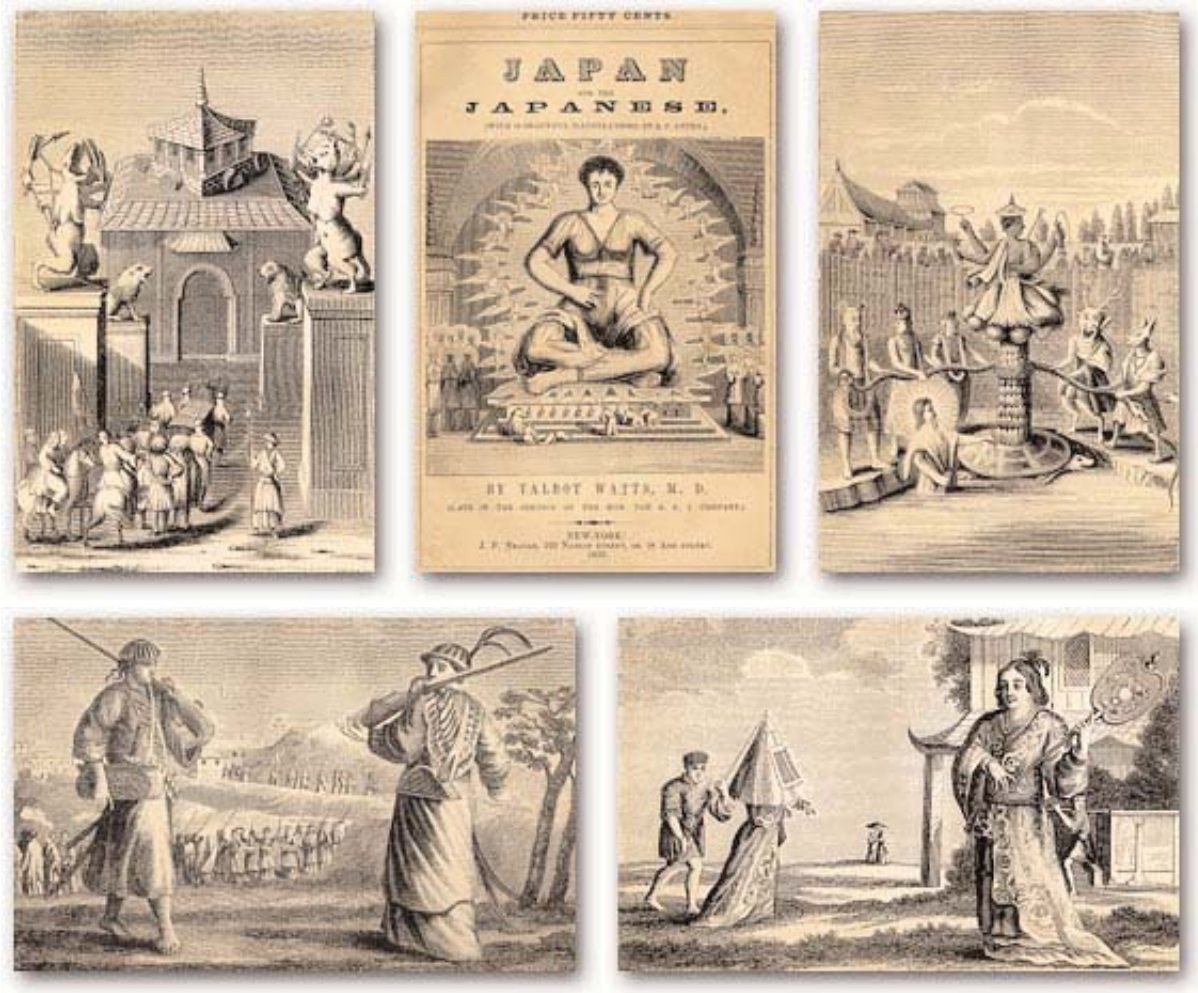
Lithograph depicting Commodore Biddle's ships anchored in Edo Bay in 1846 and surrounded by small Japanese boats

Peabody Essex Museum

Perry possessed what his predecessors had lacked: grim determination, for one thing—and, still more intimidating, the steam-driven warships. He was not to be denied. And the erstwhile warrior leaders in Edo, who had not actually fought any wars for almost two-and-a-half centuries, quickly recognized that they had no alternative but to submit to his demands. They lacked the firepower—and all the advanced technology such power exemplified—to resist.

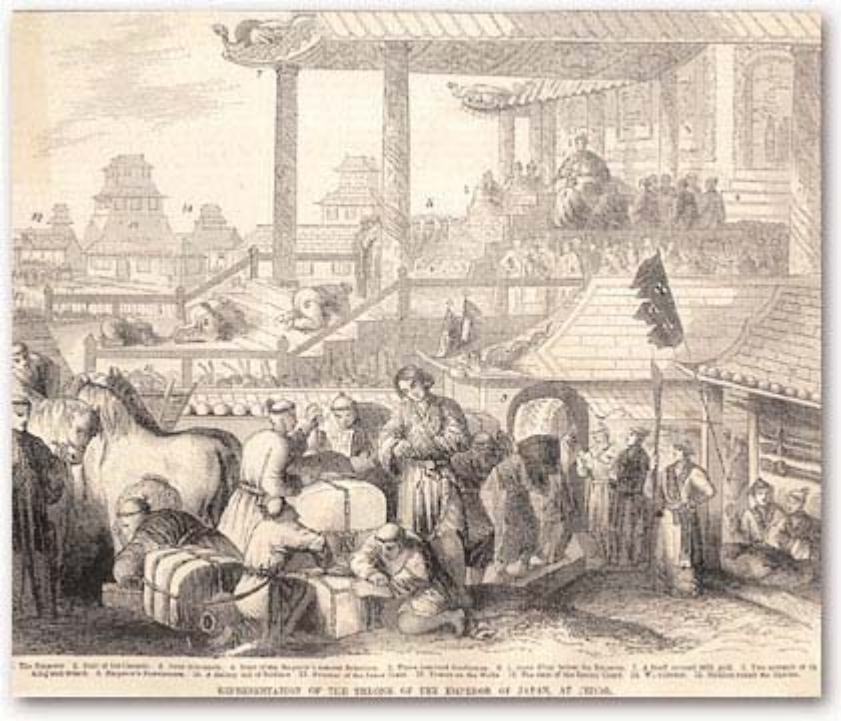
Perry prepared diligently for his mission, and immersed himself in the most authoritative foreign publications available on Japan. Some of these accounts, emanating from Europeans who had been stationed in Dejima, provided a general overview of political, economic, and social conditions. An American geography text described Japan in flattering terms as "the most civilized and refined nation of Asia," while other accounts, dwelling on the persecution of Christians and inhospitable treatment meted out to castaways, spoke derisively of a land that had regressed "into barbarism and idolatry."

In *Japan and the Japanese,* a small book published in America in 1852 as a send-off to the Perry expedition, a former employee of the British East India Company paired synopses of prior writings with a selection of illustrations that revealed how odd and exotic the little-known heathen still remained in the imagination of Westerners. These thoroughly fanciful graphics conjured up a world of bizarre religious icons commingled with sturdy men and women wearing Chinese-style robes, holding large and stiff fan-shaped implements, even promenading with folded umbrella-like tents draped over their heads and carried from behind by an attendant.



Illustrations in Japan and the Japanese (1852) included the worshipping of idols, "Habit of the Japanese Soldiers," and "A Japanese Lady of Quality"

Such fantasy masquerading as informed commentary and illustration was typical. Just months before Perry's arrival in Japan, the popular U.S. periodical *Gleason's Pictorial Drawing-Room Companion* published a dramatic engraving depicting "the emperor of Japan" holding public court in "Jeddo" (the old romanized spelling of Edo, the capital city later renamed Tokyo). Here, too—despite being annotated with 15 numbered details—the graphic was entirely imaginary. The emperor lived in Kyoto rather than Edo. His palace surroundings were not highly Sinified ("Chinese"), as depicted here. He never held public court. And Japanese "gentlemen" and "soldiers" did not wear costumes or sport hairstyles of the sort portrayed.



"Representation of the Throne of the Emperor of Japan, at Jeddo" from the April 12, 1853 issue of Gleason's Pictorial

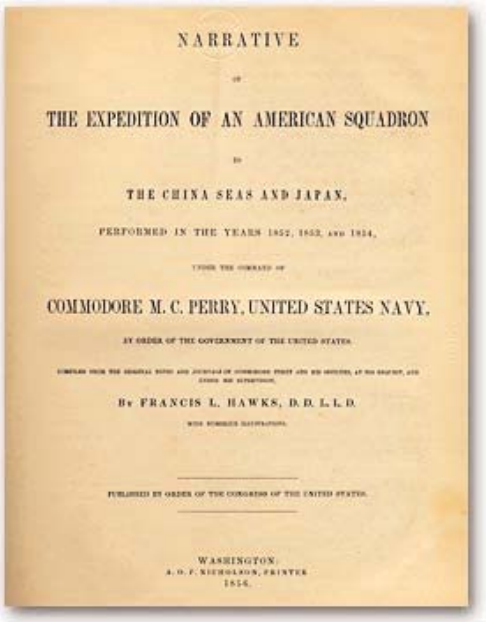
In his private journals, Perry himself anticipated encountering "a weak and barbarous people," and resolved to assume the most forbidding demeanor possible within the bounds of proper decorum. Despite his diligent preparations, he (much like *Gleason's Pictorial*) never fully grasped where real power resided and with whom he was dealing. The letter he carried from President Fillmore was addressed "To His Imperial Majesty, the Emperor of Japan," and the report the commodore published after his mission was completed referred repeatedly to his dealings with "Imperial Commissioners." The hereditary imperial house in Kyoto was virtually powerless, however, having ceded de facto authority some seven centuries previously to warriors headed by a Shogun, or Supreme Commander. The "Imperial Commissioners" to whom Perry conveyed his demands were actually representatives of the warrior government headed by the Tokugawa clan, which had held the position of Shogun since the beginning of the 17th century.

In practice, none of this ambiguity mattered. Perry dealt with the holders of real authority, and through them had his way.

His 1853 visit was short. While the Japanese looked on in horror, the Americans blithely surveyed the waters around Edo Bay. On July 14, five days after appearing off Uraga, the commodore went ashore with great pomp and ceremony to present his demands to the Shogun's officials, who had gathered onshore near what was then the little town of Yokohama, south of Edo. Perry's entourage of some 300 officers, marines, and musicians passed without incident through ranks of armed samurai to a hastily erected "Audience Hall" made of wood and cloth. There Perry handed over President Fillmore's letter, explained that the United States sought peace and prosperity for both countries, and announced that he would return shortly, with a larger squadron, for the government's answer. Three days later, the four American vessels weighed anchor and left.

Perry made good on his heavy-handed promise some six months later, this time arriving in early March of 1854 with nine vessels (including three steamers), over 100 mounted guns, and a crew of close to 1,800.

This second encounter was accompanied by far greater interaction and socialization between the two sides. Gifts were exchanged, banquets were held, entertainment was offered, and the Americans spent much more time on shore, observing the countryside and intermingling with ordinary Japanese as well as local officials. The high point of these activities was a treaty signed on March 31 in Kanagawa, another locale on Edo Bay, which met all of the U.S. government's requests. The Treaty of Kanagawa guaranteed good treatment of castaways, opened two Japanese ports (Shimoda and Hakodate) for provisions and refuge, and laid the groundwork for Japan's reluctant acceptance of an American "consul"—which, as soon transpired, broke down the remaining barriers to Japan's incorporation in the global political economy.


NARRATIVE

OF

THE EXPEDITION OF AN AMERICAN SQUADRON

TO

THE CHINA SEAS AND JAPAN,

PERFORMED IN THE YEARS 1852, 1853, AND 1854,

UNDER THE COMMAND OF

COMMODORE M. C. PERRY, UNITED STATES NAVY,

BY ORDER OF THE GOVERNMENT OF THE UNITED STATES.

COMPILED FROM THE ORIGINAL NOTES AND JOURNALS OF COMMODORE PERRY AND HIS OFFICERS, AT HIS REQUEST, AND UNDER HIS SUPERVISION.

By FRANCIS L. HAWKS, D.D. L.L.D.

WITH NUMEROUS ILLUSTRATIONS.

PUBLISHED BY ORDER OF THE CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES.

WASHINGTON:
A. O. P. NICHOLSON, PRINTER
1856.

Title page of the official Narrative of the Perry mission.

The Perry expeditions of 1853 and 1854 constitute an extraordinary moment in the modern encounter between "East" and "West." Japan was suddenly "opened" to a world of foreign influences and experiences that poured in like a flood and quickly seeped into all corners of the archipelago. And the Americans—and other foreigners who quickly followed on their heels (the British, Dutch, French, and Russians)—abruptly found themselves face-to-face with an "Oriental" culture that had hitherto existed primarily as a figment of imagination. On all sides—whether facing "East" or facing "West"—the experience was profound. Whole new worlds became visualized in unprecedented ways.

This was true literally, not just figuratively. On the American side, Perry's entourage included two accomplished artists: William Heine and Eliphalet Brown, Jr. Their graphic renderings—particularly Heine's detailed depictions of scenic sites and crowded activities—were subsequently reproduced as tinted lithographs and plain woodcuts in a massive official U.S. account of the expedition (published in three volumes between 1856 and 1858, and cumbersomely titled *Narrative of the Expedition of an American Squadron to the China Seas and Japan, performed in the years 1852, 1853, and 1854, under the Command of Commodore M. C. Perry, United States Navy, by Order of the Government of the United States).* Additionally, a small selection of official illustrations was made available in the form of large, independent, brightly colored lithographs.

As it happened, the Perry expeditions took place shortly after the invention of daguerreotype photography (in 1839), and Eliphalet Brown, Jr. in particular was entrusted with compiling a photographic record of the mission. Although most of his plates were subsequently destroyed in a fire, we still can easily imagine what was recorded through the camera's eye, for the official narrative also includes woodcuts and lithographs of carefully posed Japanese that are explicitly identified as being "from a daguerreotype."

On the Japanese side, there was no comparable official visual record of these encounters, although we know from accounts of the time that boatloads of Japanese artists and illustrators rushed out to draw the "black ships" from virtually the moment they appeared off Uraga. What we have instead of a consolidated official collection is a scattered treasury of graphic renderings of various aspects of the startling foreign intrusion. The Americans were, of course, as alien to the Japanese as the Japanese were, in their turn, to the Americans. They were, depending on the viewer, strange, curious, fascinating, attractive, lumpish, humorous, outlandish, and menacing—frequently an untidy mixture of several of these traits.

Japanese artists, moreover, rendered their impressions through forms of expression that differed from the lithographs, woodcuts, paintings, and photographs that Europeans and Americans of the time relied on in delineating the visual world. Vivacious woodblock prints, cruder runs of black-and-white "kawaraban" broadsheets, and drawings and brushwork in a conspicuously "Japanese" manner constituted the primary vehicles through which the great encounters of 1853 and 1854 were conveyed to a wider audience in Japan. Some of this artwork spilled over into the realm of caricature and cartoon.

The complementary but decidedly contrasting American and Japanese images of the Perry mission and opening of Japan constitute a rare moment in the history of "visualizing cultures." This was, after all, an unusually concentrated face-to-face encounter between a fundamentally white, Christian, and expansionist "Western" nation and a reclusive and hitherto all-but-unknown "Oriental" society. It was also a moment during which each side produced hundreds of graphic renderings not only of the alien foreigner, but of themselves as well. It is tempting, and indeed fascinating, to ask which side was more "realistic" in its renderings—but this really misses the point. For it is only by seeing the visual record whole, in its fullest possible range and variety, that we can grasp how complex and multilayered these interactions really were.

BLACK SHIPS & SAMURAI

COMMODORE PERRY AND THE OPENING OF JAPAN (1853-1854)

BY JOHN W. DOWER

CHAPTER TWO: PERRY

Perry, 1854

Ryosenji Treasure Museum

Perry, 1852

Library of Congress

Westerners following Perry's exploits from afar relied on photographs, or far more commonly lithographs or woodcuts based on photographs, to imagine what the commodore looked like. Around the time of the Japan voyages, we encounter him in several renderings: sour in civilian garb just before departing, for example, and posing in profile for a photo used in casting a commemorative coin soon after he had returned.

Daguerreotype of Perry
1852

New Bedford Whaling Museum

Silver coin with Perry's profile, 1855
and the daguerreotype on which it was based

US Naval Academy Museum

The most famous portrait, taken by the great photographer Mathew Brady after the completion of the Perry mission, portrays the commodore standing in full uniform.

In popular illustrated periodicals, where photographs were reprocessed as lithographs and the like, his features became somewhat softened.

Daguerreotype by Mathew Brady ca.1856 (left)

Library of Congress

Lithograph from a daguerreotype by P. Haas

Harvard University Library

The best-known Japanese woodblock portrait of Perry seems, at first glance, almost a mirror image of the jowly, clean-shaven individual in Brady's famous photo.

"Portrait of Perry, a North American," woodblock print, ca. 1854 (left)

Nagasaki Prefecture

Daguerreotype by Mathew Brady (detail) ca.1856

Library of Congress

As sometimes happened with especially popular woodblock prints, this rendering of "Portrait of Perry, a North American" actually circulated in several versions, with subtle variations in detail and coloring. In some versions, the commodore's hair is reddish—clearly evoking the familiar depiction of the Dutch as "red hairs." And in some, the whites of Perry's eyes are blue.

Nagasaki Prefecture

Peabody Essex Museum

Ryosenji Treasure Museum

We can offer both a simple and a more subtle explanation for these somewhat startling eyeballs. In the popular parlance of feudal Japan, Westerners were sometimes referred to as "blue-eyed barbarians," and it is possible that some artists were a bit confused concerning where such blueness resided. That is the simple possibility. It was also the case, however, that in colored woodblock prints in general—which only emerged as a popular genre during the era of seclusion—ferocious and threatening figures such as monsters and renegades were frequently stigmatized by the same strange blue eyeball. Whatever the explanation, popular renderings of Perry and his fellow "barbarians" drew on conventions entrenched in the indigenous culture.

Perry as a long-nosed tengu *or goblin ca. 1854*

Ryosenji Treasure Museum

Although commercial artists immediately rowed out in small boats to draw pictures of Perry's fleet on the occasion of the first visit in July 1853, then and even thereafter few actually had the opportunity to behold the commodore in person. This was due, in no little part, to Perry's decision to enhance his authority by making himself as inaccessible as possible. Indeed, he remained so secluded prior to the formal presentation of the president's letter that some Japanese, it is said, took to calling his cabin on the flagship "The Abode of the High and Mighty Mysteriousness."

Failing to see Perry personally left many artists with little but their imaginations to rely on in depicting His High and Mighty Mysteriousness, a situation that the majority of them serenely accepted and even relished. And, in more than a few cases, they leave us with lit-

tle guesswork concerning where (beyond “red hairs” and “blue-eyed barbarians”) their stereotypes were coming from. In one instance, for example, we find the commodore presented as “Tengu Perry”—alluding to the large, long-nosed goblin figures that folklore portrayed as possessing uncanny powers.

More common were prints and paintings that rendered Perry and his fellow Americans conspicuously hirsute. In several such portraits, we find him paired with Commander Henry A. Adams, his second-in-command.

Adams (left) and Perry

Ryosenji Treasure Museum

Perry (left) and Adams, from "The Pictorial Scroll of the Arrival at Kurihama" ca. 1854

Ryosenji Treasure Museum

In another print, Perry is paired with his young son (named after Perry’s famous brother Oliver), who accompanied him to Japan—here sporting a trim mustache like his father, but lacking his father’s goatee.

Perry and son, woodblock print 1854

Ryosenji Treasure Museum

A painting of Oliver Perry alone, on the other hand, portrays him not only clean-shaven, but looking remarkably like a delicate and romantic Japanese youth.

Perry's son Oliver, painting
ca. 1854

Ryosenji Treasure Museum

A well-known black-and-white *kawaraban* print of the commodore hoisting a sheathed sword and wearing a strange brimless cap features a thick mustache running parallel to bushy eyebrows.

Perry, kawaraban *(broadsheet)*
1854

Ryosenji Treasure Museum

A scroll painted in Shimoda in 1854, on the other hand, renders him with both bushy hair and beard and trim hair and beard—as if he had gone to the barber and returned while the artist was still at work.

Why all this facial hair? The explanation lies primarily in the power of imaginative language: ever since the distant 16th- and early-17th-century encounter, another derisive sobriquet for Westerners was "hairy barbarians" (*keto* or *ketojin*).

Two images of Perry from the "Black Ship Scroll," 1854

Honolulu Academy of Art

On rare occasion, the commodore's hairy visage was transparently barbaric and even demonic—as if the American emissary were truly one of the legendary demons or devils (*oni* and *akuma*) that old folktales spoke about as dwelling across the seas. The most vivid such renderings are to be found in some truly alarming close-ups of both Perry and Adams that also appear in the Shimoda scroll.

Portrait of Perry
from the "Black Ship Scroll"

Text: "True portrait of Perry, envoy of the Republic of North America. His age is over sixty, complexion yellow, eyes slanted upwards, nose impressive, lips red as if rouged. His hair is curled like rings and mixed with gray. He wears three gold rings. His uniform is white wool with raised crests woven in gold...."

Honolulu Academy of Art

Portrait of Adams
from the "Black Ship Scroll"

Text: "True portrait of Adams, Second in Command from the Republic of North America. His complexion is yellow with an earthy tone, eyes large, nose high-bridged. He is very tall. His uniform is black wool with raised crests woven with gold...."

Honolulu Academy of Art

Even this Shimoda scroll, however, suggests that appearances could be deceiving. The text that surrounds its ferocious "True Portrait of Perry" also includes the following poem, which the commodore was imagined to have composed on board his flagship:

Distant moon that appears
over the Sea of Musashi,
your beams also shine on California.

Apparently, even barbarians might have Japanese-style poetic souls. Indeed, when it came to painting and describing Adams' 15-year-old son, who accompanied the mission, the "Black Ship Scroll" practically fell all over itself in portraying him as a paragon of polyglot virtues—delicate, aesthetic, muscular, martial, and a model of filial piety.

Portrait of Adams' son from the "Black Ship Scroll"

Text: "This youth is extremely beautiful. His complexion is white, around his eyes is pink, his mouth is small, and his lips are red. His body, hands, and feet are slightly plump, and his features are rather feminine. He is intelligent by nature, dutiful to his parents, and has a taste for the martial arts. He likes scholarship, composes and recites poems and songs, and reads books three lines at a glance. His power exceeds three men, and his shooting ability is exceptional...."

As we shall see again in other renderings of interactions with the Perry mission, the commodore and his fellow Americans were also drawn from direct observation on occasion, and depicted as being simply people of a different race and culture. Their features were sharper than their Japanese counterparts. Their clothing differed. They comported themselves in occasionally peculiar ways. Clearly, however, they shared a common humanity with the Japanese.

An informal watercolor of Perry and Adams painted by Hayashi Shikyo in 1854, for example, conveys an impression of the two men as officers rather weary with responsibility.

Almost a half century later, Shimooka Renjo, who had actually participated in one of the conferences with Perry, painted the commodore's portrait in watercolor and ink and mounted this as a traditional hanging scroll *(kakemono).* Here was a Perry unlike those produced in the tumult of the actual encounter: carefully executed, formal, respectful, tinged with obvious Western painterly influence—and still distinctively "Japanese."

Perry (left) and Adams, by Hayashi Shikyo, 1854

Peabody Essex Museum

Kakemono *(hanging scroll) of Perry, by Shimooka Renjo 1901*

Peabody Essex Museum

BLACK SHIPS & SAMURAI

COMMODORE PERRY AND THE OPENING OF JAPAN (1853-1854)

BY JOHN W. DOWER

CHAPTER THREE: BLACK SHIPS

"Carrying the 'Gospel of God' to the Heathen"

Ryosenji Treasure Museum

American warship, ca. 1854

© Nagasaki Prefecture

On the 1853 voyage, Perry's fleet consisted of two steam-driven frigates (the *Mississippi* and *Susquehanna*) and two sloops, with a total complement of 65 guns and a little less than 1,000 men. When he returned the following year, his armada had grown to nine vessels, with the new flagship *Powhatan* joining the other two paddle-wheel warships. The crew had almost doubled to around 1,800, and mounted cannon now numbered over 100.

In Japanese parlance, the American vessels quickly became known as the "black ships"—probably from the color of their hulls, although it is sometimes said that the label derived from the clouds of smoke that hovered over the coal-burning ships.

Perry himself had played a major role in mechanizing the U.S. Navy, and the new steam technology persuaded all who saw it that the world had entered a new era. When his oldest steamer, the *Mississippi,* was launched in 1841, its huge engines were described as "iron earthquakes." On the 1854 mission, the *Mississippi* consumed 2,336 pounds of coal per hour, while the corresponding figures for the less efficient *Susquehanna* and *Powhatan* were 3,310 pounds and 3,248 pounds respectively. To conserve fuel, all of the steamers hoisted sail as well.

Japanese "junk" as recorded by the Perry mission in the official Narrative

Japan's adoption of the "closed country" policy in the early-17th century involved not merely keeping foreigners out, but also keeping Japanese in. Thus, severe restrictions were placed on shipbuilding, and maritime activity was restricted to sailing small vessels in coastal waters. An illustration in the official narrative of the Perry mission depicted one of the single-sail "junks" that patrolled the waters outside Edo.

Even as pure sailboats, such modest vessels obviously could not compare with the great multi-mast ships of the foreign powers. Add steam engines and a battery of cannon, and it was all the more painfully apparent how far behind Japan had fallen during its long seclusion.

Ships captivate artists, and the visual record of Perry's mission is no exception. Although Perry first arrived in Japan in 1853 with a fleet of only four vessels (and returned in 1854 with nine), in May 1852 *Gleason's Pictorial* featured a stirring illustration of seven vessels it was originally anticipated would be "composing the Japanese Squadron." In its Valentine's Day edition of the following year, Gleason's gave Commodore Perry a spectacular send-off with a two-page engraving of an even larger armada readying for departure. Titled, "A Superb View of the United States Japanese Squadron, Under the Command of Commodore Perry, Bound for the East," this now well-known illustration included twelve vessels. Here, the artist merely expanded and rearranged the already imaginary earlier rendering. (Hand-tinted versions of both of these magazine illustrations often appear on the rare books and prints market.)

This dramatically imagined rendering of Perry's squadron appeared in the February 12, 1853 issue of Gleason's Pictorial. Perry is being rowed to his flagship on the first voyage, the steamer Mississippi. In fact, the 1853 mission was comprised of only four ships.

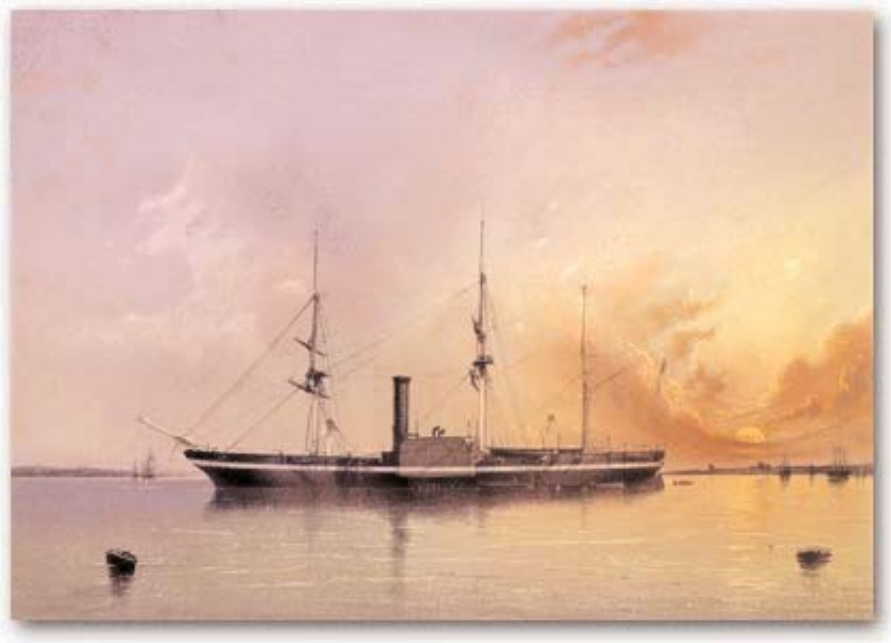
Photograph of the Powhatan,
which remained in service until 1887

US Naval Academy

Model of the Powhatan,
flagship on the second voyage

Smithsonian Institution

The *Powhatan,* Perry's famous flagship on the second voyage, survives in photographs, small-scale models, and—most spectacularly—the romantic frontispiece of a now classic 1853 book by Charles Beebe Stuart titled *Naval and Mail Steamers of the United States.* This luminescent, painterly rendering breathes romance and even mystery into this rather stolid warship through the filtered light and near-mystic ambiance associated with the "Turner school" of high-art painting (named after the British artist Joseph Turner, who died in 1851).



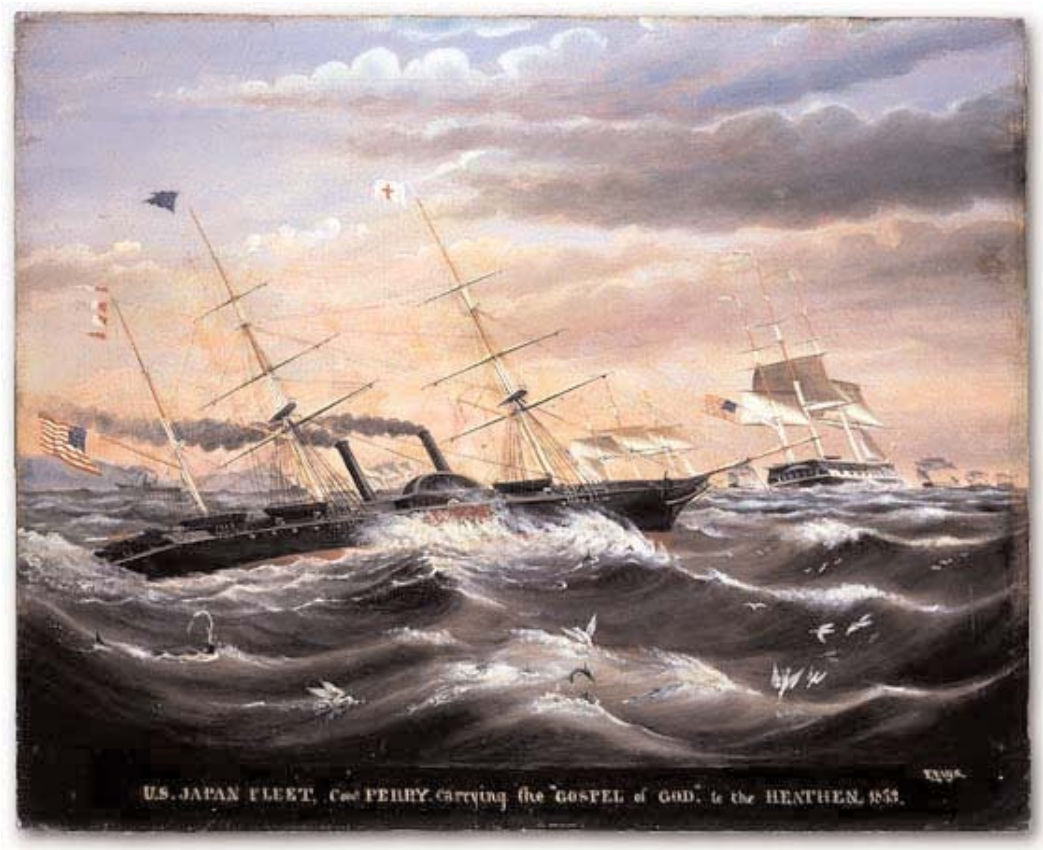
Oil painting of the Powhatan *from C. B. Stuart,*
Naval and Mail Steamers of the United States, *1853*

Yokohama Archives of History

Perry's own artists captured the fleet both at rest and in turbulence, but the most provocative rendering of the black ships at sea came from a painter back home, who added a banner legend to his own imaginary artwork to remind Americans that the commodore's true mission was literally divine. Perry himself usually spoke in terms of showing the flag, opening the doors of commerce, and spreading "civilization" to a backward people.

Perry's fleet at anchor and in turbulent seas, as depicted in the official Narrative

At the same time, it was widely understood that he was also returning Christianity to a heathen society that had driven out such teachings over two centuries previously. Accordingly, in this graphic rendering, we behold both steamship and sailship plowing through frothy seas above a large caption reading "U.S. JAPAN FLEET. Com. PERRY carrying the 'GOSPEL of GOD' to the HEATHEN, 1853."



"U.S. JAPAN FLEET. Com.PERRY carrying the 'GOSPEL of GOD' to the HEATHEN, 1853" by James G. Evans, oil on canvas

Chicago Historical Society

One person's god may be another's demon, of course. In this regard, Japanese artists also gave free rein to their imaginations by depicting the steam-driven black warships, almost literally, as Darkness Incarnate. In the best-known print of this sort, the ship's hull is pitch black, smoke belches from its funnel, the figurehead on the bow is a leering monster, port-holes high in the stern glower like the eyes of an apparition, the ship's sides bristle with rows of cannon, and gunfire streaks like a searchlight from a gun near the bow as well as from another, unseen, at the stern.

American warship,
woodblock print
ca. 1854

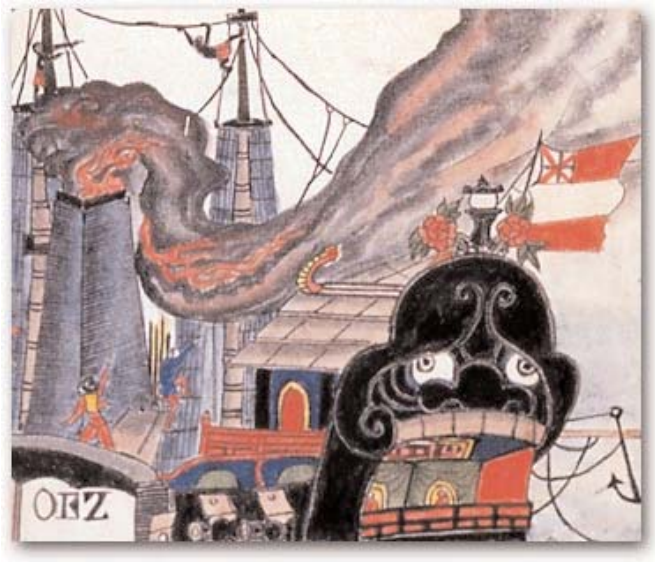
Nagasaki Prefecture

Although woodblock prints as a genre were popular illustrations never intended to be confused with fine art, the detail of this demonic rendering reveals several aesthetic touches characteristic of traditional Japanese design. We see this in the stylized curves of the waves and filigreed rendering of whitecaps and splashing water, for example, as well as in the distinctive pattern of the ship's paddle-wheel.

In a demonic sister ship that was part of a larger painted montage, many of the same features are present—and a touch more. Here smoke from the coal-burning engines is streaked with forked tongues of flame. To knowledgeable Japanese, these might well have evoked classic artistic depictions of the fires of hell and the conflagrations that consumed palaces and temples in an earlier era of civil wars.

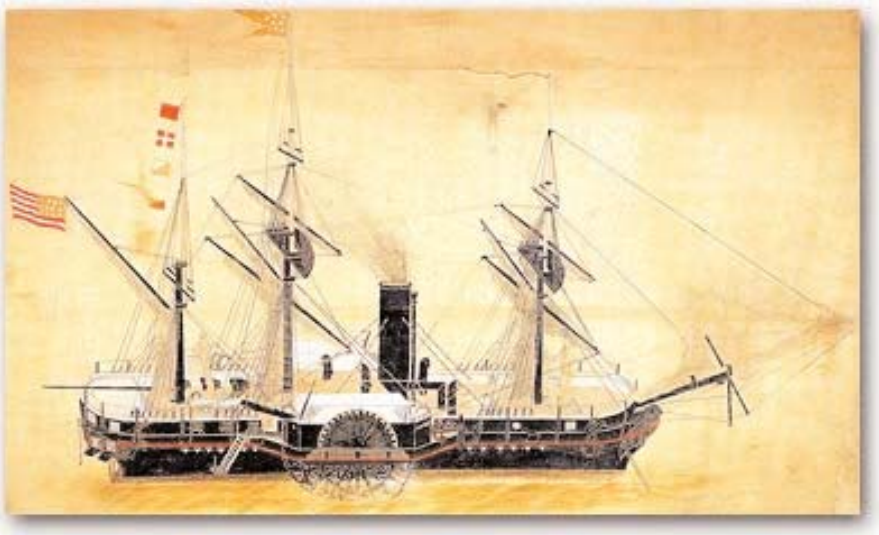
"Black Ship and Crew," watercolor on paper, ca. 1854

Honolulu Academy of Art



Like the blue eyeballs seen in occasional renderings of Perry and other "barbarians," however, even the demon ships are more complicated and nuanced than they appear to be at first glance. Take, for example, the rendering of the stern of the vessel: in each of these graphics, this clearly has been turned into the eyes, nose, mouth of a monster. Is it not obvious that this is meant to reflect the monstrous nature of those who came with the ship? In fact, this is not so obvious—for Asian seafarers of the time sometimes placed huge demonic faces on the sterns of their vessels to ward off evil spirits and ensure safe passage. Despite the seclusion policy, a number of delegations from Korea visited Japan during the Tokugawa

period, for example, and we know from Japanese scrolls depicting these missions that the Koreans themselves protected their fleet with fearsome markings of this nature. Could this have influenced these particular Japanese artists who sought to tell the populace about Perry's black ships? We cannot say.



The Powhatan,
hanging scroll
1854 or later

Peabody Essex Museum

Most Japanese renderings of the black ships were more straightforward, in any case, and provide a small but compelling example of how pictorial "realism" may vary depending not only on the viewer, but also on the medium of expression used. The handsome oil painting of the *Powhatan* in Charles Beebe Stuart's book, for example, was almost a mirror image of the formal photograph of that vessel—and yet worlds apart in its ambiance.

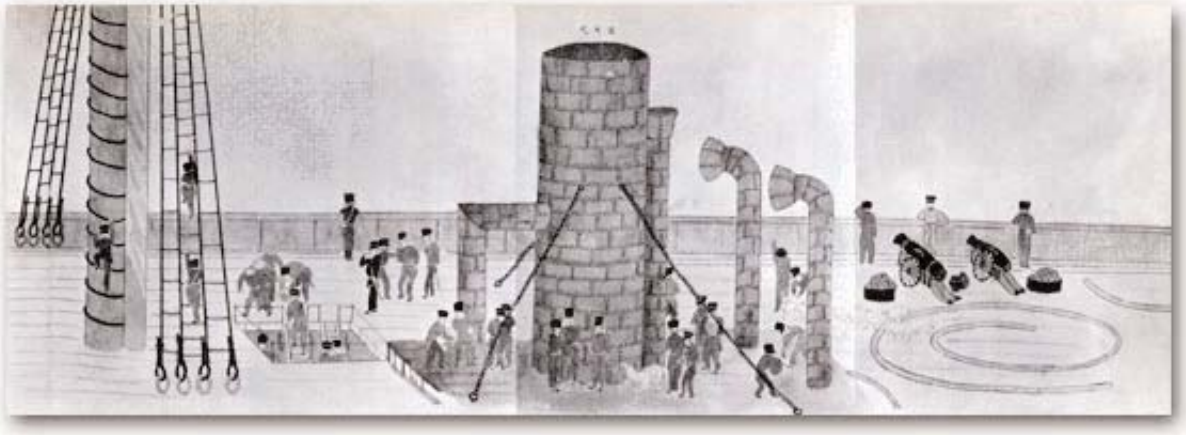
Japanese artists also portrayed the *Powhatan* and other black ships "realistically," from the same perfect-profile perspective—and yet conveyed an entirely different impression.

"Black Ship at
Shimoda,"
painting
1854

Ryosenji Treasure Museum

Perry's strategy of simultaneously impressing and intimidating the Japanese included inviting some of their representatives to tour his flagship. This made possible a small number of on-deck and below-deck depictions of the details of the black ships.

Japanese official on board the Susquehanna *from the official Narrative.*



Japanese sketches from on board the Powhatan *1854*

Peabody Essex Museum

Other artists, meanwhile, rendered the foreign intrusion from afar with panoramic views of the American squadrons anchored in Japanese waters. Such graphics, done in both color and black-and-white, often were designed to convey detail concerning not only the black ships but also the surrounding terrain.

Map of the harbor at Shimoda, from the "Black Ship Scroll," 1854

Six of Perry's gunboats rest at anchor. Place names (and ships) appear rightsideup, upsidedown, and sideways—a convention that developed from maps being rotated as they were read.

Honolulu Academy of Art

BLACK SHIPS & SAMURAI

COMMODORE PERRY AND THE OPENING OF JAPAN (1853-1854)

BY JOHN W. DOWER

CHAPTER FOUR: FACING "EAST"

"Delivery of the President's Letter"

Detail, from the official Narrative

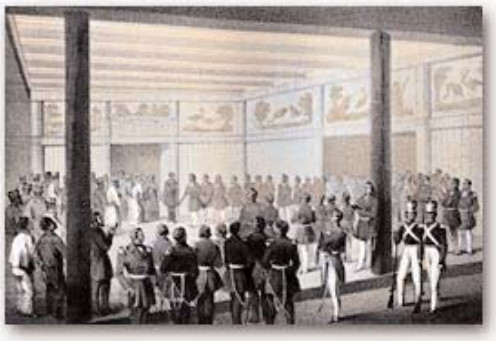
"Perry Taking a Bow"

Ryosenji Treasure Museum

By far the greatest single source of American illustrations of the Perry expedition is to be found in volume one of the three-volume official Narrative published between 1856 and 1858. The most numerous and accomplished of these illustrations were done by William Heine, a German-born artist who was only 25 years old when he first accompanied Perry to Japan.

Heine sketching in the Ryukyu Islands, 1853, from the official Narrative

Heine, who worked primarily with sketchpad and watercolors, brought a gentle, panoramic, romantic realism to both the selection and execution of his subjects. His landscapes were invariably scenic. Where people were concerned, he preferred them in substantial numbers. He rarely lingered on the "exotic," did not dwell much (as happened later) on various social "types," did not seek out the sensational. So enraptured was Heine by the opportunity to immerse himself in new landscapes and cultures that, now and then, he even painted himself painting the scene being depicted.



Shui Castle, Ryukyu Islands, with two artists sketching the scene, from the official Narrative (detail below)

Entrance to Shinto shrine in Shimoda, from the official Narrative (detail below)

"Temples" attracted Heine (he, or whoever captioned the reproductions of his artwork, made no distinction between Buddhist temples and Shinto shrines), but he depicted them with the same appreciative regard that he brought to trees, mountains, skies, crowds, individuals, and other natural and human phenomena. He turned his brush (and also his drawing pencil) to a few religious statues and monuments, but again with restraint and respect—a striking contrast to the more garish renderings of imagined heathen deities that had appeared in Western publications prior to Perry's arrival.

Since the Perry expedition never visited Edo or any other huge urban center, the illustrations in the official report conveyed the impression of a placid, rustic land of quiet villages and modest towns.

Heine and his colleagues gave only passing attention to commercial activities, and only rarely entered behind closed

doors. With but one exception, they chose not to illustrate subjects that provoked moral indignation among some members of the mission (and delighted more than a few crewmen), such as prostitution, pornography, and public baths.

The only illustration in the Narrative that subsequently provoked shock and condemnation among Americans depicted a public bathhouse in Shimoda. Men, women, and children bathed together in these establishments, and good Christians found them appalling. Dr. James Morrow, the mission's botanist, denounced the bath in Shimoda as one more example "of the licentiousness and degradation of these cultivated heathen," for example, while a ship's clerk sourly observed that "their religion might encourage cleanliness," but it did so in a "repulsive and indecent manner." The official report itself recorded that "a scene at the public baths, where the sexes mingle indiscriminately, unconscious of their nudity, was not calculated to impress the Americans with a very favorable opinion of the morals of the inhabitants."

Entrance to Shinto shrine in Shimoda, from the official Narrative (detail below)

Heine's controversial rendering of a public bath in Shimoda

Heine's illustration of the bathhouse in Shimoda was removed from later editions of the Narrative. Where intercultural relations are concerned, morality obviously was a two-way mirror in this case. For the manner in which the Americans pointed to mixed bathing as evidence of Japanese lewdness and wantonness was strikingly similar to John Manjiro's response, only a few years earlier, to the shocking spectacle of American men and women kissing in public.

The original artwork by Heine and his colleagues was seen by very few individuals. Rather, it reached the public in several different forms. Some 34,000 copies of the official three-volume Narrative were published (at the substantial cost of $400,000), of which over half were given to high government officials, members of Congress, and the Navy Department.

Chapter heading drawing from the official Narrative

The first and most pertinent volume of the set included some 165 handsome woodcuts and tipped-in lithographs depicting not only Japan but other stops on the two voyages—including China, the Bonin islands, and, of greatest interest, Okinawa in the Ryukyu ("Lew Chew") islands.

In addition, this first volume also featured many small reproductions of pencil drawings by Heine, particularly at the beginnings and ends of chapters. Mid-century Western voyagers, artists, and scientists were intent on "mapping" literally all aspects of the little-known world, and in volume two several-score brilliantly colored plates were devoted to natural life, particularly fishes and birds. (Additional plates depicting the plants of Japan failed to be published due to vanity and obstreperousness on the part of Dr. Morrow, who collected and drew illustrations of hundreds of specimens, but held these back in the hopes of seeing a separate publication devoted solely to his own findings. This failed to materialize, and his work has been lost.) The third volume of the Narrative, of little interest today, reproduced charts of the stars recorded over the course of the two long voyages.

The official publication was expensive, however, and the general public only encountered this handsome visual record indirectly. An affordable trade edition of volume one was published in 1856, with fewer lithographs and color throughout reduced to black and white. At the same time, a small number of illustrations (including some that did not appear in the official or commercial publications) were reproduced as large brightly colored "elephant" lithographs. One could thus encounter "Perry's Japan" in various tones and formats.

Illustration from the 1856 commercial edition

Tinted lithograph from the official printing of 1856

Independent large-format lithograph, ca. 1855–56

It also happened that, in moving from one form of printing to another, the details of the original rendering were slightly altered—as seen, for example, in the famous depiction of Perry's landing in Yokohama that appears in the official and trade editions.

Two versions of Commodore Perry meeting officials at Yokohama

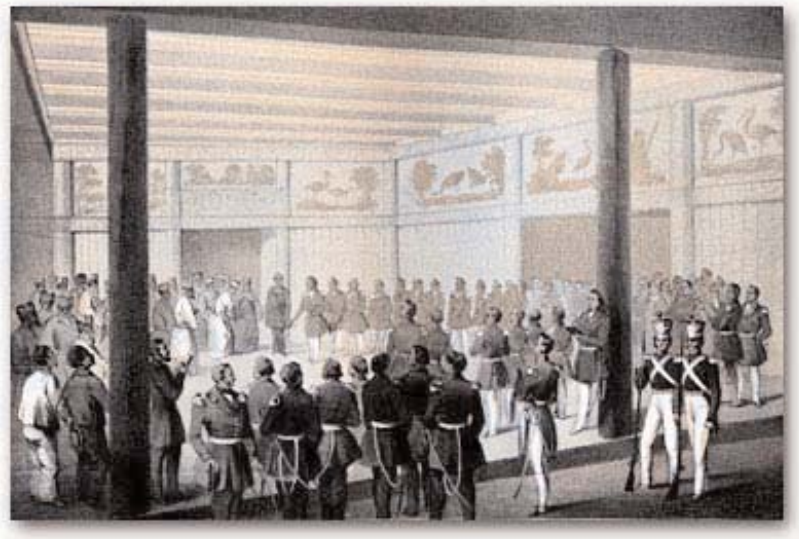
The trade edition of the Narrative (detail, above left)

The official government edition (detail, left)

From the 1853 Expedition

The artwork in the Narrative (and independent lithographs) begins with impressions of ports of call en route to Japan (including scenes from Ceylon, Singapore, Canton, and Hong Kong), and then presents a record of major interactions between Perry and officials in “Lew Chew” and Japan.

On the first visit to Okinawa, we move from the “exploring party” mingling with native peoples in bucolic settings to the castle in Naha, where Perry and his entourage paused by the imposing “Gate of Courtesy” and then attended a crowded formal reception.



Gate of Courtesy at the castle in Okinawa (above, left)

Reception at Shui Castle, Okinawa (left)

Moving on to Edo Bay, the artists recorded a tense moment when the Americans began to survey the harbor and were briefly challenged by Japanese in small boats—a dramatic confrontation, referred to as “Passing the Rubicon,” that was inexplicably only made available as an independent print.

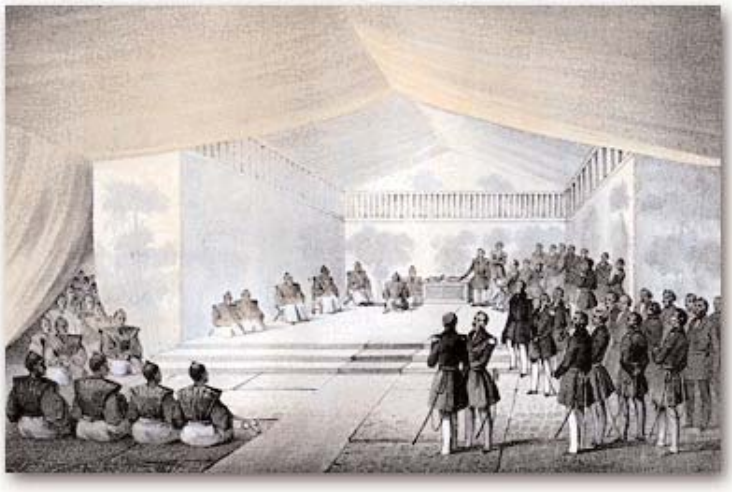
The White House Collection

The Americans sounding and surveying Edo Bay (detail, top, from the official Narrative)

"Passing the Rubicon": Japanese officials confront the surveying party (detail, bottom)

Thereafter, all becomes decorous again. From the brief 1853 mission come iconic paintings of Perry coming ashore in Japan for the first time (on July 14, at Kurihama) and delivering President Fillmore's letter requesting the end of the policy of seclusion.

The landing at Kurihama (detail)



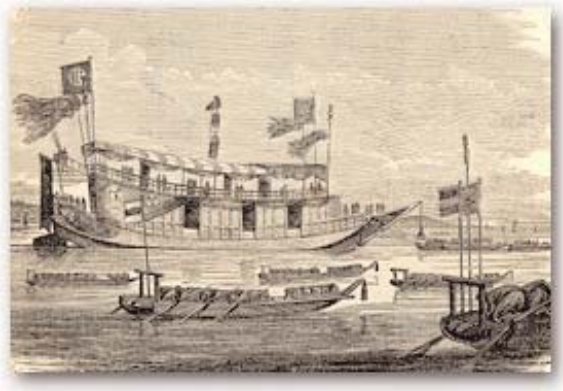
Delivery of President Fillmore's letter

From the 1854 Expedition

The commodore's return visit in 1854, which lasted for several months and saw the opening of Shimoda and Hakodate to foreign vessels, provided the occasion for more extended artwork. Perry's landing in Yokohama on March 8 inspired a crowded scene of troops on parade before a horizon prickled with the masts of the black ships, as well as a solemn rendering of the commodore greeting the Japanese commissioners.

The landing at Yokohama (detail)

Yokohama Archives of History



"Imperial barge" at Yokohama

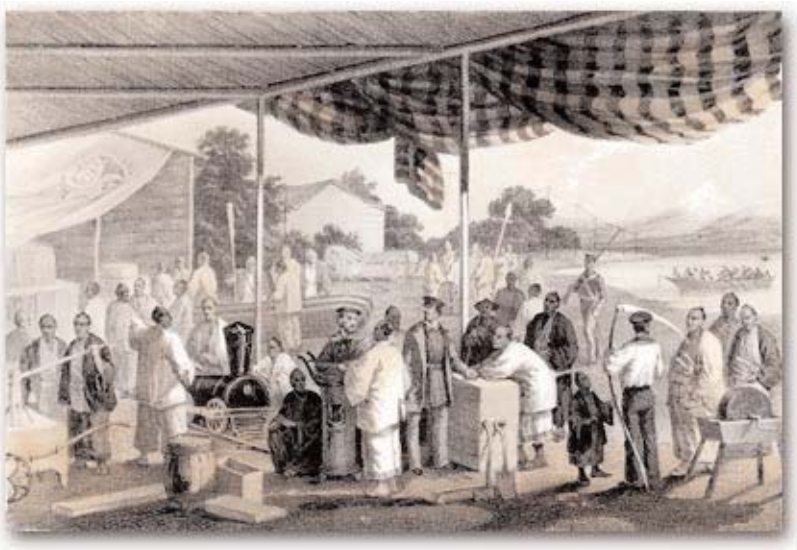
Japanese officials greet Perry at Yokohama

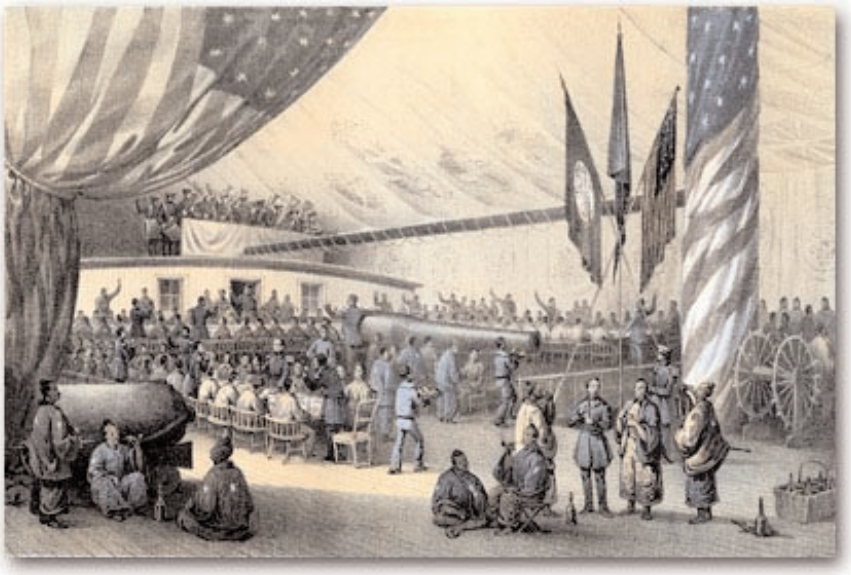
In another illustration, armed samurai were depicted clustered together, some mounted and some on foot (a rare close-up of the thousands of warriors mobilized for defense).

Samurai defense forces (detail)

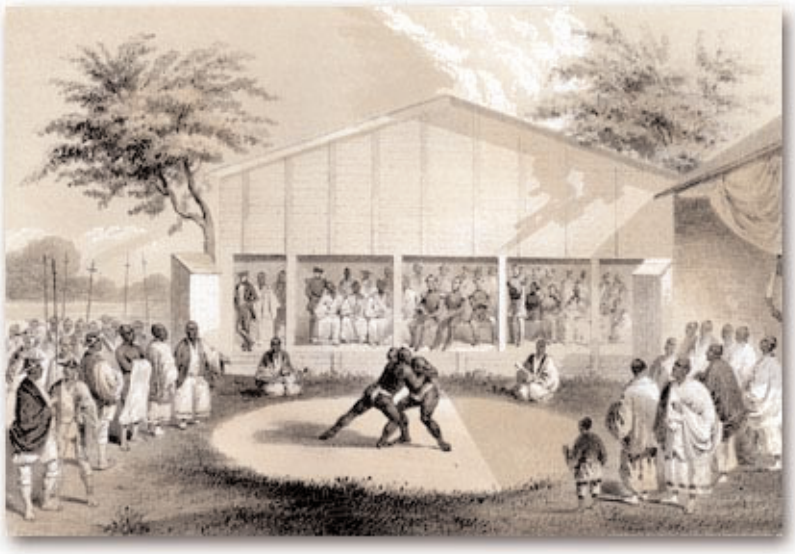
Formal occasions—the presentation of American gifts, a banquet on Perry's flagship, a performance of sumo wrestling—were duly recorded.

Delivery of the American presents at Yokohama





Banquet on board the Powhatan



Sumo wrestler at Yokohama

Yokohama, and subsequently the newly designated “treaty ports” of Shimoda and Hakodate, provided the Americans with more intimate access to the countryside and the ordinary people who lived there.

The rugged vistas in these areas inspired Heine to new heights of scenic romanticism, and he and his fellow artists also took advantage of their excursions onshore to depict the local people and their places of worship and daily activities (including the scandalous public bath in Shimoda). Although these detailed scenes are usually crowded with people, often with foreigners and natives intermingling, there is little sense of tension or strangeness. The atmosphere is serene. Everyone, native and foreigner alike, is comely. In the American record, these first encounters come across as almost dream-like.

Shimoda "from the American Grave Yard"

Moonlit graveyard at Ryosenji Temple, Shimoda

Harvard University Library

A Gallery of Images from the Expedition

Perry's troops in formation at Ryosenji Temple, Shimoda

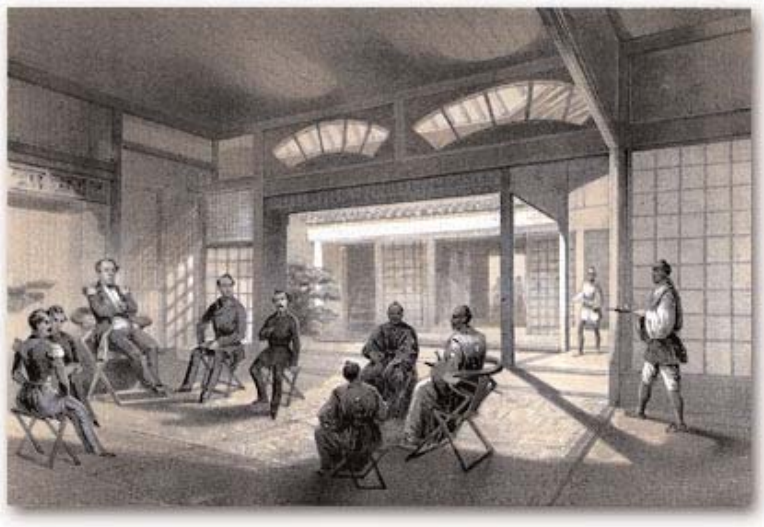
US Naval Academy Museum

Hachiman shrine, Shimoda

Mariner's temple, Shimoda (detail)

Devotions in a Buddhist temple, Shimoda

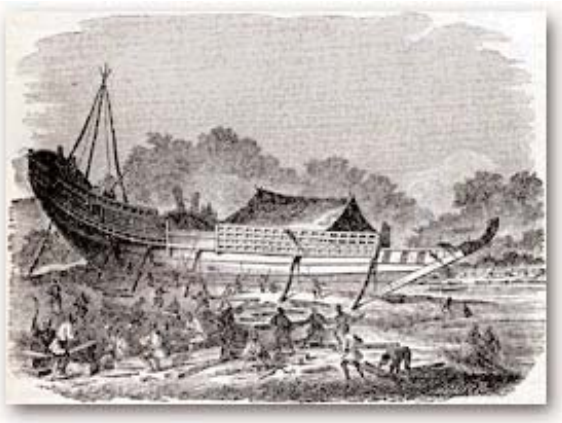
Perry conferring with local officials in Hakodate



Hakodate
"from Telegraph Hill"

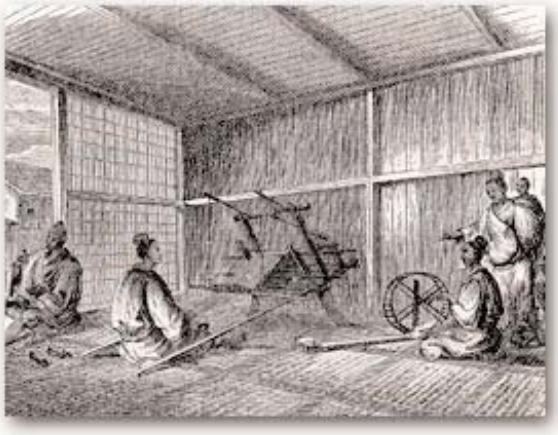
Street by a temple in Hakodate

"Imperial barge" at Yokohama

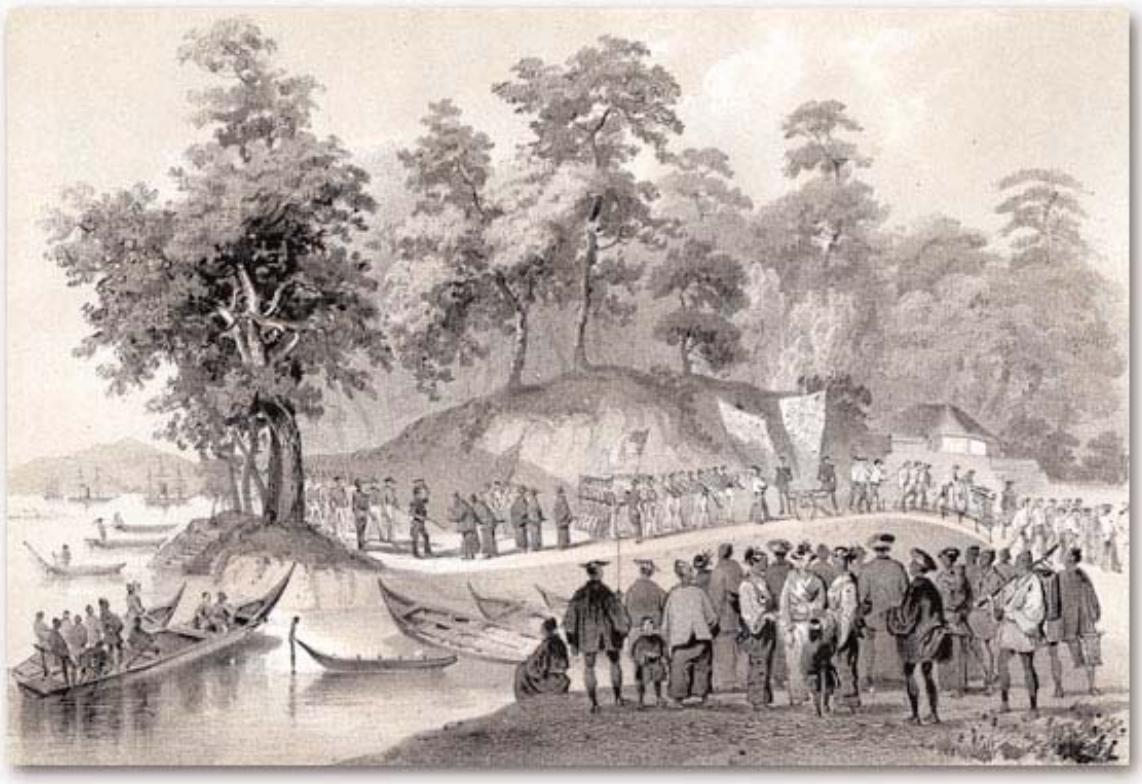


Japanese officials greet Perry at Yokohama

Japanese kago *(palanquin)*



Spinning and weaving



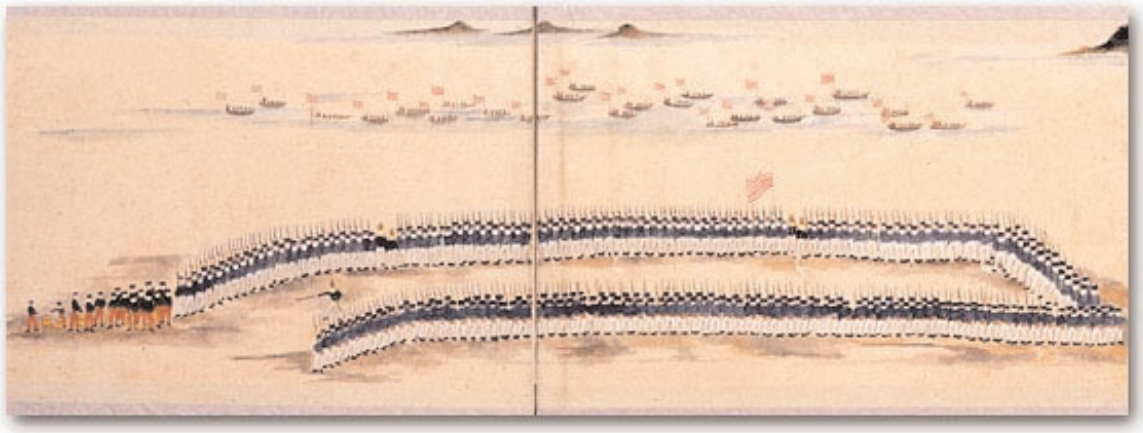
Commodore Perry bids farewell to officials in Shimoda

The Japanese visualization of these first encounters presents a different world. This is true not only of artwork churned out at the time, but also of evocations of the Perry mission that artists produced in later years. It mattered greatly, of course, that whereas the Americans were observing the Japanese in their native milieu, the Japanese were confronting intruders far from home.

For the Japanese, that is, the foreigners who suddenly materialized in their waters and descended upon their soil had no context, no tactile background. They existed detached from any broader physical and cultural environment. Whereas Heine and his colleagues could attempt to present "Japan" to their audience, the Japanese had only a small number of "Americans" and their artifacts upon which to focus.

There was, moreover, no counterpart on the Japanese side to the official artists employed by Perry—and thus no Japanese attempt to create a sustained visual (or written) narrative of these momentous interactions. What we have instead are representations by a variety of artists, most of whose names are unknown. Their artistic conventions differed from those of the Westerners. Their works were reproduced and disseminated not as lithographs and engravings or fine-line woodcuts, but largely as brightly colored woodblock prints as well as black-and-white broadsheets *(kawaraban).*

They also painted in formats such as unfolding "horizontal scrolls" *(emaki)* that had no counterpart in the West. It was common for such scrolls to be 20 or 30 feet long, and in some cases they inspired variant copies. Many of these artists drew no boundary between direct observation and flights of imagination. On occasion, tension permeated their images—and no wonder. Their insular way of life, after all, had been violated and would never be the same. Although one might (and some did) pretend otherwise, it was obvious where the preponderance of power lay.



Perry's troops landing in Yokohama, 1854

Shiryo Hensanjo, University of Tokyo

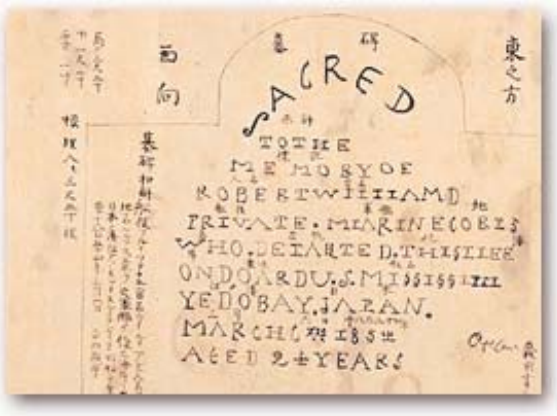
Some of these artistic responses reflected bravado and an attempt to rally domestic support against the foreign threat. In anticipation of Perry's arrival, the Shogun's government had mobilized its own samurai forces and ordered *daimyo* (local lords) throughout the land to send troops to defend the capital. Thousands of armed warriors manned the shoreline when Perry landed on his two visits. In the renderings of the Narrative, these soldiers and officials appear calm and unruffled, even when mounted on horseback or challenging the American crew that was surveying Edo Bay. And while tension inevitably accompanied these encounters, discipline and order did prevail. No violent incidents occurred, and Japanese renderings of the first meetings of the two sides also convey a sense of formality.

There were even unanticipated occasions where each side had the opportunity to observe and record a common solemn moment on the part of the other—a funeral, in this instance—and did so with differing styles, to be sure, but also with a shared respectfulness. Thus a lithograph in the Narrative depicting a Buddhist funeral procession in Shimoda has an interesting counterpart in a Japanese sketch of the American funeral procession for marine private Robert Williams, who died of illness during Perry's second visit. After brief and courteous negotiation, the Japanese not only agreed to allow the deceased to be buried on Japanese soil, but also had Buddhist priests participate in the funeral service. The respect the Americans showed to the dead clearly helped weaken the familiar stereotypes of "southern barbarians" and "foreign devils." At the same time, the American tolerance of Buddhist participation in the rites of interment offers a striking contrast to more invidious popular evocations of the Japanese as "heathen."

Japanese funeral in Shimoda, from the official Narrative

Funeral procession of Private Williams, by Tohohata (Osuke) 1854

Shiryo Hensanjo, University of Tokyo



Inscription from Robert Williams's gravestone in the 1854 "Black Ship Scroll"

Honolulu Academy of Art

So great was the impression left by the death of Williams that the long "Black Ship Scroll" painted in Shimoda in 1854 included a drawing of the inscription on his tombstone.

In all, four Americans with the Perry mission died and were buried in Japan. Private Williams, originally buried in Yokohama, was reinterred in Shimoda. One of Heine's most evocative illustrations depicts Americans and Japanese, including a Buddhist priest, in a hillside cemetery in Shimoda, the American fleet visible at anchor in the harbor.

Heine's 1854 rendering of the harbor at Shimoda "from the American Grave Yard" (detail), from the official Narrative

By rare good fortune, we have a daguerreotype of the four American graves, most likely taken the following year. Evocative in its own way, the photograph also highlights the romanticism of Heine's vision of these historic encounters.

Four American gravestones in the cemetery of Gyokusenji temple in Shimoda. Daguerreotype attributed to Edward Kern, ca. 1855

George Eastman House

In ways absent from the American graphics, however, Japanese artists also succeeded in conveying a tense willingness to fight if need be on the part of the Japanese defenders. Colored as well as black-and-white prints depicted samurai crouched in readiness for imminent battle.

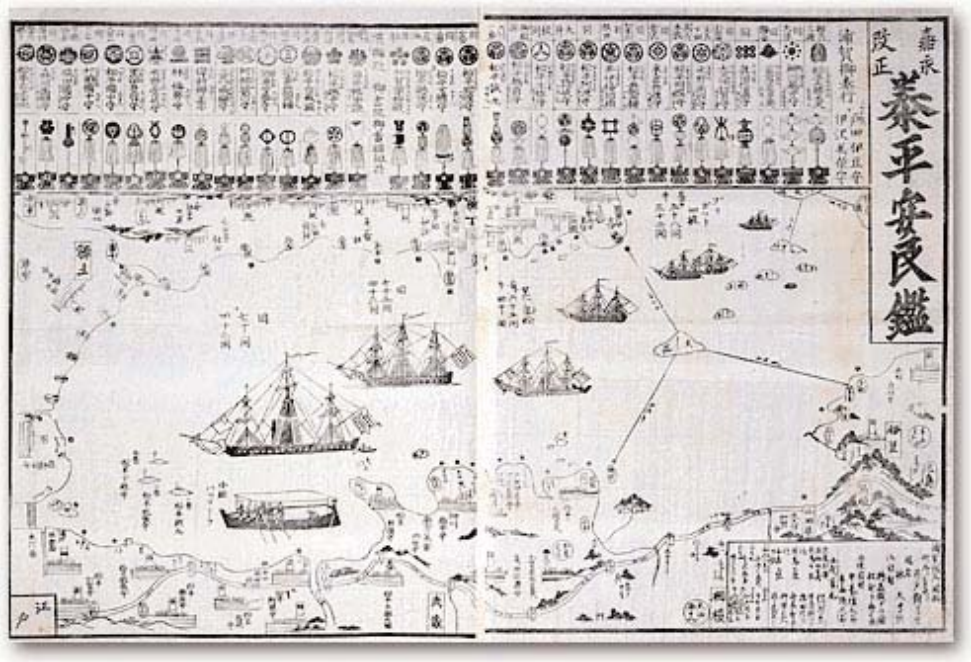
Samurai guards at Edo Bay, detail from a kawaraban *broadsheet, 1854*

Ryosenji Treasure Museum

Detail from a montage titled "Pictorial Depiction of American People and Steamship" ca. 1854

Ryosenji Treasure Museum

In some cases, the massive mobilization of samurai was conveyed in a traditional "heraldic" manner. Here, depiction of the foreign fleet sitting offshore was paired with a row of tiny drawings of the distinctive crests, decorated staffs, and other insignia that identified different *daimyo* and their retainers.



Japanese deployment against U.S. black ships at Edo Bay, 1854 kawaraban

Ryosenji Treasure Museum

Even decades later, after Japan's new leaders had dismantled the feudal system and embarked on a policy of ardent "Westernization," the image of heroic warriors bristling to take on Perry's imperialist intruders had an avid audience. The most flamboyant woodblock print of the imagined samurai defenders in Edo Bay, for example, dates from 1889 and conveys a sense of both peril and gritty determination that could still rouse the fervor of new nationalists in a new nation.

Samurai from various fiefs mobilize to defend the homeland against Perry's intrusion, 1889 woodblock print by Toshu Shogetsu

Shiryo Hensanjo, University of Tokyo

The most audaciously fictional rendering of Perry and the Japanese was circulated as a *kawaraban* broadsheet around 1854. This depicts the commodore prostrating himself before an official in full samurai armor seated on the traditional camp stool of a fighting general.

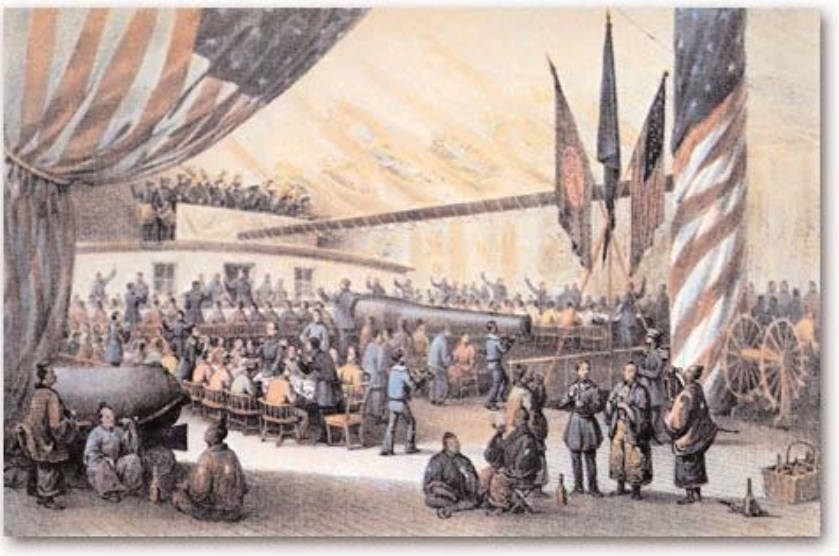
Perry prostrating himself before a samurai official, kawaraban *(detail) ca. 1854*

Ryosenji Treasure Museum

Widely known for his haughty demeanor even before the Japan expedition, Perry took extraordinary care never to display the slightest sign of subordination or obsequiousness in his dealings with Japanese officials. Had he seen this little pearl of propaganda, it surely would have made his hair curl.

More than a few Japanese graphics had a cartoon quality, and some were deliberately humorous—again, something never seen in the sober American illustrations. One of the liveliest episodes that took place during the second visit, for example, was a banquet on the *Powhatan*.

As it happens, we know from various sources that this evolved into less than formal behavior. In an entertaining letter to his wife, one of Perry's officers (Lieutenant George Henry Preble) recounted that, "in accordance with the old adage that if they eat hearty they give us a good name," he and his comrades took care to keep the plates and glasses of their guests full. "Doing my duty therefore, in obedience to orders," he continued, "I plied the Japanese in my neighborhood well, and when clean work had been made of champagne, Madeira, cherry cordial, punch and whisky I resorted to the castors and gave them a mixture of catsup and vinegar which they seemed to relish with equal gusto." Both sides interspersed their libations with friendly toasts.



Banquet on board the Powhatan

The band played, and American officers danced with Japanese officials in formal robes. One of the commissioners was so carried away by the end of the evening that he threw his arms around Perry's neck, embraced him rather sloppily, crushed his epaulettes, and (in a subsequently often-quoted phrase) burbled "Nippon and America, all the same heart." As Preble recounted the story, when asked how he could tolerate such behavior, the commodore replied, "Oh, if he will only sign the Treaty he may kiss me." Gunboat diplomacy was a demanding business.

One could never imagine any of this from Heine's entirely decorous rendering of the event in the official Narrative, and unfortunately no irreverent Japanese artists were present to record the scene.

When the Japanese reciprocated with a banquet of their own, on the other hand, we have not only a somber rendering of this (sketched at the time but published as a woodblock print many years later), but also an anonymous and quite disorderly print that suggests the Westerners, although not required to sit Japanese style on the floor, clearly had a difficult time swallowing the native cuisine.

Japanese reception for the Americans, late-19th-century woodblock print from a sketch done at the time

Ryosenji Treasure Museum

"Entertainment Held in the Reception Hall at Yokohama" (detail), ca. 1854

Peabody Essex Museum

Frequently, Japanese artists resorted to montage to convey a sense of the multifaceted nature of the Perry encounter. The landing at Yokohama in March 1854, for example, inspired a number of prints combining views of the black ships at anchor with drawings of the commodore and his crew marching in parade.

One elaborate montage, titled "Pictorial Depiction of American People and Steamship," featured a map of the world in the center (with Japan in the center of the map), surrounded by depictions of the curtained-off Japanese shore defenses, a gunboat belching smoke, Perry and his attendants in rather untidy parade (the Americans had better posture when their own artists drew them), the samurai in full armor we already have seen, and crewmen from the black ships gaping at the sight of two giant sumo wrestlers.

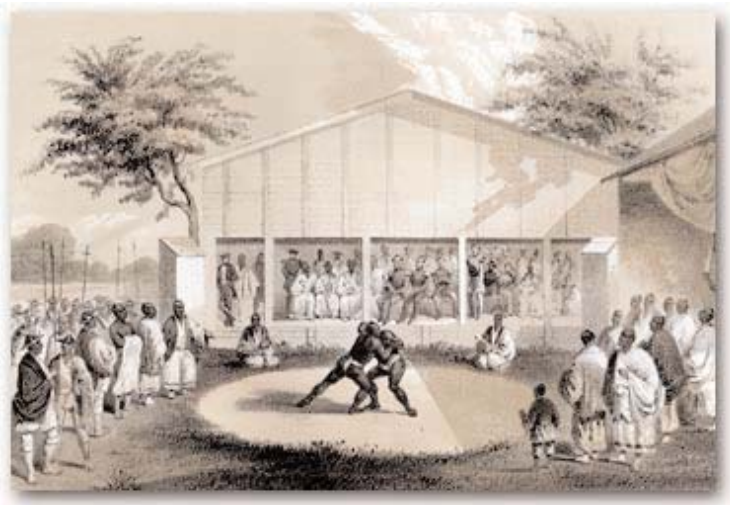
"Pictorial Depiction of American People and Steamship" ca. 1854

Ryosenji Treasure Museum

The most spectacular assemblage of graphics, completed at a later date, took the form of a dramatic eight-panel standing screen, now known as the "Assembled Pictures of Commodore Perry's Visit." On this were affixed depictions of the black ships, Perry and other members of his mission (including ordinary crew), troops in formation, entertainments, artifacts the Americans brought with them, and the official gifts they proffered (including a telegraph apparatus and a small model train).

"Assembled Pictures of Commodore Perry's Visit"
eight-panel folding screen

Shiryo Hensanjo, University of Tokyo



Sumo, as it turned out, attracted artists on both sides. The Narrative featured a lithograph (by W. T. Peters) of an outdoor sumo match observed by a crowd of Japanese and Americans including Perry himself, as well as a pencil drawing of two sumo champions by the always respectful Heine.

The sumo wrestlers did not impress everyone favorably, however. The Narrative described them as “over-fed monsters” and found the wrestling matches themselves “disgusting”—a mere “show of brute animal force.” In his personal journal, Perry dismissed the bouts as a “farce” and referred to the eventual winner as “the reputed bully of the capital, who seemed to labor like a Chinese junk in chow-chow water.” The sight of some twenty-five or thirty of these brawny men grouped together struck him as “giving a better idea of an equal number of stall-fed bulls than human beings.”

Sumo detail from 1854 montage

Ryosenji Treasure Museum

By contrast, in Japanese eyes these same figures became an almost irresistible vehicle through which to intimate Japan’s formidable strength, against which the foreigners were puny and powerless. In the “Pictorial Depiction of American People and Steamship” montage, the American spectators appear small, ludicrous, and astonished at the sight of two of these giants grappling with each other.

In the same spirit, the spectacle of these strongmen hefting huge bales of rice the Americans were unable to budge (they weighed over 125 pounds) became another witty way of suggesting that the intruders were no match for Japanese. A scroll of first-hand sketches of the foreigners prepared by a retainer of the *daimyo* of Ogasawara included skillful line drawings of awed marines examining the bulk of a sumo champion.

Even Perry was given the opportunity to feel the muscles of one of these giants. The artists naturally portrayed him as duly impressed, although the official report tells us he was merely expressing surprise “at this wondrous exhibition of animal development.”

Sumo wrestlers carry rice bales, 1854 (above, left)

Collection of DeWolf Perry

Perry and a Japanese wrestler, 1854 (above, right)

Collection of DeWolf Perry

Marines examining a sumo wrestler, 1854 (left)

Smithsonian Institution

In the decade following the Perry expedition, the larger-than-life sumo wrestler continued to provide a small vehicle for iconographic bravado. After a new commercial treaty was signed in 1858 and foreigners began to flood into the country, woodblock artists portrayed these native heroes tossing around, not bales of rice, but the hairy barbarians themselves.

"The Glory of Sumo Wrestlers at Yokohama," 1860 and 1861

Ryosenji Treasure Museum

When it came to promoting human curiosities, however, Perry was not to be outdone. The American counterpart to the sumo wrestler was white men in black-face, as well as flesh-and-blood Negroes.

Minstrel show on the Powhatan

Chrysler Museum of Art (above)

Shiryo Hensanjo, University of Tokyo (right)

"Ethiopian Concert" program from minstrel show on the Powhatan

ETHIOPIAN CONCERT.

UNITED STATES STEAM FRIGATE POWHATAN,

Hakodadi, Island of Yesso, Empire of Japan. May 29th.

An Ethiopian entertainment will be given by the

JAPANESE OLIO MINSTRELS,

on board this ship, this evening, weather favorable, to which the Officers invite your attendance.

PROGRAMME.

PART FIRST.

As "Colored 'Gemmen' of the North."

GRAND OVERTURE.

1. VIRGINIA ROSE BUD . . . Mr. Dabney.
2. DARKIES SERENADE, . . . " DeCosta.
3. LADIES WON'T YOU MARRY? . . " Tripp.
4. SALLY WEAVER, ... " Dabney.
5. OH! Ms. COON, Duett, Messrs. Dabney & Reeves.
6. OLD GREY GOOSE, . . . Mr. Tripp.

PART SECOND.

"As Plantation 'Niggas' of the South."

1. LIFE BY DE GALLEY FIRE, . Mr. DeCosta.
2. GET UP IN DE MORNING, . . " Reeves.
3. MASSA'S IN DE COLD! COLD GROUND, " Pablo.
4. OLD AUNT SALLY, . . . " Dabney.
5. SUSEY BROWN, . . . Full Band.

SOLO ON VIOLIN, by C. McLeese.

The whole to conclude with a burlesque on Bulwer's celebrated play,

THE LADY OF LYONS,

introducing a new and much admired pas de deux, with the following cast of characters:—

CLAUDE MELNOTTE, alias SAM JOHNSING, Mr. Dabney.
PAULINE, alias POLLY ANN, . . Miss Tripp.
GUARDS, ... Mr. McLeese,
MINSTRELS, &c., ... By the whole band.

Manager, Mr. W. J. Dabney.
Musical Director, Mr. C. McLeese.
Performance to commence at 7 o'clock, precisely.

Japan Expedition Press.

In Japan (as well as elsewhere on the voyage to and from Japan), Perry's favorite entertainment was an "Ethiopian concert" featuring white men playing the roles of "Colored 'Gemmen' of the North" and "Plantation 'Niggas' of the South," and singing such songs as "Darkies Serenade" and "Oh! Mr. Coon." Although the Narrative dwells on the "delight to the natives" these performances gave, it remained for Japanese artists to preserve them for posterity.

From the moment he first stepped on Japanese soil in 1853 to present the letter from President Fillmore, Perry also sought to impress the Japanese with authentic black men. "On either side of the Commodore," the Narrative tells us, "marched a tall, well-formed negro, who, armed to the teeth, acted as his personal guard. These blacks, selected for the occasion, were two of the best-looking fellows of their color that the squadron could furnish." Here again, it is the Japanese side that has left a graphic impression of these stalwart aides.

Perry, accompanied by a "tall, well-formed negro," delivering President Fillmore's letter, 1853

Chrysler Museum of Art

In other Japanese renderings, however, blacks who accompanied the mission were less than handsome and well-formed. When Perry and his men visited the two treaty ports designated by the Treaty of Kanagawa, artists in both Shimoda and Hakodate drew unflattering portraits of black crewmen who came ashore. They would never be confused with the stalwart standard bearers who flanked Perry when he presented the president's letter.

Crewman "hired from a country of black people," from the watercolor "Black Ship and Crew" ca. 1854 (left)

Ryosenji Treasure Museum

"Black man" from the "Black Ship Scroll" 1854

Honolulu Academy of Art

Two images of Perry and black crew members in Hakodate

Hakodate Kyodo Bunkakai

At the time Perry was engaged in opening Japan to "civilization," slavery was still widespread in the United States and minstrel shows were an enormously popular form of entertainment. (The Narrative dwells at some length on their appealing combination of "grotesque humor and comic yet sentimental melody.") The Japanese, whose prior contact with dark-skinned peoples was negligible, responded to these encounters with undisguised curiosity. As filtered through the eyes of popular artists, however, this interest emerges more as bemusement about the human species in general than any clear-cut prejudice toward foreigners, or toward blacks in particular.

This seems, at first glance, an unlikely response from a racially homogeneous society that had lived in isolation for so long. It was, however, a logical response when seen from the perspective of the mass-oriented popular culture of late-feudal Japan. Whereas Heine and his colleagues exemplified restrained "high art" traditions of representation, Japanese artists catering to a popular audience had long engaged in exaggeration and caricature. Their purpose was to entertain, and in the tradition of woodblock prints in particular, every conceivable type of subject, activity, and physical appearance was deemed suitable for representation—whether it be scenery, the "floating world" of actors and courtesans, mayhem and grotesquerie, or outright pornography. This protean fascination with the human comedy carried over to artistic renderings of the various types of foreign individuals who came ashore with the commodore in 1853 and 1854.

It is in this spirit that the bare-chested black sailor in Shimoda was introduced as but one of many characters in a popular scroll that treated virtually all members of the expedition as rather odd but essentially entertaining. The larger scene in which he appears includes two "Chinese" who accompanied the expedition, as well as a white man with a telescope.

Chinese members of the Perry expedition with black crewman and white man with a telescope

"Black Ship Scroll" (detail)

Honolulu Academy of Art

This version of the "Black Ship Scroll" (beginning section shown here) is approximately 30-feet long and is read from right to left.

This "Black Ship Scroll" (which came to exist in several variant copies) also featured witty renderings of crewmen engaged in activities that Perry's artists never dreamed of recording: inebriated sailors dancing, for example, and a seaman surrounded by prostitutes. In a nice representation of foreigners making their representations, the Shimoda scrolls also included such scenes as Heine making sketches, Dr. Morrow collecting and recording his specimens of plants, foreigners surveying the countryside, and three aroused Americans (the tongue of one is protruding) making a daguerreotype of a courtesan to present to the "American king."

Inebriated American crewmen dance, while others do their laundry

An American sailor ingratiating himself with prostitutes in Shimoda (together with a long and amusing account of how he succeeded in doing so)

However exaggerated such renderings may have been, they conveyed a playfulness and vitality fully in keeping with the practices of Japanese popular art—and conspicuously different from the high-minded "realism" of Heine and company. From this perspective, the great cultural encounter was genuinely amusing.

Botanist James Morrow and artist William Heine

Surveying the Shimoda countryside

Eliphalet Brown, Jr. and assistants making a daguerreotype of a courtesan

A bemused Japanese woman watches American sailors attempting to hull rice

An American crewman grimaces after tasting hair oil he mistook for an edible delicacy

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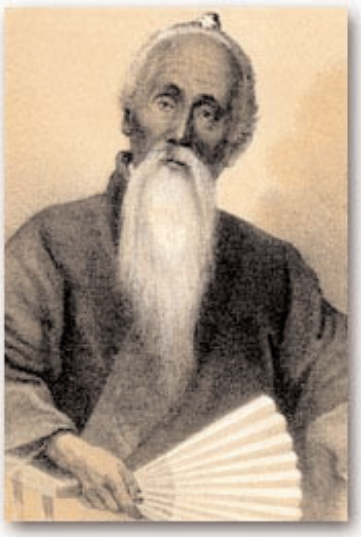
A variant version of the "Black Ship Scroll"

S. Wells Williams

Shiryo Hensanjo, University of Tokyo



Okinawan official

from the official Narrative

As already seen in their diverse renderings of Commodore Perry, Japanese artists did not hesitate to resort to outright fantasy when drawing portraits of the foreigners. Even when they were ostensibly drawing "from life," their attempts to capture the spirit or personality of their subjects gave a touch of caricature to the resulting portrait. We see this in an ostensibly realistic pair of paintings of Perry and Commander Henry Adams, his second-in-command, for example, as well as in anonymous woodblock portraits of a decidedly foppish Adams and an alarmingly sharp-visaged "American Chief of the Artillery-men."

Perry (right) and Adams, ink and color on paper, 1854

Ryosenji Treasure Museum

Left: "American Chief of the Artillery-men"

Right: "The North American Adjutant General (Adams)" woodblock prints, ca. 1854

Peabody Essex Museum

Full-figure renderings of the foreigners as they were observed in Kurihama or Yokohama or Shimoda or Hakodate followed the same free style. Often these figures were lined up in a row like a droll playbill for a cast of characters who had chosen to strut their stuff on the Japanese stage.

"Pictorial Scroll of Black Ships Landing at Shimoda" (detail)

Ryosenji Treasure Museum

"Pictorial Record of the Arrival of Black Ships" (detail) ca. 1854

Ryosenji Treasure Museum

A particularly dramatic cast of characters accompanied one of the monstrous black ships introduced earlier, in the form of a gallery of nine individuals. In addition to Perry, the accompanying text identified them (right to left) as an interpreter, the crewman who sounded the ocean's depth, a high officer, the chief of the "rifle corps" (marines), a navigator, a marine, a musician, and a crewman from a "country of black people," usually called upon "to work in the rigging or dive in the sea." Colorful and idiosyncratic, they comprised a motley crew indeed.

Detail from
"Black Ship and Crew"
ca. 1854

Ryosenji Treasure Museum

Some sketches by Japanese artists were clearly drawn from direct observation, with close and annotated attention to every article of attire and piece of equipment.

From an artist's sketchbook, 1854

Shiryo Hensanjo, University of Tokyo

The most "realistic" run of portraits of the Americans dates from March 8, 1854, when Perry landed in Yokohama to initiate his second visit. Commissioned by the *daimyo* of Ogasawara, the original sketches were drawn by Hibata Osuke, a performer of classical Noh drama who studied under the famous woodblock artist Utagawa Kuniyoshi. With some difficulty, Hibata managed to situate himself in the midst of that day's activities and record a great variety of subjects and events.

Other artists subsequently copied his keenly observed renderings of the commodore and five others: Commander Adams; Captain Joel Abbott; S. Wells Williams, a missionary from China who knew some Japanese; a Dutch-Japanese interpreter named Anton Portman (communication often required using Dutch as an intermediary language between English and Japanese); and Perry's son Oliver, who served as his personal secretary. The posing was highly stylized—all in half-profile—and each subject possessed the prominent nose that set Caucasians apart in Japanese eyes. At the same time, each was unmistakably imbued with individuality.

Two colored renderings based on Hibata Osuke's 1854 sketches of Perry and five others. From right to left (above): Commodore Perry, Commander Adams, English-Japanese translator S. Wells Williams, translator Anton Portman, Captain Joel Abbot, and Perry's son Oliver

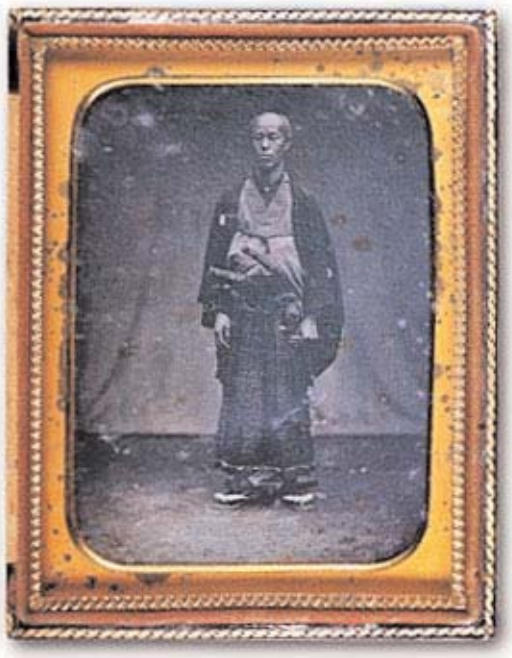
Shiryo Hensanjo, University of Tokyo (above) Chrysler Museum of Art (below)

The Americans brought a very different—and very recent—perspective to their individual portraits. Where Japanese depictions of the foreigners essentially came out of well-established rhetorical and pictorial conventions, the Americans brought the eye of the camera. Two different photographic processes—calotype and daguerreotype—had been introduced in the West in 1839, and the latter dominated the world of photography into the 1850s.

Daguerreotypes were distinguished by their grainless and exceptionally sharp images, but had the disadvantage of producing a single, fragile, non-reproducible original. There was no negative, and thus no possibility of making multiple copies. Producing one of these plates involved a complex (and toxic) chemical process, and was exceedingly time-consuming. Although a daguerreotype camera was obtained by an enterprising Japanese as early as 1848, it was the Perry mission that actually made the first photographic portraits of Japanese.

The entertaining “Black Ship Scroll” rendering of three Americans photographing a courtesan (seen in the previous section) actually depicts the mission’s chief photographer, Eliphalet Brown, Jr., and his assistants. Although Brown is known to have taken more than 400 daguerreotypes of scenery and individuals, all but a handful have been lost. Some were given to the individuals who were photographed, and those brought back to the United States were destroyed in a fire while the official report was being prepared for publication.

The few originals that have come down to us—mounted in the heavy gilt frames that commonly enhanced and protected these precious images—portray samurai. Among them are depictions of Namura Gohachiro, an interpreter summoned from Nagasaki; Tanaka Mitsuyoshi, a low-ranking guard in Uraga; and officials in the new treaty ports of Hakodate and Shimoda.



Tanaka Mitsuyoshi, a low-ranking guard in Uraga. Daguerreotype by Eliphalet Brown, Jr., 1854

Collection of Shimura Toyoshiro

Namura Gohachiro, an interpreter summoned from Nagasaki. Daguerreotype by Eliphalet Brown, Jr., 1854

Bishop Museum of Art

The posed portraits of Namura and Tanaka, similar at first glance, have subtle stories to tell. Barely visible behind Tanaka’s feet, for example, is the foot of some sort of wooden stand—believed to be a prop used to assist subjects in holding steady for the long exposure that the daguerreotype process demanded. Additionally, whereas Tanaka appears as the eye would see him (kimono folded left over right, and swords carried on the left), Namura confronts us in reverse image (kimono folded right over left, and swords on the right—where a samurai, trained to fight right-handed, would be unable to draw quickly). Since the daguerreotype produced a mirror image, it is Tanaka who is the anomaly. To appear properly in the photo, he folded his garment and mounted his sword improperly. Namura did not do this.

Another of Brown's surviving "magic mirror" daguerreotypes exposes, in and of itself, this same issue of how to pose. In this daguerreotype, which has deteriorated over time, the seated *bungo* or prefect of Hakodate holds center stage, while two retainers stand behind him. Like Tanaka, the prefect maintained proper appearance by reversing his sword and garment for the camera; and, like Namura, his attendants did not bother to do so. As fate would have it, however, the prefect's fastidiousness did not carry over to the wider world of publishing. The official Narrative contains a lithograph of the same three men—apparently based on another daguerreotype taken at the same sitting—in which the two aides have changed sides, but so have the prefect's sword and kimono-fold. Somewhat inexplicably, all three men now appear to be improperly dressed and armed.

Endo Matazaemon, a local official in Hakodate, and his attendants. 1854 daguerreotype by Eliphalet Brown, Jr. and a near mirror-image lithograph of the three men from the official Narrative of the Perry mission published in 1856

Yokohama Museum of Art

Despite the loss of Brown's original work, the official record actually contains a number of woodcut and lithograph portraits that are explicitly identified as being based on his daguerreotypes. Thus, the camera's eye remains, even though the photographs themselves have disappeared. Its focus falls not just on samurai, but on anonymous commoners as well—and not just on the Japanese, but also on residents of the Ryukyu ("Lew Chew") Islands, which did not formally become part of Japan until the 1870s.

Like the official illustrations that included artists sketching and painting, the Narrative actually gives us a subtle "double exposure" of the photographer at work. Thus, close scrutiny of a bucolic illustration by Heine titled "Temple at Tumai, Lew Chew" reveals Brown at stage center preparing to photograph several seated figures.

"Temple at Tumai, Lew Chew" with Eliphalet Brown, Jr. preparing to take a daguerreotype portrait (detail at right)

"Afternoon Gossip, Lew Chew" lithograph based on Brown's daguerreotype

Some twenty-plus pages later, we are treated to a charming, tipped-in lithograph titled "Afternoon Gossip, Lew Chew," depicting three men—surely these very same subjects—seated on a mat beneath a tree, smoking and seemingly at perfect peace with the world.

While dignity pervades the individual portraits that grace the Narrative, informality such as this is rare. Usually, those who held so still for so long—as the slow daguerreotype process demanded—tend to seem immobilized, almost frozen. They inhabit a world far removed from the animated, colorful, half imagined or even entirely imagined "Americans" we encounter on the Japanese side.

In subsequent years, the verisimilitude of photography and technical ease of both shooting and reproducing pictures would gradually render paintings, woodblock prints, lithographs, woodcuts, and the like outdated and even obsolete as ways of visualizing other peoples and cultures for mass consumption. And, indeed, immediately following Perry's opening of

Japan, both native and foreign photographers hastened to produce a rich record of the people and landscapes of the waning years of the feudal regime (the Shogun's government was overthrown in 1868). In this regard, Eliphalet Brown, Jr.'s daguerreotypes and the portraits copied from them were a harbinger of what was to come.

A Gallery of Portraits from the Official Narrative

Court interpreter, Ryukyus

Chief magistrate, Ryukyus

Buddhist priest

Mother and child, Shimoda

Prefect of Shimoda

Women, Shimoda

"Priest in Full Dress," Shimoda

"Prince of Izu"

Interpreters

Women in Shimoda

BLACK SHIPS & SAMURAI

COMMODORE PERRY AND THE OPENING OF JAPAN (1853-1854)

BY JOHN W. DOWER

CHAPTER SEVEN: GIFTS

Gifts from the Japanese

Collection of Carl H. Boehringer

Gifts from the Americans

from the official Narrative

Material culture encapsulates national culture, and this was certainly the case in Japan's encounter with Commodore Perry's America. Even as his gunboats were forcing the Japanese to abandon their seclusion policy, Perry was introducing them—and very deliberately so—to the technologies essential for survival in this challenging new world. He invited them to examine the awesome engines and gunnery on his vessels. His officers and civilian aides took pleasure in demonstrating Colt "six shooters," as well as daguerreotype photography.

Revolver from the time of Perry's mission

Tokyo National Museum

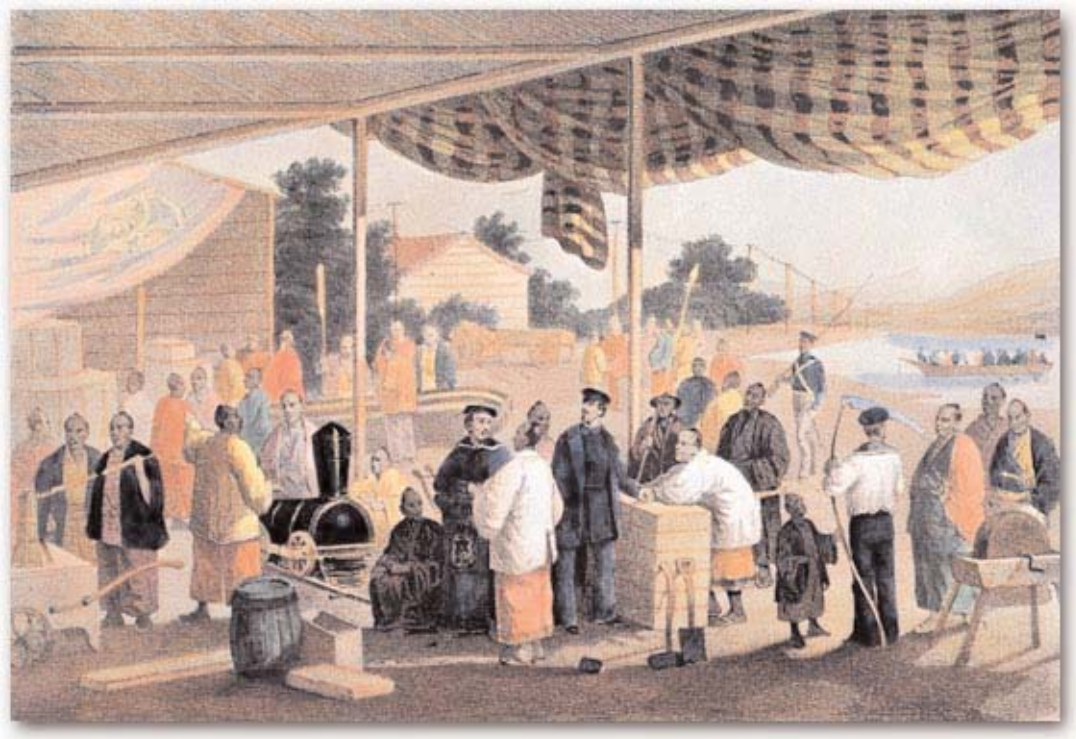
In a dramatic ceremony on March 13, 1854, the commodore presented his reluctant hosts with a variety of official gifts that ranged from the literally tasteful (including a large quantity of liquor, as well as "8 baskets of Irish potatoes") to the elegantly instructive (various books, including multi-volume sets of Audubon's costly *Birds of America* and *Quadrupeds of America*) to the technologically unfamiliar and imposing.

The latter presents, which naturally attracted greatest attention, included agricultural implements, a stove, a small printing press, a daguerreotype camera, a variety of firearms, two telegraph instruments (with three miles of wire), and a quarter-size locomotive and tender with passenger car and some 370 yards of track.

Perry's gifts, as depicted here by Japanese artists, included a telegraph apparatus, tools, casks of liquor, firearms, headgear, umbrellas, a stove, and a daguerreotype camera

Shiryo Hensanjo, University of Tokyo

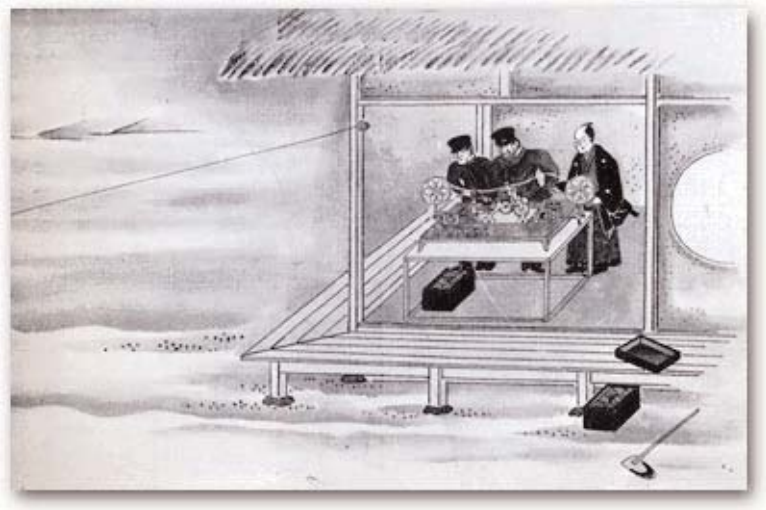
The lithograph depicting these presents being delivered to the Japanese in March 1854 may well be the best known of all of the official artwork associated with the Perry expedition. (Somewhat ironically, this is one of the few major graphics not done by Heine. It is attributed to W. T. Peters, a little-known New York artist who did not accompany the mission but apparently worked from one of Brown's now lost daguerreotypes.)



Delivery of American presents at Yokohama, March 13, 1854.
Note the telegraph wires in the right background.

The viewer's eye is immediately drawn to the locomotive, surrounded by Japanese officials dressed in kimono and short *haori* jackets. Its diminutive size makes it appear to be almost a toy. Closer examination reveals a keg of whiskey in the foreground, an American-style "Francis' copper lifeboat" in the rear—and, in the far distance, poles carrying the telegraph wire.

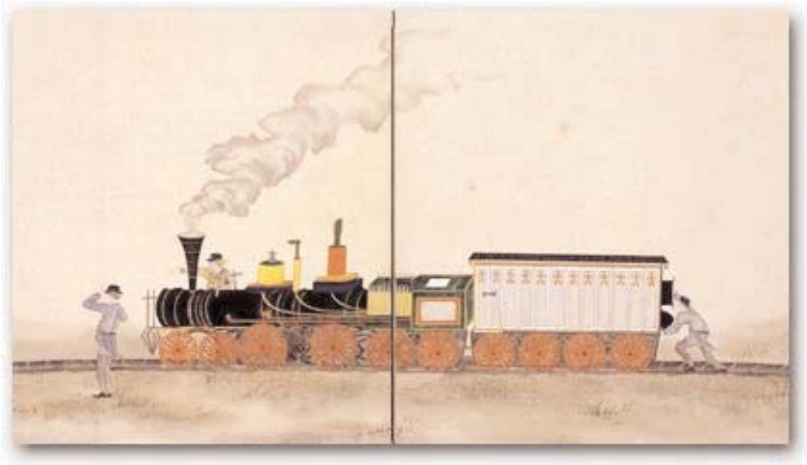
Samuel Morse, the inventor of the telegraph, personally instructed one of Perry's lieutenants in Morse code so that the instruments could be set up and demonstrated in Japan.



A samurai official observes two Americans operating the telegraph

Shiryo Hensanjo,
University of Tokyo

As might be expected, the small-scale train attracted particularly keen attention. By the 1870s, Japan had built its own first full-scale railway, and real smoke-spouting passenger trains had become one of the favorite subjects of wood-block artists of the new Japan.



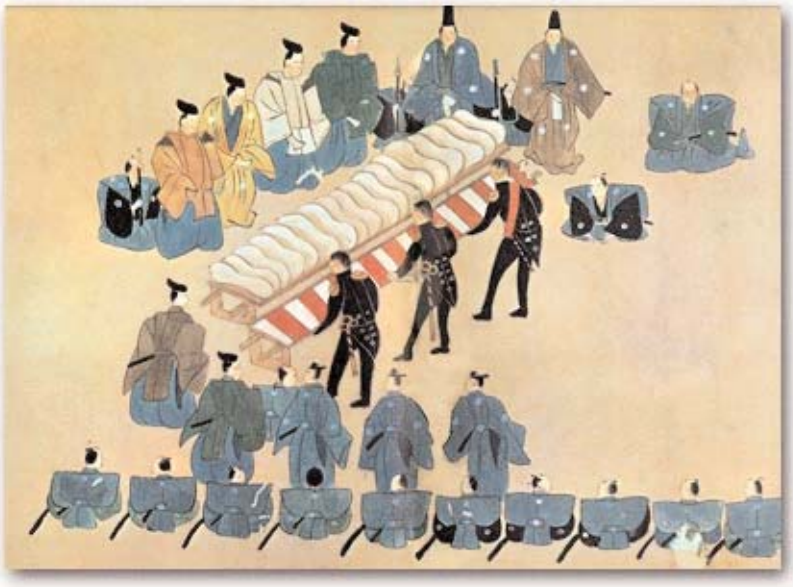
Three Japanese renderings of the miniature train

Shiryo Hensanjo, University of Tokyo (top and bottom)

Ryosenji Treasure Museum (left)

The Japanese reciprocated with gifts of their own, albeit in a manner that served primarily to impress the Americans with the quality of traditional crafts, the exceptional care with which the Japanese packaged and presented things (the American gifts came in crates), and—clearly the strongest impression—the rather curious and even coarse nature of a great deal that was received.

The better Japanese presents included lacquered ware, porcelain, and numerous bolts of silk (virtually all of which quickly disappeared into the bowels of a warehouse in Washington). This was accompanied by bowls, pipes, fans, dolls, bamboo ware, writing paper, and other commonplace articles—as well as a number of brooms, 35 bundles of oak charcoal, 70 or so ordinary umbrellas, 200 bales of rice, and 300 chickens.



Presentation of silk to American officers, March 24, 1854
painting on paper

Collection of Carl H. Boehringer

Several small dogs of a breed that reminded the Americans of English spaniels were given for presentation to the U.S. president, but although they made an appearance in the Narrative, their subsequent fate remains unclear.

Lieutenant Preble, indefatigable chronicler of the inside story, noted in his diary that the Japanese presents also included “a box of obscene paintings of naked men and women, another proof of the lewdness of this exclusive people.” These did not appear in the official report, and their fate, too, remains unknown.

Dogs presented to Commodore Perry
by the Japanese commissioners

Preble’s tepid response to the Japanese gifts was typical. He found them to be a “pretty display,” but concluded that “one of our presents of Audubon’s Great Work on American birds was worth more than all we saw there, and our miniature railroad engine and car cost several times their value.”

Everyone, the Commodore included, remarked on “the meager display and the lack of rich brocades and magnificent things always associated with our ideas of Japan…. I think these presents will prove a great disappointment to our people, whose ideas of Japan have been so exaggerated.”

Japanese gifts to the Perry expedition included various artifacts and art objects, among them fans, dolls, ceramics, and decorated writing paper.

Smithsonian Institution

List of American Presents
Brought Ashore in Japan on March 13, 1854

For the Emperor:

Miniature steam engine, 1/4 size, with track, tender, and car
2 telegraph sets, with batteries, three miles of wire, gutta percha wire, and insulators
1 Francis' copper lifeboat
1 surfboat of copper
Collection of agricultural implements
Audubon *Birds,* in nine volumes
Natural History of the State of New York, 16 volumes
Annals of Congress, 4 volumes
Laws and Documents of the State of New York
Journal of the Senate and Assembly of New York
Lighthouse Reports, 2 volumes
Bancroft's *History of the United States,* 4 volumes
Farmers' Guide, 2 volumes
1 series of United States Coast Survey Charts
Morris, *Engineering*
Silver-topped dressing case
8 yards scarlet broadcloth, and scarlet velvet
Series of United States standard yard, gallon, bushel, balances, and weights
Quarter cask of Madeira
Barrel of Whiskey
Box of champagne and cherry cordial and maraschino
3 boxes of fine tea
Maps of several states and four large lithographs
Telescope and stand, in box
Sheet-iron stove
An assortment of fine perfumery
5 Hall rifles
3 Maynard muskets
12 cavalry swords
6 artillery swords
1 carbine
20 Army pistols in a box
Catalogue of New York State Library and Postoffices
2 mail bags with padlocks

For the Empress:

Flowered silk embroidered dress
Toilet dressing-box, gilded
6 dozen assorted perfumery

For Commissioner Hayashi:

Audubon *Quadrupeds*
4 yards scarlet broadcloth

Clock
Stove
Rifle
Set of Chinaware
Teaset
Revolver and powder
2 dozen assorted perfumery
20 gallons of whiskey
1 sword
3 boxes fine tea
1 box of champagne
1 box of finer tea

For Abe, Prince of Ise, first councilor:
1 copper lifeboat
Kendall War in Mexico and Ripley History of the War in Mexico
1 box of champagne
3 boxes fine tea
20 gallons whiskey
1 clock
1 stove
1 rifle
1 sword
1 revolver and powder
2 dozen assorted perfumery
4 yards scarlet broadcloth

For each of the other five councilors:
1 book*
10 gallons of whiskey
1 lithograph
1 clock
1 revolver
1 rifle
1 sword
12 assorted perfumery

_____

* The books thus distributed were Lossing, *Field Book of Revolution;* Owen, *Architecture; Documentary History of New York;* Downing, *Country Houses;* and Owen, *Geology of Minnesota.* The source for this list is Roger Pineau, editor, *The Japan Expedition, 1852-1854: The Personal Journal of Commodore Matthew C. Perry,* (Smithsonian Institution Press, 1968).

List of Articles Received from the Japanese Government on March 24, 1854

1. For the Government of the United States, "from the Emperor":
1 gold lacquered writing apparatus
1 gold lacquered paper box
1 gold lacquered book-case
1 lacquered writing table
1 censer (cow-shape) of bronze, supporting silver flower and stand
1 flower holder and stand
2 braziers
10 pieces fine red pongee
5 pieces flowered crepe

2. From Hayashi, 1st commissioner:
1 lacquered writing apparatus
1 lacquered paper box
1 box of paper
1 box flowered note paper
5 boxes stamped note and letter paper
4 boxes assorted sea shells, 100 in each
1 box of branch coral and feather in silver
1 lacquered chow-chow box
1 box, set of three, lacquered goblets
7 boxes cups and spoons and goblet cut from conch shells

3. From Ido, 2d commissioner:
2 boxes lacquered waiters, 4 in all
2 boxes, containing 20 umbrellas
1 box 30 coir brooms

4. From Izawa, 3rd commissioner:
1 piece red pongee
1 piece white pongee
8 boxes, 13 dolls
1 box bamboo woven articles
2 boxes bamboo stands

5. From Udono, 4th commissioner:
3 pieces striped crepe
2 boxes porcelain cups
1 box, 10 jars of soy

6. From Matsuzaki, 5th commissioner:
3 boxes porcelain goblets
1 box figured matting
35 bundles oak charcoal

7. From Abe, 1st Imperial councilor:
14 pieces striped-figured silk (taffeta)

8-12. From each of other 5 Imperial councilors:
10 pieces striped-figured silk (taffeta)

13. "From the Emperor" to Commodore Perry:
1 lacquered writing apparatus
1 lacquered paper box
3 pieces red pongee
2 pieces white pongee
2 pieces flowered crepe
3 pieces figured dyed crepe

14. From commissioners to Capt. H.A. Adams:
3 pieces plain red pongee
2 pieces dyed figured crepe
20 sets lacquered cups and covers

15-17. From commissioners to Mr. Perry, Mr. Portman, and Mr. S.W.Williams, each:
2 pieces red pongee
2 pieces dyed figured crepe
10 sets lacquered cups and covers

18-22. From commissioners to Mr. Gay, Mr. Danby, Mr. Draper, Dr. Morrow, and Mr. J.P. Williams:
1 piece red dyed figured crepe
10 sets lacquered cups and covers

23. "From the Emperor" to the squadron:
200 bundles of rice, each 5 Japanese pecks
300 chickens

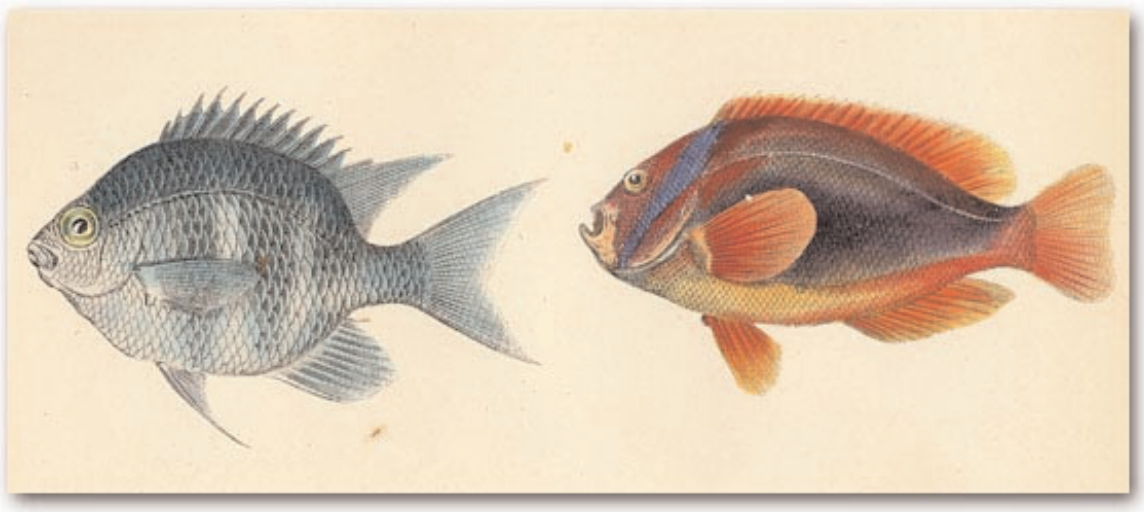
_____
The source for this list is the official Narrative of the Perry mission.

BLACK SHIPS & SAMURAI

COMMODORE PERRY AND THE OPENING OF JAPAN (1853-1854)

BY JOHN W. DOWER

CHAPTER EIGHT: NATURE

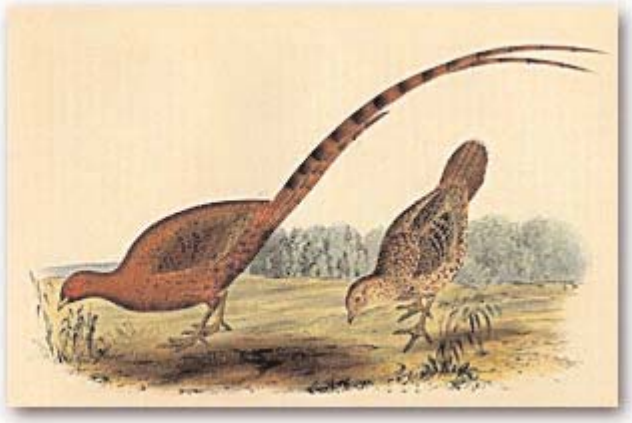


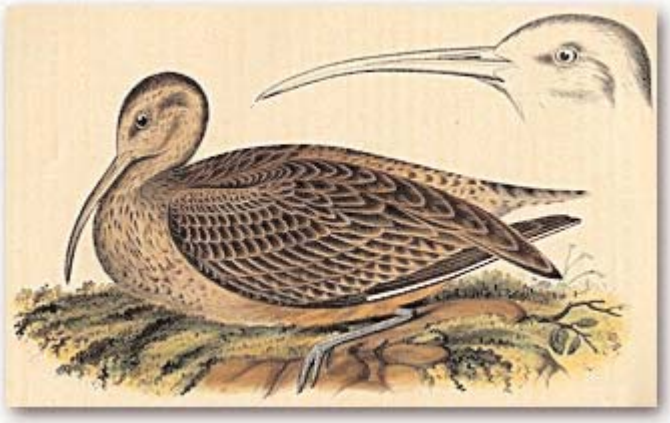
Marine life

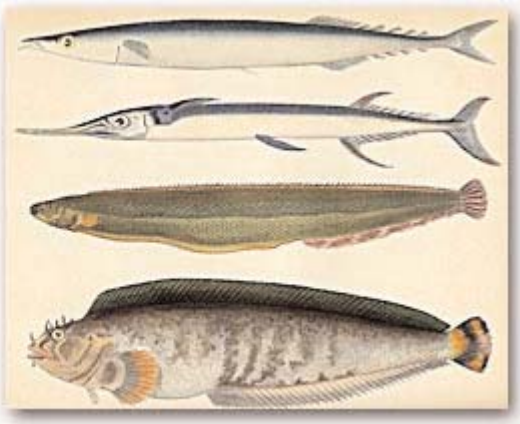
Lithographs from volume two of the official Narrative

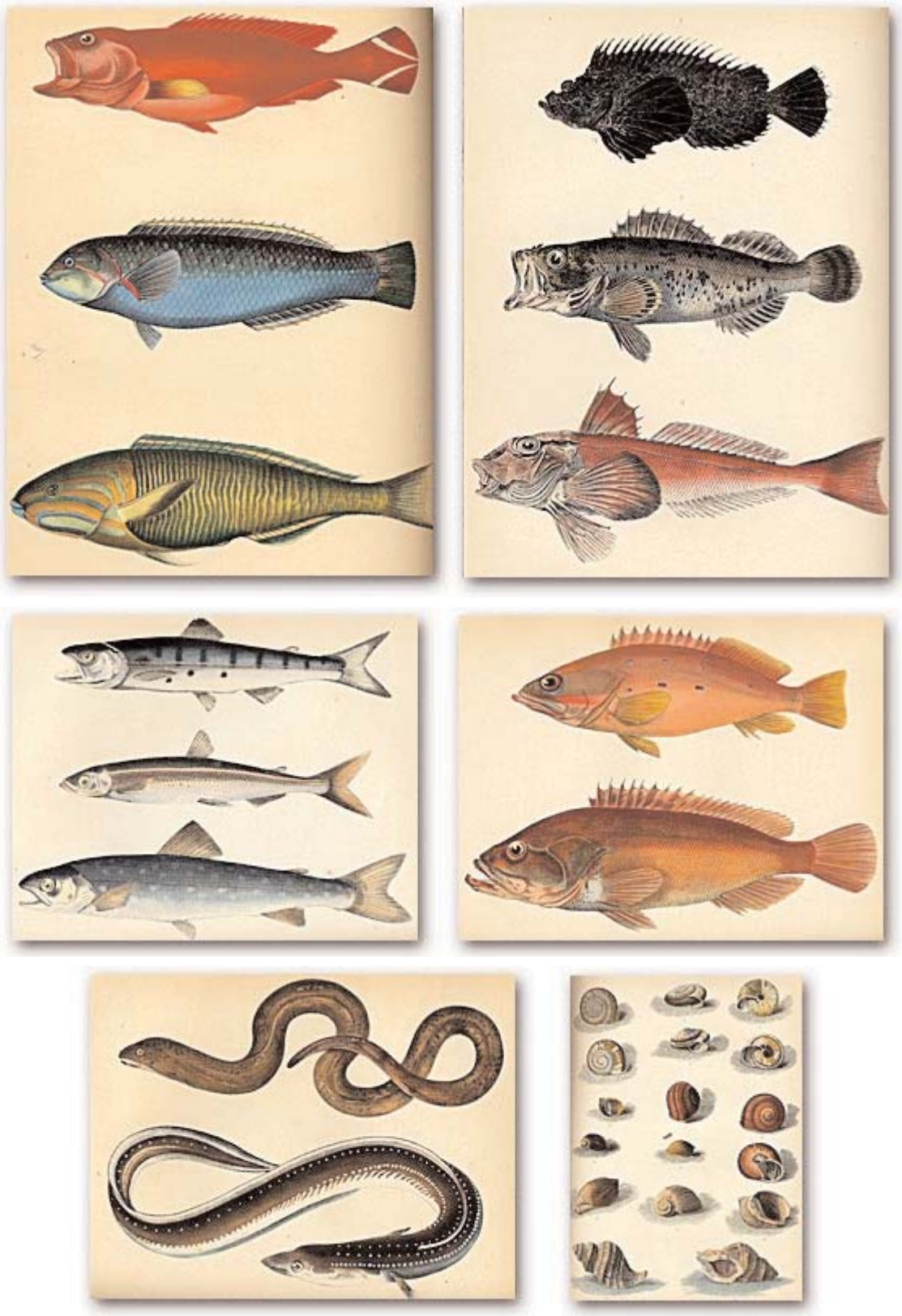
The Perry mission was intent on more than just opening relations with Japan, and its artists and technical specialists devoted themselves to more than just depicting the people, customs, and landscapes of a hitherto secluded country. They also set themselves the task of compiling a graphic record of the natural world.

Due to unfortunate personal wrangles, the hundreds of botanical samples collected by Dr. James Morrow were never included among the plates that graced the official Narrative, and Morrow's illustrations were subsequently lost. The second volume did, however, include sumptuous lithographs of marine life, together with a small selection of birds. Works of art in and of themselves, these illustrations represent an obvious counterpart to the great Audubon folios of birds and mammals that constituted one of the most elegant of Perry's gifts to Japanese officials. These renderings, presented below, remind us that the Western adventurers and expansionists of these days were intent on "mapping" virtually every aspect of the little known world.









All images from the official Narrative, volume two

Basic Sources on Commodore Perry and the Opening of Japan followed by Staff, Credits, and Acknowledgements

Basic Primary Sources

Perry, Matthew Calbraith. *Narrative of the Expedition of an American Squadron to the China Seas and Japan, performed in the years 1852, 1853, and 1854, under the Command of Commodore M. C. Perry, United States Navy, by Order of the Government of the United States.* Compiled from the Original Notes and Journals of Commodore Perry and his Officers, at his request, and under his supervision, by Francis L. Hawks, D.D., L.L.D. (Washington, D.C.: Published by Order of the Congress of the United States, 1856–1858). Three quarto volumes.

> This now rare publication is the lavish basic official account of the Perry mission. Volume 1, published in 1856 and of greatest general interest, is extensively illustrated with fine lithographs and woodcuts, many of which are reproduced in the Essay. Volume 2 contains the colored plates of birds and marine life that are reproduced here. Volume 3, of virtually no interest today, consists entirely of astronomical charts prepared during the voyages. An abridged one-volume commercial trade edition of the Narrative was also published in 1856. This includes many of the same graphics, but the quality of reproduction is inferior to the original.

Perry, Matthew C. *The Japan Expedition, 1852–1854: The Personal Journal of Commodore Matthew C. Perry.* Edited by Roger Pineau, with an introduction by Samuel Eliot Morison. (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1968).

Throughout his mission to Japan, Perry dictated his observations and thoughts to an aide who wrote them down. This voluminous account was a major source for the official Narrative written by Francis Hawks. This printed version of the Perry journal includes numerous illustrations in both color and black and white—including lithographs that did not appear in the official Narrative and a small selection of Japanese graphics.

"Commodore Perry's Expedition to Japan," *Harper's Magazine,* vol. 12, no. 70 (March 1856), pp. 441–466, and vol. 12, no. 72 (May 1856), pp. 733–756.

> This journalistic account of the mission coincided with the publication of the first volume of the official Narrative and took its text, and a few illustrations, from that source. It captures how the expedition was presented to the general public.

Preble, George Henry. *The Opening of Japan: A Diary of Discovery in the Far East, 1853–1856.* Edited by Boleslaw Szczesniak. (Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 1962).

A sample of Preble's lively first-hand observations appears in the text of the Essay, describing the inebriated exchanges that took place at the formal banquet Perry held for Japanese commissioners on his flagship *Powhatan.*

Williams, Samuel Wells. "A Journal of the Perry Expedition to Japan (1853–1854)," *Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan,* vol. 37 (1910), pp. 1-261.

Williams, an American missionary based in China, accompanied Perry as "first interpreter of the expedition." This lengthy published version of his journal was edited by his son.

Heine, William. *Graphic Scenes of the Japan Expedition.* (New York: G. P. Putnam & Company, 1856).

Heine, William. *With Perry to Japan: A Memoir by William Heine.* Translated by Frederick Trautmann. (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1990).

Heine, in his mid-twenties and born and educated in Germany, was the major artist who accompanied the Perry expedition. Most of the illustrations in the official Narrative are based on his paintings and sketches.

Morrow, James. *A Scientist with Perry in Japan: The Diary of Dr. James Morrow* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1947).

Morrow accompanied the Perry expedition to collect, record, and illustrate botanical specimens. Unfortunately, his illustrations were never published and most of them have been lost.

Spaulding, J. W. *The Japan Expedition: Japan and Around the World, An Account of Three Visits to the Japanese Empire* (New York: Redfield, 1855).

Sewall, John S. "With Perry in Japan: Personal Recollections of the Expedition of 1853–54," *Century Magazine,* vol. 70, no. 3 (July 1905), pp. 349–360.

Watts, Talbot (M.D.). *Japan and the Japanese* (New York: J. P. Neagle, 1852).

A concise (184 pages), illustrated account of Japan, based on existing literature in English and published on the very eve of Perry's arrival in Japan in 1853. This is an excellent primary source for pre-Perry European and American images of Japan and the Japanese.

Kaempfer, Englebert. *The History of Japan* (Glasgow: James MacLehose & Sons, 1906).

This three-volume illustrated text is a translation from the German of the most famous Tokugawa-period foreign account of Japan, written by a German physician and scholar who resided in the Dutch enclave at Dejima from 1690 to 1692. It remained one of the best-known foreign sources about Japan into the 19th century.

Drifting Toward the Southeast: The Story of Five Japanese Castaways, Told in 1852 by John Manjiro. Translated by Junya Nagakuni and Junji Kitadai. (New Bedford: Spinner Publications, 2003.

This is a complete translation of Hyoson Kiryaku, the account told to Japanese officials by John Manjiro, a shipwrecked young man who was rescued by an American whaler and lived in the United States for many years before returning to Japan in 1851. Manjiro's account, issued in a very few copies, included colored illustrations by himself and Kawada Shoryo, the scholar who transcribed Manjiro's account for Japanese officials.

"Diary of an Official of the Bakufu," *Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan,* Second series, vol. 7 (1930), pp. 98–119.

A rare view (in translation) of the Perry mission as seen by Japanese officials. The author of this account, which focuses on official interactions during the 1854 visit, is unidentified. Many exchanges between Perry and the Japanese side are given in the form of direct quotations.

Basic Secondary Sources

Morison, Samuel Eliot. *"Old Bruin": The Life of Commodore Matthew C. Perry, 1794–1858* (Boston: Little, Brown & Company, 1967).

This basic biography of Perry, by one of America's most distinguished naval historians, covers the Japan mission in detail and includes interesting illustrations from the Japanese side.

Wiley, Peter Booth (with Ichiro Korogi). *Yankees in the Land of the Gods: Commodore Perry and the Opening of Japan* (New York: Viking, 1990).

A solid account of the Perry expedition.

Dulles, Foster Rhea. *Yankees and Samurai: America's Role in the Emergence of Modern Japan* (New York: Harper & Row, 1965).

Chapters one through five present an unusually lively and engaging account of the Perry mission and its background.

Barr, Pat. *The Coming of the Barbarians: The Opening of Japan to the West, 1853–1870* (New York: Dutton, 1967).

A short, popular overview.

Walworth, Arthur Clarence. *Black Ships Off Japan* (New York: Alfred Knopf, 1946).

Griffis, William Elliot. *Matthew Calbraith Perry: A Typical American Naval Officer* (Boston: Cupples and Hurd, 1887).

Kaneko, Kokichi. *Manjiro, The Man Who Discovered America* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1956).

Sakamaki, Shunzo. "Japan and the United States, 1790–1853," *Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan,* Second series, vol. 18 (1939), pp. 1–204.

A useful, lengthy account of Japanese contacts with and views of the United States prior to the Perry expedition.

Catalogs & Other Illustrated Sources

Reynolds, Robert. *Commodore Perry in Japan* (New York: American Heritage "Junior Library," 1963).

Although included in a "junior library" series, this volume contains an unusually broad and interesting selection of illustrations from the Japanese as well as American side.

Statler, Oliver. *The Black Ship Scroll: An Account of the Perry Expedition at Shimoda in 1854 and the Lively Beginnings of People-to-People Relations Between Japan & America* (Tokyo: John Weatherhill, Inc., 1963).

This little book offers a composite version of the "Black Ship Scroll" that is reconstructed in this unit. This scroll exists in several full or partial variations. The version reproduced in its entirety here is owned by the Honolulu Academy of Art. Statler's book alternates scenes from this Honolulu scroll with almost identical scenes from an incomplete (and cut up) version in the possession of the Japan Society of San Francisco. The value of the book is enhanced by useful translations of the Japanese texts on the scroll by Richard Lane.

Ryosenji Treasure Museum. *The Kurofune Art Collection* (Shimoda: Ryosenji Temple).

This small catalog (entirely in Japanese) reproduces some of the holdings of this important collection of "Black Ship" *(kurofune)* artwork held by the Ryosenji Temple in Shimoda. Shimoda was one of the two treaty ports

opened to foreigners by Japan in 1854, and a famous lithograph depicts American troops on parade in front of Ryosenji Temple. Many of the Japanese graphics included in this unit were provided by this source.

Worlds Revealed: The Dawn of Japanese and American Exchange (Salem: Peabody-Essex Museum, 1999).

This is the bilingual catalog of a joint U.S.-Japanese exhibition at the Peabody Essex Museum in Salem, Massachusetts. It includes several excellent artworks on the Perry mission from the Peabody-Essex collection—most of which have been included here.

Houchins, Chang-su. *Artifacts of Diplomacy: Smithsonian Collections from Commodore Matthew Perry's Japan Expedition (1853–1854).* (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution, 1995).

This catalog contains many black-and-while photographs of gifts received from the Japanese by the Perry mission and now stored in the Smithsonian, along with itemized lists of gifts exchanged.

Tokio Koete Kataru Mono ["Voices from the Past: Historical Sources and Art Treasures"]. (Tokyo: Tokyo Daigaku Shiryo Hensanjo, 2001].

This catalog, published by the Historiographical Institute of the University of Tokyo, accompanied an exhibition held at the Tokyo National Museum in December 2001 and January 2002. Of particular interest is the eight-panel folding screen titled "Assembled Pictures of Commodore Perry's Visit," which is reproduced in great detail in the Essay. The catalog includes an appendix of English captions for all illustrations.

Hibata, Ohsuke. *A Picture Scroll of Commodore Perry's Arrival at Yokohama in 1854: A Posthumous Work* (1930).

This rare, short, illustrated text (a copy is held at Harvard University's Yenching Library) is largely in Japanese but includes a brief English introduction. It was issued by Hibata Sekko, the son of Hibata Ohsuke, who prepared detailed illustrations at the time of Perry's 1854 visit. The black-and-white illustrations are fascinating, and many later emerged in colored versions by different Japanese artists—including some of the paintings pasted onto the outstanding "Assembled Pictures of Commodore Perry's Visit" folding screen at the Historiographical Institute at Tokyo University.

Yokohama Kaiko Shiryokan [Yokohama Archives of History].

This Japanese archive holds many materials pertaining to the opening of treaty ports in the years following the Perry mission. Illustrated publications pertaining to Perry include Perry Raiko kankei Shiryo Zuroku [The Japan Expedition of Commodore Perry, 1982] and Shiryo ga Kataru Yokohama no Hyakunen [A Century of Yokohama As Told in Documentary Materials, 1991].

Perry-Related Websites

www.baxleystamps.com Perry info: http://www.baxleystamps.com/litho/

This is an exceptionally detailed website compiled by George C. Baxley, stamp and book seller, and constantly updated: “These web pages are devoted to books, literature and lithographs pertaining to the 1852 to 1854 US Expedition to Japan and the China Seas by Commodore Matthew C. Perry. Here you will find material on early Japan, Lew Chew (Okinawa), China, Hong Kong and Macau."

http://www.us-japan.org/jsnc/virtualjapan/BSS/bssmain.htm

This site features scenes from an incomplete variant version of the 1854 “Black Ship Scroll” painted in Shimoda that is reconstructed in full in “Black Ships & Samurai.” UCLA Professor Fred G. Notehelfer provides an accompanying commentary for teachers and students.

http://dl.lib.brown.edu/japan/index.html

Under the title “Perry Visits Japan: a visual history,” this site reproduces an unusual and little known Perry scroll in the collection of the John Hay Library at Brown University. The scroll is anonymous, and it is not clear when it was painted. It offers perspectives not seen in better known depictions of the mission.

http://www.lib.virginia.edu/speccol/exhibits/mellon/newVistas.html

Paul Mellon’s Personal Library at the University of Virginia includes five large-scale, colored illustrations by William Heine, including “Passing the Rubicon” and “Excercising the Troops” in Shimoda.

http://www.spinnerpub.com

"Drifting Toward the Southeast: The Story of Five Japanese Castaways." This site is based on the 2003 translation of Hyoson Kiryaku, John Manjiro's account of his experiences in the United States as told to the officials of the Shogunate in 1852.

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"Black Ships & Samurai" was developed by Visualizing Cultures at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, and presented on MIT OpenCourseWare.

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Chicago Historical Society
Chrysler Museum of Art (including gift of Mr. and Mrs. Victor Spark as a memorial to their son, Donald W. Spark, USMCR, 1923–1944)
George Eastman House
Harvard University
Honolulu Academy of Arts (notably the "Black Ship Scroll," a gift of Mrs. Walter F. Dillingham, in memory of Alice Perry Grew, 1960)
Honolulu Bishop Museum
Kobe City Museum
Library of Congress
Nagasaki Municipal Museum
Nagasaki Prefectural Art Museum
New Bedford Whaling Museum
Peabody Essex Museum
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Primary Source Document
with Questions (DBQs)

LETTERS FROM U.S. PRESIDENT MILLARD FILLMORE AND U.S. NAVY COMMODORE MATTHEW C. PERRY TO THE EMPEROR OF JAPAN (1852-1853)

Introduction

In 1852, Commodore Matthew Calbraith Perry (1794-1858) was dispatched to Japan by U.S. President Millard Fillmore (1800-1874) in command of four warships, including two steam frigates. The squadron arrived in Uraga harbor, near the Tokugawa capital of Edo, on July 8, 1853. As expressed in the following letter from President Fillmore to the Japanese Emperor, delivered by Perry to the worried Tokugawa officials who greeted him, the United States was eager to break Japan's "seclusion policy," sign diplomatic and commercial treaties, and thus "open" the nation to the Western world. For the Japanese, who had carefully regulated overseas contacts since the seventeenth century and whose technology could not compare to that displayed by the American squadron, Perry's arrival and President Fillmore's letter were unwelcome and ominous, even if not entirely unexpected.

Commodore Perry stayed in Uraga for fewer than ten days in 1853, withdrawing to the China coast with his ships. As he promised in his letter of July 14, 1853, however, he returned to Japan about six months later with a much larger and more intimidating fleet, comprising six ships with more than 100 mounted cannon. In March of 1854, the Tokugawa shogunate capitulated to all the American demands, signing the Treaty of Kanagawa with Perry.

Selected Documents with Questions

Letter from President Millard Fillmore and first letter from Commodore Matthew Perry from *Narrative of the Expedition of an American Squadron to China and Japan, performed in the years 1852,1853, and 1854, under the Command of Commodore M. C. Perry United States Navy, by Order of the Government of the United States,* compiled by Francis L. Hawks, vol. I (Washington, D.C., A.O.P. Nicholson, Printer, 1856), 256-259. Second letter from Commodore Matthew Perry from *Meiji Japan through Contemporary Sources,* Volume Two: 1844-1882, compiled and published by the Centre for East Asian Cultural Studies, c/o The Toyo Bunko, Honkomagome 2-chome 28-21, Bunkyo-ku; Tokyo, 113 Japan. Reproduced with the permission of the publisher.

From Millard Fillmore, President of the United States of America, to His Imperial Majesty, the Emperor of Japan November 13, 1852

GREAT and Good Friend: I send you this public letter by Commodore Matthew C. Perry, an officer of the highest rank in the navy of the United States, and commander of the squadron now visiting your imperial majesty's dominions.

I have directed Commodore Perry to assure your imperial majesty that I entertain the kindest feelings towards your majesty's person and government, and that I have no other object in sending him to Japan but to propose to your imperial majesty that the United States and Japan should live in friendship and have commercial intercourse with each other.

The Constitution and laws of the United States forbid all interference with the religious or political concerns of other nations. I have particularly charged Commodore Perry to abstain from every act which could possibly disturb the tranquility of your imperial majesty's dominions.

The United States of America reach from ocean to ocean, and our Territory of Oregon and State of California lie directly opposite to the dominions of your imperial majesty. Our steamships can go from California to Japan in eighteen days.

Our great State of California produces about sixty millions of dollars in gold every year, besides silver, quicksilver, precious stones, and many other valuable articles. Japan is also a rich and fertile country, and produces many very valuable articles. Your imperial majesty's subjects are skilled in many of the arts. I am desirous that our two countries should trade with each other, for the benefit both of Japan and the United States.

We know that the ancient laws of your imperial majesty's government do not allow of foreign trade, except with the Chinese and the Dutch; but as the state of the world changes and new governments are formed, it seems to be wise, from time to time, to make new laws. There was a time when the ancient laws of your imperial majesty's government were first made.

About the same time America, which is sometimes called the New World, was first discovered and settled by the Europeans. For a long time there were but a few people, and they were poor. They have now become quite numerous; their commerce is very extensive; and they think that if your imperial majesty were so far to change the ancient laws as to allow a free trade between the two countries it would be extremely beneficial to both.

If your imperial majesty is not satisfied that it would be safe altogether to abrogate the ancient laws which forbid foreign trade, they might be suspended for five or ten years, so as to try the experiment. If it does not prove as beneficial as was hoped, the ancient laws can be restored. The United States often limit their treaties with foreign states to a few years, and then renew them or not, as they please.

I have directed Commodore Perry to mention another thing to your imperial majesty. Many of our ships pass every year from California to China; and great numbers of our people pursue the whale fishery near the shores of Japan. It sometimes happens, in stormy weather, that one of our ships is wrecked on your imperial majesty's shores. In all such cases we ask, and expect, that our unfortunate people should be treated with kindness, and that their property should be protected, till we can send a vessel and bring them away. We are very much in earnest in this.

Commodore Perry is also directed by me to represent to your imperial majesty that we understand there is a great abundance of coal and provisions in the Empire of Japan. Our steamships, in crossing the great ocean, burn a great deal of coal, and it is not convenient to bring it all the way from America. We wish that our steamships and other vessels should be allowed to stop in Japan and supply themselves with coal, provisions, and water. They will pay for them in money, or anything else your imperial majesty's subjects may prefer; and we

request your imperial majesty to appoint a convenient port, in the southern part of the empire, where our vessels may stop for this purpose. We are very desirous of this.

These are the only objects for which I have sent Commodore Perry, with a powerful squadron, to pay a visit to your imperial majesty's renowned city of Edo: friendship, commerce, a supply of coal and provisions, and protection for our shipwrecked people.

We have directed Commodore Perry to beg your imperial majesty's acceptance of a few presents. They are of no great value in themselves; but some of them may serve as specimens of the articles manufactured in the United States, and they are intended as tokens of our sincere and respectful friendship.

May the Almighty have your imperial majesty in His great and holy keeping!

In witness whereof, I have caused the great seal of the United States to be hereunto affixed, and have subscribed the same with my name, at the city of Washington, in America, the seat of my government, on the thirteenth day of the month of November, in the year one thousand eight hundred and fifty-two.

[Seal attached]
Your good friend,
Millard Fillmore

By the President:
Edward Everett, Secretary of State

Questions:

1. How would you describe the tone of President Fillmore's letter?
2. Why does the president mention that he has dispatched Perry "with a powerful squadron"?
3. If you were the emperor of Japan, how would you respond to this letter? How would you explain and justify the Japanese seclusion policy to President Fillmore?

From Commodore Matthew C. Perry
to His Imperial Majesty, the Emperor of Japan
July 7, 1853

United States Steam Frigate Susquehanna
Off the Coast of Japan

To His Imperial Majesty, the Emperor of Japan,

THE undersigned, commander-in-chief of all the naval forces of the United States of America stationed in the East India, China and Japan seas, has been sent by his government of this country, on a friendly mission, with ample powers to negotiate with the government of Japan, touching certain matters which have been fully set forth in the letter of the President of the United States, copies of which, together with copies of the letter of credence of the undersigned, in the English, Dutch, and Chinese languages, are herewith transmitted.

The original of the President's letter, and of the letter of credence, prepared in a manner suited to the exalted station of your imperial majesty, will be presented by the undersigned in person, when it may please your majesty to appoint a day for his reception.

The undersigned has been commanded to state that the President entertains the most friendly feelings towards Japan, but has been surprised and grieved to learn that when any of the people of the United States go, of their own accord, or are thrown by the perils of the sea, within the dominations of your imperial majesty, they are treated as if they were your worst enemies.

The undersigned refers to the cases of the American ships Morrison, Lagoda, and Lawrence.

With the Americans, as indeed with all Christian people, it is considered a sacred duty to receive with kindness, and to succour and protect all, of whatever nation, who may be cast upon their shores, and such has been the course of the Americans with respect to all Japanese subjects who have fallen under their protection.

The government of the United States desires to obtain from that of Japan some positive assurance that persons who may hereafter be shipwrecked on the coast of Japan, or driven by stress of weather into her ports, shall be treated with humanity.

The undersigned is commanded to explain to the Japanese that the United States are connected with no government in Europe, and that their laws do not interfere with the religion of their own citizens, much less with that of other nations.

That they inhabit a great country which lies directly between Japan and Europe, and which was discovered by the nations of Europe about the same time that Japan herself was first visited by Europeans; that the portion of the American continent lying nearest to Europe was first settled by emigrants from that part of the world; that its population has rapidly spread through the country, until it has reached the shores of the Pacific Ocean; that we have now large cities, from which, with the aid of steam vessels, we can reach Japan in eighteen or twenty days;

that our commerce with all this region of the globe is rapidly increasing, and the Japan seas will soon be covered with our vessels.

Therefore, as the United States and Japan are becoming every day nearer and nearer to each other, the President desires to live in peace and friendship with your imperial majesty, but no friendship can long exist, unless Japan ceases to act towards Americans as if they were her enemies.

However wise this policy may originally have been, it is unwise and impracticable now that the intercourse between the two countries is so much more easy and rapid than it formerly was.

The undersigned holds out all these arguments in the hope that the Japanese government will see the necessity of averting unfriendly collision between the two nations, by responding favourably to the propositions of amity, which are now made in all sincerity.

Many of the large ships-of-war destined to visit Japan have not yet arrived in these seas, though they are hourly expected; and the undersigned, as an evidence of his friendly intentions, has brought but four of the smaller ones, designing, should it become necessary, to return to Edo in the ensuing spring with a much larger force.

But it is expected that the government of your imperial majesty will render such return unnecessary, by acceding at once to the very reasonable and pacific overtures contained in the President's letter, and which will be further explained by the undersigned on the first fitting occasion.

With the most profound respect for your imperial majesty, and entertaining a sincere hope that you may long live to enjoy health and happiness, the undersigned subscribes himself,

M. C. Perry,
Commander-in-chef of the United States Naval Forces in the East India, China, and Japan seas

Questions:

1. How does the tone of Commodore Perry's letter to the Emperor differ from that of President Fillmore's letter of 1852?
2. Do Perry's priorities in opening Japan to contact with the United States differ from those expressed by President Fillmore?
3. What does Perry write that is intended to reassure the Japanese about America's intentions? What does he write that might be interpreted as intimidation?
4. Why does Perry stress that the United States "do not interfere with the religion of their own citizens, much less with that of other nations" and emphasize that America is fully separate from the nations of Europe?

From Commodore Matthew C. Perry
[Sent in Connection with the Delivery of a White Flag]
July 14, 1853

For years several countries have applied for trade, but you have opposed them on account of a national law. You have thus acted against divine principles and your sin cannot be greater than it is. What we say thus does not necessarily mean, as has already been communicated by the Dutch boat, that we expect mutual trade by all means. If you are still to disagree we would then take up arms and inquire into the sin against the divine principles, and you would also make sure of your law and fight in defence. When one considers such an occasion, however, one will realize the victory will naturally be ours and you shall by no means overcome us. If in such a situation you seek for a reconciliation, you should put up the white flag that we have recently presented to you, and we would accordingly stop firing and conclude peace with you, turning our battleships aside.

Commodore Perry

Questions:

1. What do you think happened between the delivery of Perry's first letter and this short note?
2. How does the tone of this document differ from Perry's earlier letter and President Fillmore's letter?
3. What do you think the "sin" and "divine principles" that Perry writes of here are? How do you think the Japanese who received this note would have understood these terms?
4. If you were the Tokugawa shogun, how serious would you take Commodore Perry's threats?

EXCERPTS FROM FUKUZAWA YUKICHI, "GOOD-BYE ASIA" (1885)

Transportation has become so convenient these days that once the wind of Western civilization blows to the East, every blade of grass and every tree in the East follow what the Western wind brings. Ancient Westerners and present-day Westerners are from the same stock and are not much different from one another. The ancient ones moved slowly, but their contemporary counterparts move vivaciously at a fast pace. This is possible because present-day Westerners take advantage of the means of transportation available to them. For those of us who live in the Orient, unless we want to prevent the coming of Western civilization with a firm resolve, it is best that we cast our lot with them. If one observes carefully what is going on in today's world, one knows the futility of trying to prevent the onslaught of Western civilization. Why not float with them in the same ocean of civilization, sail the same waves, and enjoy the fruits and endeavors of civilization?

The movement of a civilization is like the spread of measles. Measles in Tokyo start in Nagasaki and come eastward with the spring thaw. We may hate the spread of this communicable disease, but is there any effective way of preventing it? I can prove that it is not possible. In a communicable disease, people receive only damages. In a civilization, damages may accompany benefits, but benefits always far outweigh them, and their force cannot be stopped. This being the case, there is no point in trying to prevent their spread. A wise man encourages the spread and allows our people to get used to its ways.

The opening to the modern civilization of the West began in the reign of Kaei (1848-58). Our people began to discover its utility and gradually and yet actively moved toward its acceptance. However, there was an old-fashioned and bloated government that stood in the way of progress. It was a problem impossible to solve. If the government were allowed to continue, the new civilization could not enter. The modern civilization and Japan's old conventions were mutually exclusive. If we were to discard our old conventions, that government also had to be abolished. We could have prevented the entry of this civilization, but it would have meant loss of our national independence. The struggles taking place in the world civilization were such that they would not allow an Eastern island nation to slumber in isolation. At that point, dedicated men recognized the principle of "the country is more important than the government," relied on the dignity of the Imperial Household, and toppled the old government to establish a new one. With this, public and the private sectors alike, everyone in our country accepted the modern Western civilization. Not only were we able to cast aside Japan's old conventions, but we also succeeded in creating a new axle toward progress in Asia. Our basic assumptions could be summarized in two words: "Good-bye Asia."

Japan is located in the eastern extremities of Asia, but the spirit of her people have [sic] already moved away from the old conventions of Asia to the Western civilization. Unfortunately for

Japan, there are two neighboring countries. One if called China and another Korea. These two peoples, like the Japanese people, have been nurtured by Asiatic political thoughts and mores. It may be that we are different races of people, or it may be due to the differences in our heredity or education; significant differences mark the three peoples. The Chinese and Koreans are more like each other and together they do not show as much similarity to the Japanese. These two peoples do not know how to progress either personally or as a nation. In this day and age with transportation becoming so convenient, they cannot be blind to the manifestations of Western civilization. But they say that what is seen or heard cannot influence the predisposition of their minds. Their love affairs with ancient ways and old customs remain as strong as they were centuries ago. In this new and vibrant theater of civilization when we speak of education, they only refer back to Confucianism. As for school education, they can only cite [neo-Confucian] precepts of humanity, righteousness, decorum, and knowledge. While professing their abhorrence to ostentation, in reality they show their ignorance of truth and principles. As for their morality, one only has to observe their unspeakable acts of cruelty and shamelessness. Yet they remain arrogant and show no sign of self-examination.

In my view, these two countries cannot survive as independent nations with the onslaught of Western civilization to the East. Their concerned citizens might yet find a way to engage in a massive reform, on the scale of our Meiji Restoration, and they could change their governments and bring about a renewal of spirit among their peoples. If that could happen they would indeed be fortunate. However, it is more likely that would never happen, and within a few short years they will be wiped out from the world with their lands divided among the civilized nations. Why is this so? Simply at a time when the spread of civilization and enlightenment has a force akin to that of measles, China and Korea violate the natural law of its spread. They forcibly try to avoid it by shutting off air from their rooms. Without air, they suffocate to death. It is said that neighbors must extend helping hands to one another because their relations are inseparable. Today's China and Korea have not done a thing for Japan. From the perspectives of civilized Westerners, they may see what is happening in China and Korea and judge Japan accordingly, because of the three countries' geographical proximity. The governments of China and Korea still retain their autocratic manners and do not abide by the rule of law. Westerners may consider Japan likewise a lawless society. Natives of China and Korea are deep in their hocus pocus of nonscientific behavior. Western scholars may think that Japan still remains a country dedicated to the *yin* and *yang* and five elements. Chinese are mean-spirited and shameless, and the chivalry of the Japanese people is lost to the Westerners. Koreans punish their convicts in an atrocious manner, and that is imputed to the Japanese as heartless people. There are many more examples I can cite. It is not different from the case of a righteous man living in a neighborhood of a town known for foolishness, lawlessness, atrocity, and heartlessness. His action is so rare that it is always buried under the ugliness of his neighbors'

activities. When these incidents are multiplied, that can affect our normal conduct of diplomatic affairs. How unfortunate it is for Japan.

What must we do today? We do not have time to wait for the enlightenment of our neighbors so that we can work together toward the development of Asia. It is better for us to leave the ranks of Asian nations and cast our lot with civilized nations of the West. As for the way of dealing with China and Korea, no special treatment is necessary just because they happen to be our neighbors. Any person who cherishes a bad friend cannot escape his bad notoriety. We simply erase from our minds our bad friends in Asia.

Source: http://personal.ashland.edu/jmoser1/japan/fukuzawa2.htm, Last accessed August 1, 2014.

Lu Hsun

Pencil drawing by
Tao Yuan-ching

SELECTED STORIES OF LU HSUN

FOREIGN LANGUAGES PRESS
PEKING

PREFACE TO THE FIRST COLLECTION OF SHORT STORIES, "CALL TO ARMS"

When I was young I, too, had many dreams. Most of them came to be forgotten, but I see nothing in this to regret. For although recalling the past may make you happy, it may sometimes also make you lonely, and there is no point in clinging in spirit to lonely bygone days. However, my trouble is that I cannot forget completely, and these stories have resulted from what I have been unable to erase from my memory.

For more than four years I used to go, almost daily, to a pawnbroker's and to a medicine shop. I cannot remember how old I was then; but the counter in the medicine shop was the same height as I, and that in the pawnbroker's twice my height. I used to hand clothes and trinkets up to the counter twice my height, take the money proffered with contempt, then go to the counter the same height as I to buy medicine for my father who had long been ill. On my return home I had other things to keep me busy, for since the physician who made out the prescriptions was very well-known, he used unusual drugs: aloe root dug up in winter, sugar-cane that had been three years exposed to frost, twin crickets, and *ardisia* . . . all of which were difficult to procure. But my father's illness went from bad to worse until he died.

I believe those who sink from prosperity to poverty will probably come, in the process, to understand what the world is really like. I wanted to go to the K — school in N —,* perhaps because I was in search of a change of scene and faces. There was nothing for my mother to do but to raise eight dollars for my travelling expenses, and say I might do as I pleased. That she cried was only natural, for at that

* The Kiangnan Naval Academy in Nanking.

time the proper thing was to study the classics and take the official examinations. Anyone who studied "foreign subjects" was looked down upon as a fellow good for nothing, who, out of desperation, was forced to sell his soul to foreign devils. Besides, she was sorry to part with me. But in spite of that, I went to N — and entered the K — school; and it was there that I heard for the first time the names of such subjects as natural science, arithmetic, geography, history, drawing and physical training. They had no physiology course, but we saw woodblock editions of such works as *A New Course on the Human Body* and *Essays on Chemistry and Hygiene.* Recalling the talk and prescriptions of physicians I had known and comparing them with what I now knew, I came to the conclusion those physicians must be either unwitting or deliberate charlatans; and I began to sympathize with the invalids and families who suffered at their hands. From translated histories I also learned that the Japanese Reformation had originated, to a great extent, with the introduction of Western medical science to Japan.

These inklings took me to a provincial medical college in Japan. I dreamed a beautiful dream that on my return to China I would cure patients like my father, who had been wrongly treated, while if war broke out I would serve as an army doctor, at the same time strengthening my countrymen's faith in reformation.

I do not know what advanced methods are now used to teach microbiology, but at that time lantern slides were used to show the microbes; and if the lecture ended early, the instructor might show slides of natural scenery or news to fill up the time. This was during the Russo-Japanese War, so there were many war films, and I had to join in the clapping and cheering in the lecture hall along with the other students. It was a long time since I had seen any compatriots, but one day I saw a film showing some Chinese, one of whom was bound, while many others stood around him. They were all strong fellows but appeared completely apathetic. According to the commentary, the one with his hands bound was a spy working for the Russians, who was to have his head cut off

by the Japanese military as a warning to others, while the Chinese beside him had come to enjoy the spectacle.

Before the term was over I had left for Tokyo, because after this film I felt that medical science was not so important after all. The people of a weak and backward country, however strong and healthy they may be, can only serve to be made examples of, or to witness such futile spectacles; and it doesn't really matter how many of them die of illness. The most important thing, therefore, was to change their spirit, and since at that time I felt that literature was the best means to this end, I determined to promote a literary movement. There were many Chinese students in Tokyo studying law, political science, physics and chemistry, even police work and engineering, but not one studying literature or art. However, even in this uncongenial atmosphere I was fortunate enough to find some kindred spirits. We gathered the few others we needed, and after discussion our first step, of course, was to publish a magazine, the title of which denoted that this was a new birth. As we were then rather classically inclined, we called it *Xin Sheng* (*New Life*).

When the time for publication drew near, some of our contributors dropped out, and then our funds were withdrawn, until finally there were only three of us left, and we were penniless. Since we had started our magazine at an unlucky hour, there was naturally no one to whom we could complain when we failed; but later even we three were destined to part, and our discussions of a dream future had to cease. So ended this abortive *New Life.*

Only later did I feel the futility of it all; at that time I did not really understand anything. Later I felt if a man's proposals met with approval, it should encourage him; if they met with opposition, it should make him fight back; but the real tragedy for him was to lift up his voice among the living and meet with no response, neither approval nor opposition, just as if he were left helpless in a boundless desert. So I began to feel lonely.

And this feeling of loneliness grew day by day, coiling about my soul like a huge poisonous snake. Yet in spite of my unaccountable sadness, I felt no indignation; for this ex-

perience had made me reflect and see that I was definitely not the heroic type who could rally multitudes at his call.

However, my loneliness had to be dispelled, for it was causing me agony. So I used various means to dull my senses, both by conforming to the spirit of the time and turning to the past. Later I experienced or witnessed even greater loneliness and sadness, which I do not like to recall, preferring that it should perish with me. Still my attempt to deaden my senses was not unsuccessful — I had lost the enthusiasm and fervour of my youth.

In S —* Hostel there were three rooms where it was said a woman had lived who hanged herself on the locust tree in the courtyard. Although the tree had grown so tall that its branches could no longer be reached, the rooms remained deserted. For some years I stayed here, copying ancient inscriptions. I had few visitors, there were no political problems or issues in those inscriptions, and my only desire was that my life should slip quietly away like this. On summer nights, when there were too many mosquitoes, I would sit under the locust tree, waving my fan and looking at the specks of sky through the thick leaves, while the caterpillars which came out in the evening would fall, icy-cold, on to my neck.

The only visitor to come for an occasional talk was my old friend Chin Hsin-yi. He would put his big portfolio down on the broken table, take off his long gown, and sit facing me, looking as if his heart was still beating fast after braving the dogs.

"What is the use of copying these?" he demanded inquisitively one night, after looking through the inscriptions I had copied.

"No use at all."

"Then why copy them?"

"For no particular reason."

"I think you might write something. . . ."

I understood. They were editing the magazine *New Youth*,**

* Shaohsing.

** The most influential magazine in the cultural revolution of that time.

but hitherto there seemed to have been no reaction, favourable or otherwise, and I guessed they must be feeling lonely. However I said:

"Imagine an iron house without windows, absolutely indestructible, with many people fast asleep inside who will soon die of suffocation. But you know since they will die in their sleep, they will not feel the pain of death. Now if you cry aloud to wake a few of the lighter sleepers, making those unfortunate few suffer the agony of irrevocable death, do you think you are doing them a good turn?"

"But if a few awake, you can't say there is no hope of destroying the iron house."

True, in spite of my own conviction, I could not blot out hope, for hope lies in the future. I could not use my own evidence to refute his assertion that it might exist. So I agreed to write, and the result was my first story, *A Madman's Diary*. From that time onwards, I could not stop writing, and would write some sort of short story from time to time at the request of friends, until I had more than a dozen of them.

As for myself, I no longer feel any great urge to express myself; yet, perhaps because I have not entirely forgotten the grief of my past loneliness. I sometimes call out, to encourage those fighters who are galloping on in loneliness, so that they do not lose heart. Whether my cry is brave or sad, repellent or ridiculous, I do not care. However, since it is a call to arms, I must naturally obey my general's orders. This is why I often resort to innuendoes, as when I made a wreath appear from nowhere at the son's grave in *Medicine*, while in *Tomorrow* I did not say that Fourth Shan's Wife had no dreams of her little boy. For our chiefs then were against pessimism. And I, for my part, did not want to infect with the loneliness I had found so bitter those young people who were still dreaming pleasant dreams, just as I had done when young.

It is clear, then, that my short stories fall far short of being works of art; hence I count myself fortunate that they are still known as stories, and are even being compiled in one book. Although such good fortune makes me uneasy, I

am nevertheless pleased to think they have readers in the world of men, for the time being at least.

Since these short stories of mine are being reprinted in one collection, owing to the reasons given above, I have chosen the title *Na Han* (*Call to Arms*).

December 3, 1922, Peking

A MADMAN'S DIARY

Two brothers, whose names I need not mention here, were both good friends of mine in high school; but after a separation of many years we gradually lost touch. Some time ago I happened to hear that one of them was seriously ill, and since I was going back to my old home I broke my journey to call on them, I saw only one, however, who told me that the invalid was his younger brother.

"I appreciate your coming such a long way to see us," he said, "but my brother recovered some time ago and has gone elsewhere to take up an official post." Then, laughing, he produced two volumes of his brother's diary, saying that from these the nature of his past illness could be seen, and that there was no harm in showing them to an old friend. I took the diary away, read it through, and found that he had suffered from a form of persecution complex. The writing was most confused and incoherent, and he had made many wild statements; moreover he had omitted to give any dates, so that only by the colour of the ink and the differences in the writing could one tell that it was not written at one time. Certain sections, however, were not altogether disconnected, and I have copied out a part to serve as a subject for medical research. I have not altered a single illogicality in the diary and have changed only the names, even though the people referred to are all country folk, unknown to the world and of no consequence. As for the title, it was chosen by the diarist himself after his recovery, and I did not change it.

I

Tonight the moon is very bright.

I have not seen it for over thirty years, so today when I saw it I felt in unusually high spirits. I begin to realize that during the past thirty-odd years I have been in the dark; but now I must be extremely careful. Otherwise why should that dog at the Chao house have looked at me twice?

I have reason for my fear.

II

Tonight there is no moon at all, I know that this bodes ill. This morning when I went out cautiously, Mr. Chao had a strange look in his eyes, as if he were afraid of me, as if he wanted to murder me. There were seven or eight others, who discussed me in a whisper. And they were afraid of my seeing them. All the people I passed were like that. The fiercest among them grinned at me; whereupon I shivered from head to foot, knowing that their preparations were complete.

I was not afraid, however, but continued on my way. A group of children in front were also discussing me, and the look in their eyes was just like that in Mr. Chao's while their faces too were ghastly pale. I wondered what grudge these children could have against me to make them behave like this. I could not help calling out: "Tell me!" But then they ran away.

I wonder what grudge Mr. Chao can have against me, what grudge the people on the road can have against me. I can think of nothing except that twenty years ago I trod on Mr. Ku Chiu's* account sheets for many years past, and Mr. Ku was very displeased. Although Mr. Chao does not know him, he must have heard talk of this and decided to avenge him, so he is conspiring against me with the people on the road. But then what of the children? At that time they were not yet born, so why should they eye me so strangely today, as

* Ku Chiu means "Ancient Times." Lu Hsun had in mind the long history of feudal oppression in China.

if they were afraid of me, as if they wanted to murder me? This really frightens me, it is so bewildering and upsetting.

I know. They must have learned this from their parents!

III

I can't sleep at night. Everything requires careful consideration if one is to understand it.

Those people, some of whom have been pilloried by the magistrate, slapped in the face by the local gentry, had their wives taken away by bailiffs, or their parents driven to suicide by creditors, never looked as frightened and as fierce then as they did yesterday.

The most extraordinary thing was that woman on the street yesterday who spanked her son and said, "Little devil! I'd like to bite several mouthfuls out of you to work off my feelings!" Yet all the time she looked at me. I gave a start, unable to control myself; then all those green-faced, long-toothed people began to laugh derisively. Old Chen hurried forward and dragged me home.

He dragged me home. The folk at home all pretended not to know me; they had the same look in their eyes as all the others. When I went into the study, they locked the door outside as if cooping up a chicken or a duck. This incident left me even more bewildered.

A few days ago a tenant of ours from Wolf Cub Village came to report the failure of the crops, and told my elder brother that a notorious character in their village had been beaten to death; then some people had taken out his heart and liver, fried them in oil and eaten them, as a means of increasing their courage. When I interrupted, the tenant and my brother both stared at me. Only today have I realized that they had exactly the same look in their eyes as those people outside.

Just to think of it sets me shivering from the crown of my head to the soles of my feet.

They eat human beings, so they may eat me.

I see that woman's "bite several mouthfuls out of you," the laughter of those green-faced, long-toothed people and the tenant's story the other day are obviously secret signs. I realize all the poison in their speech, all the daggers in their laughter. Their teeth are white and glistening: they are all man-eaters.

It seems to me, although I am not a bad man, ever since I trod on Mr. Ku's accounts it has been touch-and-go. They seem to have secrets which I cannot guess, and once they are angry they will call anyone a bad character. I remember when my elder brother taught me to write compositions, no matter how good a man was, if I produced arguments to the contrary he would mark that passage to show his approval; while if I excused evil-doers, he would say: "Good for you, that shows originality." How can I possibly guess their secret thoughts — especially when they are ready to eat people?

Everything requires careful consideration if one is to understand it. In ancient times, as I recollect, people often ate human beings, but I am rather hazy about it. I tried to look this up, but my history has no chronology, and scrawled all over each page are the words: "Virtue and Morality." Since I could not sleep anyway, I read intently half the night, until I began to see words between the lines, the whole book being filled with the two words — "Eat people."

All these words written in the book, all the words spoken by our tenant, gaze at me strangely with an enigmatic smile.

I too am a man, and they want to eat me!

IV

In the morning I sat quietly for some time. Old Chen brought lunch in: one bowl of vegetables, one bowl of steamed fish. The eyes of the fish were white and hard, and its mouth was open just like those people who want to eat human beings. After a few mouthfuls I could not tell whether the slippery morsels were fish or human flesh, so I brought it all up.

I said, "Old Chen, tell my brother that I feel quite suffocated, and want to have a stroll in the garden." Old Chen said nothing but went out, and presently he came back and opened the gate.

I did not move, but watched to see how they would treat me, feeling certain that they would not let me go. Sure enough! My elder brother came slowly out, leading an old man. There was a murderous gleam in his eyes, and fearing that I would see it he lowered his head, stealing glances at me from the side of his spectacles.

"You seem to be very well today," said my brother.

"Yes," said I.

"I have invited Mr. Ho here today," said my brother, "to examine you."

"All right," said I. Actually I knew quite well that this old man was the executioner in disguise! He simply used the pretext of feeling my pulse to see how fat I was; for by so doing he would receive a share of my flesh. Still I was not afraid. Although I do not eat men, my courage is greater than theirs. I held out my two fists, to see what he would do. The old man sat down, closed his eyes, fumbled for some time and remained still for some time; then he opened his shifty eyes and said, "Don't let your imagination run away with you. Rest quietly for a few days, and you will be all right."

Don't let your imagination run away with you! Rest quietly for a few days! When I have grown fat, naturally they will have more to eat; but what good will it do me, or how can it be "all right"? All these people wanting to eat human flesh and at the same time stealthily trying to keep up appearances, not daring to act promptly, really made me nearly die of laughter. I could not help roaring with laughter, I was so amused. I knew that in this laughter were courage and integrity. Both the old man and my brother turned pale, awed by my courage and integrity.

But just because I am brave they are the more eager to eat me, in order to acquire some of my courage. The old man went out of the gate, but before he had gone far he

said to my brother in a low voice, "To be eaten at once!" And my brother nodded. So you are in it too! This stupendous discovery, although it came as a shock, is yet no more than I had expected: the accomplice in eating me is my elder brother!

The eater of human flesh is my elder brother!

I am the younger brother of an eater of human flesh!

I myself will be eaten by others, but none the less I am the younger brother of an eater of human flesh!

V

These few days I have been thinking again: suppose that old man were not an executioner in disguise, but a real doctor; he would be none the less an eater of human flesh. In that book on herbs, written by his predecessor Li Shih-chen,* it is clearly stated that men's flesh can be boiled and eaten; so can he still say that he does not eat men?

As for my elder brother, I have also good reason to suspect him. When he was teaching me, he said with his own lips, "People exchange their sons to eat." And once in discussing a bad man, he said that not only did he deserve to be killed, he should "have his flesh eaten and his hide slept on."** I was still young then, and my heart beat faster for some time, he was not at all surprised by the story that our tenant from Wolf Cub Village told us the other day about eating a man's heart and liver, but kept nodding his head. He is evidently just as cruel as before. Since it is possible to "exchange sons to eat," then anything can be exchanged, anyone can be eaten. In the past I simply listened to his explanations, and let it go at that; now I know that when he explained it to me, not only was there human fat at the corner of his lips, but his whole heart was set on eating men.

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* A famous pharmacologist (1518-1593), author of *Ben-cao-gang-mu,* the *Materia Medica.*

** These are quotations from the old classic *Zuo Zhuan.*

VI

Pitch dark. I don't know whether it is day or night. The Chao family dog has started barking again.

The fierceness of a lion, the timidity of a rabbit, the craftiness of a fox. . . .

VII

I know their way; they are not willing to kill anyone outright, nor do they dare, for fear of the consequences. Instead they have banded together and set traps everywhere, to force me to kill myself. The behaviour of the men and women in the street a few days ago, and my elder brother's attitude these last few days, make it quite obvious. What they like best is for a man to take off his belt, and hang himself from a beam; for then they can enjoy their heart's desire without being blamed for murder. Naturally that sets them roaring with delighted laughter. On the other hand, if a man is frightened or worried to death, although that makes him rather thin, they still nod in approval.

They only eat dead flesh! I remember reading somewhere of a hideous beast, with an ugly look in its eye, called "hyena" which often eats dead flesh. Even the largest bones it grinds into fragments and swallows: the mere thought of this is enough to terrify one. Hyenas are related to wolves, and wolves belong to the canine species. The other day the dog in the Chao house looked at me several times; obviously it is in the plot too and has become their accomplice. The old man's eyes were cast down, but that did not deceive me!

The most deplorable is my elder brother. He is also a man, so why is he not afraid, why is he plotting with others to eat me? Is it that when one is used to it he no longer thinks it a crime? Or is it that he has hardened his heart to do something he knows is wrong?

In cursing man-eaters, I shall start with my brother, and in dissuading man-eaters, I shall start with him too.

VIII

Actually, such arguments should have convinced them long ago. . . .

Suddenly someone came in. He was only about twenty years old and I did not see his features very clearly. His face was wreathed in smiles, but when he nodded to me his smile did not seem genuine. I asked him: "Is it right to eat human beings?"

Still smiling, he replied, "When there is no famine how can one eat human beings?"

I realized at once, he was one of them; but still I summoned up courage to repeat my question:

"Is it right?"

"What makes you ask such a thing? You really are . . . fond of a joke. . . . It is very fine today."

"It is fine, and the moon is very bright. But I want to ask you: Is it right?"

He looked disconcerted, and muttered: "No. . . ."

"No? Then why do they still do it?"

"What are you talking about?"

"What am I talking about? They are eating men now in Wolf Cub Village, and you can see it written all over the books, in fresh red ink."

His expression changed, and he grew ghastly pale. "It may be so," he said, staring at me. "It has always been like that. . . ."

"Is it right because it has always been like that?"

"I refuse to discuss these things with you. Anyway, you shouldn't talk about it. Whoever talks about it is in the wrong!"

I leaped up and opened my eyes wide, but the man had vanished. I was soaked with perspiration. He was much younger than my elder brother, but even so he was in it. He must have been taught by his parents. And I am afraid he has already taught his son: that is why even the children look at me so fiercely.

IX

Wanting to eat men, at the same time afraid of being eaten themselves, they all look at each other with the deepest suspicion. . . .

How comfortable life would be for them if they could rid themselves of such obsessions and go to work, walk, eat and sleep at ease. They have only this one step to take. Yet fathers and sons, husbands and wives, brothers, friends, teachers and students, sworn enemies and even strangers, have all joined in this conspiracy, discouraging and preventing each other from taking this step.

X

Early this morning I went to look for my elder brother. He was standing outside the hall door looking at the sky, when I walked up behind him, stood between him and the door, and with exceptional poise and politeness said to him:

"Brother, I have something to say to you."

"Well, what is it?" he asked, quickly turning towards me and nodding.

"It is very little, but I find it difficult to say. Brother, probably all primitive people ate a little human flesh to begin with. Later, because their outlook changed, some of them stopped, and because they tried to be good they changed into men, changed into real men. But some are still eating — just like reptiles. Some have changed into fish, birds, monkeys and finally men; but some do not try to be good and remain reptiles still. When those who eat men compare themselves with those who do not, how ashamed they must be. Probably much more ashamed than the reptiles are before monkeys.

"In ancient times Yi Ya boiled his son for Chieh and Chou to eat; that is the old story.* But actually since the creation

* According to ancient records, Yi Ya cooked his son and presented him to Duke Huan of Chi who reigned from 685 to 643 B.C. Chieh and Chou were tyrants of an earlier age. The madman has made a mistake here.

of heaven and earth by Pan Ku men have been eating each other, from the time of Yi Ya's son to the time of Hsu Hsi-lin,* and from the time of Hsu Hsi-lin down to the man caught in Wolf Cub Village. Last year they executed a criminal in the city, and a consumptive soaked a piece of bread in his blood and sucked it.

"They want to eat me, and of course you can do nothing about it single-handed; but why should you join them? As man-eaters they are capable of anything. If they eat me, they can eat you as well; members of the same group can still eat each other. But if you will just change your ways immediately, then everyone will have peace. Although this has been going on since time immemorial, today we could make a special effort to be good, and say this is not to be done! I'm sure you can say so, brother. The other day when the tenant wanted the rent reduced, you said it couldn't be done."

At first he only smiled cynically, then a murderous gleam came into his eyes, and when I spoke of their secret his face turned pale. Outside the gate stood a group of people, including Mr. Chao and his dog, all craning their necks to peer in. I could not see all their faces, for they seemed to be masked in cloths; some of them looked pale and ghastly still, concealing their laughter. I knew they were one band, all eaters of human flesh. But I also knew that they did not all think alike by any means. Some of them thought that since it had always been so, men should be eaten. Some of them knew that they should not eat men, but still wanted to; and they were afraid people might discover their secret; thus when they heard me they became angry, but they still smiled their cynical, tight-lipped smile.

Suddenly my brother looked furious, and shouted in a loud voice:

"Get out of here, all of you! What is the point of looking at a madman?"

* A revolutionary at the end of the Ching dynasty (1644-1911), Hsu Hsi-lin was executed in 1907 for assassinating a Ching official. His heart and liver were eaten.

Then I realized part of their cunning. They would never be willing to change their stand, and their plans were all laid; they had stigmatized me as a madman. In future when I was eaten, not only would there be no trouble, but people would probably be grateful to them. When our tenant spoke of the villagers eating a bad character, it was exactly the same device. This is their old trick.

Old Chen came in too, in a great temper, but they could not stop my mouth, I had to speak to those people:

"You should change, change from the bottom of your hearts!" I said. "You must know that in future there will be no place for man-eaters in the world.

"If you don't change, you may all be eaten by each other. Although so many are born, they will be wiped out by the real men, just like wolves killed by hunters. Just like reptiles!"

Old Chen drove everybody away. My brother had disappeared. Old Chen advised me to go back to my room. The room was pitch dark. The beams and rafters shook above my head. After shaking for some time they grew larger. They piled on top of me.

The weight was so great, I could not move. They meant that I should die. I knew that the weight was false, so I struggled out, covered in perspiration. But I had to say:

"You should change at once, change from the bottom of your hearts! You must know that in future there will be no place for man-eaters in the world. . . ."

XI

The sun does not shine, the door is not opened, every day two meals.

I took up my chopsticks, then thought of my elder brother; I know now how my little sister died: it was all through him. My sister was only five at the time. I can still remember how lovable and pathetic she looked. Mother cried and cried, but he begged her not to cry, probably because he had eaten her himself, and so her crying made him feel ashamed. If he had any sense of shame. . . .

My sister was eaten by my brother, but I don't know whether mother realized it or not.

I think mother must have known, but when she cried she did not say so outright, probably because she thought it proper too. I remember when I was four or five years old, sitting in the cool of the hall, my brother told me that if a man's parents were ill, he should cut off a piece of his flesh and boil it for them if he wanted to be considered a good son; and mother did not contradict him. If one piece could be eaten, obviously so could the whole. And yet just to think of the mourning then still makes my heart bleed; that is the extraordinary thing about it!

XII

I can't bear to think of it.

I have only just realized that I have been living all these years in a place where for four thousand years they have been eating human flesh. My brother had just taken over the charge of the house when our sister died, and he may well have used her flesh in our rice and dishes, making us eat it unwittingly.

It is possible that I ate several pieces of my sister's flesh unwittingly, and now it is my turn. . . .

How can a man like myself, after four thousand years of man-eating history — even though I knew nothing about it at first — ever hope to face real men?

XIII

Perhaps there are still children who have not eaten men?

Save the children. . . .

April 1918

KUNG I-CHI

The wine shops in Luchen are not like those in other parts of China. They all have a right-angled counter facing the street, where hot water is kept ready for warming wine. When men come off work at midday and in the evening they buy a bowl of wine; it cost four coppers twenty years ago, but now it costs ten. Standing beside the counter, they drink it warm, and relax. Another copper will buy a plate of salted bamboo shoots or peas flavoured with aniseed, to go with the wine; while for a dozen coppers you can buy a meat dish. But most of these customers belong to the short-coated class, few of whom can afford this. Only those in long gowns enter the adjacent room to order wine and dishes, and sit and drink at leisure.

At the age of twelve I started work as a waiter in Prosperity Tavern, at the entrance to the town. The tavern keeper said I looked too foolish to serve the long-gowned customers, so I was given work in the outer room. Although the short-coated customers there were more easily pleased, there were quite a few trouble-makers among them too. They would insist on watching with their own eyes as the yellow wine was ladled from the keg, looking to see if there were any water at the bottom of the wine pot, and inspecting for themselves the immersion of the pot in hot water. Under such keen scrutiny, it was very difficult to dilute the wine. So after a few days my employer decided I was not suited for this work. Fortunately I had been recommended by someone influential, so he could not dismiss me, and I was transferred to the dull work of warming wine.

Thenceforward I stood all day behind the counter, fully engaged with my duties. Although I gave satisfaction at this work, I found it monotonous and futile. Our employer was

CHAPTER 17

World War II

17.1 AND 17.2 JAPAN AT WAR

When the Japanese army launched its all-out attack on Chinese troops in north China after the Marco Polo Bridge Incident on July 7, 1937, the uneasy peace between Nanjing and Tokyo came to a definitive end. Despite the initiation of hostilities, a declaration of war was never issued by the invader and in the early phase of the war, both sides diplomatically referred to the state of war existing between them as the "Sino-Japanese conflict" or "Far Eastern conflict" to leave room for possible negotiations and a mutually agreeable compromise that might conclude the fighting. During this state of "conflict," however, major battles were waged in north and central China, tens of thousands of civilian Chinese were brutally massacred in Nanjing, province after province was lost to the Japanese occupation army, and the Chinese government was forced to move its capital to the interior mountain city of Chongqing. From this wartime capital, Chiang Kai-shek continued to resist Japan without substantial foreign help until after Japan's attack on Pearl Harbor.

In the historical perspective of Sino-Japanese relations since the late nineteenth century, the outbreak of the war seemed to many contemporary Chinese an inevitable consequence of Japan's long-term expansionist policy in Asia. It was true, as Japan's prime minister Prince Konoe argues in the first document selected here, that Japan did not originally intend to use military force against China as long as the latter was willing to eliminate all anti-Japanese sentiments and accept the constraints Japan set on China's sovereign rights. But Konoe's claim that "the right of self-defence as well as the cause of righteousness and humanity" justified Japan's invasion of China was a deception.

The second document, written by Horosi Saito, then Japanese ambassador to the United States, follows this line of justification and attributes the cause of war to China's century-old xenophobic attitude. Saito, in an attempt to dissuade Western nations, principally the U.S., from helping China, suggests that conditions for foreigners anxious to live or trade in China would be more secure under Japanese rule. Saito also condemns rampant political corruption in China and its leaders' stubborn refusal to follow the Western way of life as the source of the sufferings that afflicted the Chinese people. For the Japanese, he implies, the war was a great sacrifice of national resources and human lives designed to foster the welfare of the Chinese people and the "peace and security in the Far East."

17.1 *Prince Konoe's Address, September 1937*

ADDRESS
OF
PRINCE AYAMARO KONOYE, PRIME MINISTER
AT THE 72ND SESSION OF THE IMPERIAL DIET
—SEPTEMBER 5, 1937—

I am profoundly moved to say that His Imperial Majesty's most gracious message regarding the China affair was granted us at the opening of the Imperial Diet yesterday. It is my humble desire that we shall be able to set His Majesty's heart at rest by our loyal and devoted service to the Throne in accordance with the august will of our Sovereign.

Since the outbreak of the affair in North China on July 7th, the fundamental policy of the Japanese Government toward China has been simply and purely to seek the reconsideration of the Chinese Government and the abandonment of its erroneous anti-Japanese policies, with the view of making a basic readjustment in relations between Japan and China. This policy has never undergone a change; even today it remains the same. The Japanese Government has endeavored to save the situation by preventing aggravation of the incident and by limiting its scope. This has been repeatedly enunciated; I trust that is fully understood by you.

The Chinese, however, not only fail to understand the true motives of the Government, but have increasingly aroused a spirit of contempt and have offered resistance toward Japan, taking advantage of the patience of our Government. Thus, by the outburst of uncontrolled national sentiment, the situation has fast been aggravated, spreading in scope to Central and South China. And now, our Government, which has been patient to the utmost, has acknowledged the impossibility of settling the incident passively and locally, and has been

forced to deal a firm and decisive blow against the Chinese Government in an active and comprehensive manner.

In point of fact, for one country to adopt as its national policy the antagonizing of and the showing of contempt for some particular country, and to make these the underlying principles of national education by implanting such ideas in minds of the young, is unprecedented in the history of the world. Thus, when we consider the outcome of such policies on the part of China, we feel grave concern not only for the future of Sino-Japanese relations, but for the peace of the Orient and consequently for the peace of the entire world. The Japanese Government, therefore, has repeatedly requested the Chinese Government to reconsider and to change its attitude, but all in vain. This failure of the Chinese Government has finally caused the present affair.

We firmly believe that it is in accordance with the right of self-defence as well as with the cause of righteousness and humanity that our country has determined to give a decisive blow to such a country, so that it may reflect upon the errors of its ways.

For the peoples of East Asia, there can be no happiness without a just peace in this part of the world. The Chinese people themselves by no means form the objective of our actions, which objective is directed against the Chinese Government and its army who are carrying out such erroneous, anti-foreign policies. If, therefore, the Chinese Government truly and fully reexamines its attitude and in real sincerity makes endeavors for the establishment of peace and for the development of culture in the Orient in collaboration with our country, our Empire intends to press no further.

At the present moment, however, the sole measure for the Japanese Empire to adopt is to administer a thoroughgoing blow to the Chinese Army so that it may lose completely its will to fight. And if, at the same time, China fails to realize its mistakes and persists in its stubborn resistance, our Empire is fully prepared for protracted hostilities. Until we accomplish our great mission of establishing peace in the Orient, we must face many serious difficulties, and, in order to overcome them, we must proceed steadily with our task, adhering to the spirit of perseverance and fortitude in one united body. . . .

17.2 *The Japanese Ambassador Explains, 1937*

I

The conflict in the Far East is by no means as simple in origin as some Europeans and Americans seem to think. The trouble did not begin last July. It is a result of the condition of China, which has caused the invasion of foreign armies for more than a century and is the reason for the presence there today of British, French, Italian, Dutch and American troops. If China's house were

in order there would be no need for the presence of these foreign forces or of Japan's present action. In fact, if law and order were maintained in China, if China were a unified and stabilized nation, it would be able to "drive all foreigners into the sea"—which has been the objective of many of its anti-foreign movements.

Who is to blame for the condition of China? Is it Great Britain, which sought for decades to help successive Chinese governments to organize their two principal sources of revenue, the Maritime Customs and the Salt Gabelle,[1] and administer them without corruption? Is it France, which has sent more missionaries and teachers to them than to all other backward nations combined? Is it Japan, which almost staked her existence in a war with Russia to prevent "the break-up of China"—a disaster expected throughout the world at the time of the Boxer Rising in 1900? It is difficult for many Japanese to understand how so many people of the West can fail to see that the trouble is not of foreign but of Chinese making.

It might be well at this point to review the circumstances which placed Japanese troops in North China. Japan, like Great Britain, France, Italy and the United States, keeps a permanent garrison in the Peking-Tientsin area. The right to do so was established by the agreements with China which followed the Boxer outrage in 1900. When the trouble began there again this summer, the Japanese garrison numbered one soldier for every four Japanese residents in the area. The European and American garrisons provided one soldier for every two of their nationals. Surely, if our Government had contemplated aggression or even anticipated a serious conflict our forces would not have been but six or eight thousand men.

The fighting at Shanghai was begun a month later by circumstances similar to those in the North. In an editorial on this point, *The Christian Science Monitor* said some weeks ago, "Belief that China forced the issue at Shanghai is not restricted to Japanese spokesmen and apologists. A number of foreign observers have expressed the opinion that the swift increase in the number of disguised Chinese troops in the region which was supposedly covered by the truce of 1932 was a main factor in precipitating hostilities."

The 1932 truce-agreement, which set up a demilitarized zone around Shanghai in which no Chinese troops were to be stationed, was concluded by Japanese and Chinese officials and countersigned by the representatives of the United States, Great Britain, France and Italy. This agreement was designed to prevent the recurrence of fighting in or around Shanghai. In direct violation of it thousands of regular Chinese army soldiers were sent into the demilitarized zone disguised as peasants and gendarmes, and by early August the 30,000 Japanese civilians in Shanghai were in grave danger of mass murder. Japan's defense force of 3,000 marines faced 30,000 Chinese soldiers. This made it nec-

1. The Qing monopoly on the production and sale of salt.

essary to strengthen the Japanese squadron on the river. The Chinese opened hostilities by attempting to bomb the Japanese naval vessels and the Japanese Consulate-General. As is well known, their aim was so bad that several of the bombs fell in the most crowded section of the International Settlement, killing thousands of Chinese and several foreigners, including my good American friend, Dr. Reischauer.

The present conflict has been forced upon Japan, and Japan wants to end it as quickly as possible. But she is determined to end it in a way so decisive that a situation like the present can never recur. Our objective, therefore, is a genuine change-of-heart on the part of those in power at Nanjing. We insist that the organized campaign to stir up hate against Japan be discontinued and that the Central Government renounce the union with Communism which was solemnized at Xi'an, in Shaanxi Province, when General Chiang Kai-shek was released from imprisonment last Christmas Day.

Premier Konoye, Foreign Minister Hirota and War Minister Sugiyama, have all stated that Japan is not bent on conquest and has no desire to detach or annex any part of China. What our government and people want is peace and security in the Far East. If only in our own selfish interests we seek the welfare of the colossal nation beside which we must continue to live for all time.

In a number of North China cities temporarily local governments have grown up to replace the military administrations which have disappeared with the retreating Chinese armies. These "Peace Preservation Committees," formed by local Chinese leaders, are successfully maintaining civil order. But they have been given to understand that Japan will not support them in any move to secede from the rest of China. Indeed, the commanders of the Japanese garrisons not only permitted but encouraged the people of North China to celebrate what the Chinese call the "Double-Tenth" holiday on October 10, the anniversary of the founding of the Chinese Republic. This is evidence of our intentions. . . .

. . . . With China's millions Japan has no quarrel—nor have those millions anything to fear from Japan. In fact, even at this moment several thousand Chinese students are attending Japanese schools and tens of thousands of Chinese businessmen are conducting their trades as usual in Japan. At no time since the present trouble began has there been a single case of violence against any Chinese living in Japan.

The underlying accord of our peoples prompts in me high hope that when the leaders of the Nanjing regime and the Chinese Nationalist Party adopt a reasonable policy toward Japan, it will not take long to spin close ties of friendship and harmony of incalculable benefit to both China and Japan, and of much also to the rest of the world. With permanent peace between Japan and China, progress will be made in East of Asia that will redound to the benefit of others in a spread of the feeling of security and an expansion of general and profitable trade and cultural relations. The progress of Japan has brought an enormous increase of trade to Western Counties, particularly the United States, and the peace of China cannot fail to bring progress to the industrious and well-meaning masses of her people.

17.3 CHIANG REPLIES, 1938

Toward the end of 1938, the Japanese army controlled the eastern half of China, having pressed the Chinese resistance forces into the less populated and economically backward interior. In the eyes of Japanese militarists, the fall of Canton and Wuhan marked a "turning point" in the Sino-Japanese "conflict." The Chinese government under Chiang Kai-shek was stripped, by the reality of the Japanese invasion, of its legitimacy as the Central Government of China and converted into a "local government." Japan now encouraged the Chinese to start serious collaboration efforts with the Japanese occupation army. Since Chiang Kai-shek was adamant in his promise to carry on a resistance war to the end, the Japanese began to place their hope on a split within the Guomindang and the establishment of a separate collaborationist government under Japanese control.

Statements of the Japanese government laid out the theoretical foundation for the Japanese wartime project of a "Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere," a euphemism for Japanese rule throughout east and southeast Asia. Accusing the Guomindang government of being not only anti-Japanese but also procommunist, the Japanese hoped to strengthen support for the war policy at home and deflect the hostile public opinion of the West.

In response to Japan's new call for Chinese collaboration, Chiang Kai-shek, in an address before a meeting at the Central Guomindang Headquarters in Chongqing on December 26, 1938, sought to expose Japan's design of subjugating China and dominating east Asia. The address specifically attacks a statement made by Prince Konoe on December 22, 1938, which, Chiang believed, illuminated the true intentions of Japan's new policy.

GENERALISSIMO CHIANG ASSAILS PRINCE KONOYE'S STATEMENT

Comrades, our resistance has now entered a new phase. I have recently pointed out on several occasions that the past eighteen months may be called the first period of our resistance of the preliminary period. We have now entered upon the second or latter period. At present, on both northern and southern warfronts the excellence of our soldiers' morale and fighting spirit provides an auspicious sign unprecedented since the war commenced. Our soldiers are fully aware that

in this war our enemy is bent on subjugating China completely and that we must take the most drastic measures to save our country. Their determination is, therefore, extraordinarily strong and their spirit roused to the uttermost.

Our people also understand that the enemy will not pause until he has fully realized his malevolent designs and the ultimate aim of his aggression in the destruction of China. If we do not seek life by braving death we cannot expect to survive in any fortuitous way. . . .

Konoye's statement is intrinsically nothing more than sheer wearisome repetition of canting phrases. Solemnly engaged in our resistance as we are, it would seem unnecessary for us to pay any attention to it, let alone refute it. Considering it, however, together with the enemy's deeds and words of the past months, we perceive that the statement, though superficially vague and incoherent, has a keen edge hidden beneath. It might be called, in short, a complete exposure of the fantastic Japanese programme to annex China, dominate East Asia and further even to subdue the world. It is also a complete revelation of the contents of the enemy. . . .

What I wish to draw the attention of all to is the barbarism of the Japanese militarists, their insanity, their practice of deceiving themselves and others, and their gross ignorance. What is most urgent is that all should realize that Japan is determined to swallow China entirely. Taking Konoye's statement on December 22 as the pivot for my observations, I shall now recall what Japanese popular sentiment has championed during the past few months and what cabals and slogans have been actually put into practice. By analysis, a comprehensive understanding may be gained. For convenience of narration I shall first draw attention to the following four points:—

(1) THE SO-CALLED "CREATION OF A NEW ORDER IN EAST ASIA!"

The Japanese take special pride in this slogan. According to the Japanese Foreign Minister, Arita, in his explanation of December 19: "The new order in East Asia consists in Japan, Manchukuo, and China assisting and co-operating with each other closely in politics, economics and culture to combat the Red Peril, to protect Oriental civilization, to remove economic barriers, and to help China rise from her semi-colonial status so as to secure peace in the Far East." On December 14, Konoye also said: "The ultimate objective of the China Incident lies not merely in achieving military triumph but in a rebirth of China and the erection of a new order in East Asia. This new order will be based on tripartite cooperation of a new China with Japan and Manchukuo."

Let all observe that what he meant by a China reborn was that independent China was to perish and in its place an enslaved China created, which would abide by Japan's word from generation to generation. The so-called new order would be based on the intimate relations that would tie the

enslaved China to the Japanese-created Manchukuo and Japan herself. What is the real aim? Under the pretext of opposition to the "Red Peril," Japan seeks to control China's military affairs; claiming to uphold Oriental civilization, Japan seeks to uproot China's racial culture; and by urging the elimination of economic barriers, she aspires to exclude American and European influence and dominate the Pacific. Again, the so-called "economic unity" of Japan, Manchukuo and China is the instrument she intends to use for obtaining a strangle-hold on China's economic arteries. Let us try to realize the immense evils with which the words "creation of a new order in East Asia" are pregnant. In a word, it is a term for the overthrow of international order in East Asia, and the enslavement of China as the means whereby Japan may dominate the Pacific and proceed to dismember other states of the world.

(2) THE SO-CALLED "UNITY OF EAST ASIA," "INDIVISIBILITY OF JAPAN, MANCHUKUO AND CHINA," "LINKED RELATIONS OF MUTUAL ASSISTANCE BETWEEN JAPAN, MANCHUKUO AND CHINA."

To make a "homogeneous body" of East Asia has been a much-touted Japanese slogan during the past few months. The application of this slogan is broader, vaguer and more general than that of the so-called "economic unity" or "economic bloc."

Advancing the theme of an "indivisibility of Japan, Manchukuo and China," the Japanese aim to absorb China politically, economically, and culturally into one body with their own country. Japanese periodicals have maintained that the structural relationship of the "East Asia unity" should be vertical with Japan at the summit, and not in any sense horizontal; the system of relationship should be patriarchal, with Japan as patriarch and Manchukuo and China as offspring. In other words, the former is to be the governor and master while the latters are to be the governed and underlings.

What is it if it is not annexation? What is it if it is not the total extinction of China? Konoye's phrase, "the establishment of linked relations of mutual assistance in matters political, economic and cultural between Japan, Manchukuo and China," puts me in mind only of links and manacles and shackles. His "linked relations" would be the forged chains which would drag us down into a pit from which we would never escape.

(3) THE SO-CALLED "ECONOMIC UNITY" AND "ECONOMIC BLOC."

This has been promoted for many years by the Japanese, and the thesis has recently been as prevalent as ever and has even made rapid headway. It is essential to the proposed "homogeneity of East Asia." They have rung many changes on the wording of the slogan: they have called it on occasion "economic reciprocity" and "economic co-operation." In the man-

ifesto of the Japanese Government issued on November 3, it was described as "economic union." In the latter part of November enemy newspapers printed the headline "Japan, Manchukuo and China are to form an economic unity and henceforth share a common fate." Subsequently Arita in his statement of December 19 said: "Japan has resolved to convene an economic conference to bring about an intimate economic confederation between Japan, Manchukuo and China and to invigorate the resulting economic monad."

Japan has, in fact, already installed such instruments of economic aggression as the "North China Development Company" and the "Central China Development Company." Economic conversations have already been held more than once by self-styled representatives of Manchukuo and China with those of Japan. What the Japanese call their "Planning Bureau" adopted, two days after Konoye's statement was made, a resolution urging "the expansion of the productive capacity of Japan, Manchukuo and China." The "economic bloc" is designed to be the means of not only taking control over our customs revenue and finance and of monopolizing our production and trade, but also of gradually limiting the individual freedom of our people even in regard to what they eat and wear, where they live and whither they move. The Japanese are to do as they please: to have power among us over life and death, the power of binding and losing; we are then to become their slaves and cattle, and the whole of our nation will thus be dissolved beneath the lash of tyranny.

(4) THE CREATION OF THE SO-CALLED "ASIATIC DEVELOPMENT BUREAU."

This organ was introduced after much agitation for a medium through which to deal with China. A "China Bureau" was once projected, which has now given way to this "Asia Development Bureau." The former term is insulting and dreaded enough, but the comprehensiveness of the latter is a flagrant insult to all the peoples of Asia. Japan is set not only on ruining and dismembering China alone, but her ambition embraces the entire Asiatic Continent.

On the day before the official inauguration of this "Asia Development Bureau" on December 15, Konoye stated that "a new executive organ should be constituted for creating a new order in East Asia: this organ in conjunction with other organs abroad will maintain coherent relations between Japan and China: it will become the key to executing our China policy, the fulfillment of which is our final object in regard to the China Incident." This should serve to acquaint all with the true function of the organ: to be the means of executing a policy designed to destroy China. For it may be described as Japan's highest special service organ combining all the special service branches long set up all over China for the working of all manner

of villainy, which formerly operated with the greatest stealth because it was regarded premature to work openly. Now, however, they boldly unmask themselves and are accorded official status. By establishment of the "Asia Development Bureau" a concentrated light is thrown upon the means and ends of Japanese policy; the tortuous and obscure devices pursued for years are seen with their supreme aim openly confessed. All concealment is at an end. . . .

On our part, the war for a year and a half has laid for us a solid foundation for national regeneration. We fear no problems, nor are we concerned over impending dangers. We merely lament the fate of Japan, the present status of which was brought about by the hard efforts and sacrifices of her reformist patriots. To-day, her people are powerless, her throne without prerogative, and her politicians without integrity and knowledge, thus allowing a few hot-headed young militarists to do as they please. They are sapping Japan's national strength, shaking her national foundations and advancing savagely on the infamous road of self-seeking at the expense of others. In the eyes of these young Japanese militarists, China does not exist, nor do the other countries of the world. They have regard neither for discipline, nor for law, nor yet for their own government. Guided by their greed, cruelty, and violence, they do as they please. If such conduct be allowed to continue, the future of Japan is indeed full of danger. Although we are sworn enemies of the Japanese militarists, yet we are still neighbors to the Japanese people, who share with us a language of a common origin. Reviewing Japan's history and looking forward to her future, we not only see danger in her path but lament her lot. . . .

China as a state is founded on the principle of not oppressing the undefended, nor fearing the aggressive. More particularly, she is not willing to violate pacts or break faith and thus destroy the righteous principles governing the relations of mankind. I remember the meeting of Tanaka and our late Tsungli (Dr. Sun Yat-sen) in Shanghai in the third year of the Republic which coincided with the outbreak of the Great War in Europe. Tanaka proposed that East Asiatics should at the time denounce all rationed relations with foreign countries and erect a new order in East Asia. Dr. Sun queried: "Would it not involve the breaking of international treaties?" To which Tanaka retorted: "Is not the denunciation of treaties and termination of unequal obligations advantageous to China?" "Unequal treaties should be terminated by straightforward and legitimate procedure," solemnly declared Dr. Sun, "and China is not prepared to become a party to the illegal denunciation of treaties even though advantageous to our country." Comrades, such is China's spirit. It is also the spirit of the Three People's Principles. We have relied on this spirit to resist invasion; we have depended on this spirit to resist all forms of domination, force and violence. We should be sustained by this spirit to restore order in East Asia and offer it as a contribution towards enduring world peace. . . .

A Chinese proverb says: "Virtue never lacks company; it will ever find support." The force of world justice will rise, and men of goodwill ultimately cooperate in the interests of rectitude. On our part, we should hold fast to our goal, and be firm in our determination. Our firmness should increase with greater difficulties, and our courage should rise with prolonged resistance. The entire nation should carry on with oneness of heart. The final victory will be ours. I urge my comrades, our army, and our people to redouble their efforts in order to attain success.

17.4 AND 17.5 THE RAPE OF NANJING

On December 13, 1937, one month after the Japanese Army had taken Shanghai, the first elements of General Iwane Matsui's attacking forces entered Nanjing. A few days before, in a message calling upon the Chinese garrison commander of the Nationalist capital to surrender, Matsui had declared: "Though harsh and relentless to those who resist, the Japanese troops are kind and generous to noncombatants and to Chinese troops who entertain no enmity to Japan." In reality, the officers and men of the Imperial Army were to show neither kindness nor generosity to the hapless citizenry of Nanjing. Their capture of the city was the prelude for a month-long reign of terror in the streets and outskirts of the erstwhile center of Guomindang power. During this time, unarmed Chinese prisoners of war were used as living targets for bayonet and rifle practice; drunken mobs of Japanese infantry roamed the streets looting, murdering, and raping; and large parts of Nanjing were burned to ground by fires that were deliberately set by the invading forces. By the time martial law was finally imposed by the Japanese command, the once bustling city of Nanjing, its streets in ruins and its prewar population of nearly one million decreased to less than two hundred thousand, was practically a ghost town.

The following letter from an anonymous foreign resident of Nanjing and some excerpts of a diary kept by the same author during the grim days of December 1937, were both reprinted in a volume on the "Rape of Nanjing" compiled by H. J. Timperley, China correspondent for the *Manchester Guardian*. They provided foreign readers with an eyewitness account of the consequences of the arrival of the Japanese invasion force. These accounts of the takeover of Nanjing describe a violence that was at once random and deliberate. The slaying of groups of panicked refugees, the rapes, and the burning were all part of a policy of violence that also countenanced deliberate roundups and executions of captured Nationalist troops.

In an appendix, Timperley also reprinted copies of two short articles published respectively on December 7 and 14, 1937, by the *Japan Advertiser*, an English daily printed in Tokyo, that described the competition between two young Japanese officers to kill Chinese and reflected too clearly the small price placed by the Imperial Army on Chinese lives.

17.4 *Bearing Witness*

On Tuesday the 14th [December 1937] the Japanese were pouring into the city—tanks, artillery, infantry, trucks. The reign of terror commenced, and it was to increase in severity and horror with each of the succeeding ten days. They were the conquerors of China's capital, the seat of the hated Chiang Kai-shek government, and they were given free reign to do as they pleased. The proclamation on the handbills which airplanes scattered over the city saying that the Japanese were the only real friends of the Chinese and would protect the good, of course meant no more than most of their statements. And to show their 'sincerity' they raped, looted and killed at will. Men were taken from our refuge camps in droves, as we supposed at the time for labor—but they have never been heard from again, nor will they be. A colonel and his staff called at my office and spent an hour trying to learn where the "six thousand disarmed soldiers" were. Four times that day Japanese soldiers came and tried to take our cars away. Others in the meantime succeeded in stealing three of our cars that were elsewhere. On Sone's[2] they tore off the American flag, and threw it on the ground, broke a window and managed to get away all within the five minutes he had gone into Prof. Stanley's[3] house. They tried to steal our trucks—did succeed in getting two,—so ever since it has been necessary for two Americans to spend most of their time riding trucks as they delivered rice and coal. Their experience in dealing daily with these Japanese car thieves would make an interesting story in itself. And at the University Hospital they took the watches and fountain pens from the nurses. . . .

At our staff conference that evening word came that soldiers were taking all 1,300 men in one of our camps near headquarters to shoot them. We knew there were a number of ex-soldiers among them, but Rabe[4] had been promised by an officer that very afternoon that their lives would be spared. It was now all too obvious what they were going to do. The men were lined up and roped together in groups of about a hundred by soldiers and bayonets fixed; those who had hats had them roughly torn off and thrown on the ground,—and then by the light of our headlights we watched them marched away to their doom.

2. Reverend Hubert L. Sone, American, Nanjing Theological Seminary.

3. Professor C. Stanley, American, Nanjing Theological Seminary.

4. Hans Rabe was a German businessman who tried to protect Chinese civilians in Nanjing. He left an illuminating diary which describes the sacking of the city.

Not a whimper came from the entire throng. Our own hearts were lead. Were those four lads from Canton who had trudged all the way up from the south and yesterday had reluctantly given me their arms among them, I wondered; or that tall, strapping sergeant from the north whose disillusioned eyes, as he made the fatal decision, still haunt me? How foolish I had been to tell them the Japanese would spare their lives! We had confidently expected that they would live up to their promises, at least in some degree, and that order would be established with their arrival. Little did we dream that we should see such brutality and savagery as has probably not been equalled in modern times. For worse days were yet to come.

The problem of transportation became acute on the 16th, with the Japanese stealing our trucks and cars. I went over to the American Embassy where the Chinese staff were still standing by, and borrowed Mr. Atcheson's car for Mills[5] to deliver coal. For our big concentrations of refugees and our three big rice kitchens had to have fuel as well as rice. We now had twenty-five camps, ranging from two hundred to twelve thousand people in them. In the University buildings alone there were nearly thirty thousand and in Ginling College, which was reserved for women and children, the three thousand were rapidly increased to over nine thousand. In the latter place even the covered passageways between buildings were crowded, while within every foot of space was taken. We had figured on sixteen square feet to a person, but actually they were crowded in much closer than that. For while no place was safe, we did manage to preserve a fair degree of safety at Ginling, to a lesser degree in the University. Miss Vautrin,[6] Mrs. Twinem[7] and Mrs. Chen[8] were heroic in their care and protection of the women.

That morning the cases of rape began to be reported. Over a hundred women that we knew of were taken away by soldiers, seven of them from the University library; but there must have been many times that number who were raped in their homes. Hundreds were on the streets trying to find a place of safety. At tiffin [tea] time Riggs,[9] who was associate commissioner of housing, came in crying. The Japanese had emptied the Law College and Supreme Court and taken away practically all the men, to a fate we could only guess. Fifty of our policemen had been taken with them. Riggs had protested, only to be roughly handled by the soldiers and twice struck by an officer. Refugees were searched for money and anything they had on them was taken away, often to their last

5. Reverend W. P. Mills, American, Northern Presbyterian Mission.

6. Miss Minnie Vautrin, American, Ginling College.

7. Mrs. Paul DeWitt Twinem, formerly American but now a Chinese citizen, University of Nanjing.

8. Mrs. Chen, matron and superintendent of Dormitories, Ginling College.

9. Charles H. Riggs, American, University of Nanjing.

bit of bedding. At our staff conference at four we could hear the shots of the execution squad nearby. It was a day of unspeakable terror for the poor refugees and horror for us. . . .

Friday, Dec. 17. Robbery, murder, rape continued unabated. A rough estimate would be at least a thousand women raped last night and during the day. One poor woman was raped thirty-seven times. Another had her five months infant deliberately smothered by the brute to stop its crying while he raped her. Resistance means the bayonet. The hospital is rapidly filling up with the victims of Japanese cruelty and barbarity. Bob Wilson, our only surgeon, has his hands more than full and has to work into the night. Rickshas, cattle, pigs, donkeys, often the sole means of livelihood of the people, are taken from them. Our rice kitchens and rice shop are interfered with. We have had to close the latter.

After dinner I took Bates[10] to the University and McCallum[11] to the hospital where they will spend the night, then Mills and Smythe to Ginling, for one of our group has been sleeping there each night. At the gate of the latter place we were stopped by what seemed to be a searching party. We were roughly pulled from the car at the point of the bayonet, my car keys taken from me, lined up and frisked for arms, our hats jerked off, electric torches held to our faces, our passports and purpose in coming demanded. Opposite us were Miss Vautrin, Mrs. Twinem and Mrs. Chen, with a score of refugee women kneeling on the ground. The sergeant, who spoke a little French (about as much as I do), insisted there were soldiers concealed there. I maintained that aside from about fifty domestics and other members of their staff there were no men on the place. This he said he did not believe and said he would shoot all he found beyond that number. He then demanded that we all leave, including the ladies, and when Miss Vautrin refused she was roughly hustled to the car. Then he changed his mind: the ladies were told to stay and we to go. We tried to insist that one of us should stay too, but this he would not permit. Altogether we were kept standing there for over an hour before we were released. The next day we learned that this gang had abducted twelve girls from the school.

Saturday, Dec. 18. At breakfast Riggs, who lives in the Zone a block away but has his meals with us, reported that two women, one a cousin of a Y.M.C.A. Secretary, were raped in his house while he was having dinner with us. Wilson reported a boy of five years of age brought to the hospital after having been stabbed with a bayonet five times, once through his abdomen; a man with eighteen bayonet wounds, a women with seventeen cuts on her face and several on her legs. Between four and five hundred terrorized women poured into our headquarters compound in the afternoon and spent the night in the open.

10. Dr. M. S. Bates, American, University of Nanjing.

11. Reverend James H. McCallum, American, University of Nanjing Hospital.

Sunday, Dec. 19. A day of complete anarchy. Several big fires raging today, started by the soldiers, and more are promised. The American flag was torn down in a number of places. At the American School it was trampled on and the caretaker told he would be killed if he put it up again. The proclamations placed on all American and other foreign properties by the Japanese Embassy are flouted by their soldiers, sometimes deliberately torn off. Some houses are entered from five to ten times in one day and the poor people looted and robbed and the women raped. Several were killed in cold blood, for no apparent reason whatever. Six out of seven of our sanitation squad in one district were slaughtered; the seventh escaped, wounded, to tell the tale. Toward evening today two of us rushed to Dr. Brady's[12] house (he is away) and chased four would-be rapers out and took all women there to the University. Sperling is busy at this game all day. I also went to the house of Douglas Jenkins[13] of our Embassy. The flag was still there; but in the garage his house boy lay dead, another servant, dead, was under a bed, both brutally killed. The house was in utter confusion. There are still many corpses on the streets. All of them civilians as far as we can see. The Red Swastika Society would bury them, but their truck has been stolen, their coffins used for bonfires, and several of their workers bearing their insignia have been marched away.

Smythe and I called again at the Japanese Embassy with a list of fifty-five additional cases of violence, all authenticated, and told Messers, Tanaka[14] and Fukui[15] that today was the worst so far. We were assured that they would 'do their best' and hoped that things would be better 'soon,' but it is quite obvious that they have little or no influence with the military whatever, and the military had no control over the soldiers. . . .

Wednesday, Dec. 22. Firing squad at work very near us at 5 a.m. today. Counted over a hundred shots. The University was entered twice during the night, the policeman at the gate held up at the point of a bayonet, and a door broken down. The Japanese military police recently appointed to duty there were asleep. Representatives of the new Japanese police called and promised order by January 1. They also asked for the loan of motorcars and trucks. Went with Sperling to see fifty corpses in some ponds a quarter of a mile east of headquarters. All obviously civilians, hands bound behind backs, one with the top half of his head cut completely off. Were they used for sabre practice? On the way home for tiffin stopped to help the father of a Y.M.C.A. writer who was being threatened by a drunken soldier with the bayonet, the poor mother

12. Dr. Richard F. Brady, American, acting superintendent of the University of Nanjing Hospital.

13. Douglas Jenkins, Jr., third secretary, American Embassy.

14. Sueo Tanaka, attache, Japanese Embassy (now Consul).

15. Kiyoshi Fukui, Japanese consul-general, Nanjing.

frantic with fear, and before sitting down had to run over with two of our fellows to chase soldiers out of Gee's[16] and Daniel's[17] houses, where they were just about to rape the women. We had to laugh to see those brave soldiers trying to get over a barbed wire fence as we chased them!

Bates and Riggs had to leave before they were through tiffin to chase soldiers out of the Sericulture building—several drunk. And on my arrival at office there was an S.O.S. call, which Rabe and I answered, from Sperling and Kroeger who were seriously threatened by a drunk with a bayonet. By fortunate chance Tanaka of the Embassy together with some general arrived a the same moment. The soldier had his face soundly slapped a couple of times by the general but I don't suppose he got any more than that. We have heard of no cases of discipline so far. If a soldier is caught by an officer or M.P. he is very politely told that he shouldn't do that again. In the evening I walked home with Riggs after dinner—a woman of fifty-four had been raped in his house just before our arrival. It's cruel to leave the women to their fate, but of course it is impossible for us to spend all our time protecting them. Mr. Wu, engineer in the power plant which is located in Hsiakwan, brought us the amusing news that forty-three of the fifty-four employees who had so heroically kept the plant going to the very last day and had finally been obliged to seek refuge in the International Export Company, a British factory on the river front, had been taken out and shot on the grounds that the power plant was a government concern—which it is not. Japanese officials have been at my office daily trying to get hold of these very men so they could start the turbines and have electricity. It was small comfort to be able to tell them that their own military had murdered most of them.

17.6 *The Nanjing "Murder Race"*

SUB-LIEUTENANTS IN RACE TO FELL 100 CHINESE RUNNING CLOSE CONTEST

Sub-lieutenant Toshiaki Mukai and Sub-lieutenant Takeshi Noda, both of the Katagiri unit of Kuyung, in a friendly contest to see which of them will first fell 100 Chinese in individual sword combat before the Japanese forces completely occupy Nanjing, are well in the final phase of their race, running almost neck to neck. On Sunday when their unit was fighting outside Kuyung, the

16. C. T. Gee, Chinese, resident architect and engineer, University of Nanjing.

17. Dr. J. H. Daniel, American, superintendent, University of Nanjing Hospital.

"score," according to the newspaper the *Asahi*, was: Sub-lieutenant Mukai, 89, and Sub-lieutenant Noda, 78.

On December 14, 1937, the same paper published the following additional report:

CONTEST TO KILL FIRST 100 CHINESE WITH SWORD EXTENDED WHEN BOTH FIGHTERS EXCEED MARK

The winner of the competition between Sub-lieutenant Toshiaki Mukai and Sub-lieutenant Takeshi Noda to see who would be the first to kill 100 Chinese with his Yamato sword has not been decided, the *Nichi Nichi* reports from the slopes of Purple Mountain, outside Nanjing. Mukai has a score of 106 and his rival has dispatched 105 men, but the two contestants have found it impossible to determine which passed the 100 mark first. Instead of settling it with a discussion, they are going to extend the goal by 50.

Mukai's blade was slightly damaged in the competition. He explained that this was the result of cutting a Chinese in half, helmet and all. The contest was "fun," he declared, and he thought it a good thing that both men had gone over the 100 mark without knowing that the other had done so.

Early Saturday morning, when the *Nichi Nichi* man interviewed the sub-lieutenant at a point overlooking Dr. Sun Yat-sen's tomb, another Japanese unit set fire to the slopes of Purple Mountain in an attempt to drive out the Chinese troops. The action also smoked out Sub-lieutenant Mukai and his unit, and the men stood idly by while bullets passed overhead.

"Not a shot hits me while I am holding this sword on my shoulder," he explained confidently.

act on his ideas and in December 1938 he fled to Hanoi where he announced his support for a negotiated settlement to the war. Starting in mid-1939, he entered into talks with the Japanese in Hanoi and then Shanghai to prepare a secret memorandum defining relations between the two countries. In March 1940, he agreed to head a collaborationist "national" government in Shanghai.

One of the first fruits of Wang's cooperation with Tokyo was the Sino-Japanese Treaty signed on November 30, 1940. As the text of this treaty shows, Wang's government was willing to make the most sweeping concessions to conciliate its Japanese masters. Not since Yuan Shikai's acceptance of the Twenty-one Demands in 1915 had any Chinese government signed so humiliating a document.

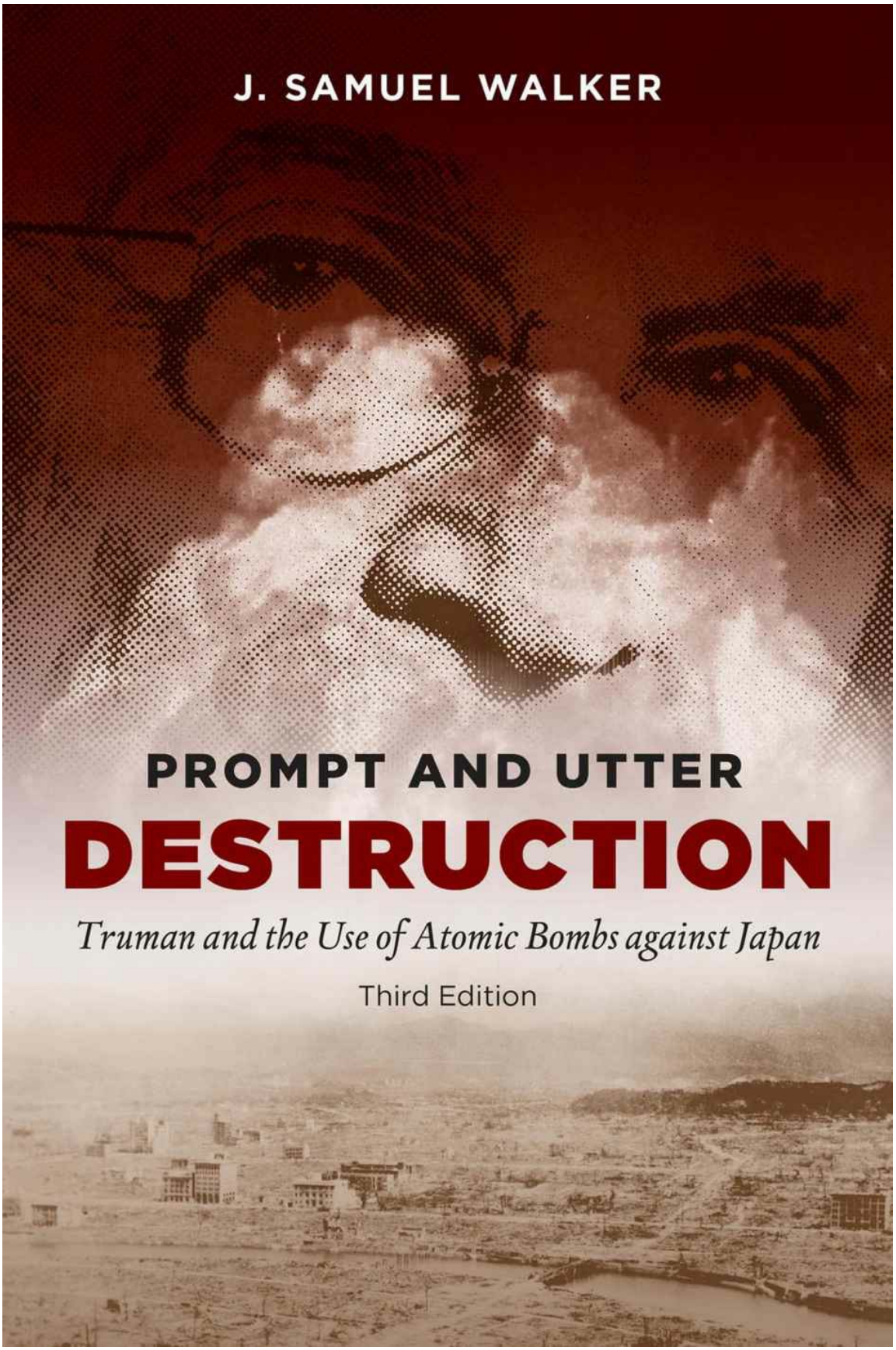
After 1940, the Faustian bargain that Wang Jingwei had struck with the Japanese repeatedly threw him into grotesque and self-abasing postures. By June, 1941, as the Tokyo radio address that the follows illustrates, the brave and often visionary rhetoric that had once distinguished Wang Jingwei was now replaced by the language of submission. Although Wang Jingwei's defenders have maintained that Wang secretly continued to serve and fight for the interests of his countrymen, his public stance was akin to that of other *quislings* (collaborationist leaders) during the war years.

RADIO ADDRESS BY MR. WANG JINGWEI, PRESIDENT OF THE CHINESE EXECUTIVE YUAN BROADCAST ON JUNE 24, 1941

I am deeply moved as I speak to you today in Tokyo, the capital of your great country. I studied in your country 38 years ago. My stay then was short, and due particularly to my limited abilities I could not master your language and learning. However, if, fortunately, I know something, I owe it to my old teachers and classmates. I can never forget what they have done for me. To have been able to come to your great country again and meet you, the people of Japan, is like meeting my old teachers and classmates and I am filled with the warm feeling. . . .

When the slogan of "the construction of a new order in East Asia" was heard in your country, our people found a gleam of hope in the darkness. When the Konoe Statement was issued, in particular, how the two nations can cooperate was made clearly and concretely known to us, and we have been led to take steps looking to the realization of the hope.

The significance of the construction of a new order in East Asia lies, on the one hand, in endeavoring to eliminate from East Asia the evils of Western economic imperialism from which this part of the world has suffered for the past century and, on the other, in checking the rising tide of Communism which has been threatening our prosperity for these twenty years. Japan was the only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Third Edition

Chapter 6: Hiroshima and Nagasaki

At 2:45 A.M. on August 6, 1945, a B-29 under the command of Colonel Paul W. Tibbets, a 29-year-old veteran pilot, began to roll down a runway on Tinian Island to take off on its historic mission to Hiroshima. The plane, which Tibbets had named *Enola Gay* after his mother, carried a crew of 12 men and an atomic bomb fueled with uranium 235. As it flew over Iwo Jima, it was joined by two other B-29s; their crews would seek scientific information on and take photographs of the blast. Tibbets informed his crew after takeoff that the cargo they would deliver was an atomic bomb, but otherwise the flight was uneventful. The weather was clear and the *Enola Gay* did not encounter resistance from anti-aircraft fire or enemy fighters. The fleet of just three planes caused little alarm when it appeared over Hiroshima; no warning sirens sounded and citizens saw no reason to seek shelter.

At about 8:15 A.M. (Hiroshima time) the *Enola Gay*'s bombardier released the bomb. It was festooned with messages that would never be read, some obscene, some wrathful; one offered "Greetings to the Emperor from the men of the *Indianapolis*." Forty-three seconds after leaving the plane, the bomb exploded, proving that the uranium 235, gun-type design worked as Manhattan Project scientists had promised. Even at 30,000 feet and 11 miles from ground zero, the Enola Gay was hit by two strong shock waves that bounced it around in the air and made a noise, as one crew member recalled, "like a piece of sheet metal snapping." When the plane circled back to take a look at the effects of the atomic bomb, even the battle-hardened veterans aboard were stunned. Copilot Robert Lewis declared: "We were struck dumb at the sight. It far exceeded all our expectations. Even though we expected something terrific, the actual sight caused all of us to feel that we were Buck Rogers 25th Century Warriors." Tail gunner Robert Caron described the mushroom cloud from the explosion as "a spectacular sight, a bubbling mass of purple-gray smoke."[1]

On the ground the bomb produced a ghastly scene of ruin, desolation, and human suffering. After the bomb exploded in the air about 1,900 feet above Hiroshima, witnesses reported seeing a searing flash of light, feeling a sweeping rush of air, and hearing a deafening roar, which was intensified by

the sound of collapsing buildings. The city lay on flat ground on the edge of Hiroshima Bay, and the level surface on which it was situated allowed the destructive energy of the atomic bomb to flow evenly outward from the point of detonation. As a result, an area of about 4.4 square miles surrounding ground zero was almost completely devastated. Only a few structures that had been built to withstand earthquakes were strong enough to weather the atomic blast.

FIGURE 7 Hiroshima after the atomic attack. (National Archives 306-PS-B-49–5295)

The bomb created what one survivor called “the hell I had always read about.” Within a radius of a half mile or so, the force of the blast killed virtually everybody instantaneously. Farther away from ground zero, the effects were somewhat less lethal but still altogether terrible. The bomb gave off a flash of intense heat that not only caused many deaths and severe injuries but also helped to form a huge and all-consuming firestorm. The survivors of the blast and heat were often horribly debilitated. Blinded by the flash, burned and blistered by the heat, cut beyond recognition by flying

glass, those who could move stumbled through the darkness caused by dust, smoke, and debris. It was common to see people whose skin was hanging off their bodies, a result of the thermal flash and the heat, which together caused severe blistering and tearing of the skin. Charred corpses were everywhere, and no services were available to help the living put out fires, salve their wounds, and ease their agony. The survivors were often so weakened that they died from their injuries or from the later effects of radiation, which began to show up within a few days of the attack.[2]

President Truman received two sketchy reports about the success of the atomic bomb aboard the cruiser USS *Augusta* as he sailed home from Potsdam. Elated by the news, he remarked to a group of sailors, "This is the greatest thing in history." A few minutes later he told the cheering crew of the ship about the power of the bomb. Truman's expectation that the bomb would bring the war to a prompt finish made him jubilant and, for the moment at least, superseded the ambivalence he had privately expressed at Potsdam about the development of nuclear weapons.[3]

Within a short time the White House released a statement from the president about the atomic bomb. It revealed that the bomb "had more power than 20,000 tons of T.N.T." and commented that the Japanese had "been repaid many fold" for their attack on Pearl Harbor. The president threatened that if Japan failed to surrender quickly, it would suffer more atomic attacks: "We are now prepared to obliterate more rapidly and completely every productive enterprise the Japanese have above ground in any city…. If [their leaders] do not now accept our terms they may expect a rain of ruin from the air, the like of which has never been seen on this earth." The statement sought to take advantage of the shock of the first bomb by suggesting that the United States had a stockpile of atomic weapons that soon would be used against Japan. In fact, it had only one more atomic bomb that would be available within a short time.[4] To reinforce the shock value of the bomb, American forces in the Pacific hastily prepared 6 million leaflets to drop on Japanese cities. The leaflets informed their readers that Hiroshima had been destroyed by an atomic bomb and appealed to them to press their leaders for peace. They also urged Japanese citizens to evacuate cities in order to avoid exposure to further atomic attacks.[5]

While the leaflets were being prepared, an assembly team was rushing to ready the second bomb for delivery to Japan. The date for the attack was originally August 11, but discouraging weather forecasts pushed the schedule

ahead by two days. On August 9, a B-29 named *Bock's Car* after its usual commander but piloted on this occasion by Major Charles W. Sweeney took off from Tinian. It carried a plutonium bomb of the same design as that tested at Alamogordo. Its primary target was the Japanese city of Kokura. The flight of *Bock's Car* was much more harrowing than that of the *Enola Gay* three days earlier. After enduring stormy weather and enemy flak, the plane was unable to drop its bomb on Kokura because of a heavy haze. With fuel running low, it headed for its secondary target, Nagasaki. Nagasaki was covered by clouds, but as the plane approached, the cloud cover opened slightly to give the bombardier a brief view of the city. Unable to find the planned target point, he used a stadium as a landmark to guide his aim.

Nagasaki was a densely populated industrial city in western Kyushu. At one time it had been a bustling port, but it had declined in importance as a commercial center. The city's economy depended heavily on the Mitsubishi Corporation, which operated shipyards, electrical equipment works, steel mills, and an arms plant that together employed 90 percent of Nagasaki's workforce. Although the city had not entirely escaped bombing by American air forces in previous months, it was relatively intact.

Because of the hills that rise above Nagasaki, the effects of the bomb were less widespread than in Hiroshima, but they were more intense in areas close to ground zero. The bomb destroyed a hospital and medical school that lay within 3,000 feet of the explosion and seriously damaged the Mitsubishi electrical equipment, steel, and arms factories. Within a radius of a half-mile or so, humans and animals died instantly, as in Hiroshima. The survivors also suffered the effects of injuries, radiation exposure, shock, helplessness, and fear that the residents of Hiroshima had experienced three days earlier. Nagasaki was fortunate to be spared from a raging firestorm, but the consequences of the atomic attack were still, by any standard, dreadful. Ironically, it was not until the day after the second bomb was used that leaflets prepared after Hiroshima that warned Japanese citizens about further atomic attacks were dropped on Nagasaki.[6]

It is impossible to measure accurately how many people in Hiroshima and Nagasaki were killed by the atomic bombs. The United States Strategic Bombing Survey, which conducted a thorough study of the effects of the bombs shortly after the war, estimated the number of deaths in Hiroshima at between 70,000 and 80,000 in a population of about 350,000 and in Nagasaki at about 35,000 in a population of about 270,000. More recent analyses have

raised the mortality figures to about 166,000 in Hiroshima and between 60,000 and 80,000 in Nagasaki by the beginning of December 1945. The enormity of the death and destruction caused by the single bombs dropped on Hiroshima and Nagasaki was one major difference in their effects from those of the aerial attacks on Japanese cities with conventional weapons.

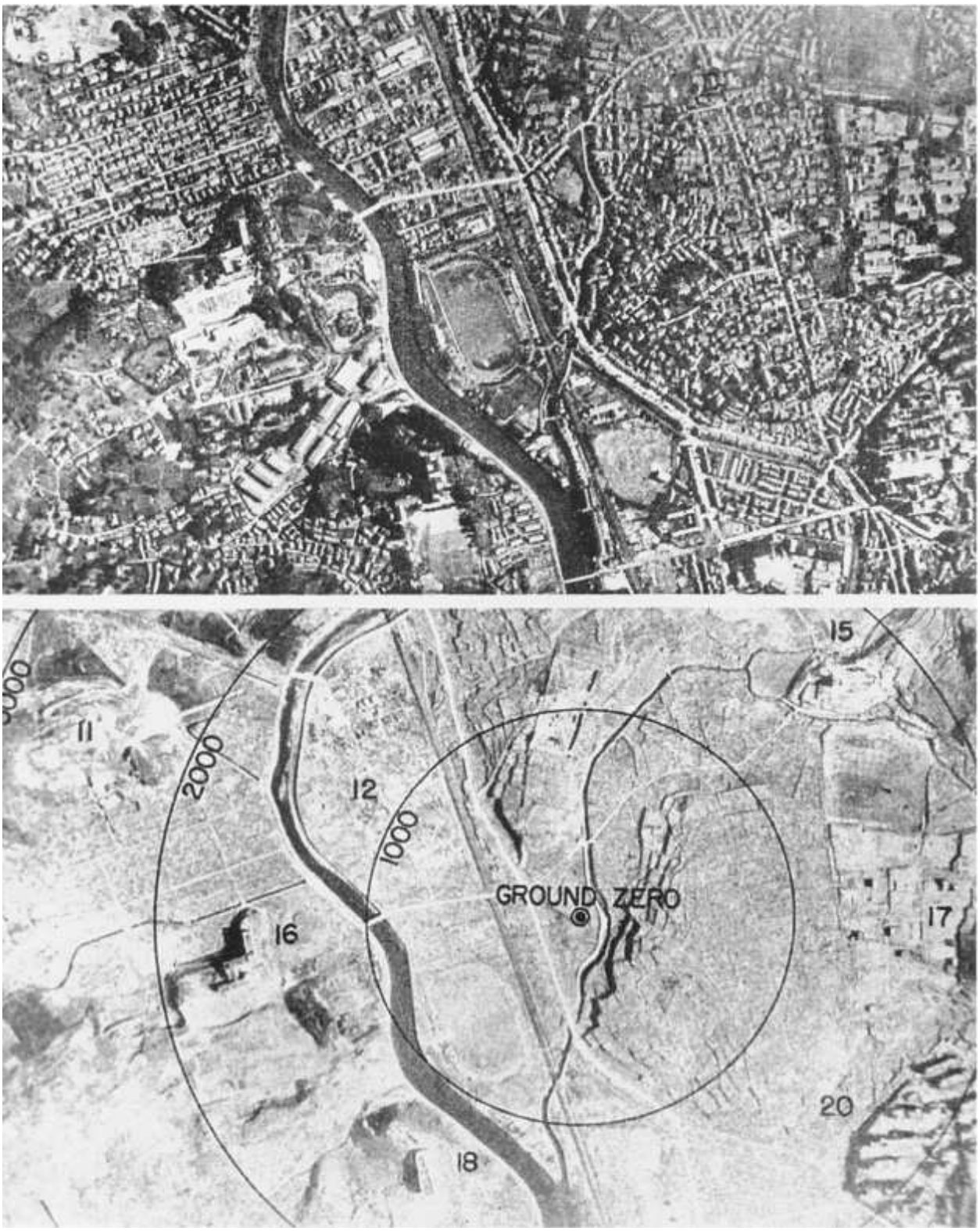

FIGURE 8 Nagasaki before and after being hit with the atomic bomb. (National Archives 77-MHD-12.3)

The other important distinction in the use of atomic bombs was the death and illness that residents of the two cities suffered from ionizing radiation. The report of the Strategic Bombing Survey suggested that 15–20 percent of the fatalities in the first few weeks after the bombs fell were the result of acute exposure to radiation. It also found "reason to believe" that even if the effects of blast and heat had not been present, "the number of deaths among people within a radius of one-half mile from ground zero would have been almost as great as the actual figures and the deaths among those within 1 mile would have been only slightly less." The lethal levels of "initial radiation" came from the process of nuclear fission that fueled the bombs. The explosions released large inventories of radioactive "fission products" to the environment. The dose of radiation an individual received and the damage it caused depended on distance from the hypocenter (directly below the atmospheric explosions) and other variables such as shielding from buildings or topographical features and the position of the body relative to the path the radiation traveled. Although the death toll from nearly instantaneous exposure to initial radiation from the bombs cannot be calculated with precision, it clearly was a large number.

Levels of "residual radiation" from atmospheric fallout and deposits in the soil and building materials were less harmful than exposure to initial radiation by orders of magnitude. Nevertheless, they were a source of concern because of their potential long-term health effects on survivors of the atomic attacks. Both of the bombs were air bursts that went off several hundred feet above the ground (about 1,900 feet at Hiroshima and about 1,600 feet at Nagasaki). This greatly reduced the radioactive fallout they produced, though limited quantities of radioactive particles were dispersed in the atmosphere and slowly descended to earth. Survivors in Hiroshima and Nagasaki feared that "black rain" that fell on their cities was an indication of high levels of fallout. In fact, the black rain was caused by soot from the fires that raged on the ground and was not related to radiation releases from the bombs.

The exposures from residual radiation were generally far lower than from initial radiation, but they have been blamed for causing a massive number of deaths from cancer over the years. Historian Paul Ham, for example, claimed in 2014 that "hundreds of thousands" of survivors of the atomic explosions have "succumbed to cancers linked to radiation poisoning." Careful studies conducted by American and Japanese scientists on the health effects of

radiation in Hiroshima and Nagasaki since 1948 tell a quite different story. The Radiation Effects Research Foundation, by tracing the health histories of a cohort of about 94,000 atomic bomb survivors, has calculated the number of "excess deaths" above the normal incidence of cancer mortality in the two cities. Its most recent report estimated the number of excess deaths from slow-developing solid tumors between 1958 and 1998 to have been 848. It estimated the number of excess deaths from leukemia, which shows up more quickly, between 1950 and 2000 to have been 94. The foundation concluded that the number of radiation-induced cancer deaths over a period of several decades was about 940. It assumed that the cohort on which it based its findings represented about one-half of the atomic bomb survivors in Hiroshima and Nagasaki, so it doubled its estimates to yield a total of about 1,900 excess deaths from cancer. This is a serious number that should not be taken lightly, but it is far short of epidemic proportions.[7]

In August 1945, the effects of radiation were much less of a concern than the impact of the atomic bomb on the Pacific war and international politics. The power of the bombs used against Japan and the story behind their development were featured in prominent headlines and in column after column of newsprint in the United States. Press treatment of the news generally reflected the tone of gratitude, pride, and confidence that the war would soon end that Truman and other American officials presented. But in some press accounts there was also a trace of uneasiness about the long-term consequences of the atomic bomb. As popular radio commentator H. V. Kaltenborn put it in a broadcast on the evening of August 6: "For all we know we have created a Frankenstein! We must assume that with the passage of only a little time, an improved form of the new weapon we use today can be turned against us."[8]

In Moscow, Joseph Stalin was concerned that the bomb would be turned against him, at least politically. After receiving the news about Hiroshima, he became intensely concerned that the bomb would deprive him of his objectives in Asia. He immediately ordered Soviet troops to attack Manchuria. Stalin did not wait for an agreement with China but hastened to join the Pacific war out of fear that the Japanese would surrender. On August 8, Soviet Foreign Minister Molotov informed Ambassador Satō that his country would consider itself at war with Japan the following day. Hours later, 1.5 million Soviet troops launched the invasion. They quickly routed the inferior Japanese forces, who surrendered in droves.

Stalin also established a new committee to make the atomic project a top priority and speed progress in constructing a Soviet bomb. Stalin viewed Truman's use of the bomb as a political act intended to deny him the gains he had been promised in Asia. He also regarded the bomb as a serious threat to the long-term international position of the Soviet Union by distorting the balance of power. "Hiroshima has shaken the whole world," he reportedly remarked. "The balance has been destroyed."[9]

In Tokyo, Japanese leaders were slower to recognize, or to acknowledge, the new force with which they had to deal. They did not receive details about the destruction of Hiroshima for several hours because of the loss of communications in the devastated city. The awful truth came in a report early in the morning of August 7: "The whole city of Hiroshima was destroyed instantly by a single bomb."[10] Within a short time, Japanese officials also learned of Truman's statement threatening a "rain of ruin" and announcing that Hiroshima had been attacked by an atomic bomb. They responded by sending a team of experts to Hiroshima to investigate the damage. The die-hard military faction insisted that Truman's announcement was mere propaganda and that the weapon used against Hiroshima was not an atomic bomb.

The emperor was deeply disturbed upon learning on the morning of August 7 that the United States had razed Hiroshima with an atomic weapon. Later in the day he pressed Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal Kido, his closest adviser, for further information about the bomb. The next morning he told Foreign Minister Tōgō: "Now that such a new weapon has appeared, it has become less and less possible to continue the war…. So my wish is to make such arrangements as to end the war as soon as possible." The use of the bomb shocked Hirohito and finally overcame his ambivalence about the need to end the war expeditiously. But even the distressing news of the atomic attack was not enough to convince him to surrender immediately on the basis of the Potsdam Proclamation. Hirohito and other Japanese leaders continued to deliberate over the terms that they would find acceptable for quitting the war.

At the request of the emperor, Prime Minister Suzuki called a meeting of the Supreme Council for the Direction of the War for August 9. Before the meeting took place, the Japanese government received word that the disaster of Hiroshima was compounded by the Soviet Union's declaration of war. The Soviets had been massing troops and supplies on the Manchurian border for months; Stalin commented at Yalta that he "believed Japan realized Russia

was coming into the war because they could see Russian troops on [the] border." Nevertheless, the Soviet invasion came as a stunning blow to many Japanese military and political leaders. Some of them still harbored the illusion that the Soviet Union would remain neutral or even mediate a peace settlement on more favorable terms than the Potsdam Proclamation offered. The Japanese army acted on the premise that the Soviets would not launch an attack on Manchuria before early 1946. Those ill-founded hopes were shattered by the Soviet offensive. The closure of the Soviet option suddenly made the Potsdam Proclamation much more appealing as the best means to end the war and retain the emperor.[11]

The dual jolts of the atomic bomb and the Soviet attack pushed the Japanese government toward surrender, but it reached a decision only after painful deliberations and acute internal controversy. When the Supreme Council for the Direction of the War met on the morning of August 9, Suzuki opened the discussion by arguing that Japan had no choice but to accept the Potsdam Proclamation with the sole condition that the imperial institution be preserved. War Minister Anami, Army Chief of Staff Umezu, and Navy Chief of Staff Toyoda sharply disagreed. They contended that Japan should insist not only that the emperor be retained but also that other conditions be admitted. They wanted the United States and its allies to greatly restrict or forgo entirely the occupation of Japan, permit the Japanese to conduct their own war trials, and allow the Japanese to disarm themselves. Foreign Minister Tōgō responded, quite accurately, that the only concession that had a chance of acceptance by the Allies was the retention of the emperor. He was certain that the other conditions would be flatly rejected. The members of the Supreme Council angrily debated those points without reaching a consensus. They were hopelessly deadlocked, with Suzuki, Tōgō, and Navy Minister Yonai lined up against Anami, Umezu, and Toyoda.

As the Supreme Council for the Direction of the War battled over the issue of surrender, it received the shocking news that Nagasaki had been hit with an atomic bomb. This demolished the argument of the diehards, who had dismissed the reality that the bomb that destroyed Hiroshima was an atomic explosive and the possibility that the United States had more weapons of equal power. The attack on Nagasaki showed not only that the United States had succeeded in developing an atomic bomb but also that it had built more than one. It also fed the fears of the peace faction that many more atomic bombs would be used against Japan. Its members maintained that the only

way to preserve Japan's national polity was to surrender with the assurance that the emperor would not be removed. Kido worried about a popular uprising against the government if the war continued much longer.[12]

Despite the impact of the news about Nagasaki, the stalemate within the Supreme Council continued. Three members favored acceptance of the Potsdam Proclamation if the emperor were allowed to remain, while the other three demanded further conditions and called for all-out resistance if the Allies refused. The debate then moved from the Supreme Council to the larger cabinet (of which Umezu and Toyoda were not members). It voted overwhelmingly against the militants' position by a margin of 13 to 3, but it required unanimity to act.

At that point, several former high-ranking Japanese government officials prevailed on Kido to persuade the emperor to intervene in support of Tōgō's argument. This was not an easy task. Hirohito apparently concurred with those who insisted on four conditions, and Kido was reluctant to challenge this position. But eventually he persuaded the emperor that the best way to preserve the national polity was to offer to accept the Potsdam Proclamation with one condition. Kido later explained that he "felt the situation was utterly hopeless," and he told Hirohito that "there was no alternative left" but to "have the government at once accept the Potsdam Declaration and bring the war to a close." The emperor's primary concern was saving himself and the imperial dynasty; shaken by the atomic attacks, the Soviet invasion, and the growing indications of popular discontent with his rule, he concluded that the Potsdam Proclamation was more palatable than the looming threat of Soviet expansion. Therefore, he agreed to address the cabinet and the Supreme Council, which was a major departure from standard procedures. Under normal conditions the emperor did not take an active role in deliberations but waited for his advisers to agree on a position. The "imperial conference" began close to midnight on August 9. After the opposing sides stated their views, Hirohito told his ministers that the time had come to "bear the unbearable." He announced his support for accepting the Potsdam Proclamation with the single condition of preservation of the imperial institution.[13]

Hirohito's comments were an expression of his will and not an order or binding decision, but they broke the deadlock. The Supreme Council and the cabinet agreed to his wish to offer to surrender. Even the diehards went along, partly out of respect for the emperor and partly because the atomic

bomb, ironically, enabled them to save face. They could claim that the war was lost and surrender made necessary because of the enemy's scientific prowess in developing nuclear weapons rather than because of their own mistakes or miscalculations.[14]

On August 10, the Japanese government transmitted a message through the Swiss embassy to the United States (though it arrived first in Washington through a MAGIC intercept). It offered to accept the terms of the Potsdam Proclamation "with the understanding that the said declaration does not comprise any demand which prejudices the prerogatives of His Majesty as a Sovereign Ruler."[15] The Japanese overture, welcome as it was, generated a spirited debate among Truman's advisers. Stimson, Forrestal, and Leahy, consistent with their earlier support for modifying unconditional surrender, urged that the United States agree to the proposal.

The Japanese offer largely set aside two of the disadvantages of softening unconditional surrender that had previously troubled American policymakers. If the United States had first approached Japan with more moderate terms, it might have encouraged and enhanced the credibility of the Japanese die-hard faction. But the fact that the initiative came from Japan indicated that the militants were willing to surrender on the basis of agreement to the single condition. An American proposal to mitigate surrender demands would also have run the risk of undermining morale and support for the war effort at home. But the Japanese provided what appeared to most high-level U.S. officials to be a sensible and painless way to end the war, especially since the retention of the emperor would greatly ease the potential difficulties of enforcing the surrender terms.

The lone holdout on accepting the Japanese proposal among Truman's key advisers was Byrnes. In part, he was troubled by objections raised by Japan experts in the State Department. They pointed out that the wording of the Japanese overture could leave the emperor on the throne with his powers undiminished. They convinced Byrnes that approving the conditional surrender offer was incompatible with the fundamental American war aim of eliminating Japan's ability to make war. Byrnes was probably even more concerned about the other potential drawback of backing off from unconditional surrender—it was politically risky. There was considerable evidence of strong popular support for insisting on unconditional surrender and removing Hirohito from his throne after the Japanese peace proposal became public knowledge. A Gallup poll on August 10, for example, showed

that by a margin of almost two to one those surveyed wanted the United States to reject Japan's initiative. Byrnes remarked that agreeing to the Japanese terms could lead to the "crucifixion of [the] President."[16]

Byrnes's priorities were clear; he was more worried about the political consequences of softening unconditional surrender than about prolonging the war and allowing the Soviets to make greater gains in Asia. Truman shared Byrnes's political concerns, and as a result, he continued to equivocate on the question of the status of the emperor. Rather than choosing between the two positions, he asked Byrnes to draft a reply that, in keeping with a proposal from Forrestal, would suggest that the United States was willing to accept Japan's offer without seeming to retreat from the Potsdam Proclamation.

Byrnes, with the assistance of his staff and input from Truman, Leahy, and Stimson, responded to his delicate assignment with a statement that carefully avoided an explicit guarantee about the status of the emperor. It suggested, however, that Hirohito would not be unseated immediately by specifying that his authority would be placed under that of the supreme commander of the Allied forces who would occupy Japan. It also provided that the "ultimate form of the government of Japan shall, in accordance with the Potsdam Proclamation, be established by the freely expressed will of the Japanese people."[17] After receiving approval from Great Britain, China, and the Soviet Union, Byrnes dispatched the statement to the Japanese government. The State Department also broadcast the message to Japan, where it was first picked up in the early morning hours of August 12.

By the time the Japanese peace offer had reached Washington on August 10, Truman had received his first full report on and photographs of the leveling of Hiroshima. Stimson met with him on August 8, the day after the president arrived home from Potsdam. Among the documents that Truman presumably read was a graphic firsthand account of the damage based on the observations of reconnaissance planes. It provided its "most conservative estimate" that "at least 100,000" people had lost their lives in Hiroshima.[18] The reports and photographs greatly impressed Truman; they seemed to make him focus for the first time on the immensity of the costs the bomb assessed in destruction and in human lives. He announced at a cabinet meeting on August 10 that he had issued an order that no more atomic bombs be dropped without his express authorization. Secretary of Commerce Wallace recorded in his diary: "He said the thought of wiping out another 100,000 people was too horrible. He didn't like the idea of killing, as he said, 'all those kids.'"[19]

Nevertheless, heavy conventional bombing continued, to the consternation of residents of Japanese cities that were attacked and American crews that flew the missions at the risk of being shot down.

The guarded and purposely vague American reply to the Japanese peace overture caused a new crisis in Tokyo. It produced acute disappointment among Japanese leaders who wanted peace and had hoped for a more favorable response from the United States. Tōgō took Byrnes's statement to mean that the imperial institution would be preserved, but most of his colleagues were less certain. Suzuki, who had worked hard for the original Japanese proposal to accept the Potsdam Proclamation, was so disgruntled that he changed his position and argued that unless the Allies clarified their intentions, Japan would be forced to fight on. Tōgō, with considerable effort, managed to convince Suzuki to rejoin the ranks of the peace advocates.

The key to an agreement on peace was Anami, and he found Byrnes's statement unacceptable. He not only argued that the American reply failed to guarantee the national polity by allowing the retention of the emperor, but he also revived two of the additional conditions for which he had fought earlier. Anami contended that surrender was tolerable only if the Allies desisted from occupying Japan and permitted the Japanese to disarm themselves. In the face of the growing crisis, Kido again appealed to the emperor, and again Hirohito responded. On the morning of August 14, he met with the cabinet and Supreme Council for the Direction of the War. After listening to the conflicting arguments, Hirohito reiterated his support for terminating the war. "I have surveyed the conditions prevailing in Japan and in the world at large, and it is my belief that a continuation of the war promises nothing but additional destruction," he declared. "I have studied the terms of the Allied reply and … I consider the reply to be acceptable."[20] The cabinet quickly and unanimously acceded to the emperor's wishes.

The struggle was not yet over. A group of fanatical junior officers planned an uprising intended to establish a military government in Japan. Their leaders tried to enlist Anami, but despite his strong aversion to accepting the Potsdam Proclamation, he remained devoted to the emperor and committed to maintaining the existing system of government. He undermined the forces behind the coup d'état by asking a group of rebellious officers to carry out the emperor's request and "to do your utmost to preserve the national polity."[21] After refusing to join the plot, he returned to his home, knelt before his uniform and medals, and committed suicide by plunging a dagger into his

abdomen and neck. The attempted overthrow of the government failed, but it would have presented a much more formidable threat had it received Anami's support.

Meanwhile, the emperor made a recording of a message to the Japanese people, most of whom had never heard his voice. At noon on August 15, his radio broadcast announced that Japan would agree to the provisions of the Potsdam Proclamation. The emperor explained to his stunned listeners that "the war situation has developed not necessarily to Japan's advantage." Without apologizing for Japan's aggression or mentioning the word "surrender," he went on to state that "the enemy has begun to employ a new and most cruel bomb, the power of which to do damage is indeed incalculable, taking the toll of many innocent lives." If the war continued, he said, "it would not only result in an ultimate collapse and obliteration of the Japanese nation, but also it would lead to the total extinction of human civilization."[22]

The combined shocks of the atomic attack on Hiroshima and the Soviet offensive in Manchuria were decisive in ending the Pacific war. In the words of Navy Minister Yonai, who favored surrender on the single condition that the imperial institution be retained, the atomic bomb and the Soviet invasion were "gifts from the gods" that brought the war to a prompt conclusion. After Hiroshima, the emperor for the first time came out unequivocally for surrender, and after Soviet entry into the war, he decided, after considerable hesitation, that he supported acceptance of the Potsdam Proclamation if the imperial dynasty were not abolished. The bombing of Hiroshima and the Soviet attack also had the salutary effect of greatly increasing the concern of Hirohito and his top advisers that growing popular dissatisfaction with the government represented a genuine threat to the imperial system.

Although the dual shocks of the atomic bomb and the Soviet invasion combined to force a Japanese surrender, it is unlikely that either one alone would have ended the war as quickly. The use of the bomb was a stunning and demoralizing blow for the Japanese government and population, but it did not cause the emperor or his chief advisers to decide immediately to accept the Potsdam Proclamation. Some scholars have argued that the Soviet strike in Manchuria would have been enough to cause a surrender, and it appears that American military leaders, who thought Soviet entry would be helpful but not decisive, underestimated the potential impact of the Soviet attack on the Japanese leadership. But if the bomb had not been dropped, the

end of the war would not have occurred as soon. For one thing, the use of the bomb motivated Stalin to begin the assault on Manchuria several days earlier than planned. More importantly, it is far from clear that the Japanese would have surrendered at once in response to the invasion of Manchuria alone. Suzuki commented after first learning of the offensive, “If we meet the Soviet advance as we are now, we will not be able to hold on for two months.” This was an ambiguous statement that nevertheless suggested that Japan would fight on as long as it was able. In short, it required both the atomic bomb and Soviet entry to convince Japanese authorities in Tokyo to accept the Potsdam Proclamation and to force a prompt surrender.[23]

The Soviet attack had another important and often overlooked benefit. It was apparently vital in winning acceptance of the Japanese decision to surrender among military leaders of intact Japanese forces in China and other parts of Asia and the Pacific. This could not be taken for granted. High-level officials in both Washington and Tokyo worried that mutinous generals of Japanese armies abroad would refuse to heed the emperor’s wishes. There were millions of able-bodied soldiers stationed in territories the Japanese had conquered early in the war who had been bypassed in the American island campaigns. They had the capacity to continue to battle fiercely and fanatically, and there were disturbing indications that some military leaders might order them to keep fighting. The commander of the Japanese army in China, for example, declared: “Such a disgrace as the surrender of several million troops without fighting is not paralleled in the world’s military history, and it is absolutely impossible to submit to unconditional surrender.” The invasion of Manchuria quickly neutralized this threat because of the power of the Soviet war machine, and a potentially severe crisis was averted. “Ending the war in the organized capitulation of Japan and her armed forces,” historian Richard B. Frank has written, “was a near miraculous deliverance.”[24]

The effect of the atomic bomb dropped on Nagasaki is more difficult to assess than the impact of the Hiroshima attack and the Soviet invasion. The second atomic strike discredited the arguments of the die-hard military faction that the United States had only one atomic bomb. At the same time, both bombs made it easier for those who had called for a final battle in the homeland to go along with the emperor’s desire for peace, because the new technology diverted blame for the nation’s defeat from its military leaders. Nevertheless, the impact of the Nagasaki bomb on Japanese decision-makers

was slight in comparison with Hiroshima and the Soviet offensive.

It is possible, perhaps likely, that the war would have ended as soon even if the atomic bomb had not been used against Nagasaki. But the order to drop the second bomb “as soon as made ready” had gone out on July 25, and American leaders had no reason to change it. If the Japanese government had been ready to surrender at the time of the bombing of Hiroshima, as some critics of Truman later charged, it had ample time to notify the United States before the attack on Nagasaki. But Japanese leaders did not act quickly, resolutely, or prudently to end the war even in the face of disaster. They forfeited the opportunity to halt the “rain of ruin” from both atomic and conventional bombs by failing to immediately seek peace.

Even without the use of the atomic bombs, the war would probably have ended before an American invasion of Kyushu became necessary. Conditions in Japan were steadily deteriorating before the atomic attacks and would have continued to worsen as the war dragged on. The distribution of food in Japan was heavily dependent on railroad transportation by the summer of 1945, and as the war drew to an end the United States was planning a major bombing campaign to destroy the rail system. Had the war continued, the Japanese population faced the grim prospect of mass starvation. Diminishing food supplies, the destruction of cities from B-29 raids, and decreasing public morale had already fostered enough discontent to worry the emperor and his advisers. The peace advocates concluded that surrendering with assurances about the status of the emperor was the best way, perhaps the only way, to preserve the national polity. Even without the atomic attacks, it seems likely that the emperor at some point would have acted in the same way that he did in the aftermath of Hiroshima to end the war. Once the emperor decided in favor of surrender, the die-hard militants would probably have gone along, however grudgingly, just as they did when Hirohito supported the peace faction after Hiroshima.

It appears probable that the emperor would have moved to end the war before an American invasion. The fact that the invasion was a dreadful prospect for American leaders and soldiers should not obscure the fact that the costs in lives and destruction would have been even greater for the Japanese. In light of the hardships that Japan was suffering, growing popular criticism of the government, and the intervention of the emperor once he clearly opted for peace, it seems reasonable to conclude that a combination of the B-29 raids with conventional bombs, the blockade, the Soviet invasion,

and perhaps a moderation of the unconditional surrender policy would have ended the war without an invasion and without the use of atomic bombs. Although the militants were impervious to the suffering of civilians and welcomed the prospect of an invasion, Kido and presumably Hirohito were much more concerned about a loss of popular support that could threaten the national polity.[25]

After the war was over, a number of high-ranking American leaders, in memoirs or other statements, suggested that even without the use of atomic bombs, an invasion would not have been necessary to secure victory. Among those who made this point were Admiral Leahy, General LeMay, General Arnold, Admiral King, General Eaker, and General Eisenhower.[26] Herbert Feis, a former State Department official and a Pulitzer Prize–winning historian, reported in a book published in 1966 that Secretary of the Navy Forrestal, Undersecretary of the Navy Bard, and General Spaatz shared the same opinion.[27] Of course, this conclusion was an after-the-fact appraisal on the part of former policymakers and military authorities. With the exception of LeMay, there is no evidence that the postwar statements of American leaders reflected their judgment during the summer of 1945 or that any of them, with the possible exception of Bard, informed Truman that they thought the war could end without the bomb or an invasion. Important information about Japan's weakness and growing popular discontent among the Japanese did not surface until after the war and was not available to Truman before Hiroshima.

Some of the officials who asserted after the fact that the war could have ended on a satisfactory basis without the bomb or an invasion were influenced by bureaucratic interests, personal experiences, or even political ambitions. Navy leaders were concerned that the importance of their mission would not receive due recognition in the postwar world and that their status, prestige, and budgets would suffer accordingly. Air force leaders wanted the establishment of a separate branch of the armed forces that was independent of the Army. In both cases, they did not want the effects of the atomic bombs to overshadow their contributions to the victory over Japan. Leahy belonged to the old-fashioned school of military ethics that deplored attacks on civilian populations. He found the atomic bomb barbaric, which affected the conclusion in his memoirs that the use of atomic bombs "was of no material assistance in our war against Japan."[28] Eisenhower, when he published his wartime memoirs in 1948, might have wanted to present an image of a

military leader who was tough but sensitive to the horrors of war.[29]

Despite personal backgrounds or experiences that might have colored their views, the independent testimonies of so many top officials about the likelihood of the war ending without an invasion or the bomb should not be lightly dismissed. They almost certainly would have refrained from promoting an argument that could offend the president they had served or invite criticism unless their assessment had some solid factual or analytical foundations. Most of them had retired from active service by the time they published their memoirs, so they were removed from interservice rivalries and bureaucratic posturing. Their judgments were not conclusive, but they provided substantial confirmatory evidence that victory over Japan could have been achieved without either the bomb or an invasion.

Although information and testimonies that appeared after the war suggested that neither the bomb nor the invasion was essential to force a Japanese surrender, documentary sources do not demonstrate that high U.S. officials were convinced in the summer of 1945 that victory would be accomplished without a landing on Kyushu. They could not be certain that the war would end before November 1, and they proceeded on the assumption that the invasion would be necessary. American leaders and military planners regarded an invasion as a genuine possibility for which preparations had to be made. But they did not view it as inevitable; it was a contingency if all else failed to end the war. Deputy Chief of Staff Thomas Handy told Stimson on June 4 that it would take Soviet entry into the war and a landing "or imminent threat of a landing" to bring about the surrender.[30] General Marshall used a similar conditional reference at the June 18 meeting at which Truman authorized the Kyushu invasion. He commented that Soviet participation in the war would help force a surrender "if we land in Japan."[31] A member of Marshall's staff, General George A. Lincoln, wrote to a colleague on July 10, 1945: "The B-29s are doing such a swell job that some people think the Japs will quit without an invasion."[32] One of MacArthur's lieutenants, General Robert Eichelberger, told his wife on July 24 that "a great many people, probably 50%, feel that Japan is about to fold up."[33]

Truman's diary notations support the same conclusion. His remark after meeting with Stalin on July 17, "Fini Japs when that [Soviet entry into the war] comes about," does not prove that he thought the Soviet invasion of Manchuria was enough in itself to force an early surrender. It does, however, suggest that he did not believe an invasion was inevitable. This also applies

to Truman's notation the following day: "Believe Japs will fold up before Russia comes in. I am sure they will when Manhattan appears over their homeland." The precise meaning of those comments in perhaps debatable, but they clearly suggest the president thought that even if the bomb was not used, the war might end without an invasion.

A further indication of the same outcome was the reconsideration in early August 1945 of the plans for the American landing on Kyushu. Intelligence information showed that Japanese forces in southern Kyushu were much larger than anticipated, and this caused military planners to weigh the possibility of shifting the site of the invasion or perhaps even canceling it. The end of the war made this problem moot, but it is further evidence that Truman did not face a clearly defined choice between the atomic bomb and an invasion of Japan.[34]

Given the fact that Truman and his top-level advisers did not regard an invasion as inevitable and given their knowledge, incomplete as it was, of the severity of the crisis in Japan, the question arises of why they did not elect to wait to use the bomb. The invasion was not scheduled until November 1, 1945, so why not postpone the atomic attacks and hope that Japan collapsed under the weight of the critical internal and external problems it faced? Why rush to drop the atomic bombs when they might prove to be unnecessary? Five fundamental considerations, all of which grew out of circumstances that existed in the summer of 1945, moved Truman to use the bombs immediately, without a great deal of thought and without consulting with his advisers about the advantages and potential disadvantages of the new weapons: (1) the commitment to ending the war successfully at the earliest possible moment; (2) the need to justify the effort and expense of building the atomic bombs; (3) the hope of achieving diplomatic gains in the growing rivalry with the Soviet Union; (4) the lack of incentives not to use atomic weapons; and (5) hatred of the Japanese and a desire for vengeance.

Ending the war at the earliest possible moment. Truman was looking for a way to end the war as quickly and painlessly as possible for the United States; he was not looking for a way to avoid using the bomb. The primary objective of the United States had always been to win the war decisively at the lowest cost in American casualties, and the bomb was the best means to accomplish those goals. Even if the bomb was not necessary to end the war without an invasion, it was necessary to end the war as soon as possible.

Although American forces were not involved in any major campaigns at the time of the Japanese surrender, they were still suffering casualties. If the total of 3,233 Army combat and noncombat deaths in the month of July 1945 is taken as a norm—a risky assumption, but they are the only relevant figures available—the continuation of the war for, say, another three months until the invasion was scheduled to begin would have resulted in approximately 9,700 American deaths in the Army alone. If only combat deaths are considered, the 775 sustained in July would extrapolate into about 2,300 had the war lasted three months more. The overall number of American casualties would have increased further from Japanese attacks on U.S. ships; the battle of Okinawa and the sinking of the *Indianapolis* demonstrated how high the costs to the Navy could be.

If Truman had been confronted with a choice, on the one hand, of using the atomic bomb or, on the other hand, permitting the deaths of 9,700 soldiers and a significant number of sailors, there is no reason to believe that he would have refrained from authorizing the bomb. He would almost certainly have made the same choice if the number of projected American casualties had been much smaller. Whatever casualty estimates he might have received or projected, he was strongly committed to reducing them to a minimum. This goal was consistent with American war aims and with his own experience. The atomic bomb offered the way most likely to achieve an American victory on American terms with the lowest cost in American lives.

The inflated numbers of American lives supposedly saved by the bomb, numbers cited by Truman and others after the war, should not obscure the fact that the president would have elected to use the bomb even if the numbers of U.S. casualties prevented had been relatively small.[35] In two statements he made on August 9, the president suggested that the bomb would spare thousands, but not hundreds of thousands, of American lives. In a radio address to the nation he declared that he had used the bomb "to shorten the agony of war, in order to save the lives of thousands and thousands of young Americans." In a congratulatory message to the men and women of the Manhattan Project, he expressed hope that "this new weapon will result in the saving of thousands of American lives."[36] By citing the number of Americans who would be spared in a range of thousands, Truman's statements were more in line with the military's estimates in the summer of 1945 than with later claims that the bomb saved hundreds of thousands of lives.

Even though American policymakers did not regard an invasion as inevitable, they did regard it as possible. They could not be sure that the Japanese would surrender without an invasion. With information that became available later, it is possible to determine with greater certainty that victory would have come without a landing on Kyushu. This is, however, an after-the-fact conclusion that cannot be proven, and it is essential to keep in mind that Truman and his advisers had to make their decisions based on what they knew at the time.

Justifying the costs of the Manhattan Project. As a corollary, and only as a corollary, to the main objective of shortening the war and saving American lives, Truman wanted to justify the expense and effort required to build the atomic bombs. After learning of Hiroshima, Byrnes commented that he had been "worried about the huge expendtirue [*sic*] and feared repercussions because he had doubt of its working." Throughout the war Groves and his superiors in the War Department also fretted about the possibility that after spending huge amounts of money and procuring vital war supplies on a priority basis, the bomb would be a dud. They could easily imagine being grilled mercilessly by hostile members of Congress. The success of the Manhattan Project in building the bombs and ending the war was a source of satisfaction and relief.[37]

Truman's concerns were broader. If he had not used the bomb once it became available, he could never have explained his reasoning in a way that satisfied the American people, particularly those who lost loved ones in the last few days or weeks of the war. As Stimson wrote in 1947: "My chief purpose was to end the war in victory with the least possible cost in the lives of the men in the armies which I had helped to raise…. I believe that no man, in our position and subject to our responsibilities, holding in his hands a weapon of such possibilities for accomplishing this purpose and saving those lives, could have failed to use it and afterwards looked his countrymen in the face."[38] If Truman had backed off from using a weapon that had cost the United States dearly to build, with the result that more American troops died, public confidence in his capacity to govern would have been, at best, severely undermined.

Impressing the Soviets. As an added incentive, using the bomb might provide diplomatic benefits by making the Soviet Union more amenable to

American wishes. There is no question that Byrnes strongly believed the bomb would improve his negotiating position with the Soviets over the growing list of contested issues. Byrnes enjoyed easy access to and great influence with Truman on diplomatic issues; the president acquiesced in Byrnes's efforts to delay Soviet entry into the Pacific war and, from all indications, shared his hope that the bomb would provide diplomatic benefits by making the Soviets more tractable. But Truman did not drop the bomb primarily to intimidate or impress the Soviets. If its use resulted in diplomatic advantages, that would be, as Barton J. Bernstein has argued, a "bonus."[39]

Truman's foremost consideration in using the bomb immediately was not to frustrate Soviet ambitions in Asia or to show off the bomb before the Japanese capitulated; it was to end the war at the earliest possible time. Despite their impatience with Soviet demands at Potsdam, he and Byrnes still hoped that they could get along with Stalin in the postwar era. Growing differences with the Soviet Union were a factor in the thinking of American officials about the bomb but were not the main reason they rushed to drop it on Japan.

Lack of incentives not to use the bomb. Truman used the bomb because he had no compelling reason to avoid using it. American leaders had always assumed that the bomb would be dropped when it became available, and there were no military, diplomatic, political, or moral considerations that undermined or reversed that assumption. Indeed, military, diplomatic, and political considerations weighed heavily in favor of the use of the bomb. Militarily, it could speed the end of the war. Diplomatically, it could make the Soviets more likely to accept American positions. Politically, ending the war quickly would be enormously popular, while delaying the achievement of victory by not using the bomb could be disastrous.

Moral scruples about using the bomb were not a major deterrent to its use. American policymakers took the same view that General LeMay advanced later in his memoirs: "From a practical standpoint of the soldiers out in the field it doesn't make any difference how you slay an enemy. Everybody worries about their own losses."[40] Bombing of civilians was such an established practice by the summer of 1945 that American leaders accepted it as a legitimate means of conducting war. It seemed defensible if it shortened the war and saved American lives, and that was the principal purpose of dropping the atomic bomb. Some high-ranking American officials found

attacks on civilian targets distasteful, and Truman, after he saw the photographs of and read the reports about the destruction of Hiroshima, was so disturbed that he issued an order that no more atomic bombs be used without his express authorization. But moral reservations about terror bombing remained muted; on balance they were less influential than the desire to end the war as soon as possible. In the minds of American policymakers, this objective took precedence over moral considerations about the indiscriminate bombing of civilian populations.

Dealing with "a beast." Hatred of the Japanese, a desire for revenge for Pearl Harbor, and racist attitudes were a part of the mix of motives that led to the atomic attacks. When Samuel McCrea Cavert, general secretary of the Federal Council of Churches, raised objections to the atomic bombings, Truman responded on August 11, 1945: "Nobody is more disturbed over the use of Atomic bombs than I am but I was greatly disturbed over the unwarranted attack by the Japanese on Pearl Harbor and their murder of our prisoners of war…. When you have to deal with a beast you have to treat him as a beast. It is most regrettable but nevertheless true."[41] Truman did not authorize the bombs solely or primarily for those reasons, and there is no reason to think that he would have refrained from using atomic weapons against Germany if they had been available before the European war ended. But the prevalent loathing of Japan, among policymakers and the American people alike, helped override any hesitation or ambivalence that Truman and his advisers might have felt about the use of atomic bombs.

All of those considerations played a role in the thinking of American leaders, and taken together they made the use of the bomb an easy and obvious decision. It was not an action they relished, but neither was it one they agonized over. The use of the bomb was not inevitable; if Truman had been seeking a way to avoid dropping it, he could have done so. But in the context of the circumstances in the summer of 1945 and in light of the disadvantages of the alternatives, it is difficult to imagine Truman or any other American president electing not to use the bomb.

The fundamental question that has triggered debate about Truman's decision since shortly after the end of World War II is, Was the bomb necessary? In view of the evidence now available, the answer is yes … and no. Yes, the bomb was necessary, in combination with the Soviet attack on

Manchuria, to end the war at the earliest possible moment. And yes, the bomb was necessary to save the lives of American troops, perhaps numbering in the several thousands. But no, the bomb was probably not necessary to end the war within a fairly short time without an invasion of Japan. And no, the bomb was not necessary to save the lives of *hundreds* of thousands of American troops.

Chapter 7: Hiroshima in History

In the immediate aftermath of the war, the use of atomic bombs received the overwhelming approval of the American people. A Gallup poll conducted on August 26, 1945, for example, showed that 85 percent of the respondents endorsed the atomic attacks, while 10 percent opposed and 5 percent had no opinion. Another survey taken in the fall of 1945 produced similar findings. Only 4.5 percent of those questioned believed that the United States should not have used atomic weapons, while 53.5 percent expressed unequivocal support for the bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki. Another 22.7 percent wished that the United States had dropped "many more" atomic bombs on Japan before its surrender.[1]

There were, however, a few critics who questioned the need for and the morality of dropping the atomic bombs. Pacifist groups, a number of atomic scientists, some religious leaders and organizations, and a scattering of political commentators, both liberal and conservative, condemned the atomic attacks because of their indiscriminate killing of civilians and/or the failure of the United States to give Japan an explicit warning about the bomb before Hiroshima. As time went on, other voices raised new misgivings about the use of the atomic bombs. Norman Cousins, editor of the *Saturday Review of Literature*, and Thomas K. Finletter, a former assistant secretary of state, suggested in June 1946 that Truman's use of the bomb might have been prompted more by a desire for diplomatic gains in the growing rivalry with the Soviet Union than by military necessity. Writer John Hersey, although he did not express an opinion on the bombings, put human faces on six of the survivors and the trials they endured in a widely publicized article in the *New Yorker* in August 1946.[2]

The final report of the United States Strategic Bombing Survey, published in July 1946, implicitly questioned the official rationale that the atomic bombings had been necessary to force a Japanese surrender and avoid an invasion. At the request of President Truman, the survey conducted a study of the effects of American aerial attacks on Japan as well as an analysis of Japan's "struggle to end the war."

After examining documents and interviewing Japanese officials, it concluded that Japan would have surrendered without the use of atomic

bombs, Soviet entry into the war, or an American invasion of Kyushu. “Based on a detailed investigation of all the facts, and supported by the testimony of the surviving Japanese leaders involved,” the report declared, “it is the Survey’s opinion that certainly prior to 31 December 1945, and in all probability prior to 1 November 1945, Japan would have surrendered even if the atomic bombs had not been dropped, even if Russia had not entered the war, and even if no invasion had been planned or contemplated.”[3]

The survey’s statement was less conclusive than it appeared. It was a “counterfactual” argument, meaning that it was based not on hard evidence but on speculation about what might have happened. The counterfactual judgment was largely the product of Paul Nitze, the vice chairman of the survey team, who believed that the bomb had not been essential for forcing a surrender. The interviews of Japanese officials did not uniformly or even largely support the idea that the war would have ended without the bomb, the Soviet declaration of war on Japan, or an American invasion. Indeed, many suggested that the bomb was the key to bringing about the surrender. As always in dealing with counterfactuals, there is no way of proving or disproving the survey’s conclusion, and it cannot be viewed as definitive.[4]

The criticisms of the atomic attacks and the conclusions of the Strategic Bombing Survey had very little discernible impact on popular support for Truman’s decision. Although the existence of atomic weapons and the possibility that they might at some time be used against American cities was troubling, they did not lead to widespread reappraisal or disapproval of the use of atomic bombs against Japan. Nevertheless, even occasional expressions of dissent offended some Manhattan Project veterans. One leading figure in the building of the bomb, James B. Conant, decided to take action to counter the critics. Conant, a prominent chemist and president of Harvard University, had played a major role in the development of the bomb as the deputy director of the Office of Scientific Research and Development and head of the National Defense Research Committee, both of which had mobilized scientific research in support of the war effort.

Conant, like other atomic scientists, had not been a part of Truman’s inner circle that made decisions regarding the use of the bomb. He had, however, occupied a position in which he offered scientific expertise and policy judgments to Groves, Stimson, and other top officials. As a member of the Interim Committee, he had suggested in a meeting of May 31, 1945, “that the most desirable target [for an atomic bomb] would be a vital war plant …

closely surrounded by workers' houses."[5] Conant fully supported the use of atomic bombs against Japan, in part because he shared with American policymakers the objective of achieving a decisive victory as quickly as possible. In addition, Conant, along with a number of other Manhattan Project scientists, favored the use of the bomb as a means to promote postwar peace. This objective was not an important consideration for Truman and his close advisers, but it was a key element in the thinking of Conant and other scientists.

Conant was convinced that a combat demonstration of the destructive power of atomic bombs was essential to prevent their future use. It was, he believed, "the only way to awaken the world to the necessity of abolishing war altogether."[6] Along with scientific advisers to the Interim Committee and other colleagues, Conant reasoned that the use of the bomb would not only force a prompt Japanese surrender but also shock leaders around the globe into seeking international control of nuclear weapons. "We have had some skeptics express doubts as to whether [the bomb] is indeed a revolutionary weapon," he remarked in 1947, "but what skepticism there would have been had there been no actual use in war!"[7]

Conant had little patience with critics of the use of the bomb against Japan. Although their influence was slight, he worried about the consequences if they undermined public support for Truman's decision. One harmful result might be that the chances for arms control would be diminished. Conant believed that only if the American people clearly demonstrated their willingness to use their atomic arsenal would the Soviet Union be amenable to nuclear arms control agreements. Further, he feared that questions about the use of the bomb would influence teachers and students in the future in ways that distorted history. "You may be inclined to dismiss all this talk [criticizing the use of the bomb] as representing only a small minority of the population, which I think it does," Conant told a friend in September 1946. "However, this type of sentimentalism, for so I regard it, is bound to have a great deal of influence on the next generation. The type of person who goes in to teaching, particularly school teaching, will be influenced a great deal by this type of argument."[8]

In order to head off the potential influence of those who raised doubts about whether the dropping of atomic bombs on Japan had been a sound and proper action, Conant persuaded Henry L. Stimson to write an article to explain why they were used. Stimson, who was writing his memoirs in

retirement, reluctantly took on the assignment, assisted by the collaborator on his memoirs, McGeorge Bundy, the son of former War Department aide Harvey H. Bundy and future national security adviser to presidents John F. Kennedy and Lyndon B. Johnson. The article, which appeared in the February 1947 issue of *Harper's Magazine*, deliberately refrained from directly challenging the critics of the use of the bomb. It provided a judicious, dispassionate, and seemingly authoritative treatment of the Manhattan Project and the decision to drop the bomb, complete with excerpts from Stimson's diary and other documents. It presented the use of the bomb as the "least abhorrent choice" that accomplished its objective of ending the war quickly. Stimson reported that the atomic attacks were authorized in order to avoid an invasion of Japan, which, he said, might have been "expected to cost over a million casualties to American forces alone."[9]

More than any other single publication, Stimson's article influenced popular views about Truman's decision to use the bomb. The information it provided and the respect its author commanded made its arguments seem unassailable. The article received wide circulation and acclaim, and Conant was satisfied that it had fulfilled his objective of effectively countering the complaints of those who criticized the use of the bomb. However, the article, despite the aura of authority it presented, was not a full accounting; it glossed over or omitted important aspects of the events that led to the bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki. It offered only hints of alternatives to the use of the bomb or Stimson's own support for modifying the demand for unconditional surrender. It failed to cite the influence of diplomatic considerations and gave the misleading impression that Truman and his advisers carefully considered whether or not the bomb should be dropped. The most vivid of the article's arguments was that the use of the bomb prevented over 1 million American casualties by making an invasion unnecessary. The source of Stimson's figure is not clear; even Bundy could not recall precisely the basis for the casualty estimate.[10] Stimson was not the first to suggest the figure of 1 million, but after his article appeared, that number, or often an embellished variation of it, became indelibly etched into the mythology of the decision to use the bomb.

On at least one occasion, Truman drew on Stimson's casualty estimate in his own explanation for the use of the bomb. In December 1952, James L. Cate, an editor and author of the U.S. Air Force's history of World War II, wrote to Truman for information on some issues relating to the bomb.

Truman drafted a handwritten reply in which he claimed that during a meeting with advisers at Potsdam in which the use of the bomb was considered, Marshall told him that an invasion would cost a minimum of 250,000 casualties. When a member of the White House staff saw Truman's response to Cate, he recommended that the casualty estimate be raised to conform with the projection of 1 million that Stimson had used in his *Harper's* article. Truman accepted the change and cited the larger number in his reply to Cate. The letter's accuracy was doubtful not only because of the revised casualty figure but also because the meeting at Potsdam that the president mentioned almost certainly never took place. There is no evidence that supports Truman's recollection of the conference he described. But the letter to Cate contributed to the unfounded impression that Truman and his advisers had carefully weighed the decision to drop the bomb and that their action had saved American forces from suffering hundreds of thousands of casualties.[11]

Truman used different numbers at different times when he discussed the estimated losses that the bomb had prevented, and he sometimes obscured the distinction between casualties and fatalities. In his memoirs, published in 1955, he stated that Marshall informed him "it might cost half a million American lives to force the enemy's surrender on his home grounds." In other cases he claimed that the use of the bomb saved 250,000 American lives (1946), a quarter of a million American lives and "an equal number of Japanese young men" (1948), one-half million casualties (1949), "millions of lives" (1959), and the lives of 125,000 Americans and 125,000 "Japanese youngsters" (1963). The casualty estimates that Truman cited were obviously not a fixed number, perhaps because he had never been informed of such high figures before he authorized the dropping of the bomb.[12]

Truman's claims were supported by other leading military and political figures, including Churchill, Marshall, Groves, and Byrnes, who also contended in postwar statements or memoirs that the bomb saved hundreds of thousands of American lives.[13] This explanation for the use of the bomb, advanced by respected high-level officials, came to be accepted as a statement of unqualified fact by most Americans. With few documents open for scholarly research, there was little basis for questioning the claims of policymakers on why they opted for the bomb. As a result, the myth took hold—Truman faced a stark choice between using the bomb or sacrificing the lives of huge numbers of American soldiers.

The first scholarly history of the decision to use the bomb raised some questions about the standard view without undermining its basic premises. In *Japan Subdued: The Atomic Bomb and the End of the War in the Pacific*, published in 1961, former State Department official Herbert Feis concluded that "the impelling reason for the decision to use [the bomb] was military—to end the war victoriously as soon as possible." He accepted the argument that if an invasion had been necessary, it might have cost hundreds of thousands of America lives. But Feis discussed alternatives to the bomb at length, expressed regret that the United States did not give Japan an explicit warning about the pending use of atomic weapons at the time of the Potsdam Proclamation, and agreed with the conclusion of the Strategic Bombing Survey that the war would have ended by the end of 1945 without the bomb, Soviet entry into the war, or an American invasion. And although he supported the claims of hundreds of thousands of American casualties or deaths in an invasion, he admitted that he could not find evidence to confirm those estimates.[14]

In 1965, political economist Gar Alperovitz published a book titled *Atomic Diplomacy*, which was based on his doctoral dissertation. He challenged the traditional explanation more directly and much more critically than Feis had done by suggesting that the bomb had not been needed to end the war at the earliest possible time. Drawing on recently opened sources, especially the papers and diary of Henry L. Stimson, he asserted that the United States dropped it more for political than for military reasons. Alperovitz argued that Truman did not seriously consider alternatives to the bomb because he wanted to impress the Soviets with its power. In his analysis, the bomb was used primarily to intimidate the Soviets rather than to defeat the Japanese. Alperovitz pointed out that many sources were still not available to scholars and clearly stated that his findings could not be regarded as conclusive.[15]

Atomic Diplomacy received a great deal of popular and scholarly attention and triggered a spirited historiographical debate. By the mid-1970s, after the publication of several works that drew on extensive research in primary sources, including important studies by Barton J. Bernstein and Martin J. Sherwin, scholars reached a general consensus that combined the traditional interpretation with Alperovitz's "revisionist" position. They concluded that the primary motivation for dropping the bomb was to end the war with Japan but that diplomatic considerations played a significant, if secondary, role in the Truman administration's view of the new weapon's value.[16]

Over the next 15 years, new evidence relating to the use of the bomb stirred further scholarly investigation and debate. It included a handwritten diary that Truman jotted down at Potsdam and personal letters that he sent to Mrs. Truman. Those documents greatly enriched the record on the president's views of the bomb in the summer of 1945, but they did not provide conclusive evidence on his thoughts about the likelihood that the war would end without an invasion, the need for the bomb, the role of diplomatic considerations in deciding to use the bomb, or the extent to which he weighed those issues. In a similar manner, the opening of personal papers and official records of other high-level policymakers and their staffs in the 1970s and 1980s broadened the documentary base for studying the decision to use the bomb but did not offer definitive answers to questions that had intrigued scholars and sometimes provoked sharp debate among them.

Nevertheless, by the late 1980s, specialists who studied the available evidence reached a broad, though hardly unanimous, consensus on some key issues surrounding the use of the bomb. One point of agreement was that Truman and his advisers were well aware of alternatives to the bomb that seemed likely, but not certain, to end the war within a relatively short time. Another was that an invasion of Japan would probably not have been necessary to achieve victory. A third point of general agreement in the scholarly literature on the decision to use the bomb was that the postwar claims that the bomb prevented hundreds of thousands of American combat deaths could not be sustained with the available evidence. Most students of the subject also concurred that political considerations figured in the deliberations about the implications of the bomb and the end of the war with Japan. On all of those points, the scholarly consensus rejected the traditional view that the bomb was the only alternative to an invasion of Japan that would have cost a huge number of American lives. At the same time, most scholars supported the claim of Truman and his advisers that the primary motivation for dropping atomic bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki was to end the war at the earliest possible moment—that is, for military reasons.[17]

The debates among scholars and the conclusions that they reached about the decision to use the bomb were not widely known to the general public, which from all indications remained wedded to the traditional view that Truman faced a categorical choice between the bomb and an enormously costly invasion. The chasm between the myth that the public embraced and the findings of scholars who examined the documentary evidence led to a

bitter controversy when the Smithsonian Institution's National Air and Space Museum made plans in the early 1990s to present a major exhibit on the bomb and the end of World War II. The show would be built around a section of the restored fuselage of the *Enola Gay*, the plane that dropped the atomic bomb on Hiroshima (the entire plane was too large to display). Museum curators designed an exhibit that was intended both to commemorate the valor and sacrifices of American war veterans and to reflect scholarly findings on the decision to use the bomb. But this proved to be an impossible task. By raising questions about the traditional and popularly accepted interpretation of why the United States dropped the bomb, the original script for the exhibit set off a firestorm of protest.

Critics of the script complained that the planned *Enola Gay* exhibit was unduly disparaging of American actions and unduly sympathetic toward the Japanese. Representatives of the Air Force Association, an organization established after World War II to promote air power that included many veterans among its membership, took the lead in denouncing the script. By distorting or quoting out of context some of the statements in the draft script, the association made the proposed show seem outrageously one-sided. It soon won allies from other veterans' groups, many members of Congress, and most newspapers. The *Wall Street Journal* spoke for many critics of the planned exhibit in August 1994 when it condemned "scriptwriters [who] disdain any belief that the decision to drop the bomb could have been inspired by something other than racism or bloodlust."[18]

The original script had hardly been flawless. Robert C. Post, a curator at the Smithsonian at the time and a keen chronicler of the museum's history, later wrote that it was "needlessly, even recklessly, inflammatory." The Smithsonian responded to the protests by modifying the script, especially by correcting parts that demonstrated a lack of balance. Among other changes, it placed greater emphasis on Japanese atrocities during the war and less emphasis on the victims of the atomic attacks. But it became apparent that the most adamant critics would not find acceptable any script that raised questions about the mythological explanation for the use of the bomb. Historians who defended the script pointed out that a vast volume of historical evidence did not confirm the view that Truman faced a stark choice between the bomb and an invasion, but their arguments made no discernible impact on those who objected to the exhibit.

In early 1995, the Smithsonian bowed to enormous and irresistible political

pressure and drastically scaled back the planned exhibit. It decided to display a section of the *Enola Gay* with a minimum of commentary. The head of the Smithsonian, secretary I. Michael Heyman, announced that the exhibit would just "report the facts." The "facts" that the exhibit reported when it opened in June 1995 were largely innocuous descriptions of the plane and its restoration. But some statements were disputable assertions about the use of the bomb, assertions that were highly interpretive. One label, for example, declared that the use of atomic bombs "made unnecessary the planned invasion of the Japanese home islands" and that "such an invasion would have led to very heavy casualties among American, Allied, and Japanese armed forces, and Japanese civilians." Those statements were not necessarily inaccurate; after all, at the time of Hiroshima the United States was making plans for an invasion in case it proved to be necessary, and "very heavy" U.S. casualties could have referred to the estimates of military planners in the summer of 1945. But the effect of this label on most who read it was probably to reinforce their existing impression that Truman faced a choice between dropping the bomb and ordering an invasion. In the *Enola Gay* exhibit, the myths about the decision to use the bomb prevailed over historical evidence that revealed the complexities of the events and considerations that led to Hiroshima and Nagasaki.[19]

The *Enola Gay* controversy highlighted the gap between scholarly and popular views on the use of the bomb. Over a period of 20 years after the angry recriminations that erupted over the Smithsonian's plans, scholars continued to mine a rich abundance of documentary sources on the subject. Most of them rejected the two polar interpretations of Truman's decision. The flaws of the traditional view that Truman's only reasonable alternative to an invasion was the bomb had long been evident, at least since Herbert Feis had published his book in 1961. The revisionist view that the bomb was unnecessary because Japan was on the verge of surrender has been conclusively undermined by the opening of valuable Japanese materials after Hirohito's death in 1989. "The myth that the Japanese were ready to surrender," historian Max Hastings wrote in 2007, "has been so comprehensively discredited by modern research that it is astonishing some writers continue to give it credence." Most scholars took a balanced, middle-ground position that combined elements of the competing arguments and did not offer support to purists at either pole of the interpretive spectrum.[20]

Despite the broad agreement among specialists on important aspects of the

topic, many of the key issues that divide scholars on the decision to use the bomb cannot be resolved because they are counterfactual. The lack of conclusive evidence that could settle points of dispute is, of course, a problem that faces historians in the study of any subject. But the debate over the decision to use the atomic bomb hinges more than most topics on "might-have-beens" and "never-weres." Those issues involve questions that can be evaluated only with incomplete factual evidence or debatable analysis. The presence of counterfactual issues in the controversies over Hiroshima is not new; the traditional interpretation relied heavily on unprovable assertions about the need for an invasion and the number of casualties it would have caused.

The most important issues that cannot be fully settled because they require speculation and extrapolation from available evidence include (1) how long the war would have continued if the bomb had not been used; (2) how many casualties American forces would have suffered if the bomb had not been dropped; (3) whether an invasion would have been necessary without the use of the bomb; (4) the number of American lives and casualties an invasion would have exacted had it proven necessary; (5) whether Japan would have responded favorably to an American offer to allow the emperor to remain on the throne before Hiroshima, or whether such an offer would have prolonged the war; and (6) whether any of the other alternatives to the use of the bomb would have ended the war as quickly on a basis satisfactory to the United States.

Those questions go to the heart of historiographical disputes among scholars on Truman's decision to use the atomic bomb. They cannot be answered in a way that will be accepted by all scholars or more casual students interested in the topic. The traditional view of the use of the bomb that Stimson and Truman and many others advanced after World War II was appealing in part because it was unambiguous. If Truman had in fact faced a choice between authorizing the bomb and ordering an invasion that would have cost hundreds of thousands of American lives, the decision to use the bomb would have been obvious and, in the minds of most Americans then and later, incontestable. But the existence of evidence that shows a vastly more complex situation introduces ambiguity and controversy into the issue. The best that scholars can do in addressing the issues is to draw conclusions based on sources that help reconstruct the context of events in the summer of 1945.

The question of the morality of Truman's decision, which is often an unstated part of the debate among historians, will likewise remain unresolved. Scholars who have offered moral judgments on Truman's action range widely in their assessments, from arguments that it was entirely justified by Japanese aggression and refusal to surrender to suggestions that the use of the bomb was the moral equivalent of the Nazi Holocaust. No amount of historical evidence will bridge this gap; it arises to a large degree from the differing values, assumptions, priorities, and experiences that individual scholars bring to their work on the subject. The information that historians provide will not settle the moral issues. As historian Charles S. Maier has suggested in a somewhat different context: "Maybe God draws bottom lines; historians need only record the entries in the ledger."[21]

Recording the entries in the ledger accurately requires recognizing the complexities and uncertainties of the issues surrounding the use of the bomb. Within that context, the answer to the fundamental question that has stirred so much debate among scholars is appropriately ambiguous. The question is, Was the bomb necessary? The answer seems to be yes and no. Yes, it was necessary to end the war as quickly as possible. No, it was not necessary to prevent an invasion of Japan.

A corollary to the first question is, What did the bomb accomplish? The answer seems to be that it shortened the war and saved the lives of a relatively small but far from inconsequential number of Americans. It might also have saved many Japanese lives, though this was not an important consideration for U.S. policymakers. Was that sufficient reason to wipe out two Japanese cities with weapons that delivered unprecedented military power and unpredictable diplomatic consequences? There is no definitive answer to that question or to a multitude of others that follow from it. But it still needs to be addressed in an informed way by scholars, students, and other concerned citizens. The decision to use atomic bombs against Japan was such a momentous event in bringing about the end of World War II and in shaping the postwar world that it should continue to be studied, evaluated, and debated. The issue of whether the destruction of Hiroshima and Nagasaki were sound, proper, and justifiable actions must be approached by fully considering the situation facing American and Japanese leaders in the summer of 1945 and by banishing the myths that have taken hold since then.

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