

## CHAPTER XVIII.

LETTER FROM DUTCH GOVERNOR GENERAL OF INDIA ANNOUNCING THE DEATH OF THE JAPANESE EMPEROR.—COMMODORE'S REPLY.—ENUMERATION OF THE SEVERAL SUBJECTS IN VIEW.—PROSPECTS OF THEIR ATTAINMENT BY THE MISSION.—OFFICERS AND MEN LEFT IN LEW CHEN.—ARRIVAL OF THE SARATOGA.—RUN TO YEDO BAY.—OHU-SIMA.—ELEOPATRA ISLES.—MOJAKO-SIMA.—ALL BELONG TO LEW CHEN GROUP.—ENTRANCE OF GULF ON OUTER BAY OF YEDO.—JAPANESE CHARTS OF LITTLE VALUE, MADE FOR BERE CRUISING.—WINTRY ASPECT OF JAPAN.—MACEDONIAN APPROACH.—HALLED OFF BY THE MISSISSIPPI.—FRIENDLY OFFERS OF THE JAPANESE TO ASSIST THE MACEDONIAN.—HEADQUARTERS PROCEED TO THE BAY AND ANCHORS AT THE "AMERICAN ANCHORAGE."—JAPANESE OFFICIALS COME ABOARD.—RECEIVED BY CAPTAIN ADAMS ON THE POWHATAN, PURSUANT TO THE COMMODORE'S ORDERS.—THEY ATTEMPT TO PREVAIL ON THE COMMODORE TO RETURN TO URAGA, STATING THAT THE HIGH JAPANESE FUSIONARIES WERE THERE AWAITING HIS ARRIVAL, BY APPOINTMENT OF THE EMPEROR.—COMMODORE DECLINES ON ACCOUNT OF SAFETY OF THE SHIP.—VINT ON THE NEXT DAY FROM THE OFFICIALS, WHO REITERATE THEIR REQUEST, WITH AN ASSURANCE THAT THE COMMISSIONERS WERE ORDERED TO RECEIVE THE COMMODORE AT URAGA WITH DISTINGUISHED CONSIDERATION.—COMMODORE AGAIN DECLINES.—JAPANESE ASK THAT AN OFFICER MAY BE SENT TO URAGA TO CONFER WITH THE COMMISSIONERS AS TO A PLACE OF MEETING.—COMMODORE CONSENTS THAT CAPTAIN ADAMS MAY HOLD SUCH A CONFERENCE, BUT THAT THE COMMISSIONERS MUST COME THEMSELVES TO HOLD IT.—JAPANESE BECOME ALARMED AS TO THE FRIENDLY FEELINGS OF THE AMERICANS.—THEIR FEARS ALLAYED.—SURVEY OF THE BAY RESUMED WITHOUT INTERRUPTION BY THE JAPANESE.—ONE BOAT FORBIDDEN BY THE COMMODORE TO LAND.—JAPANESE PERSIST FOR SEVERAL DAYS IN DESIRING THE COMMODORE TO GO TO URAGA WITH THE SHIP.—COMMODORE UNFLEXIBLY REFUSES.—AT LENGTH THE JAPANESE ARE INFORMED THAT THE COMMODORE WILL ALLOW CAPTAIN ADAMS TO MEET A COMMISSIONER ON SHORE NEAR THE SHIP, SO THAT HE WILL PROCEED OF THE BAY TO YEDO.—NOTE FROM THE COMMISSIONERS TO THE COMMODORE.—HIS REPLY.—CAPTAIN ADAMS SENT DOWN TO URAGA TO COMMUNICATE TO THE COMMISSIONERS THE COMMODORE'S REASONS FOR DECLINING TO TAKE THE SHIP TO URAGA.—SOME OF THE JAPANESE ACCOMPANY HIM IN THE SANDALIA.—INTERVIEW OF CAPTAIN ADAMS WITH THE COMMISSIONERS AT URAGA.—REJECTION OF THE EMPEROR.—SANDALIA RETURNS, AND PERCHES AHEAD THE SQUADRON STANDING UP THE BAY TOWARD YEDO.—THE JAPANESE NO LONGER TRUST GOING TO URAGA, BUT DECIDE TO PROCEED YOKO-HAMA, WHERE THE SHIP THEN WENT, ABOUT EIGHT MILES FROM YEDO.—COMMODORE IMMEDIATELY ASSENTS.—BUILDINGS CONSTRUCTED AT YOKO-HAMA.—A JAPANESE SEAMAN IN THE SQUADRON SENDS A LETTER TO HIS FAMILY SHORE, OF YERAIMAN.—SEAMAN DENIES AN INTERVIEW WITH HIM.—THE INTERVIEW.—CEREMONIALS SETTLED AS TO THE CONFERENCE ON SHORE FOR NEGOTIATION.



President's letter for the present. The Japanese authorities accordingly had, as was stated by the governor general, repeatedly requested the superintendent of the Dutch factory at Nagasaki

to express the wish of the government of Japan that the American squadron would not return to the Bay of Yedo at the time fixed by Commodore Perry, lest his presence might create confusion. The Commodore answered the communication of the governor general of Dutch India with the usual formal expression of regret at the event of the Emperor's death, and added that he hoped the present rulers of Japan were so well satisfied of the intentions of the President of the United States, as stated in his letter, that they would not be disposed to throw any serious obstacles in the way of accomplishing friendly relations between the American nation and the Japanese.\*

The Commodore had previously heard, through the officers of the Russian squadron, of the reported death of the Emperor of Japan, and that similar reasons to those set forth in the communication of the Dutch governor general had been assigned to the Russian admiral for not

\* [Translation.]

BATAVIA, December 23, 1853.

Mr. Commodore: The Dutch ship "Houdrika," master Admiral, which sailed for Japan in July last, has returned to Batavia on the 15th instant.

She brings intelligence from the superintendent of our factory there, up to November 15, 1853, and information of the death of the Emperor of Japan, soon after receiving the letter of the President of the United States.

The Japanese government has requested the Dutch superintendent to communicate to the American government: That this event, according to Japanese laws and customs, makes necessary the performance of many and confusing ceremonies of mourning, and extensive arrangements with respect to the succession to the throne: that during the period of mourning no business of any importance can be transacted; that the letter of the President of the United States can only be taken into deliberation when the time of mourning is over; that previous thereto, the opinions upon the subject have to be obtained from all the governors (bards) in Japan; that for that purpose the governors have to repair to Yedo in succession, (soon after the other;) that all that will take much time.

The Japanese authorities have repeatedly requested the superintendent of our factory that he would inform the American government of the wish of the Japanese government not to let the American squadron return to Japan at the time fixed upon by your excellency, for fear that under the circumstances created by the decease of the Emperor, and from the several and unavoidable conferences with the Japanese authorities, and of those authorities among themselves, the American squadron might create less, (confusion,) as the Japanese authorities express themselves.

I believe it not necessary to go beyond informing your excellency of this wish of the Japanese government, to be filed with my letter of September 22, 1853, (No. 134.)

With great respect, I have the honor to be, your excellency's obedient servant,

DUYMAER VAN TWIST,  
Governor General of the Netherlands, India.

By order of his excellency the governor general:

A. PRINS, Chief Secretary

His Excellency Commodore PERRY,  
Commandant of the United States squadron, destined for Japan.

UNITED STATES STEAM FREGATE SOMERSETHAMMA,  
Nipha, Luzon, January 23, 1854.

Sir: I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of the letter of your excellency of the 23d ultimo, informing me of a communication you had received from the superintendent of the factory at Batavia, announcing the death of the Emperor of Japan, and detailing the consequences that would result from this event in retarding the progress of the mission with which I have been charged.

Allow me to thank your excellency for the trouble you have taken in conveying to me this sad intelligence. I trust, however, that the present rulers of Japan have become so well satisfied of the intentions of the President in suggesting the propositions which I have had the honor of presenting, that they will not be disposed to throw any serious obstacles in the way of a friendly understanding between the two nations.

With great respect, I have the honor to be, your most obedient servant,

M. C. PERRY,

Commander-in-Chief United States naval force, East Indies, China, and Japan Seas.

His Excellency DUYMAER VAN TWIST,  
Governor General of the Netherlands, India.

replying to the letter from his sovereign, which had been sent to Yedo from Nagasaki. The Commodore was disposed to suspect, at first, as nothing had been said of the illness of the Emperor of Japan during the first visit to the Bay of Yedo, and as so short an interval had elapsed since then, that the statement of the death of the Emperor was a mere ruse to obstruct the American negotiations.

And even granting that the Emperor was dead, (which was proved subsequently to be the fact,) there seemed to be no reason for the delay in public business. The laws of China require the eldest son of the highest classes to abstain from pleasure, company, or business, for seven weeks in the event of the death of an Emperor, but the successor to the imperial throne assumes the government immediately, and public business is never interrupted. A similar custom was inferred to prevail in Japan, as none of the books describing the manners and customs of that Empire allude to any different practice on such an occasion.

The Commodore was not, however, to be deterred from the prosecution of his plans by any unfavorable intelligence which those who might be disposed to obstruct them so carefully acquainted him with.

It is well to enumerate here, while the Commodore is on his way to Japan, the leading objects of his mission. He was to demand explanations of the Japanese government respecting its treatment of American citizens who had been accidentally thrown upon its shores, and to make declaration that the United States government will no longer tolerate such acts; to endeavor to obtain, at least, the opening of one or more Japanese ports to American vessels; and to negotiate, if possible, a treaty with the Empire upon a basis just and equitable, and if a general treaty could not be made, to make the best that was attainable for trade. Of course, there was much uncertainty in regard to the successful issue of the mission in this respect, and the Commodore was resolved to do all in his power by firmly insisting upon what was due to the United States, and discreetly urging the establishment of those relations which seemed desirable for the interests of his country. There would be little difficulty, he thought, in bringing about suitable explanations and apologies, with assurances of kind treatment to all strangers who should thereafter fall into the hands of the Japanese, as also a friendly reception and necessary supplies to whaling ships anchoring in the ports of the empire. These results alone, it was believed, would repay the United States government for all the expenses of the expedition. With respect to the accomplishment of the other objects there was some doubt, unless force should be resorted to. This, however, was an alternative that could only be justified by some overt act of wrong or insult on the part of the Japanese government, and, of course, was not contemplated. The Commodore, though he felt confident that the purpose of his mission as regards the demanding of redress for ill-treatment of American citizens would be easily accomplished, nevertheless had made provision against any failure. He had arranged, provided the Japanese government refused to negotiate, or to assign a port of resort for our merchant or whaling ships, to take under surveillance of the American flag the island of Great Lew Chew, a dependency of the Empire of Japan. This, if necessary, was to be done on the ground of reclamation for insults and injuries well known to have been committed upon American citizens. Previously to leaving Naha, Commodore Perry accordingly issued a proclamation to the effect that as a question was pending between the United States and Japan touching certain demands upon the Japanese government, and as it was deemed essential to the security of the just claims of the United States to assume, during the pending negotiations, limited authority on the island of Great Lew

Chew, he had, therefore, detached from the squadron two master's mates and about fifteen men to look after the United States government property and other interests during his absence.

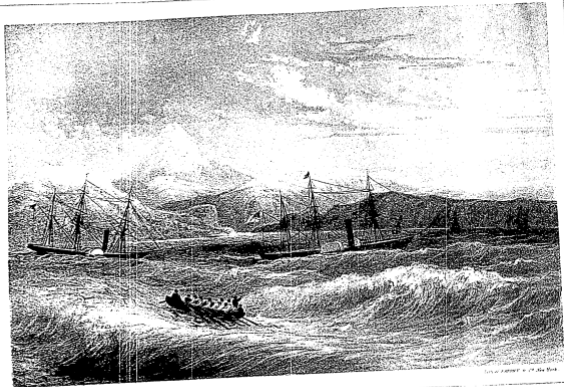
These were merely measures of precaution, which seemed justified by the wily policy of the Japanese, which forbade any confident reliance upon its justice, and by the probability of the Russians, French, or English, in their eagerness to anticipate the Americans, stepping in before them and seizing a dependency like Lew Chew, which might so greatly further their purposes in regard to Japan. It was not proposed by the Commodore to take Lew Chew, or claim it as a territory conquered by, and belonging to, the United States, nor to molest or interfere in any way with the authorities or people of the island, or to use any force, except in self defence. In fact, there was not likely to be any occasion for violence, as the Americans already possessed all necessary influence in Lew Chew, which had been acquired by kindness and non-interference with the laws and customs of the island.

The arrival of the *Saratoga* from Shanghai had been expected for some days previous to the Commodore's departure from Naples, and, as she had not arrived before his setting out, it was thought probable that the squadron would fall in with her outside the harbor. Accordingly, the steamers' course was directed to the westward of Lew Chew, in view of intercepting the track of the *Saratoga*, and it so happened that the steamers had scarcely cleared the harbor when a sail was discovered standing toward the island, which, on approaching nearer, was ascertained, by signal, to be the long looked-for ship. Captain Walker, who was in command of the *Saratoga*, soon came on board the *Susquehanna*, and received orders to proceed direct to the American anchorage in Yoddo bay. Upon his return to his ship, after sending some live stock brought from Shanghai for the squadron, and three packages containing presents for the Japanese authorities, he bore away with the intention of taking the passage east of Lew Chew.

The passage of the steamers, until the islands lying at the entrance of the great Bay of Yedo were made, was pleasant and by no means protracted. The northern group of the Lew Chew chain, composed of the islands of Oho-sima, or as the Chinese call it Ta-tuo, Tok-sima, Raton-sima, and Kikai-sima, were passed in full view. There was an opportunity, which was improved, of establishing with some accuracy the positions of several of the headlands on the western side of Oho-sima and the islets named by Captain Guerin, of the French corvette *Sabine*, Cleopatra islands. In passing these islands, Commodore Perry was reminded of an order he had received from the Secretary of the Navy to investigate, and report upon, a question touching the original discovery of Oho-sima, by Commander Glynn, in February, 1816, being at the time in command of the United States sloop-of-war *Preble*. A diligent investigation was accordingly made, and the results embodied in a communication to the Navy Department. The island represented to have been seen in June, 1819, and described in Commander Glynn's letter to Commodore Jones, dated February 21, 1850, as bearing in a southerly direction from the *Preble*, and as a new discovery, is called in the Japanese charts, Oho-sima, and by the Chinese, Ta-tuo. The islets stated to have been discovered at the same time, and described as bearing north-northwest, were examined, in 1816, by Captain Guerin, of the *Sabine*, and named by him "Cleopatra Isles." The latter, as well as others lying contiguous to Oho-sima, were distinctly seen from the decks of the several ships of the squadron, during the present voyage, on February 8, 1854. Sketches of the islands were taken, and their positions established by cross bearings taken from the steamer *Susquehanna*, at noon, after good observations. The results were as follows:

South end of Cleopatra Isles, latitude  $28^{\circ} 48' N.$ , longitude  $128^{\circ} 59' 30'' E.$

North end of Oho-sima, latitude  $28^{\circ} 29' N.$ , longitude  $129^{\circ} 30' E.$



THE SAILORS' STRUGGLE WITH THE WIND

THE SAILORS' STRUGGLE WITH THE WIND

Oho-sima is the principal of what may be called the northern group of the Lew Chew chain, which, in connexion with the Mijako-sima, and other islands commencing with the Cleopatra, extend from near the north end of Formosa to Kiusiu, the southwestern extremity of Japan proper. The three groups of Mijako-sima, Great Lew Chew, or Okinawa-sima, and Oho-sima, should be denominated the southern, middle, and northern Lew Chew islands, the central government being established at the city of Shui, in the island of Great Lew Chew. Of the people and government of these islands little is known, but it is presumed that they are all subject to an intermediate sovereignty between Lew Chew and the Empire of Japan, or possibly the Japanese prince of Satsuma. This potentate is stated by Von Siebold to receive about 2,240,000 guilders, or nearly \$900,000, annually, from the Lew Chew islands. Oho-sima is in circumference nearly one hundred and fifty English miles, and bears in its external aspect, with its mountains and richly verdant valleys, a considerable resemblance to Great Lew Chew. It is represented by various writers to be thickly populated, having all the advantages of cities, towns, villages, and commodious ports. It is surprising that it has never hitherto been visited by any Christian voyager.

The Mijako-sima islands have been more than once visited by foreign vessels, and during the progress of the Japan expedition, by the *Saratoga*, whose officers described the inhabitants as being in language, manners, customs, and appearance, almost identical with the people of Lew Chew. And it is reasonable to infer that this, in common with the other inhabited islands of the chain, has been peopled for many hundreds of years. The Mijako-sima group was ascertained to be governed by officers appointed by the king and council of Great Lew Chew, who are frequently changed, in conformity with the policy practised throughout Japan and its dependencies.

The Cleopatra islands are only two in number, lying in close proximity to each other, and are small and uninhabited. They are cone-shaped, and evidently of volcanic origin, the craters being clearly visible, the larger one of which has been estimated at 1,650 feet in height. The geographical position of all this chain of islands, extending from Formosa to Japan proper, would seem to be so arranged as to suit the convenience of the commerce of the unskilful Japanese navigators, who sail in their frail open-sterned vessels from island to island, always being careful to have a port under their lee, into which to escape on the least approach of foul weather.

On entering, upon the 11th of February, the outer Bay of Yedo, or as it may be more suitably termed, the Gulf of Yedo, including the space embraced between Cape Nagatsuro on the west, Cape Serafuma or Cape King on the east, and Wodawara, Kamakura, and Cape Sagami on the north, the steamers encountered a severe blow from the northward and eastward. They were kept, however, during the night, under the lee of Oho-sima, (i. e. Great Island,) and thus avoided the greatest violence of the gale. On the previous afternoon a cluster of three dangerous rocks, showing above the surface of the sea from ten to twenty feet, were passed quite near. These were supposed to be what are called on the charts the Broughton Rocks; and if they were, their position is evidently very erroneously laid down, and if they were not, they have escaped the observation of previous European and American navigators. That those rocks should have been hitherto unnoticed would not be at all remarkable, for few ships have ever visited the southern and eastern coasts of Japan, and it is not reasonable to expect that the very imperfect charts which have been compiled from the meagre information furnished by Broughton,

Gore, King, Krusenstern, and the three or four American and English vessels which have visited the coast within a few years back, should be in any manner correct.

It is true that the Japanese have constructed charts, but they are on a plan peculiar to themselves, and of little benefit to the bold navigators, with their large vessels, of Europe and America. The Japanese charts, without meridian or scale, and totally destitute of any record of soundings, are hardly of any use, except in their own timid navigation. The Japanese never venture, if they can possibly avoid it, beyond sight of land, and always seize upon favorable seasons, weather, and winds, for making their longest runs. Their junks skirt the coasts by touching the land here and there, and going from island to island, and seldom make a run of a longer duration than twenty-four hours. The largest Japanese junks seen did not draw more than eight feet of water, and, as has just been remarked, they run from port to port, invariably seeking shelter on occasions of adverse winds or appearances of bad weather. The pilots, familiar with every rock upon the coast, need no charts, and conduct their vessels, in accordance with their cautious navigation, with general safety. Every harbor, however small, is furnished with conveniences for securing the Japanese craft, holes being artificially made through the angles of the rocks for passing the cables, and where this is not practicable, upright pillars or posts are hewn or morticed in the stone, and all chafings of the moorings provided against by a careful rounding and smoothing of the neighboring projections or detached parts.

On the morning of the 12th of February the weather became more settled, and the steamers stood up the bay. The outlines of the land were recognized from the familiarity of the previous visit, but a change had come over the face of the landscape, in consequence of the difference of season. The lofty summit of Fusi-Yama was distinctly visible as before, but was now completely clothed in its winter garb of snow. The rich verdure of the surrounding land had lost its cheerful summer aspect, and looked withered, bleak and sombre. The rising uplands were no longer reposing in their beds of green, shaded from a summer's sun beneath spreading groves, but were bare and desolate, while the distant mountains stood chill in their snory drapery and frowned upon the landscape. The weather was cold and blustering. As the steamers approached the land, two vessels were observed close in and apparently at anchor. On approaching them it was discovered that they were the Macedonian and Vandalin. The latter had a signal displayed announcing that the Macedonian was aground. It was soon ascertained that Captain Abbott, on the day previous, had mistaken the indentation in the coast within which his ship was aground for the entrance to the passage to Uraga and Yedo. He had, accordingly, on venturing too near the shore, grounded his vessel on a ledge of rocks, not, of course, laid down upon the imperial chart which he had; said chart being nothing more than a copy of one of Von Siebold's maps, which had been copied from the Japanese authorities, with a few notes upon it, made during the first visit of the squadron to the Bay of Yedo. Captain Abbott, finding his ship in this dilemma, adopted the usual means of getting her afloat by starting the water, making her guns ready for throwing overboard, and actually throwing over the side many miscellaneous articles. Commander Pope of the Vandalin, at that time in company, immediately anchored and sent his boats to the assistance of his consort the Macedonian.

The fortunate arrival of Commodore Perry with his three steamers at once gave assurance of effectual aid. Commander Lee of the Mississippi was accordingly ordered to approach with his steamer as near as he could safely venture to the ship on shore, and run a couple of hawsers to her with the view of hauling her off by the power of steam. This duty he executed with his

usual promptitude and judgment, and before night the Macedonian was towed into a safe anchorage. Meanwhile the other vessels were brought to anchor for the night, having been joined on the same afternoon by the Lexington, which, it will be recollected, sailed from Napha in company with the Macedonian and Vandalia. In the course of the night a boat came alongside the Commodore's flag-ship, having been dispatched by Lieutenant Commanding Boyle of the Southampton, which vessel, another of Captain Abbott's division, had arrived the day before at the American anchorage in the Bay of Yedo.

Lieutenant Boyle had received information from the Japanese authorities that two ships had arrived off Kama-kura, and that one of them was ashore, and very promptly and properly dispatched the launch of the Southampton, with two officers and a suitable crew, to render all practicable assistance.

The friendly disposition of the Japanese toward the Americans was handsomely illustrated by their offers of assistance as soon as the Macedonian was observed ashore. Such, too, was their courteous and scrupulous regard for the interests and property of their visitors, that they actually took the trouble of sending to the squadron, then at a distance of twenty miles, a hog-head of bituminous coal, which had been thrown overboard on lightening the ship, and subsequently washed ashore.

Next morning (February 13) after the Macedonian had been relieved from her hazardous position, in the light of Kawtsu, near Kama-kura, the whole squadron moved up the Bay of Yedo, sailing in a line ahead, the Lexington, Vandalia, and Macedonian being in tow respectively of the Susquehanna, Powhatan, and Mississippi. With the experience of navigation acquired during the previous visit, there was no occasion for the ships to feel their way, but they passed along the magnificent bay with confidence, bringing into view at each turn various points of the land on either side, which had now the aspect of familiar ground.

The precipitous coasts of Sagami rose bleakly in the winter atmosphere on the left, while far inland could be seen the lofty ranges of the mountains covered with snow, and the high peak of Fusi-Yama, about the lofty summit of which the clouds were scudding in reckless succession. There was the distant coast of Awa, some twelve miles away on the opposite side, and along the shores everywhere were the numberless villages and towns, though snugly reposing under the cover of the high land which rose behind them, yet looking desolate and exposed, in comparison with their former aspect of rural comfort when nestling in the full-leaved groves of summer. Abroast was the town of Gorihama, the scene of the delivery of the President's letter, and in front extended out from the land the promontory of Uruga, with its harmless forts, and as the ships doubled it and came abreast the city, numerous government boats, with their athletic oarsmen sculling vigorously, and their little striped flags fluttering in the wind, pushed off to intercept the squadron, as on the previous visit. The Japanese officials, however, who had risen from their places midships, and seemed to be directing their boats towards the squadron, were warned off, and the strangers moved majestically on, with their train of formidable men-of-war, without altering their course a line, or lingering a moment in their speed until they reached the anchorage, at three o'clock in the afternoon, (February 13.) The government boats were left in the distance, but were seen sculling rapidly along and following in the wake of the squadron.

The position in which the three steamers and the four ships, including the Southampton, which had preceded the squadron, had anchored was named, in the previous visit, the "American

anchorage." It is within the bight embraced within two bold headlands, about twelve miles distant from each other, on the western side of the Bay of Yedo. The anchorage was about twelve miles beyond the town of Uraga, and about twenty miles from the capital city of Yedo. The island which had been called Perry's, and which presented such a picturesque aspect during the summer with its pleasant groves, was seen as the squadron passed up, and the fort which covered its summit could be more distinctly traced through the trees, which had been stripped of their foliage by the frost and winds of winter.

The villages of Otsu and Torigasaki, no longer embowered in green growth, stood out from the land a mile or so distant, in all the sharpness of outline and staring surface of their peak-roofed and boarded houses. The anchorage, though protected by the bounding headlands and the carved shore, had less of that sheltered look which it had previously presented.

The squadron had hardly come to anchor when two of the government boats, which had followed rapidly in the wake of the ships, came alongside the *Susquehanna*. The Japanese officials requested to be admitted on board, but as the Commodore had caused the extra or captain's cabin to be removed from the steamer *Susquehanna* to the *Powhatan*, in view of changing his flag to that ship preparatory to the return of the former to Chian, and as in accordance with the system of exclusiveness which it was thought politic still to continue, the Commodore could not admit them, as they were of subordinate authority, into his own cabin, he directed Captain Adams to receive the officials on board the *Powhatan*.

Captain Adams, having been charged by the Commodore with precise and special instructions to hear all the Japanese had to say, but to give them no unnecessary information, nor to promise anything, proceeded to the steamer *Powhatan*, accompanied by the interpreters, Messrs. Williams and Portman, and the Commodore's secretary, Mr. Perry.

The government boats followed and the Japanese deputation came on board the *Powhatan*. It consisted of a high dignitary, who was announced as Kuri-kawa-lahie, the two interpreters who had formerly officiated, three grey-robed individuals, who seemed to be making excellent use of their eyes, and turned out to be *meisic decontinger*, literally cross-eyed persons, or those who look in all directions, in other words spies or reporters. They were all received with one ceremony and ushered into the cabin, where the object of their visit was set forth at length. Some preliminary conversation took place, in the course of which inquiries having been made about Yezaiman, the governor of Uraga, who had taken so prominent a part in the negotiations on the previous visit, the Japanese stated that that dignitary was unwell, but would probably soon pay his respects to the Commodore. Questions were also asked and answered in regard to the ships, their number, names, and those that were to come. The usual compliments, of which the Japanese officials seemed never weary or forgetful, having passed, they stated that their business was to endeavor to induce the Commodore to return to Uraga, where, they said, there were two high Japanese officials, in waiting, and that more were expected, who had been appointed by the Emperor to meet and treat with the Americans. Captain Adams replied that the Commodore would not consent to go to Uraga. And upon the Japanese rejoining that the Emperor had appointed that town for the place of negotiation, and that it could, in consequence, be nowhere else, he was told by Captain Adams that the Commodore was willing to meet the commissioners on shore, opposite the present anchorage of the squadron; but if the Japanese government would not consent to that, the Commodore would move his ships higher up the bay, even, if it should be deemed necessary, to Yedo itself. The interview was conducted in the most

courteous and friendly manner, and after the business was over, the Japanese partook of some refreshments and entered cheerfully into a general conversation.

The Japanese now took their leave, and although they had been impressed with the resolute bearing of the Americans, departed with their usual good humor and polite expressions of friendly feeling.

The next day the Japanese officials came off again to the Powhatan, and were received as before by Captain Adams, under instructions from the Commodore.

The Japanese reiterated their assurances of the friendly disposition of the Emperor, who had given orders, as they said, that the Americans should be treated with the greatest consideration. The commissioners, they declared, would be ready to receive the Commodore in a few days, and upon being asked in what place, they answered at Kama-kura. As Uruga had been specified on the previous day, Captain Adams, with some surprise, demanded how it was that the place had become so suddenly changed. The Japanese, with their usual imperturbable manner, which is schooled to cunning and deceit, promptly answered, without the least mark of emotion or evidence of discomposure, that the Emperor had named both places, so that if the Commodore should not be satisfied with the one, he might perchance with the other.

Kama-kura is a town situated in the outer Bay of Yedo, about twenty miles below Uruga, at the place where the Macedonian had grounded. As the Commodore had had an opportunity when anchored off Kama-kura, while engaged in the extrication of the Macedonian from her perilous position, of seeing enough of that place to satisfy him that it would be absurd to take the ships there, and as he suspected some artful design on the part of the Japanese, when informed that Kama-kura had been specified, he directed Captain Adams to say that it was altogether unsuitable. Captain Adams then conveyed this information to the Japanese, with the statement that neither Uruga nor Kama-kura were proper places, as they were so distant and so insecure as harbors, and that some other locality must be selected. The Japanese then proposed that Captain Adams should go down to Uruga and confer with the high officer there about the place of meeting, when they were told that it would be necessary to receive the instructions of the Commodore before a reply could be given on that point.

The Commodore's secretary, who was present at the interview, was then dispatched to the *Susquehanna*. The secretary soon returned with the answer that the Commodore would neither go to Uruga, nor allow any of his officers to do so, but that Captain Adams would be permitted to meet any of the high Japanese dignitaries on the shore, near the anchorage of the squadron, to confer upon the subject of a proper place of meeting, but that it was an essential condition of the Commodore's consent that the place should not be remote from his present position.

The Japanese officials, notwithstanding the very explicit answer, which was duly conveyed in Dutch by Mr. Portman to Tatsnoske, (who, as on the first visit, was one of the attendant interpreters,) and by him interpreted to his superiors, still pertinaciously clung to their original proposition, and urged the necessity of making Uruga the place of meeting. As they still persisted in their wearisome efforts to carry their point, Captain Adams cut the matter short by telling them to put in writing their objections to holding the interview in the neighborhood of the American anchorage, to which the Japanese assented, on the condition that Captain Adams would answer a written question which they were about to ask. This being granted, Toksura, the second interpreter, having conferred for a moment with his superiors, wrote down in Dutch the proposed question, which was translated by the American interpreter, Mr. Portman: "As

the President's letter was received at Gorohama, near Uraga, why are you not willing to receive the answer there?" Captain Adams answered that he did not know precisely all the Commodore's reasons, but the principal one was that the anchorage was very unsafe.

The Japanese now seemed somewhat troubled, as if they feared that the Americans were disposed to assume a hostile attitude, and asked, with some anxiety, whether the Commodore was actuated by the same friendly feelings as the Japanese government. Captain Adams did all in his power to reassure them, and declared that the Americans were actuated by no other motives than those of friendship, and that their greatest desire was to be in relations of peace and amity with Japan, and that their chief object in refusing their assent to the Japanese propositions was the fear of endangering the lives of the officers and crews and the safety of the ships by resorting to an insecure place. The Japanese reiterated, several times, that a high officer would come to arrange all business with the Commodore, but that he could not arrive for several days. Upon its being proposed that he should come on board the ships, the Japanese declared that that was quite impossible; and then Captain A. suggested that, as it was the custom to transact all public business at the metropolis, the Commodore should go to Yedo. The last suggestion was opposed by the very emphatic remark: "You cannot be received at Yedo."

The Japanese now requested that the boats of the squadron should be prohibited from landing or surveying the harbor, and were told that could not be promised, but that the Commodore should be informal of the request. After the usual refreshments—tea, wine, cakes, and cigars—of which the Japanese always freely partook, and the ordinary interchange of compliments, they prepared to take their departure, saying, as they left, that it would take some six or seven days before they could bring any decision from the high officer in regard to the place of meeting, but promising the earliest dispatch.

A surveying party had been organized on the second day of the arrival of the squadron, under the command of Lieutenant Maury, and ordered to commence operations, which were effectively carried out. There were no positive interruptions on the part of the Japanese authorities, but they evidently looked upon the proceeding with jealous anxiety; and that the subject was uppermost in their mind is clear, from the constant allusion to it in their various conferences with the American officers. The Commodore, however, fully alive to the importance of thoroughly surveying the bay, not only for the convenience of the immediate purposes of the expedition but for the future interests of the United States, and, we may add, those of the whole civilized world, was resolved to omit no opportunity of obtaining a thorough knowledge of the navigation of the bay, and thus complete the hydrographical reports and charts, which are now among the by no means least valuable results of the expedition. The surveying boats were accordingly kept busy day after day, and the protestations of the Japanese authorities, though courteously listened to, were always met with the assertion of the resolute determination of the Commodore to prosecute what he believed so essential to the full development of the objects of his mission. It was now the fourteenth of February, a day which was recorded in the logs as cold and blustering, but with an atmosphere perfectly clear. The land just off the ships, the promontories to the north and south, and the opposite shore, showed a clear and distinct wintry aspect, and the view could be readily extended for a circuit of many miles, far back to the snowy summits of the mountains, which traced their irregular outlines upon the cold grey sky.

Notwithstanding that the Japanese officials had declared that it would require several days before they could bring any answer to the Commodore's protest against moving his squadron

to Uraga, they came on-board the Powhatan early the next morning, (February 15.) Commodore Perry had suffered since his arrival from a severe indisposition, of which the Japanese had heard, and they now made their visit to inquire, as they said, after the \*Admiral's health. They also stated that they had been instructed to lay off the squadron with their boats, in case the Americans had anything to communicate, or desired any supplies. They made an offer to bring off wood, water, or anything else the ships might require; when they were told that nothing was wanted at present, but perhaps some fish, eggs, and vegetables might be acceptable in a few days, and that they would be received provided payment should be taken for them. The Japanese then replied that their proposed supplies were intended as presents, and that they had no authority to receive money for them. They seemed to be very fearful lest some of the boats should land, but they were assured that they would not be allowed to do so. Captain Adams, in the course of the conversation, alluded to the report of the death of the Emperor, but was not very explicit in his question, as there seemed to be some doubt of its truth. He merely stated that when the squadron had sailed for Japan he had heard that a high dignitary had died, and asked whether it was true. To which the Japanese answered, "Yes, a very high man died lately." Captain A.—"What was his rank?" Japanese official.—"He was a prince." It was thus a matter of the greatest difficulty to get at the truth, the Japanese being as indirect and evasive as possible in regard to the simplest matter of fact.

The Japanese dignitaries repeated their official visits day after day, sailing up in their boats from the long distance of Uraga, and consumed the time with offering the most puerile pretexes for coming, and the length of their negotiations. Now they would express the greatest solicitude about the Commodore's health, and showed their courtesy by bringing him presents of bon-bons and confectionary; again they would offer provisions and other supplies; at another time they would enter into explanations about the Americans going ashore, and on one occasion they brought with them a dozen or more metal buttons which had been thrown into their boats, and which they returned with the most formal ceremony. They always recurred, however, to the question of the vessels going to Uraga, and never ceased persisting in their pertinacious solicitations that the Commodore would remove his squadron there, notwithstanding the direct and resolute refusal with which they were invariably opposed. On their visit on the 18th of February they announced that the high officer had arrived at Uraga, and that they had been sent to request the Commodore to meet him there. Upon being told that it was impossible for the Commodore to go to Uraga, Captain Adams then handed them the following document from the Commodore:

U. S. UNITED STATES STEAM-FREGATE POWHATAN,

U. S. American Anchorage, Yedo Bay, February 18, 1854.

"The Commodore expects to be received at Yedo, agreeably to the customs of all countries.

"In consideration of the size of our ships, and their great value, he cannot return to the anchorage at Uraga, nor even remain at this place much longer, but will have to go higher up the bay towards Yedo, where the vessels can be more secure.

"If the great man (chief commissioner) will appoint an officer of proper rank to meet Captain Adams on shore, near where the ships are now lying, to determine when and where the interview with the Commodore shall take place, he must let us know by noon of Tuesday next.

\* The Japanese officials always spoke of the Commodore as the Admiral, not being acquainted with the former title.

"The Commodore will be happy to place a ship at the disposal of the great man, to bring him up to the place of interview, and take him back again to Uraga, if he wishes it.

"When the officer comes to meet Captain Adams, he had better bring a letter to show that he has proper authority, and a person must be sent to conduct Captain Adams to the place of meeting."

The Japanese received the dispatch from the Commodore without any attempt to discuss it, and bore it away with them, with the intention of consulting, doubtless, with others higher in authority. As they rose to depart, they asked if the Commodore had received a letter, through the Dutch at Nagasaki, which had been sent to him the previous year by the government of Japan. Captain Adams, as he had not been authorized to make any revelations on the subject, answered he had no authority to speak on the subject. They then took their departure.

It was on this day (February 18th) that the Commodore transferred his broad pennant to the *Powhatan*. The surveying boats, as usual, were busily occupied on duty, but had changed their scene of operations further toward Yedo. The *Southampton* followed in their wake, in order to facilitate the work of the surveyors, who had hitherto lost much time by being obliged to return, after a day's labor, a great distance to the squadron. The surveying party was now, by being immediately followed by a ship, enabled to go on board of her at night, without losing time, which it was necessary to economise, in order fully to complete the extensive observations they had in view.

The next day was Sunday, (February 19th,) but the Japanese officials, notwithstanding, came on board the *Powhatan* as usual. They were told that it was a day set apart by the Americans as their Sabbath, but that if they had anything to say, they would be listened to, in consideration of the long distance and inclement weather through which they had come. They brought with them a large quantity of vegetables, oranges, fowls, eggs, and various sweetened confections, which they courteously offered as a present to the Commodore, with a kind inquiry after his health. These were received upon their expressing a willingness to receive something in return, and they accordingly were presented with some ship's bread and a box of tea; the Japanese remarked, as they received them, they had given entables only, and that it was a Japanese custom to receive entables only in return. Upon being asked whether the Commodore's propositions had been laid before the high officer, the officials replied that they had, and that he desired to confer about the President's letter at Uraga. The Commodore's objections against going to Uraga were again resolutely pressed, but the Japanese merely answered, that that place had been selected by the order of the Emperor. Captain Adams distinctly declared, that if the Commodore did not receive a favorable answer to his request for an interview with the high officer near his present anchorage, by the subsequent Tuesday, (February 21st,) "he would then know what to do." The Japanese official still reiterated that it was the Emperor's order that the interview should be held at Uraga. The next day there was another visit, with the usual ceremonies, and a present of oysters for the Commodore.

The Japanese brought with them a short dispatch from the high commissioners, addressed to the Commodore, written in Japanese and Dutch, stating their instructions from the government. The translation is as follows:

"We are compelled by the order of the Emperor to meet the ambassador of the President of the United States of America either at *Kana-kuru* or *Uraga*.

"In the interim we shall talk about the negotiations of commerce and the influence it must exercise upon the well-being of the Japanese and American nations. It is out of the question now. This is all according to truth."

This document having been laid before the Commodore, he submitted the following answer:

"The Commodore, for the reasons before given, cannot return to Uruga. His instructions are to receive the answer of the Emperor to the President's letter at Yedo."

The Japanese having received and perused the answer attentively, conferred with each other, and then promised that it should be submitted to the high officer. Captain Adams now informed them that it was his intention, under orders, to go down to Uruga the next day to declare in person to the high officer what had just been delivered in writing from the Commodore. The Japanese seemed very anxious to know if he would be accompanied by a very large party, and seemed quite tranquilized when told that there would be a few officers only. They promised that a boat should be in readiness, and all other preparations made for the reception. In the course of a general conversation they were told that the following Wednesday would be the anniversary of Washington's birthday, and that a salute would, in consequence, be fired. They seemed perfectly acquainted with the name of the great father of our country, and expressed a desire to participate in celebrating the occasion, asking to be permitted to come off to see the guns fired. They were, of course, politely invited, and requested to bring their ladies with them; the latter part of the invitation they, however, jeered at as a very amusing but quite an impracticable joke.

On Tuesday, the 21st day of February, the Japanese boat came alongside the Powhatan, and the officials, on being received aboard, stated that they had come to show Captain Adams the landing at Uruga. They were then invited to accompany him on board the *Vaulalia*, which ship immediately set sail, and moved down the bay. Captain Adams was the bearer of the following note from the Commodore to the Japanese authorities:

"UNITED STATES FLAG-SHIP POWHATAN,

*American Anchorage, Yedo Bay, February 20, 1854.*

"The undersigned is highly gratified to learn, through the officers of his Majesty who have visited the flag-ship, that the imperial court has come to the conclusion to respond, in the most cordial manner, to the propositions of the President of the United States which the undersigned had the honor to present in July last.

"Inasmuch as the anchorage at Uruga is unsafe and inconvenient, and considering the great size and value of the steamers composing a part of the command of the undersigned, he does not consider himself justified in remoring to that place; on the contrary, he deems it necessary to seek a more commodious harbor higher up the bay; and as his instructions direct him to present himself at Yedo, it is desirable that he should approach as near as possible to that city, as well for the better convenience of communication as with reference, also, to the arrangement and exhibition of the various presents sent by the President to his Imperial Majesty.

"As the mission of the undersigned is of a most friendly character, he is not prepared to anticipate any objection to his reception at the seat of government, conformably to the usages of all the nations of Europe and America, and he hopes that when the steamers shall have reached the vicinity of the city, and secured more suitable moorings, he may have the honor of

receiving on board his ship such distinguished members of the imperial court as may be desirous of viewing the steamers and witnessing the working of their machinery.

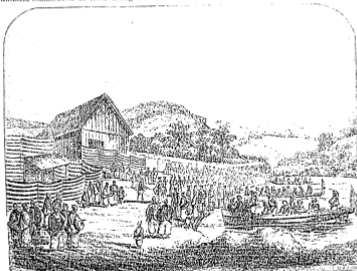
"This communication will be presented by Commander H. A. Adams, captain of the fleet, who is empowered to receive any written proposition addressed to the undersigned, and place at the disposal of the commissioners of his Imperial Majesty one of the vessels of the squadron.

"With the highest respect,

"M. C. PERRY,

"*Commander-in-chief U. S. Naval Forces East India, China, and Japan seas.*"

It was calm in the morning, but before the *Vandalia* had reached Uraga a strong gale from the southwest, and directly ahead, prevented her from reaching the port, and made it necessary for her to anchor under Point Rubicon.\* Captain Adams, accordingly, was not enabled to land, until the succeeding day. It being the twenty-second of February, Washington's birthday, the *Vandalia* commenced at noon firing a salute in honor of the occasion, and amidst the salvo of



Landin*g* at Uraga.

artillery Captain Adams left the ship, unaccompanied by a score of officers and attendants, and landed at Uraga, where they were met by a large party of Japanese officials, who conducted them to a wooden pavilion, which evidently had been but lately constructed.

Captain Adams and his suite were ushered into a large hall, some fifty feet long and forty

\* Point Rubicon was a headland, in the bay which had received that name from the Commodore, because it was just ahead of it where the surveying boats, on the first visit to Yedo Bay, had, in spite of some show of opposition on the part of the Japanese, persisted in carrying on the operations with success, and thus passed, as it were, the Rubicon.

wide. The floor was spread with soft mats of very fine texture, and at a distance of several feet from the walls, on either side, were arranged long settees covered with what appeared to be a red felt; in front of them were tables spread with a silken crupe.

The Americans were invited, on entering, to take their seats on the left hand, which is esteemed by the Japanese the place of honor; this they had no sooner done than the Japanese prince, accompanied by two other high dignitaries, entered the hall, through a curtained opening which led into another compartment. As soon as these dignitaries presented themselves, the governor of Uraga, the interpreters, and various Japanese subordinates, who had accompanied the Americans, dropped at once upon their knees—a position they retained throughout the interview—and bowed their heads to the ground. The prince and his two associates took their seats on the right, opposite to the American officers, and a file of Japanese soldiers, amounting to half a hundred, marched in and ranged themselves, on their knees, behind the three dignitaries, in the space between their backs and the wall.

The prince, with his robes of richly embroidered silk, his fine presence, his benevolent and intelligent face, and his courtly manners, made quite an imposing appearance.

He first addressed Captain Adams, rising as he spoke, and expressed his pleasure at seeing him. His interpreters translated his Japanese into Dutch, which was then repeated in English by the American interpreter, Mr. Portman. The audience then commenced in form, and was conducted throughout with the most friendly expression of feeling on both sides.

Captain Adams commenced by stating, that it was quite evident that Uraga was not a proper place for the ships, since the anchorage was so much exposed. The Japanese replied, that it had been ordered by the Emperor to receive the Admiral there, and to deliver the answer to the President's letter there. Captain Adams, without at the moment pushing this subject further, handed his card to the prince, and requested his in return. He was told that he should have it in a few minutes, when the Japanese prince, requesting to be excused for a few moments, retired through the curtained door into an adjacent apartment. In the meantime the attendants handed round tea, in small China cups handsomely adorned, and borne upon wooden trays beautifully lacquered. The Japanese interpreters apologised for the meagreness of the repast, and entered into an informal conversation, in the course of which they asked for the names of the American officers who were present, and inquired whether they were satisfied with Uraga as a proper place for the reception of the President's letter.

This subject was uppermost in their minds, and they seemed resolved to press it on all occasions, as they were very desirous of preventing any nearer approach of the squadron to Yedo; being instructed, no doubt, to attempt to accomplish this purpose at all hazards. They were told that Captain Adams had a letter upon the subject from the Commodore, and were reminded of the severe weather to which the Vandalin had been exposed, and how impossible it was to place the squadron in a position so little protected against the stormy season then prevailing.

The prince now entered and his card was handed to Captain Adams, upon which was recorded his full name and title, thus: *Hayashi-Daigaku-no-kami, i. e., Hayashi, prince of Daigaku.*

Captain Adams now handed the Commodore's letter, which has already been given in full, to the prince, accompanying it with a statement in regard to the insecure anchorage at Uraga, and the necessity of having shelter, space, and smooth water, for mooring the squadron, and repair-

ing one of the ships which had become leaky. He also emphatically declared that it was quite impossible for the Commodore to come to Uraga, but that he would be very happy to send one of his steamers to convey the prince up the bay to a place of meeting, near the anchorage of the American ships.

The prince and his two confidants now retired to consider the Commodore's letter. In the meantime refreshments were presented, consisting of tea, of a cake resembling our sponge cake, candy, various fruits, and their saki.

A general conversation ensued in regard to the building which the Japanese said had been especially constructed for the meeting with the Commodore, the depth of the harbor, and other points of no material interest.

The Japanese interpreters, in answer to the objections urged against the security of the port of Uraga, insisted that it was perfectly safe, and requested Captain Adams to make a survey of it, in order to convince himself; and again and again earnestly urged upon him to entreat the Commodore to bring his ships there, and meet the Japanese high officers, who had been appointed to treat with him; saying that if he would come the whole treaty might be arranged before night. Captain Adams, in answer, said that he would inform the Commodore, when the conversation was interrupted by the reappearance of the three Japanese high dignitaries. Upon entering they announced that they had carefully perused the Commodore's letter three or four times, but were not prepared to give an answer, as they would be obliged to consult the other high officers appointed by the Emperor, and who were now in waiting at Uraga. On being asked when the answer would be ready, they appointed the third day after the interview. Captain Adams strove to impress upon them the necessity of dispatch, in consequence of the insecurity of the ship in the prevailing stormy weather at Uraga, and of explicitness in their answer, as the Commodore was anxious to bring matters to a conclusion, and to send to America one of his ships to report progress in the negotiations, and prevent others from coming out. The conference now being at an end, the prince and his confidants bowed politely and retired.

The weather being stormy and the water in the bay very rough, the American officers delayed their return to the *Vandalia*, and occupied the interval in strolling about and viewing the neighborhood. Hardly anything could be seen, however, of the town and the people, as the Japanese authorities had, in accordance with their usual custom, hemmed in the shore, on both sides of the audience hall, with cotton screens of some eight feet in height, which excluded the houses from the sight of the strangers. Crowds of men, women, and children could be observed, however, in the distance, thronging upon the surrounding hills, and gazing eagerly at the Americans. When the storm had somewhat abated, Captain Adams and his party, having been presented, in accordance with Japanese practice, with paper pursels containing the remains of the refreshments which had been left upon their plates or salvers, returned to their ship lying off the harbor. Some went back in the *Vandalia*'s boats, while others accepted the offers of the Japanese officials, and put off in their craft. The superior excellence of the Japanese boats, in a sea, was admirably proved, by the fact that those on board of them reached the ship with dry jackets while the others were wet through and through by the dashing spray. The use of the scull instead of the oar, may partially account for this advantage of the Japanese boats, although their construction has something to do with it. The sculls never leave the water, while the oars are constantly in and out, dipping up considerable spray, which at every stroke is blown, in case of a high wind, all over the persons in a boat of our usual construction.

On the next morning (February 23) the *Vandalia* was still lying off Uruga, when our old acquaintance, Yezaiman, the governor of Uruga, presented himself. This, it will be remembered, was the dignitary who had figured so conspicuously during the first visit of the squadron to the Bay of Yedo. His absence hitherto had created great surprise, and it was naturally feared that his conduct on the previous occasion had not been approved of by his government, and that he had fallen into disgrace, or possibly had been reduced to the disagreeable necessity of disembowelling himself. He however explained his long absence on the score of illness, and the immense pressure of public business. He expressed great pleasure in seeing his old acquaintances, and proved himself the same affable, courteous gentleman, as on all previous occasions. Yezaiman explained the object of his visit by presenting a letter from himself, in which he informally, as he stated, though undoubtedly with the connivance of the government, repeated the assurances of the friendly disposition of the Emperor, and earnestly solicited Captain Adams to use his influence with the "Admiral" to prevail upon him to concede the point in regard to Uruga. Everything, of course, was referred to Commodore Perry, although the belief was expressed that he would resolutely adhere to his original determination. Yezaiman, having promised that the answer of the high officers to the Commodore's letter should be brought on board the next day, took his departure.

Accordingly early the next morning (February 24) the Japanese, having brought the dispatch in answer to the Commodore's letter, and having taken the occasion of urging their views about Uruga, for their first and last word was perpetually Uruga! Uruga! the *Vandalia* got under way to join the squadron at the American anchorage. The ship, however, had not proceeded far, when the steamers and sailing vessels were observed in the distance ahead, standing up the bay.

The Commodore, having little hope of any favorable result from the visit of Captain Adams to Uruga, had determined to put his threat into execution, and had actually removed the squadron, during the absence of the *Vandalia*, to a spot whence Yedo might be seen from the masthead. So near, indeed, did he approach to that capital, that the striking of the city bells during the night could be distinctly heard. As a measure of precaution, the surveying boats always sounded in advance of the ships, and when the *Vandalia* was seen to approach with Captain Adams on board, bearing the dispatch of the high officers at Uruga, the surveying party was absent engaged in further explorations toward Yedo. Next morning (February 25) while the squadron was anchored off the town of Kanagawa, one of the *Vandalia's* boats arrived, and came alongside the flagship, bringing Captain Adams, who handed the Commodore the following letter from the high officer:

*"To Admiral M. C. Perry:*

"The undersigned, ambassadors of the Emperor of Japan, have perused and understood the letter of the Lord Admiral, and in reply may remark:

"The Lord Admiral is right in going up to Yedo, to be received there according to the custom in Europe and America. According to the Japanese custom ambassadors are commissioned, and a building erected, for the reception of ambassadors from foreign countries in a friendly manner and with high consideration.

"The Emperor has sent us to Uruga to receive the Admiral with the highest honor, and to extend the Japanese hospitality towards him, and have the interview at that place in compliance with the order of the Emperor, regardless of the customs of foreign countries.

"We wish this to be well understood: we desire the Admiral to come to Uraga, there to have the interview with us in the building aforesaid, and would gratefully acknowledge the friendly meeting of the Lord Admiral in complying with this order of the Emperor and our own wishes.

"Our best wishes for the health of the Admiral.

"HAYASHI-DAIGAKU-NO-KAMI.

"The 27th Sigyots, 1854.

The arrival of Captain Adams was soon followed by that of Keyama Yezaiman, the governor of Uraga, who made his appearance with the alleged object of receiving a reply to the high officer's letter, but, as it will appear, for another purpose. Yezaiman commenced by inquiring whether the Commodore was still determined not to return to Uraga, and being answered in the affirmative, he again offered supplies, and was again told that wood and water would be received. Yezaiman replied that these articles would be cheerfully furnished, but that they could only be obtained at Uraga. He was then informed that it was a matter of indifference whence they came, but that the Commodore would not go to Uraga, and if the Japanese did not bring water to the ships, the Commodore would send on shore and procure it by some means.

Finding that the Commodore was immovable in purpose, and evidently inclined to approach nearer to Yedo, Yezaiman suddenly abandoned the previously pretended ultimatum of the Japanese commissioners, as to the place of meeting, and suggested a spot in the immediate neighborhood of the village of Yoku-hama, directly opposite to where the ships then were anchored.

Thus, after having interposed for the last ten days all possible objections to the squadron's moving further up the bay, and having used every inducement to prevail upon the Commodore to return to Uraga, they suddenly abandoned the position from which they had so frequently declared they could not possibly be moved. They had discovered that the Commodore was not to be shaken from his resolution, and finding that the ships had already approached within eight miles of their capital, they thought it politic to stop them there, while it was practicable, by a conciliatory concession.

The motive of the Commodore for thus persisting, with what may seem obstinacy, in his determination not to go to Uraga, is best explained by himself. In his communication to the honorable Secretary, on this subject, he thus writes:

"I was convinced that if I recoiled in the least from the position first assumed by me, it would be considered by the Japanese an advantage gained; and, finding that I could be induced to change a predetermined intention in one instance, they might rely on prevailing on me, by dint of perseverance, to waver in most other cases pending the negotiations; therefore, it seemed to be the true policy to hold out at all hazards, and rather to establish for myself a character for unreasonable obstinacy, than that of a yielding disposition. I knew that upon the impression thus formed by them would in a measure hinge the tenor of our future negotiations; and the sequel will show that I was right in my conclusions. Indeed, in conducting all my business with these very sagacious and deceitful people, I have found it profitable to bring to my aid the experience gained in former and by no means limited intercourse with the inhabitants of strange lands, civilized and barbarian; and this experience has admonished me that, with people of forms, it is necessary either to set all ceremony aside, or to out-Herod Herod in assumed personal consequence and ostentation.

"I have adopted the two extremes—by an exhibition of great pomp, when it could properly be displayed, and by avoiding it, when such pomp would be inconsistent with the spirit of our institutions; and by resolving never to recognise, on any occasion, the slightest personal superiority, always meeting the Japanese officials, however exalted their rank, with perfect equality, whilst those of comparative distinction, of their own nation, were cringing and kneeling to them; and from motives of policy, and to give greater importance to my own position, I have hitherto studiously kept myself aloof from intercourse with any of the subordinates of the court, making it known that I would communicate with none but the princes of the Empire. Up to this time, I have succeeded far beyond my expectations in maintaining this extreme point of diplomacy, and, as I believe, to very great advantage.

"It is probable that arrogance may be charged against me for persisting as I did, and against the judgment of all about me, in changing the place of conference, and thus compelling four princes of the Empire to follow the squadron, and subjecting the government to the trouble and expense of erecting another building; but I was simply adhering to a course of policy determined on after mature reflection, and which had hitherto worked so well."

The Commodore expressed a willingness to accede to the last proposition of the Japanese, provided his officers, on examining the place selected, should find it suitable. Captains Buchanan and Adams accordingly, having visited the spot in company with Yezaiman, returned with a favorable report. The situation was suitable in all respects, being near to Yedo, with safe and commodious anchorage at a mile distant from the shore, and affording abundant space for landing and exhibiting the presents intended for the Emperor. The Commodore accordingly determined to concur in the choice of the place now selected, and notified his resolution in the following communication:

"UNITED STATES FLAG-SHIP POWHATAS,

*"At anchor off the town of Yoku-hama, Yedo Bay, March 1, 1854.*

"YOUR EXCELLENCY: The letter of your excellency from Uraga was duly delivered by Captain Adams; and shortly after, when it was ascertained that I could not agree to return to Uraga, Keyama Yezaiman suggested that the negotiations might be conducted at a village opposite the present anchorage of the squadron.

"Being exceedingly desirous of meeting the wishes of your excellency, in every way consistent with the honor and interest of my country, and learning that the place pointed out was in all respects convenient for the purpose, I at once consented to defer my visit to Yedo until after the completion of the negotiations.

"I the more readily entered into this arrangement, as, on examination of the port by the surveying boats, it has been found that the ships can approach near to the city, where I propose at some future time to anchor them, as well to do honor to his Imperial Majesty by salutes, &c., as to be in full view of the palace, and convenient to be visited by such of the court as may desire to examine the steamers and their machinery, and I hardly need say that they will be kindly and politely received.

"With the most profound respect,

"M. C. PERRY,

*"Commander-in-chief United States Naval Forces East India, China, and Japan Seas, and Special Ambassador to Japan.*

"His Highness HAYASHI-DAIJAKU-NO-KAMI, &c., &c., &c."

The surveying boats had been kept busy during the progress of all this negotiation, and immediately after the Commodore had signified his intention of accepting the proposition of the Japanese offering Yoku-hama as the place of meeting, the party of surveyors returned to the Powhatan, and reported that they had found six fathoms of water within four or five miles of Yedo. This near approach to their capital was supposed to be the clue to the sudden change in the policy of the Japanese, as they doubtless feared that the Commodore would proceed at once to execute his threat of moving his squadron to Yedo, if the authorities still persisted in their demands for him to return to Uraga.

The Japanese now commenced constructing at once a wooden building for the proposed conference, and great numbers of workmen were seen busily engaged in bringing materials and putting them together in the form of a large and irregular structure. The ship's boats were sent out to examine the anchorage opposite the place, and the Commodore, after receiving a favorable report, directed (February 27) the squadron to be moored in a line abreast, and within a mile of Yoku-hama, covering with their guns an extent of shore of five miles. Captains Buchannan and Adams went ashore, soon after the anchoring of the ships, to see the buildings in progress of erection, and to instruct the Japanese workmen how to make the wharf for the landing of the Commodore and his party. Accordingly, when Yezaiman came on board the Powhatan, on March 3d, he alluded with some expression of anxiety to the fact of some of the Americans having landed, fearing, he said, lest some trouble might ensue, if this should be continued, between our people and the natives. As soon, however, as he was told the purpose of the visit, and of the Commodore's order that no one of his men should be allowed to land, he seemed satisfied.

Captain Adams now gave the governor of Uraga a letter which had been written to his friends by a Japanese who belonged to the squadron, and was generally known among the sailors by the soubriquet of Sam Patch. Sam was one of the crew, consisting of sixteen men, of a Japanese junk which had been driven off in a storm from the coast of Japan. An American merchant vessel, having fallen in with the junk, took the Japanese on board and conveyed them to San Francisco, where they were removed to a revenue cutter. They remained on board the cutter twelve months, when they were taken by the United States sloop-of-war *St. Mary's* to China, and there transferred to the *Sasquehanna*. When this steamer joined Commodore Perry's squadron, bound to Japan, the Japanese all preferred to remain in China, lest if they returned home they should lose their lives, with the exception of Sam Patch, who remained on board, and being regularly shipped as one of the crew, was with the squadron on the first, as he was now on the second, visit to Japan. Upon his letter being presented to Yezaiman he was requested to deliver it in accordance with the direction, which he promised to do, but the Japanese seemed very much surprised at the fact of one of their countrymen being among the crew, and expressed an earnest desire to see him. Yezaiman was accordingly promised that his request should be complied with in the course of a few days.

Yezaiman and his interpreters, to whom there was now added a new one, of the name of Morynna Yenoske, who spoke a little English, which he was said to have acquired from an American sailor who had been a captive in Japan, and was one of those taken away by the *Proble*, came off daily to the ships. As the building on shore was in progress, the details of its erection, and the prospective interview ashore, were naturally daily topics of conversation. The coming ceremonies were spoken of, and the rank and number of those who were to participate

in them discussed. Yezaiman, in accordance with the request of the Commodore, submitted the names and credentials of the high commissioners who were to represent the government of Japan at the approaching conference. The following is a translation of the letter of credence of the imperial officers:

HATASHI DAIJAKU-NO-KAMI, IDO-TSUS-SIMA-NO-KAMI, IZAWA MEMA-SAKI-NO-KAMI, UONO MIDINESCO:

You are hereby empowered to hold interviews with his excellency the American ambassador on his arrival, and to negotiate concerning the business which has been communicated to you.

STAGOSOS.

KA-EI-SILSI-NEU. [SEAL OF THE EMPEROR.]

Yezaiman having said, that now as his government knew the Americans better, and had entire confidence in them, there would be no Japanese soldiers brought out at the coming interview at Yoku-hama, as before at Gora-hama, he was assured that the guard that would accompany the Commodore was only intended to do honor to the occasion. A conversation then ensued which, as it refers to the important subject of the resources of Japan, in regard to coal and other supplies, is thought of sufficient importance to give verbatim, as reported by the Commodore's secretary. Captain Adams, it will be observed, was still acting in behalf of Commodore Perry, as the latter continued his policy of seclusion.

Yezaiman (having first alluded to the fact of the President's letter stating that coal would be probably wanted by American steamers touching on the coast of Japan) asked, "How much shall you need annually?"

Captain Adams. "It is quite impossible now to say what amount will be needed; ships will call and get what they want. The Commodore, however, will speak on this point with the commissioners."

Yezaiman. "We have plenty of coal, but a port is asked for to get it from—that is, a port where a ship can take it in conveniently."

Captain Adams. "Yes: a port lying along the southern shores of Nippon would be most convenient, but the Commodore will arrange that. Where is the best coal found?"

Yezaiman. "The most abundant supply and the best coal come from Kinsin. I do not know how much there is in Nippon, but there is none in Sikok." Yezaiman then changed the subject by asking, "What sort of provisions do you want? We have the greatest abundance of wheat and vegetables at Nagasaki."

Captain Adams. "Our ships will only take such supplies as you can furnish."

Yezaiman. "Our principal supplies are pork, beef, sheep, poultry, and vegetables of many kinds, but no Irish potatoes."\*

Captain Adams. "Did you give the Russians any coal?"

Yezaiman. "Yes; a little from time to time, and they said it was very good." Yezaiman then promised to bring a specimen of their coal, which he said was a fuel seldom used by the Japanese.

The arrival of the *Saratoga*, on the fourth of March, was quite an event to all the officers and men in the squadron, who, confined to the narrow limits of an anchored ship, month after month, with no variety in the daily routine of duty, and no change of scene from the monotonous view of the same look-out from deck, gladly welcomed anything that could break up for

\* Yezaiman means at Nagasaki, where limited supplies of these articles are kept for strangers. The Japanese, in general, do not use the meats here named.

a moment the tedium of their life. The Saratoga had experienced very severe weather, which those in the squadron, although sheltered in a safe anchorage, could readily understand, for the season, even in the bay, had given evidence enough of its rude inclemency. Frequently the wind was so high and the waters of the bay so disturbed, that the surveying boats were obliged to intermit their labors. The frequent recurrence of rain, alternating with an occasional snow-storm, and a cold temperature more penetrating to the sensations, from its moisture, gave all a very disagreeable experience of a Japan winter. The hard-working Japanese boatmen seemed alone insensible to the weather, and, as they worked vigorously at their long sculls, sung cheerily, as if their half-naked bodies were as much proof against cold wind and boisterous weather, as their tight built craft.

According to agreement, Sam Patch was brought forward and presented to the Japanese officials, and no sooner did he behold these dignitaries than he prostrated himself at once, apparently completely awe-stricken. "Sam had been frequently laughed at during the voyage by his messmates, and teased by statements of the danger to which his head would be exposed on his arrival in his own country, and the poor fellow possibly thought his last hour had come. Captain Adams ordered him to rise from his knees, upon which he was crouching with the most abject fear and trembling in every limb. He was reminded that he was on board an American man-of-war, perfectly safe as one of her crew, and had nothing to fear; but it being found impossible to reassure him while in the presence of his countrymen, he was soon dismissed. But more of Sam hereafter.

The eighth of March had been appointed by the Commodore as the day for the conference ashore; and, as crowds of Japanese laborers kept busily at work upon the building, there seemed every prospect of its being ready in time. When the building was finished, the usual Japanese deputation, headed by Yezaiman, came off to the Powhatan, and, announcing the fact, asked if the Admiral would be ready to land on the next day, (March 8.) They were told that, provided the weather should be suitable, the Commodore and his party would leave the squadron at twelve o'clock on the morrow. Yezaiman entered into some preliminary explanations in regard to the ceremonies on the occasion. He asked the number and names of all the officers in the squadron, with the purpose, as he said, of providing presents for each. Upon being asked whether the chief of the commissioners appointed to negotiate with the Commodore was next in rank to the Emperor, Yezaiman answered that he was, and at the same time corrected a previous statement, saying that, instead of four dignitaries in addition to the high commissioner, there would be five. With the usual courtly assurances of kindly feeling, Yezaiman and his suite took leave, saying, as he departed, that he would send a person on board next day to conduct the Commodore and his party to the land.



Yokohama, Bay of Yedo.