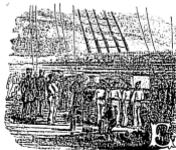


## CHAPTER XII.

DEPARTURE FROM NAGSA FOR JAPAN.—COURSE OF THE SHIP.—OHIO-SUNA.—ISLAND SEEN BY COMMANDER GILYEN, PROBABLY OHIO-SUNA.—CISAPATRA ISLANDS.—CURRENTS.—FOURTH OF JULY ON BOARD.—APPROACH TO CAPE IDZU.—SQUADRON, LED BY THE SUSQUEHANNA, ENTERS THE BAY OF YEDO.—BOON ISLAND.—HAZY ATMOSPHERE OF JAPAN.—SURPRISE OF THE JAPANESE AT SIGHT OF THE STEAMERS MOVING AGAINST WIND AND TIDE.—BAY OF SAGAMI.—APPEARANCE OF THE COAST AND COUNTRY ISLANDS.—TINI-JANA.—SHIPS MAKE HEADS FOR ACTION.—FLEET OF JAPANESE BOATS PUT OFF FROM THE SHORE.—LEFT BEHIND BY SQUADRON.—BAY OF URAGA.—OPPOSITE COAST OF AMA.—JAPANESE FORTS.—SQUADRON COMES TO ANCHOR IN THE BAY OF Uraga.—SCENES ON APPROACHING THE ANCHORAGE.—JAPANESE GUNBOATS PUT OFF.—NO ONE PERMITTED TO COME ON BOARD THE SHIP.—APPEARANCE OF GUNBOATS AND CREWS.—SAIL OF THE JAPANESE IN MANAGING THEIR BOATS.—GUARD-BOAT COMES ALONGSIDE OF THE MISSISSIPPI, AND JAPANESE FUNCTIONARY DEMANDS TO COME ON BOARD.—NOT PERMITTED.—VOICE IN THE FRONT LANGUAGE, ORDERING THE SHIP AWAY, HELD UP TO BE READ.—INTERPRETERS DIRECTED TO INTERPRET THE JAPANESE THAT THE COMMODORE WOULD COME WITH NO ONE BUT THE HIGHEST OFFICER IN TRAIL.—JAPANESE BELIEVED THAT THEY HAD THE ACE GOVERNOR ON BOARD.—THIS OFFICER AND HIS INTERPRETER ALLOWED TO COME ON BOARD THE SUSQUEHANNA.—NOT PERMITTED TO SEE THE COMMODORE.—CONVERSATION WITH MISRELEVANT POINTS, WHO EXPLAINS THAT THE AMERICANS HAD COME AS A FRIENDLY MISSION AND THAT THE COMMODORE BEARS A LETTER FROM THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES TO THE EMPEROR.—DEMANDS THE APPOINTMENT OF AN OFFICER OF NOTABLE RANK TO RECEIVE IT FROM THE COMMODORE.—COMMODORE REFUSES TO GO TO NAGASAKI.—INFORMS THE JAPANESE OFFICIALS THAT IF THE GUNBOATS ARE NOT IMMEDIATELY REMOVED HE WILL DISPERSE THEM BY FORCE.—THE BOATS ARE WITHDRAWN.—THE GOVERNOR RETURNS TO THE SHORE, PROMISING FURTHER COMMUNICATION ON THE MORROW.—POLICY DEVISED ON BY THE COMMODORE.—METEOROLOGICAL PHENOMENON.—FIGHT ON THE NEXT DAY FROM THE COASTLINE OF URAGA.—CONFERENCE BETWEEN HIM AND COMMANDERS DECKMAN AND ADAMS.—SECOND REFUSAL OF THE COMMODORE TO GO TO NAGASAKI.—DETERMINATION EXPRESSED TO DELIVER THE LETTER THERE, AND, IF NECESSARY, IN THE CITY OF YEDO ITSELF.—GOVERNOR PROPOSES TO REFER THE MATTER TO YEDO.—COMMODORE ASSENTS AND ALLOWS THREE DAYS FOR AN ANSWER.—SURVEY BY THE SQUADRON'S BOATS OF THE BAY OF URAGA, AND ULTIMATELY OF THE BAY OF YEDO.



ARLY on the morning of the 2d of July, 1853, after many unforeseen delays, the Commodore departed from Napha with four vessels only, the two steamers, the Susquehanna, his flag-ship, and the Mississippi, the Saratoga, and the Plymouth sloop-of-war. The Supply was left behind, and the Caprice dispatched to Shanghai. This was but a poor show of ships, in comparison with the more imposing squadron of twelve vessels which had been so repeatedly promised. But as none of these additional vessels had arrived, and as no calculation could be made as to when they might be looked for, the Commodore resolved to sail with the inferior force, which he

trusted would so far answer his necessities as not to interfere seriously with the great object of the expedition, now fairly set out for Japan. The advantages of steam were fully appreciated in the opportunity it gave of making a uniformly steady and direct course of ascertained speed—advantages in which the sailing vessels were made to participate; for the *Saratoga* was taken in tow by the *Susquehanna*, as the *Plymouth* was by the *Mississippi*. The Commodore's ship led the van out of Napha and awaited, some five miles away, between the group of islands situated off the harbor and the southwestern extremity of the island, the coming up of her consort, as did the *Mississippi* for hers. Hawsers then being passed from the steamers to the two sloops-of-war, they were respectively taken in tow, the squadron fairly started and began the voyage to Yedo.

All seemed very well satisfied to get away from Lew Chew. The picturesque interests of the island were, for the time being, thoroughly exhausted, and the dull realities of life began to weigh rather heavily upon the visitors. Beside, the great object of the expedition was still before them, and anticipation naturally begat impatience. The weather, too, had become sultry and excessively oppressive, for the heat had reached the high degree of 88° Fahrenheit in the coolest part of the *Susquehanna* while she lay at anchor in the harbor. The people of Lew Chew, moreover, had not apparently been very much won over by the blandishments of their courteous visitors. The supplies with which they at first furnished the squadron had been gradually falling off, and their consent to receive payment for them seemed to be the principal change in their policy effected by the long sojourn of six weeks. Still some progress had been made. Their system of espionage had become less public and intrusive, although some suspected that it was as alert as ever though more concealed.

On getting clear of the harbor and stretching beyond the shelter of the southeastern extremity of the island, a strong wind was encountered from the east, and as the steamers were deep, it was thought advisable to stand off on the port tack in order to get well clear of the land, for the vessels in tow were dragging them to leeward notwithstanding the power of the engines. In the course of the day, as there was every prospect of weathering the eastern part of the island, the ships were put on the other tack, and their course directed for Japan.

The track taken by the squadron east of the chain of islands which stretch from Formosa to Lew Chew, and thence to Japan. (very properly called by Blunt the "Southern," "Middle," and "Northern" groups,) has been very rarely traversed by the ships of modern nations; while the islands on the eastern side of the chain are unknown to our present navigators.

The French admiral, *Cecille*, in 1846, employed one or more of his squadron in the exploration of the islands about Lew Chew, and along the western side of the northern group; but according to the best authorities, to which Von Siebold, among others, adds his testimony, the eastern side of the latter islands has never been visited by any modern navigator. The principal island of the northern group is called by the Japanese *Oho-sima*, and by the Chinese *Tatao*; these words meaning in their respective languages, "great island." It is about the size, including one or two adjoining islands in the estimate, of *Great Lew Chew*, and is probably governed by similar laws. It has one chief city and several towns, and the country is supposed to be highly cultivated. Von Siebold states that the island contains several good harbors, and it is undoubtedly, in every respect, of sufficient interest to claim an investigation. The Commodore resolved, at some subsequent period, to send some vessel of the squadron to make a proper survey.

The *Susquehanna* and the accompanying ships were probably the first either of European or American vessels that ever passed along the entire extent of the northern group. Von Siebold asserts that Broughton saw the northeast point, and that Captain Guerin, of the French corvette *Sabine*, traced the western shore in 1848. It was probably Oho-sima, the principal island of the group, that was seen by Commander Glynn in 1848, and which he supposed to be a new discovery. The islets which he speaks of having seen, bearing N.N.W., were the Cleopatra islands, examined two years before by one of the vessels of Admiral Cecille's squadron.

Von Siebold's charts, appended to his great work on Japan, and compiled by him, show these islands pretty accurately laid down, and it was found that the observations made on board the *Susquehanna* gave such bearings of the principal headlands of Oho-sima as correspond tolerably well with the position as given by Von Siebold. A current is said to be continually setting from these islands to the northward and eastward; or, as the islanders say, it always goes to Japan and never comes back. This was, however, found to be of no great strength during the passage of the *Susquehanna*, although it must be acknowledged to be a matter of difficulty to estimate in a steamer the rapidity and direction of currents, as they are generally over-logged, or in other words, surpassed in speed by the rate of going of the vessel. There is, moreover, another difficulty in consequence of the backward movement given to the water by the evolution of the paddle-wheels of a steamship.

The third day of the voyage, being the fourth day of July, 1853, brought with it a lively remembrance of home, as it was the seventy-seventh anniversary of our national holiday. The day opened fresh and pleasant, and the men were prepared to get up some amateur theatricals, and otherwise to celebrate the occasion; but the weather becoming unfavorable, and other circumstances interfering, it was deemed advisable, much to the disappointment of the sailors, to dispense with the show by which they had intended to give exhibition to their patriotism. The occasion, however, was duly honored by the firing of a salute of seventeen guns from each vessel of the squadron, and by the serving of an additional ration of grog to Jack, while the officers brought to bear also the resources of their various messes, to give due enjoyment and impressiveness to the day. All on board were allowed to feel that it was a holiday, in a respite from the usual muster at general quarters and exercises at the great guns and small arms, which had been kept up during the passage with great strictness and regularity, in order that the squadron might be prepared for any event on its arrival at Japan.

The weather, although generally warm, varied, and thus, while some days were excessively hot and oppressive, others were tolerably cool and pleasant. The winds occasionally blew with considerable freshness, and mostly from the east, but frequently there was hardly a breath of air to be felt, and, consequently, with a temperature which reached 88° in the coolest place on deck, all on board suffered greatly from the intense heat. And, indeed, the still heat and clear atmosphere which were experienced, even on a close approach to the shores of Japan, did not seem to confirm what has been said, and what was expected, of the cool and foggy climate of that country.

At sunset on Thursday, the 7th of July, the squadron was, according to observation, about forty miles from Cape Negatsuo, or Idsu, as it is otherwise called. In consequence of this proximity, the heads of the ships were put off shore from midnight until four o'clock next morning, when, not only the capo was seen from the masthead, but several of the islands to the eastward, called by Von Siebold *Goebrafen Elander*, (the Broken islands,) as well as the

larger two of the group, bearing the Japanese names of Tosi-sima and Likinô-sima. The morning was fine, though the atmosphere was so hazy that there was but an indistinct view of the outline of the precipitous coast. Through the mist, however, the bold promontory of Idsu could be seen rising loftily out of the sea, and stretching back to the interior of Nippon in a crowd of mountainous elevations. The *Susquhanna's* course, as the leading ship, was laid directly for the entrance to the bay of Yedo, and as she passed the precipitous land of Cape Idsu she came up with a low, barren, and apparently uninhabited islet of about three-fourths of a mile in length, known as Rock island. There is a passage between this and the promontory which bounds the main land, and, although broken with several rocky islets, it is navigable. The United States ship-of-the-line *Columbus* took that course, although the other, on the outer side of Rock island, the one pursued by the *Morrison*, was preferred, and was accordingly taken by the Commodore, who passed within a mile and a half of the island. As the squadron sailed up the coast some eight or ten junks were in sight, and two or three of them were observed soon to change their course and to turn back toward the shore, as if to announce the arrival of strangers.

The morning seemed to confirm the reputed character of the Japanese climate, for the atmosphere was so thick and hazy that the extent of view was unfortunately very much restricted, and it was not possible to get a distinct outline of the shore until the squadron came to anchor off the city of Uraga. The steamer, in spite of a wind, moved on with all sails furled, at the rate of eight or nine knots, much to the astonishment of the crews of the Japanese fishing junks gathered along the shore or scattered over the surface of the mouth of the bay, who stood up in their boats, and were evidently expressing the liveliest surprise at the sight of the first steamer ever beheld in Japanese waters.

As the day advanced the sun came out with a brighter lustre, glistening upon the broad sails of the junks within view, and dispelling the mist, through the openings of which the lofty summits and steep lava-scurred sides of the promontory of Idzu and its mountain chains, now left rapidly behind, could occasionally be discovered. Crossing the mouth of the bay of Sagami, with *Vries' island*, or *Oo-sima*, as it is called, on the starboard, the ships moved in toward Cape Sagami. The Great *Fusi*, now, as the fog occasionally lifted, rose to view behind the head of the bay of Sagami, and its cone-like summit was disclosed, rising to an enormous height, far inland, and covered with a white cap, but whether of snow or of fleecy clouds it was impossible to distinguish. The boats showed themselves more cautiously as the vessels entered the bay; but one was overtaken by the steamers, and those on board seemed in a terrible state of excitement, letting drop its broad sails, and taking to their oars, which they used with all their might, as they were evidently anxious to give a wide berth to the squadron.

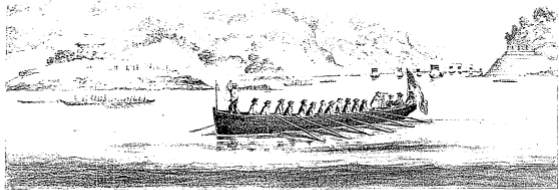
As the ships neared the bay, signals were made from the Commodore, and instantly the decks were cleared for action, the guns placed in position and shotted, the ammunition arranged, the small arms made ready, sentinels and men at their posts, and, in short, all the preparations made, usual before meeting an enemy. About noon Cape Sagami was reached, when the squadron came to anchor for about ten minutes, and a signal was made for all captains to go on board the flag-ship and receive their orders from the Commodore. This done, the vessels now continued their course and soon came up with the peninsula of Sagami, at the south end of which a town was observed. When the squadron had approached within two miles of the land a fleet of large boats, amounting to more than a dozen, pushed off in the direction of the ships,

with the seeming intention of visiting them. They were, however, not waited for, and were soon left behind, much puzzled, doubtless, by the rapid progress of the steamers against the wind. The boats appeared to be fully manned, but did not seem to be armed, although each of them bore a large banner with certain characters inscribed on it, which led to the conjecture that they were government vessels of some kind. The coasting vessels increased in numbers within the bay, and were sometimes so near that their construction and rig could be plainly made out. Their hulls rose forward in a high beaked prow, and aft, in a lofty poop, while a single mast, secured by fore and back stays, rose from the centre of the vessel and was rigged with a large square sail made of canvas; there were three other smaller sails, two at the bow and one at the stern.

On passing Cape Sagami, at the entrance of the bay, the shores were observed to rise in precipitous cliffs, which connected landward with undulating hills. Deep ravines, green with rich verdure, divided the steep slopes and opened into small expanses of alluvial land, washed by the waters of the bay into the form of inlets, about the borders of which were grouped various Japanese villages. The uplands were beautifully varied with cultivated fields and tufted woods, while far behind rose the mountains, height upon height, in the inland distance. The entrance to the bay seemed well fortified, and the hills and projecting headlands of Sagami were formidable with forts, the guns of which, however, were silent, notwithstanding the threatening entrance of the strange ships. The distant shores of the province of Awa, on the east, rising opposite to Sagami in a lofty peak, and stretching beyond in picturesque summits, was still more mountainous and bore fewer marks of cultivation and a less formidable appearance, being apparently destitute of fortifications. As the squadron passed through the straits into the inner bay of Uraga the numerous fishing boats hurried out of the way, and their crews, when they fancied themselves at a sufficiently safe distance, rested upon their oars and gazed with an anxious look at the strangers.

At about five o'clock in the afternoon the squadron came to anchor off the city of Uraga, on the western side of the bay of Yedo, the sloops-of-war (the wind being favorable) having been cast loose a little while previous, and the four vessels took up their positions, as had been directed, opposite the shore. Just before letting go the anchors the weather cleared up, and the lofty cone of Fusi was more distinctly visible, showing high above the accompanying range of mountains which extend inland. It was estimated to be eight or ten thousand feet in height, and its position W.  $\frac{1}{2}$  N. from Uraga, at a distance of fifty or sixty miles. As the ships proceeded to their anchorage the lead was kept going every moment, and as a constant depth of twenty-five fathoms was found the vessels kept on their headway, rounding, at moderate speed, the elevation or cliff, within which is situated the bight of Uraga. They continued sounding and moving on slowly and cautiously until the squadron had nearly reached within a mile and a half of the promontory guarding the inner entrance of the bay of Yedo, at a distance of a mile farther than any foreign vessel had ever advanced, when two guns were fired from a neighboring fort, and a ball of smoke in the air showed that a rocket had been discharged. The order was at once given to let go the anchor; but as the depth of twenty-five fathoms was still found, the steamers first closed in a little more with the shore and then anchored.

Previous to anchoring, a number of Japanese guard-boats had been observed coming off from the land in pursuit, but the Commodore had given express orders, both by word and signal, forbidding the admission of any one on board either of the ships but his own: and even as to



the flag-ship, he had commanded that not more than three persons, at one time, and those having business, should be allowed to come on board. It had heretofore been the practice of ships-of-war to admit these people indiscriminately to their decks. When the Columbus was in the bay of Yedo, there were many hundred Japanese on board of her at one time, who partook of the hospitalities of the officers without hesitation, and made themselves quite at home; but when they were spoken to about going on shore, answered by signs that it was impossible. The Commodore had, therefore, pre-determined to exercise an equal degree of exclusiveness with themselves, and to permit the Japanese functionaries to communicate only and directly with the Susquehanna. Several of the commanders in the Japanese boats signified by signs some dissatisfaction at not being permitted to come on board the ships; but the Commodore's orders were strictly obeyed.

On dropping the anchor, another gun was heard from one of the forts on shore, and when the squadron had assumed its line of anchorage, commanding with its guns the entire ranges of batteries and two considerable towns, a large number of the guard-boats came from all directions, evidently prepared to take their stations around the ships, as the Japanese crews had a supply of provisions, water, clothing, sleeping mats, and other requisites for a long stay. The Commodore, however, had fully determined beforehand that they should not thus surround the ships. They made several attempts to get alongside and on board of the Saratoga: their tow-lines, with which they made fast to any part of the ship, were unceremoniously cast off. They attempted to climb up by the chains, but the crew was ordered to prevent them, and the sight of pikes, cutlasses, and pistols, checked them, and when they found that our officers and men were very much in earnest, they desisted from their attempts to board.

These guard-boats struck every one with admiration of the beauty of their models, which, by the way, resembled in a remarkable degree that of the yacht America. They were constructed of unpainted wood, with very sharp bows, a broad beam, a slightly tapering stern, and a clean run. They were propelled with great swiftness through, or rather over, the water, for they seemed to skim upon its surface rather than to divide it. The crews, numbering in some of the larger boats thirty or more, were tall and muscular men, whose tawny frames were naked, with the exception of a cloth about their waists. Toward night, however, the men clothed themselves with loose gowns, some of red and others of blue, with hanging sleeves, upon which were white stripes meeting in an angle at the shoulders. On their backs were emblazoned coats of arms, or some insignia, in black and other colors. Most of them were bald-headed and showed the hair to have been shaved on the crown, while that on the sides had been allowed to grow long and was worn plastered with some species of ointment and fastened up into a knot on the bald spot upon the top of the head. A few, however, wore caps of knurl, in shape like a shallow basin inverted, and reminding one of Mambrino's helmet. In some of the boats the men bore tall poles, surmounted by a cruciform ornament, which seemed to indicate some military office. The men in authority, wore light lacquered hats, with a coat of arms in front, probably signifying their official rank and position. The rowers stood to their oars, which worked on pivots upon the sides of the boat near the stern, and they handled them with such skill and effect that they approached the ships very rapidly, shouting loudly as they came. At the stern of each boat was a small flag, with three horizontal stripes in it, a white one on either side, and a black one in the middle, while in many of the boats there was, beside, an additional flag, with symbols upon it. One or two persons, armed each with two swords at their sides, stood in the boats, and were evidently men of rank and authority.

One of the boats came alongside of the flag-ship, and it was observed that a person on board had a scroll of paper in his hand, which the officer of the *Susquehanna* refused to receive, but which was held up to be read alongside of the *Mississippi*, when it was found to be a document in the French language, which conveyed an order to the effect that the ships should go away, and not anchor at their peril. The chief functionary, as his boat reached the side of the *Susquehanna*, made signs for the gangway ladder to be let down. This was refused, but Mr. Williams, the Chinese interpreter, and Mr. Portman, the Dutch, were directed to state to him that the Commodore would not receive any one but a functionary of the highest rank, and that he might return on shore. As there seemed to be some difficulty in making progress in the Japanese language, one on board the boat alongside said, in very good English, "I can speak Dutch." Mr. Portman then commenced a conversation with him in that language, as his English seemed to have been exhausted in the first sentence. He appeared to be perfectly familiar with the Dutch, however, and commenced a very brisk volley of questions, many of which were not responded to. He asked if the ships came from America, and seemed to have expected them. He was very pertinacious in urging to be allowed to come on board, but was constantly refused permission, and was told that the commander of the squadron was of the highest rank, in the service to which he belonged, in the United States, and could confer only with the highest in rank at Uruga. He then stated that the vice-governor of Uruga was in the boat, and pointed to one of those in authority at his side, who, he said, held the highest position in the city, and was the proper person to be received. He was now asked why the governor himself did not come off, to which he replied that he was prevented by the laws from going on board ships in the roads; and proposed that the Commodore should appoint an officer of corresponding rank with the vice-governor to confer with him, as he was desirous of communicating to the government the object of the squadron's visit. The Commodore, after some intentional delay, consented to this request, and appointed his aid, Lieutenant Cotee, to receive him. The gangway-ladder was accordingly lowered, and the vice-governor, *Nagazawa Saburoaske*, accompanied by his interpreter, *Hori Tatsoske*, who spoke Dutch, came on board, and was received in the captain's cabin, where a conference was held, in fact, with the Commodore, who, however, stultically kept himself secluded in his own cabin, and communicated with the Japanese through his aid only.

It was directed that the dignitary should be informed that the Commodore, who had been sent by his country on a friendly mission to Japan, had brought a letter from the President of the United States, addressed to the Emperor, and that he wished a suitable officer might be sent on board his ship to receive a copy of the same, in order that a day might be appointed for the Commodore formally to deliver the original. To this he replied that Nagasaki was the only place, according to the laws of Japan, for negotiating foreign business, and it would be necessary for the squadron to go there. In answer to this he was told that the Commodore had come purposely to Uruga because it was near to Yedo, and that he *should not go to Nagasaki*; that he expected the letter to be duly and properly received where he then was; that his intentions were perfectly friendly, but that he would allow of no indignity; and would not permit the guard-boats which were collecting around the ships to remain where they were, and if they were not immediately removed, the Commodore declared that he would disperse them by force. When this was interpreted to him, the functionary suddenly left his seat, went to the gangway, and gave an order which caused most of the boats to return to the shore; but a few of them still remaining in clusters, an armed boat was sent from the ship to

warn them away by gestures, and at the same time to show their arms; this had the desired effect, as all of them disappeared, and nothing more was seen of them near the ships during the stay of the squadron. This, as says the Commodore, was the first important point gained. The vice-governor shortly afterward took his leave, saying, as he departed, that he had no authority to promise any thing respecting the reception of the President's letter, but in the morning an officer of higher rank would come from the city, who might probably furnish some further information.

The policy of the Commodore, it will be seen, was to assume a resolute attitude toward the Japanese government. He had determined, before reaching the coast, to carry out strictly this course in all his official relations, as he believed it the best to ensure a successful issue to the delicate mission with which he had been charged. He was resolved to adopt a course entirely contrary to that of all others who had hitherto visited Japan on a similar errand—to demand as a right, and not to solicit as a favor, those acts of courtesy which are due from one civilized nation to another; to allow of none of those petty annoyances which had been unsparingly visited upon those who had preceded him, and to disregard the acts as well as the threats of the authorities, if they in the least conflicted with his own sense of what was due to the dignity of the American flag.

The question of landing by force was left to be decided by the development of succeeding events; it was, of course, the very last measure to be resorted to, and the last that was desired; but in order to be prepared for the worst, the Commodore caused the ships constantly to be kept in perfect readiness, and the crews to be drilled as thoroughly as they are in time of active war. He was prepared, also, to meet the Japanese on their own ground, and exhibit toward them a little of their own exclusive policy; if they stood on their dignity and assumed superiority, that was a game at which he could play as well as they. It was well to let them know that other people had dignity also, which they know how to protect, and that they did not acknowledge the Japanese to be their superiors. Hence he forbade the admission of a single Japanese on board any of the ships, except those officers who might have business with him; and the visits even of such were to be confined to the flag-ship, to which they were admitted only on the declaration of their rank and business. The Commodore, also, was well aware that the more exclusive he should make himself, and the more unyielding he might be in adhering to his declared intentions, the more respect these people of forms and ceremonies would be disposed to award him; therefore it was that he deliberately resolved to confer personally with no one but a functionary of the highest rank in the empire. He would have been ashamed, in the indulgence of a contemptible pride founded on mere official rank, to assume a superiority, and affect a dignity, too lofty to stoop to the level of men below him in station. As a man, he did not deem himself too elevated to hold communication with any of his brethren in the common heritage of humanity; but in Japan, as the representative of his country, and the accredited guardian of the honor of that flag which floated over him, he felt that it was well to teach the Japanese, in the mode most intelligible to them, by stately and dignified reserve, joined to perfect equity in all he asked or did, to respect the country from which he came, and to suspend for a time their accustomed arrogance and incivility toward strangers. The Japanese so well understood him that they learned the lesson at once. It was this feeling, and this only, which prompted him to refuse to see the vice-governor of Uraga, and to refer him to his aid for conference. He saw him often enough afterward, when matters had been arranged between the governments, on terms of friendship and equality. And we have been thus particular, not for

the information of our countrymen, who know Commodore Perry, but for strangers who may read our story and, without this word of explanation, misapprehend the character of the man. No man is more easily approached by his fellow-men, or assumes less on account of the honorable position he fills in the service of his country.

The best proof that he judged wisely in determining on his course is in the results. The squadron was left free of all annoyance or interference on the part of the authorities during the whole period of its stay; an event unprecedented in the intercourse of Japan with foreign ships for more than two centuries. We have said there was no annoyance to the ships, but the Japanese were as yet too suspicious of foreigners not to resort to their favorite system of espionage: and, therefore, though the guard-vessels were withdrawn, as we have seen, there might still be observed floating here and there a boat in the distance, seemingly with the object of quietly watching the movements of the strangers; but they never came near the squadron, and were not by any act of the authorities forced upon the recognition of them, by the Americans, as guard-boats. That a watchful eye was kept upon the squadron was probable. Three or four rockets were shot up from the opposite land during the afternoon, which were supposed to be signals of some purpose or other. When night came on, the presence of the ships in their waters was evidently keeping up a very lively apprehension on the part of the Japanese on shore. Beacon fires were lighted upon every hill-top, and along the shores on either side as far as the eye could reach, and during the whole night the watchers on deck could hear the tolling of a great bell which was at first supposed to be that of a temple, but was probably an alarm or signal of some kind. The bay was otherwise as quiet as an inland lake, and nothing occurred to disturb the tranquillity of the night. When, however, the nine o'clock gun of the flag-ship, a sixty-four-pounder, was fired, the report reverberated loudly through the hills on the western side of the bay, and apparently created something of a commotion on shore, for here and there the fires were observed to be immediately extinguished. There seemed, however, no reason to expect any interference, although every precaution had been taken; the ships had quite a warlike aspect, with sentinels stationed fore and aft and upon the gangways at the sides, with a pile of round shot and four stands of grape at each gun, muskets stacked on the quarter-deck, and boats provided with carbines, pistols, cutlasses and other necessaries for service.

An interesting meteorological phenomenon was observed in the course of the night by Lieutenant Duer, in command of the watch, who describes it as a remarkable meteor seen from midnight until four o'clock in the morning. It made its appearance in the southward and westward and illuminated the whole atmosphere. The spars, sails, and hulls of the ships reflected its glare as distinctly as though a blue light were burning from each vessel at the same time. From the southward and westward, and about fifteen degrees above the horizon, it pursued a northeastwardly course in a direct line for a long distance, when it fell gradually toward the sea and disappeared. Its form was that of a large blue sphere with a real, wedge-shaped tail, which it could easily be observed was formed of ignited particles which resembled the sparks of a rocket as they appear upon its explosion. "The ancients" remarks the Commodore "would have construed this remarkable appearance of the heavens as a favorable omen for my enterprise they had undertaken," and adds "it may be so construed by us, as we pray God that our present attempt to bring a singular and isolated people into the family of civilized nations may succeed without resort to bloodshed."

As the sun rose next morning, gradually lifting the mist which had been spread during the night upon the surface of the bay, and still continued, here and there, the land with its fleecy

festoons, a beautiful view was disclosed. A bold shore, occasionally broken by steep escarpments of bare gray rock, extended along the western or Sagami side of the bay, with an undulating surface brightly green with verdure, tufts of undergrowth, and scattered groups of trees. Further inland the earth rose in a range of gently swelling hills, the sides of which were covered with vegetation. Two miles below the anchorage, the shore was less abrupt, and seemed more cultivated. From Uruga to the entrance of the inner bay of Yedo, marked by a promontory a mile and a half distant, innumerable towns and villages were grouped along the shores on either side. Uruga embraces two of these towns, separated from each other by a cliff; through the larger one of which a river passes and empties into the harbor, where floated a great number of small boats and several junks. As most of the vessels bound up the bay were seen to stop in their course at Uruga, that place was supposed to be an entrepot where certain custom dues had to be paid. Forts could be seen on the headlands here and there commanding the harbor, and as they were examined through the glass, some of them were found to be in an unfinished state, and in progress of construction or alteration. Some were mounted with cannon, though apparently of no great calibre, while others were without a gun. A length of screens had been stretched for a distance of several rods upon posts in front of the breastworks, as well as inside the forts behind the embrasures, and along parts of the shore. In the distance these screens seemed to be composed of cloth, and were marked with white and black stripes. Their purpose was not very obvious, although it was surmised that they were got up with the intention of making a false show of concealed force. The Japanese probably had not calculated upon the exactness of view afforded by a Dolland's telescope or a French opera glass. Companies of soldiers, in glaring scarlet uniforms, were seen to pass from garrison to garrison, some bearing flags with various insignia, and others large lanterns upon tall poles. The shore was lined with a formidable show of the same sort of government boats as had surrounded the ships on their arrival. They seemed to be picketed off from the town by two red flags which had been planted on the shore between them and the houses on the land.

The first approach to the *Susquehanna* from the shore was that of a boat at early sunrise next morning, (July 9th,) apparently containing a corps of artists, who came close to the ship's side, but making no attempt to come on board, busied themselves in taking sketches of the strange vessels. The important visit of the day, however, came off at seven o'clock, when two large boats rowed alongside, one of which contained a half dozen officials, whose presence was indicated by the three-striped flag at the stern. The interpreter who spoke Dutch was with them, and announced that the personage of highest authority in the city was present, and desired to come on board. The arrival of Keyamon Yezuzimen, (for such was his name,) who presented himself as the governor and greatest functionary of Uruga, thus plainly contradicting the declaration of the vice-governor of the day before, was then duly announced to the Commodore, who ordered that his highness should be received by Commanders Buchanan and Adams and Lieutenant Contee, the Commodore himself still refusing, in accordance with his policy, to receive any one but a counsellor of the Empire. The governor was attired, in character with his high position, as a noble of the third rank. He wore a rich silk robe of an embroidered pattern resembling the feathers of a peacock, with borders of gold and silver. He was duly received by the officers we have named, and immediately commenced with them a conference, which, however, was in reality with the Commodore, though he still preserved his seclusion. The governor, after a long discussion, in which he more than once declared that the Japanese laws made it impossible that the President's letter should be received at Uruga, and that, even if it were, the

answer would be sent to Nagasaki, added also that the squadron must proceed thither. In answer to this he was most distinctly told that the Commodore would never consent to such an arrangement, and would persist in delivering the letter where he was; and, moreover, that if the Japanese government did not see fit to appoint a suitable person to receive the documents in his possession addressed to the Emperor that he, the Commodore, whose duty it was to deliver them, would go on shore with a sufficient force and deliver them in person, be the consequences what they might.

In answer to this, the governor said that he would return to the city and send a communication to Yedo, asking for further instructions, and he added that it would take *four days* to obtain a reply. One hour's steaming would have taken the ships in sight of Yedo, and so the governor was informed that the Commodore would wait *three days only*, (until Tuesday, the 12th,) when a definite answer would be expected.

A boat had been sent at daylight from each ship of the squadron to survey the bay and harbor of Uruga. The governor, on observing these boats, inquired what they were doing, and when he was told that they were surveying the harbor, he said it was against the Japanese laws to allow of such examinations; to which he received for reply, that the American laws command them, and that Americans were as much bound to obey the American as he was the Japanese laws. "This," remarks the Commodore, "was a second and most important point gained." During all the questions and answers the interpreter had out his tablets, and was busy taking notes, and if all the importunate inquiries of the governor had been responded to, his reporter would have enjoyed no siccure.

At the interview, the original letter of the President, together with the Commodore's letter of credence, encased in the magnificent boxes which had been prepared in Washington, were shown to his excellency, who was evidently greatly impressed with their exquisite workmanship and costliness; and he made an offer for the first time of water and refreshments, but was told that the squadron was in no need of anything. The governor was made to understand perfectly that there would be no necessity for any further discussion until the time appointed for the delivery of the answer from the Japanese government should arrive; and he left the ship fully impressed with this understanding.

During the conference, the governor and his interpreter were requested to use the same designation in speaking of the President of the United States as that by which they distinguished the Emperor. They complied with this request, although, previous to it, they had used different terms for the two dignitaries. In a country like Japan, so governed by ceremonials of all kinds, it was necessary to guard with the strictest etiquette even the forms of speech; and it was found that by a diligent attention to the minutest and apparently most insignificant details of word and action, the desired impression was made upon Japanese diplomacy; which, as a smooth surface requires one equally smooth to touch it at every point, can only be fully reached and met by the nicest adjustment of the most polished formality.

The surveying boats, which seemed to give so much uneasiness to the governor, had been well manned and armed, and Lieutenant Bent, of the *Mississippi*, who was in command, was instructed not to go beyond the range of the ships' guns, while a good look-out was kept upon the surveying party, in order that assistance might be sent to them should they be attacked. In addition to the usual boat ensigns at the stern, white flags, indicative of their peaceful intentions, were borne on the bows. They spread themselves out toward the opposite shore as they pulled away, sounding at every boat's length, and had rounded about two miles further up

the bay than the anchorage of the squadron, when they were recalled by a signal gun. On their return they were sent out again, with orders to keep nearer to the western shore. In the afternoon all the boats returned, coming alongside at about three o'clock p. m.

The hydrographic reports were of the most favorable character, as deep water was found as far up as four miles toward the head of the bay, which was the extent of the first survey. The soundings varied from twenty-nine to forty-three fathoms, and at the height of the ebb tide a current was observed running at the rate of two or three knots. The examination of the harbor of Uruga, which was carried to within a few feet of the shore, gave five fathoms at about a cable's length distance, while within that space from the land several reefs were found to extend out. As the boats approached the shores there was a good view of the fortifications, which did not seem to be of a very formidable character. Their construction did not exhibit much strength or art. Their position and armament were such as to expose them to an easy assault; their parapets were in earthwork, while many of the buildings, the barracks and magazines, appeared to be of wood. They mounted but few guns, and those of small calibre, while their embrasures were so wide that the cannon were greatly exposed.

On the first approach of the survey boats the soldiers showed themselves in considerable force, and were observed to be fully armed. They presented quite a bristling front with their spears and match-locks, while their lacquered caps and shields flashed brightly in the sun. They did not seem disposed, however, to make any very decided stand, for they retreated within the walls of the fortification as soon as the boats made in closer with the land. One of the officers in command of a ship's boat approached to within a hundred yards of the shore, and observing three persons, seemingly of authority, standing out upon an embankment, levelled his glass at them, whereat they disappeared on the instant, evidently much discomposed at being sighted with an instrument which they (though not unfamiliar with the telescope) might have supposed to be a weapon unknown to them, and capable of projecting something more deadly than the glance of an eye. The Japanese soldiers in the boats along shore beckoned to our officer to keep off, while he, in response, made a sign to show the direction in which he was going. The Japanese then put off and approached so rapidly that it appeared as if their intention was to intercept the ship's boat, and the officer in command accordingly gave orders to his men to rest upon their cars and adjust the caps to their carbines. There was, however, no attempt directly to interfere with this or any other of the ship's cutters, although they were followed by numbers of Japanese boats, which, however, on seeing our men well armed, did not venture to molest them. The artist who accompanied the surveying party had an excellent opportunity, which was well improved, of making sketches of the land, the forts, and various other objects on shore.

Everything seemed propitious, as the action of the Commodore had so far been crowned with success. He had gained his purpose in clearing the squadron of the presence of the guard-boats; he had compelled the visit of the first in authority at Uruga; he had surveyed the harbor; he had refused to go to Nagasaki, and kept his position in the bay of Yedo; and this last he determined to retain until he had some definite answer as to the reception of the President's letter by a person of proper rank and authority.

The weather added its smiles to the occasion, for nothing could be more propitious. The heat, which was not excessive, for the thermometer hardly ranged above 78°, was tempered by cool sea breezes, and the atmosphere was so clear that every object appeared with great distinctness, and there was a picturesque view disclosed to the eye on all sides. The peaked summit of Fusi rose, with great distinctness, above the high land on the western coast, and ten

milos ahead the bold cliff, which guards both sides of the entrance to the inner harbor leading to Yedo, were readily discernible. Nearer, the houses of Uruga could be so plainly seen that their peculiar forms and construction could be made out, and they were perceived to be built of wood, with roofs of various forms—pointed, square, and pyramidal. Most of the buildings were of the natural color of the wood, somewhat discolored, however, by time, while some few were painted white. The Japanese boats and junks, to the number of several hundreds, extending from the headland, off which the *Sasquehanna* was anchored, to the harbor, were so distinctly visible as to be readily counted. Nearer still, the eye could minutely distinguish the parts of the unfinished forts that were in the process of construction on the heights opposite to the ship.

The next day was Sunday, (July 10th,) and, as usual, divine service was held on board the ships and, in accordance with proper reverence for the day, no communication was held with the Japanese authorities. During the day, however, a boat came off with a striped flag, which indicated the high rank of the three or four Japanese sitting beneath its awning and languidly using their fans. They were evidently persons of distinction, and had the same intelligent expression and the remarkably courtly manners which were uniformly observed in all those of the better class. On coming alongside they, through their interpreter whom they had brought, requested permission to come on board. They were asked if they had any business with the Commodore, and answering that they had none, but merely wished to have a talk, were politely informed that, by his orders, they could not be received. Through the day, preparations were observed to be still proceeding on the land; the soldiers moved busily, with their glistening shields and long spears, about the batteries in sight, and some seemed to be engaged in removing the shun forts of striped canvas, and in training more guns upon the squadron. The reverberations of the report of a cannon, fired off apparently some distance up the bay, echoed through the hills, and were distinctly heard on board the ships. At night, the beacon-fires, though fewer in number than on the previous evening, again blazed, while the deep-toned bell tolled as usual until morning. Everything, however, remained on board the ships tranquil and without interruption, as befitted the Christian day of rest.

On the next morning early (Monday) the surveying boats were dispatched higher up the bay, and Commander Lee, of the steamer *Mississippi*, was directed to get his ship under way to protect them, if necessary. The governor of Uruga, on seeing the *Mississippi* going higher up, came on board, although he had been told that there would be no necessity for further communication or discussion until the reply from Yedo was received.

The Commodore had sent the *Mississippi* and the boats on the service, in part for effect, being satisfied that the very circumstance of approaching nearer to Yedo with a powerful ship would alarm the authorities, and induce them to give a more favorable answer to his demands. It happened as was expected. The governor pretended that his visit to the ship was simply for the purpose of bringing the information that it was very probable the letters (meaning, as was then supposed, the translations of the originals) would be received on the following day, and forwarded to Yedo. His evident object in coming on board, however, was to ascertain for what purpose the *Mississippi* and the surveying boats had ascended the bay, and he accordingly put the question.

The Commodore, anticipating the inquiry, directed that the governor should be informed that, unless the business which had brought the squadron to the bay of Yedo was arranged

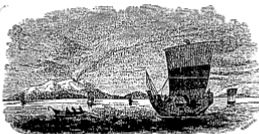
during the present visit, he, the Commodore, would be obliged to return in the ensuing spring with a larger force; and, as the anchorage in front of Uraga was not convenient or safe, he was desirous of seeking a more favorable situation nearer to Yedo, which would facilitate his communication with that city.

The surveying party, as on the previous occasion, was composed of boats from each ship of the squadron, under the command of Lieutenant Bent. They were sent out with general directions from the Commodore to go as far up the bay toward Yedo as possible, without getting out of signal distance from the squadron, and to avoid giving any occasion of conflict with the people of the country. Their departure was watched with considerable anxiety by those on board the *Susquehanna*. Thirty fathoms of her cable had been taken in, and the remainder was all ready to slip, while steam was got up, to be in readiness for any emergency. The movements on shore were quite lively: in the distance, on the eastern shore, large numbers of soldiers—as many apparently as a thousand—were seen to march down from the higher ground to the beach, and there embark in boats, which put off immediately in the direction of the surveying party. And, during the whole time, the various batteries were busy with the movements of the troops, who seemed to be either preparing for hostilities, or attempting to make a formidable show of force.

The boats proceeded from ten to twelve miles further toward Yedo than the anchorage of the squadron. In proceeding up the bay, numbers of government vessels appeared, waving off the intruders, and some thirty-five put off in a direction fronting the course of the surveying boats, as if intending to intercept them. Lieutenant Bent, who was in advance, ordered his men to rest on their oars, and to affix their bayonets to their muskets, but this proceeding did not seem to have the effect he had hoped for, of stopping the Japanese boats. They still came on. The lieutenant, anxious to avoid a rupture, then changed his course somewhat, to prevent an immediate collision, and dispatched a boat for the *Mississippi*, which was about two miles astern. The desired effect was soon produced by the approach of the steamer, and there was no apparent disposition shown afterward to interfere with the party, which continued the exploration. Deep soundings were found the whole distance, with a soft bottom of mud. A channel seemed to exist at the furthest point reached; in the centre the lead gave a depth of twenty fathoms, while on the sides it struck upon banks of mud at not more than five fathoms. It was inferred that there were deep soundings still further, and that the squadron might readily push on with safety to within a few miles of Yedo itself. At the extreme distance of the boats' passage there was a smaller bay, cut out, as it were, from the larger, which, it was supposed, would probably afford an excellent anchorage. On either side the shores were abrupt, and extended back into lofty hills, and from the position of the boats at this point a town was observed on the right side of the bay of Yedo. The *Mississippi* had disappeared for some time from the view of those on board the other ships; but, just as the signal gun was about to be fired for her recall, she shot round the promontory, some two or three miles up the bay, which had concealed her from sight, came steaming down, with the boats in tow, and was soon quietly settled at her old anchorage, passing on her way between the *Susquehanna* and the *Uraga* shore, and attracting the attention of numbers of soldiers on the latter, who came out to see her pass.

The bay was covered all day, as usual, with the Japanese junks, sailing up or down, apparently carrying on a brisk commerce, and not at all disturbed by the presence of the squadron. Some of the fishing smacks and other boats would, indeed, at times approach

pretty near to the ships, but obviously merely to gratify curiosity, as their crews would stand up and gaze intently, but gave no sign either of alarm or hostility. The trading vessels were observed to stop at a town on the opposite side in coming down, and at Uraga in going up, in accordance, probably, as has already been intimated, with some regulation of the customs. Everything passed tranquilly, and the next day, which was to bring some reply or other to the Commodore's demands, was looked forward to with deep solicitude and interest by every man on board the ships.



In the Bay of Yedo.