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CALIFORNIA'S PACIFIC DESTINY

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Before the 19th century, Japan was nearly unknown to the Western world. It was a small, insignificant island, "shrouded by mists," remote from the center of civilization. The fact that it shunned contact with foreign countries was not necessarily bad. Engelbert Kaempfer, in the 1690s, felt that Japan's "happy condition" would be destroyed by such contact. Beginning in the late 18th century, however, this romantic perception of Japan and the Orient began to change. Adam Smith and the industrial revolution had transformed the world into a vast marketplace. The energy poured into the economic conquest of the globe was paralleled with efforts to convert the heathen masses. At the beginning of the 19th century the Orient seemed an open invitation, a new frontier, for Western expansionism.

Japan was no longer distant; the invention of the steamship had made sea transportation easier, but more important was a new awareness of the commercial potential of Japan. Kaempfer had validated Marco Polo's description of Japan as a land of riches: "The greatest riches of the Japanese soil and those where in this empire exceeds most known countries, consist in all sorts of mine minerals and metals, particularly in gold, silver and copper."[1] His descriptions of Japan's commercial prosperity were also tantalizing. Japan seemed a perfect market for the manufactured goods of the West. Moreover, despite their riches, the Japanese believed in a religion which, according to one American writer in the early 19th century, represented "the grossest paganism, being destitute of joy and remarkable only for those austerities which render worship a rarity and a penance."[2] Japan was thus equally a challenge to the missionary, all the more because of its

seclusion.

The young republic of America was especially eager to break down Japan's closed doors. The early Americans were a commercial people. According to Alexis de Tocqueville, "I cannot help believing that they [the Americans] will one day become the foremost maritime power of the globe. They are born to rule the seas, as the Romans were to conquer the world."[3] Despite the agricultural and industrial potential of the new nation, these areas were largely underdeveloped and America depended more on overseas merchant activity. The Yankee skippers not only could trade their raw materials for European imports, but also earn good profits by carrying the manufactures of Europe to distant parts of the world.

Well before much thought was given to developing America's own continental frontier, Americans were dreaming about opening up the Pacific. As one congressman put it in 1803: "Geography points us to China, Persia, India, Arabia, Felix and Japan."[4] Commercial gain was not the only motive behind American expansionism. Religious zeal was another. As early as 1810 New England clergymen had formed the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions and had set their sights on the Orient. Americans felt themselves to be the center of a new world order; it was America's mission "to carry those principles of liberty and enterprise which have given this country its prominence and its glory throughout the world to the other races and nations of mankind."[5]

From the beginning, Americans considered themselves to be an expanding nation. Starting with the Lewis and Clark expeditions, Americans moved steadily west. By the 1820s the Santa Fe Trail opened the way to the Rocky Mountains; by the 1830s other trails led Americans into Oregon and California. By the 1840s, Americans could declare the "west was no longer an unknown wilderness. It had become a stepping stone on the road to India."[6] The annexation of California in 1848 brought American ports closer to the East Asian trade. Secretary of the Treasury Robert Walker declared in 1848: "Asia has suddenly become our neighbor with a placid, intervening ocean

inviting our steamships upon the track of a commerce greater than that of all Europe combined."[7]

This paper will examine some of the reasons America took the lead in opening Japan to the West. It will examine the American image of Japan as seen in newspapers and show how public opinion played a role in forcing the American government to take positive steps in the Pacific. Particular emphasis will be placed on arguments emanating from California to continue America's westward expansion into the Pacific.

In 1851 President Fillmore announced that a naval expedition would be sent to Japan to "secure friendship, commerce, a supply of coal and provisions, and protection for our shipwrecked people." Commodore John H. Aulick was placed in command of the mission. On June 10, 1851 Secretary of State Daniel Webster gave Aulick his sailing orders: he was to negotiate a shipwreck convention, secure the right of American ships to enter Japanese ports, and procure a coal depot.

Webster foresaw a great revolution in world commerce resulting from the mission to Japan: "The moment is now when the last link in the chain of oceanic steam navigation is to be formed. From China and the East Indies to Egypt, thence through the Mediterranean and Atlantic ocean to England, thence again to our happy shores, and other parts of this great continent; from our own ports to the southernmost part of the isthmus that connects the two western continents; and from its Pacific coast, north and southwards, as far as civilization has spread, the steamers of other nations and our own carry intelligence, the wealth of the world, and thousands of travelers.

"It is the President's opinion that steps should be taken at once to enable our enterprising merchants to supply the last link in that great chain which united all nations of the world, by the early establishment of a line of steamers from California to China. In order to facilitate this enterprise, it is desirable that we should obtain, from the Emperor of Japan, permission to purchase from his subjects the necessary supplies of coal, which our steamers on their out and inward voyages may require… The interests of commerce, and even those of humanity,

demand··· that we should make another appeal to the sovereign of that country, in asking him to sell to our steamers, not the manufactures of his artisans, or the results of the toil of his husbandmen, but a gift of Providence, deposited, by the Creator of all things, in the depths of the Japanese islands for the benefit of the human family."[8]

The Aulick mission proved a fiasco. Quarrels broke out between the Commodore and his crew and allegations of fraud forced his dismissal. In January 1852 he was replaced by Commodore Matthew C. Perry, whose views of America's future greatness as a commercial power in the Pacific agreed with those of Daniel Webster.

News of the new mission to Japan was widely acclaimed, especially in California. The *Daily Alta California*, on June 21, 1852, soon after hearing news of the Perry mission, exclaimed: "Hurrah for the Universal Yankee Nation, Com. Perry, and the new prospective State of Japan!" The following section will examine the California responses to the American initiative in opening Japan. California had only recently (in 1848) been incorporated into the Union. The gold rush which began in 1849 transformed California into America's new frontier. But almost from the very beginning, Americans in California looked more to the Pacific than to the gold fields in the Sierra Nevadas as the site of their future greatness.

A series of articles relating to Japan appearing the *Daily Alta California*, a San Francisco based newspaper, between the years 1851 and 1854, can be used to demonstrate the California response to the opening of Japan.[9] The number of articles which dealt specifically with Japan appearing in this local newspaper is impressive: in 1851 there were 14 articles; in 1852, 8; in 1853, 15; and in 1854, 10. Perhaps the number is not as impressive as the contents: many of the articles were excited and optimistic about California's role in America's destiny to expand into the Pacific and saw Perry's mission as the first step in the fulfillment of that destiny. In the interests of future analysis of West Coast attitudes towards Japan, quotations from the *Daily Alta California* will be given in length.

As early as March 13, 1851, two years after the gold rush had begun

and at a time when the population of San Francisco was a mere 3,000 souls, the *Alta* was making prophetic remarks about the future of San Francisco as the "Mistress of the Pacific," the first commercial city of the world. "A great commercial mart has sprung up by magic in San Francisco. The commerce of the whole world is directed to these golden gates and we can now see ships of almost every nation riding in our harbor, and bringing us the products of every clime. ··· Almost every month opens new fields of commercial adventure in San Francisco. The whole Pacific seas are before us and invite us to occupy them with our trade. We cannot escape our destiny if we would."[10]

The San Francisco newspaper followed this forecast with concrete suggestions about how the American government should go about opening "communication with the invisible empire of islands." On March 4 seventeen Japanese castaways had been transported to San Francisco on the American whaler, *Auckland*. As early as March 17, the *Alta* suggested that their return "may be the means of opening a communication with that country."[11] Then in a March 26 editorial, the newspaper urged that they be conveyed home on an American warship and that the opportunity be used to make a treaty with the Japanese government.[12] The Californians were anxious to open Japan to trade: "It is well known that the people are favorable and anxious to trade with the Americans, and will do so when they can steal the opportunity. It is the Government of Japan and its attendant aristocracy which opposes these iron repulses to our advances··· We have no sympathy with the boorish, distrustful touch-me-not system of Japan and should heartily rejoice if by any fair means the bigoted representatives of power there could be tumbled down from their self exaltation, if to do so it were even necessary to tumble the throne itself."[13]

Simple curiosity was also a factor in the argument and resolve to open Japan: "It is impossible that the world of nations, around which commerce and mutual dependence, untrammeled thought and practical freedom of action and enterprise are so fast and certainly weaving the golden web of brotherhood and international communication, can or

will much longer endure or allow the maintenance by Japan of her most obnoxious and ungracious system, her universal embargo law, shutting herself up from the rest of mankind—in the world, but not of it. It is seriously doubted if any nation have any such right inherent. Japan is a problem—it must and will be solved. ··· The truth is the world's curiosity will not let things rest as they are."[14]

Several editorials in 1851 stressed the inevitable Western movement of civilization. Americans had moved across the continent, and having reached the Pacific Ocean, it would nonetheless continue. "The spirit of enterprise and adventure has for centuries been pursuing its course westward, and now in that direction when American progress on our continent has been stayed by the waves of the Pacific which dash against our rocky coast, the eye of the adventurer is looking far off into the ocean."[15] Americans, with Californians in the lead, had a civilizing role to play in Asia. "As surely as Western Europe owes its present civilization to the interior hordes of Asia, which made their excursions westward, so surely will the descendants of its emigrants carry civilization, commerce and liberal institutions across the Pacific, as they have across the new world, and modify and change the superannuated habits of the Asiatics, and rejuvenate their effete dynasties, ideas and condition."[16]

Other editorials in 1851 emphasized California's future role in bringing freedom and enlightenment to despotic nations of the Pacific: on April 24 the *Alta* wrote that: "It is hoped a new era is dawning on the commerce and civilization of that country [Japan], and that shortly its exclusive system my be relaxed, under more liberal and enlightened influences, in which may our Government take the lead."[17] Later, on July 10, the paper declared: "It has long been known that the tendency of civilization is to progress towards the realms of the setting sun, and that from the Occident the Yankee nation are fast merging into the gorgeous clime of the Orient··· It has been our destiny to push on, precipitately regardless of the result to other nations and reckless of the future, for ourselves; propitiating fate by the banner which we have borne aloft, whose folds have flung Freedom to the world, and

dispensed the favors of the free and enlightened wherever it has been carried."[18]

Perhaps more important that Japan as an object of American enlightenment, the image of Japan as a market for American industry loomed large, especially for the ambitious state of California. As the *Daily Alta California* put it on July 8, 1851 in an editorial entitled "Commercial Intercourse with Japan," "Of all the countries of the Eastern seas, important in the line of commercial relations to the great civilizing center of the globe, the United States of America, not one occupies a more favored position, or presents in greater abundance advantages for an enlightened trade than the vast and wealthy region of Japan. In the great chain of a connecting commerce which now girds the earth and by every added link secures strength and wealth for the majesty of the great Republic, the importance of uniting Japan is becoming every day more and more perceived. ··· A golden link to the chain of commerce was added in the acquisition of California and in the opening of intercourse with Japan there will be another link united, precious as the gems of an oriental bride."[19]

Californians were eager to take the lead in opening Japan to commercial relations with world. Repeated arguments were made against Japan's policy of national seclusion. "No nation has the right to be exclusive and hold its productions from all others; none have the right to close their ports to the call of traffic; most certainly not to the calls of distress. None have the right when in the highway, to close their gates on all passers. The earth is a common heritage of all mankind, and its productions are meant to be shared by all its inhabitants."[20]

The first mention of a American mission to Japan to appear in the *Daily Alta* came on March 7, 1852. "Our growing communication, and the increased amount of life and tonnage thus exposed, renders the securing a port of refuge for our numerous commercial and whaling fleet, of imperative necessity, and it is a matter of earnest expectation, that Commodore Aulick may be able to make such report from the Japanese authorities, as to show a probability that a port may be

secured on their southern coast. The advantages of which, in a commercial point of view, cannot be too highly rated, not only being an opening for our commerce with our unsociable neighbors, but as a depot for our whaling fleet and coaling place for our steamers, and a refuge for the distressed, as a point which, in time of war would be invaluable, from which to afford protection to the immense and constantly increasing commercial interests we have in the Pacific."[21] Later, on May 1, 1852, news of the departure of the "Japan Squadron" under Commodore Perry was printed, complete with a list of the ships, and the comment that "a more efficient fleet has not been dispatched from the shores of the U.S. for many a day."[22]

It was not until December 1852 that the *Daily Alta California* returned to the theme of prying open "the Hermit of Nations." Again the argument centered around the special destiny of California: "The geographical position of California and its occupancy by the most powerful and active of human races, clearly destine it to share largely the profit of the commerce of the East. ··· Hence it is difficult to exaggerate the interest of our State in all that tends to develop and promote civilized intercourse with the populous and wealthy regions of the East." The paper went on to praise the goals of the Perry Mission. "The meager information which we possess warrants the conclusion that the inhabitants of Japan are less obstantely attached by custom, and are more impressible than the kindred people of the continent. In the future, therefore, the suggestions springing from enlarged intercourse with other nations, the promptings of an advanced civilization, may occasion a demand for many of the utensils of the house, the implements of the field, and the articles of personal dress and adornment common to the Christian world. To stimulate the curiosity and excite the desire of this Eremitic people, the expedition will be supplied with apparatus intended to display some of the most surprising manifestations of modern discovery. The steam engine, the electric telegraph, and the daguerreotype will be exhibited in operation. An interesting miscellany of presents for the court, the fabrication of American skill and ingenuity, will be carried out. Every effort of a

peaceful character will be employed to effect the desired result of friendly intercourse."[23]

The use of force in opening Japan, however, was not to be ruled out. The same editorial concluded: "Let us inquire how far we are justified in interfering to establish the intercourse with Japan which we desire. It is obviously the duty as it is the avowed intention of government to employ primarily peaceful and persuasive means. Should these fail, we hold *limited coercion* to be necessary and proper."[24]

Obviously this was not enough for some San Franciscians. An editorial entitled "The Japanese Expedition," appeared the next day (December 3) which was far more militant in tone. It began by saying that statements about the number of presents or toys to be given to "our exclusive neighbors" added to fears that the Perry expedition would not meet with success. "A government like the Japanese are not to be bought or coaxed, and in whatever spirit the gifts are presented, it is to be feared that they will be viewed in this light, and become a hindrance instead of assistance to negotiation. To be successful, an immediate and prompt demand must be made and carried with such a show of force that it cannot be refused." According to the editorial, the Japanese, and other Asiatic people, will not act unless "prompt and decisive measures" are taken. "Our seaman have been abused, imprisoned, murdered, and perhaps even now may be held captive; our merchants ships in want of water, have been fired into on their coast and in their dependencies, and death or captivity is the certain fate of any unfortunate enough to be wrecked within their dominions. These are reasons enough for a demand of a port and resident consulate, and to enforce which is but a duty our Government owes our rapidly increasing commerce."[25]

News of the make-up of the Perry mission which appeared on January 11, 1853 gave some reassurance to fears that the mission would be one of form only. The expedition, fully fitted out, was to consist of 14 vessels (including storeships), 236 cannon, and 3,125 men.[26] The Perry mission was unprecedented in the number of men and munitions mustered in peacetime for purposes of diplomacy. The opening of Japan

had become a national priority, and Californians saw the event as the unfolding of their own "manifest destiny."

A February 1, 1853 editorial likened San Francisco to Venice in the Middle Ages and said it was destined to become "a dispensing mercantile medium for the world." This time, however, the future of world commerce was the Pacific Ocean: "Asia is at our gates, and it is not in the nature of our people to remain unprofited by the proximity. ··· The period which shall witness a continuous chain of steam communication from the crowded marts of China to the port of San Francisco, and thence across the continent to the Atlantic, is at hand. ··· Nor can we doubt that our efforts for the establishment of intercourse with Japan will prove entirely successful. The prevalent notions of the resources of that secluded archipelago, and its capacity for trade, may be but the results of unauthorized conjecture; yet the facts of its past history indicate it peculiarly rich in metallic wealth— its position and diversity of climate induce us to infer that it is capable of producing in large quantity valuable vegetable articles of traffic. Enlarged intercourse will stimulate the wants and infect with new desires a numerous population able to consume largely, and thus will be created a market for our manufacturers, expanding apace with the progress of civilization. ··· The clipper and the steamship constantly lessen the distance between the continents of Asia and America. Our commercial future, destined to transcend the most famous era of the past, is neither problematic nor remote."[27]

Californians waited anxiously for news of Perry's progress. The Japan Squadron had sailed from Norfolk on November 24, 1852, rounded the Cape of Good Hope, and reached Hong Kong by early April 1853. It then made short visits to the Bonin Islands and the Ryukyu Islands before boldly sailing into Edo Bay on July 8. On March 5, 1853 the *Daily Alta California* complained of lack of news. "Of the workings of destiny— or *diplomacy*, we hardly know which to call it— over the broad expanse of Asia, our Atlantic readers indeed know nothing. And we on the shores of the great Pacific might plead for our ignorance the same excuse— the want of facilities for possessing ourselves of

information from the shores and in the interior of Asia, but that our contiguity is such that we might almost expect, on the breath of the wind that bears away our clippers, some tidings of the startling events that are now actually transpiring on the western shores of the waters that lave our coast. ··· We must await the day— and glorious will be the dawn! — that will bring to us steam communication with the shores of the Eastern Old World."[28]

Given these expectations, rumors circulating in May that the Perry Mission, like the Aulick Mission before it, had been recalled, came as an angry shock. "Japan is still to remain a sealed book, after all. The squadron is to be recalled, Commodore Perry is to be taken out of his element, and hauled up on the dry dock. We are to have no port in Japan, no further knowledge of its people, no treaties of peace or good will, no protections for our wrecked seamen, no harbors for our Arctic whalers, nothing but mystery and non-intercourse, nothing but stripes and prisons, and death by starvation, bastinado and poison. ··· All our boasting about opening Japan is to prove only boast and gas, our ships are to return to rot, and the nation is to become the sneer-target for all civilization. ··· Our clippers are plowing the Pacific waters everywhere, and our commerce, already large, promises a glorious future, provided it be fostered and protected by the national arm and force. But this is not to be — the Atlantic only is worth attention! Cannot our statesmen break the shell which encases their minds like the oyster, and let their souls and ideas expand a little?"[29]

The *Daily Alta California*, on May 9, 1853, issued a vehement attack on the failure of the Atlantic-based government to see the importance of the future of the Pacific. "President Pierce could scarcely do a more unpopular thing than to recall the Japan Expedition. ··· The effect of the backing out from what the nation, as well as the times, Trade, Commerce, Civilization, Humanity and Religion have demanded, will tend to render it unpopular. The recall of this Expedition is against all our ideas of progress, is against the character of our people, is against the spirit of the age. The Nineteenth Century is like a diamond with a black speck in it, as long as the national

cynie, Japan, is found isolated and unenlightened in its midst. No nation under Heaven has the right to thus kick all other people and interests from its doors. There are rights of humanity as well as rights of nation, and as human rights are vastly greater than merely those of a part of humanity, the world has a claim upon at least courtesy and humanity from each and every part of it. Japan spits in our face, and we are about to act like Sir Walter Raleigh, but with a far different result undoubtedly. Our great nation, having armed itself, put on helmet and shield, girded its sword and cocked its rifle, turns meekly round, takes out its bandana, wipes the spittle from its face, and the warlike General Jonathan becomes merely a militia corporale held up as the target for the scorn-balls of creation."[30]

These rumors were not quickly denied, and it was not until October that San Franciscans learned that Perry had succeeded in opening negotiations with the Japanese, who were thereby suddenly transformed into an intelligent and progressive people: "The favorable reception of Commodore Perry by the Imperial government of Japan is the most interesting event of the age, as indicative of an early abandonment of the exclusive policy so long and so tenaciously adhered to by that rich beautiful and remarkable country. There is no reasonable doubt of the speedy completion of a treaty of amity and commerce between the United States and Japan, which will constitute one of the most important events of modern times — an event, the effects of which are almost incalculable. It will be the virtual creation of a new and mighty empire, whose influence among the nations of the earth will be felt in all after times."[31]

Californians were excited about the prospects of a new and rich trade developing in the Pacific. They were satisfied that the government in Washington had finally decided upon a progressive policy that would result in a line of steamers plying between San Francisco, Japan, and China. "It is probable that Commodore Perry is now in Japan prosecuting his important duties, and that the next intelligence from that quarter will be of his entire success. The spirit of the age is truly progressive, and it is progressing in the right

direction, when it seeks its triumphs by the genial power of commerce and peace, instead of by fire and sword."[32]

Perry had completed his first round of negotiations in Japan and left Japan on July 17, intending to spend the winter months in Hong Kong. There he was informed of the activities of the Russians and afraid that they might annex Japan and become, instead of America, the "maritime power of the world,"[33] the Commodore decided to return early to Japan. He left Hong Kong on January 14 and entered Edo Bay on February 13 with an enlarged American fleet of "black ships." Negotiations began on March 8 and continued through the month; finally, on March 31, the Treaty of Kanagawa was signed. It was not a commercial treaty as Perry had hoped, but it did open two ports, Shimoda and Hakodate, to American ships in need of stores and repairs, and it did proclaim friendship between Japan and the United States. That itself was enough to touch off revolution.

News of the treaty did not reach San Francisco until June 8, 1854. Californians also smelled the air of revolution: "It may appear at a superficial glance that the treaty is, after all, one of no great importance, as the privileges acquired by it are of so limited a nature. But when we come to reflect that Japan has been as an unknown land to the navigators of the world for centuries, that it has ever been her policy to prevent "barbarians" from even touching her soil, and that her intercourse with the whole world beyond her has been through the two Dutch ships that annually were allowed to anchor in the bay of Nagasaki, we may consider our treaty with her as a matter of the greatest, the most vital importance to our own country, and to the commercial world at large. It is the entering wedge that will, ere long, open to us the interior wealth of these unknown lands, which shall pour their riches in our lap. As it is, a new field is opened to our commerce, and one in which California is especially interested."[34] Headlines for a separate June 8 article on the new treaty with Japan praised Perry for opening Japan to trade:

NEWS FROM JAPAN
AMERICAN TREATY WITH JAPAN!
COM PERRY'S MISSION SUCCESSFUL
PORTS OF JAPAN TO BE OPEN
TO AMERICAN COMMERCE

The "fine print" gave quite a different story. "It is not a commercial treaty, but one of Amity and Friendship, concluded in amity and friendship, and not an imposition of the strong upon the weak, whether they were willing or not." The treaty was, nonetheless, a beginning and Californians were quick to dream of the future. "A Treaty has been made with Japan! The wedge has been entered, which will not fail to open that empire to the ultimate free residence, egress and ingress of Americans, and probably of all other commercial nations. Commodore Perry has proven himself a skillful diplomatist and additional distinction has been earned for American name and nation."[35]

In the meanwhile, one enterprising San Francisco merchant, Silas E. Burrows, had set sail aboard the *Lady Pierce* with a cargo of goods in anticipation of a favorable conclusion to the Japan expedition. He arrived in Edo Bay fifteen days after Perry left and thus earned the distinction of being the first private foreign merchant to operate in Japan.[35] Others, fired by similar expectations of California's destiny in the Pacific, were quick to follow in his wake.

Notes

(1) Quoted in Charles MacFarlane, *Japan: An Account*, London, 1852, p.271.
(2) Quoted in William Neumann, *America Encounters Japan*, John Hopkins Press, 1969, p.25.
(3) Alexis de Tocqueville, *Democracy in America*, Vintage paperback edition, Vol.1, p.439.
(4) Quoted in William Neumann, *American Encounters Japan*, p.5.
(5) Quoted in Neumann, p.24. For the classic interpretation (reinterpretation) of the role of "manifest destiny" in American history, see Frederick Merk, *Manifest*

Destiny and Mission in American History, Vintage edition, 1966. Merk, however, does not extend his argument to a consideration to images of America's destiny in the Pacific.

(6) William H. Goetzmann, *Exploration and Empire: The Explorer and the Scientist in the Winning of the American West*, New York, 1967, p.179.

(7) Quoted in Neumann, p.23.

(8) *The Writings and Speeches of Daniel Webster*, Boston: Little, Brown and Co., 1903, Vol.14, pp.427-29. See also *Senate Executive Document*, No.59.

(9) This paper is based upon the *Daily Alta California*; a microfilm copy of the years 1849-1869 was purchased as part of the joint-reseach project "Japanese-American Cultural Interactions in the Late 19th Century," support generously provided by the Japanese Ministry of Education. The microfilm is housed in the ICU University Library.

(10) *Daily Alta California*, "Commercial Supremacy of the Pacific Coast," March 13, 1851.

(11) *Daily Alta California*, March 17, 1851.

(12) In fact the Japanese castaways were transported to Hong Kong and Commodore Aulick was given orders to collect them before proceeding to Edo. The Japanese arrived in Hong Kong via the *Plymouth* on April 23, 1852, but were not willing to act as "human shields" to help the Americans enter Japan. Aulick wrote to Secretary Graham explaining their worries: if they "landed on any part of their coast from a Squadron of Ships of War, not only will they lose their heads, but the same terrible fate will be visited upon the heads of their whole families." Three of the Japanese sought to return to California; the others sought to enter Japan on Chinese junks. See Helen Humeston, *Origins of America's Japan Policy, 1790-1854*, Ph.D. dissertation, University of Minnesota, 1981 (University Microfilms), pp.212-213.

(13) *Daily Alta California*, March 26, 1851.

(14) *ibid.*

(15) *Daily Alta California*, October 26, 1851.

(16) *Daily Alta California*, April 17, 1851.

(17) *Daily Alta California*, April 24, 1851.

(18) *Daily Alta California*, July 10, 1851.

(19) *Daily Alta California*, July 8, 1851.

(20) *Daily Alta California*, July 29, 1851.

(21) *Daily Alta California*, March 7, 1852.

(22) *Daily Alta California*, May 1, 1852.

(23) *Daily Alta California*, December 2, 1852.

(24) *ibid.*

(25) *Daily Alta California*, December 3, 1852. An article in the December 6 issue continued this argument: "If the expedition is going out with temporizing, child's play instructions, it might as well stay at home. If, as it has been reported, the ships are loaded with trinkets and trumpery, with which to coax the Japanese into a treaty of commerce and amity, there will be no treaty made. But if the Commander of the expedition has instructions and power to enforce our demands, why then we may expect it to result in something more than a mere visit of form. If what we ask at the hands of Japan be *just*, and worth the having, it is worth the trouble of *taking*, if it be not voluntarily conceded."

(26) *Daily Alta California*, January 11, 1853.

(27) *Daily Alta California*, February 1, 1852. President Millard Filmore, in his letter to the Emperor of Japan, entrusted with Commodore Perry, also acknowledged the importance of California in the future commercial relations between Japan and the United States: "The United States of America reach from ocean to ocean and our Territory of Oregon and State of California lie directly opposite to the dominions of your imperial majesty. Our steamships can go from California to Japan in eighteen days. Our great State of California produces about sixty million in gold every year, besides silver, quicksilver, precious stones, and many other valuable articles. Japan is also a rich and fertile country, and produces many very valuable articles. Your imperial majesty's subjects are skilled in many of the arts. I am desirous that our two countries should trade with each other, for the benefit both of Japan and the United States." (President Millard Fillmore to the Emperor of Japan, dated November 13, 1852, printed in *Senate Executive Document No.34* (Serial 751), pp.9-11.

(28) *Daily Alta California*, March 5, 1853.

(29) *Daily Alta California*, May 9, 1853.

(30) *ibid.*

(31) *Daily Alta California*, October 18, 1853.

(32) *ibid.*

(33) Hawks, Francis, *Narrative of the Expedition of an American Squadron*…, Vol.I, pp.78-79.

(34) *Daily Alta California*, June 8, 1854.

(35) *Daily Alta California*, June 8, 1854.

(36) For articles on the "peace expedition" of the *Lady Pierce*, see *Daily Alta California*, October 6 and 30, 1854.

カリフォルニアから見た日本の開国

〈要　約〉

M. W. スティール

本稿の基本的な問いは，「なぜ若くかつ弱いアメリカが積極的に日本の開国を求めたのか」という点にある。新聞記事を通して当時のアメリカから見た日本のイメージを分析するならば，一般のアメリカ人の，いわゆる世論がどのような役割を果たしていたのかという点が明らかになってくる。筆者は特に，カリフォルニアから見た日本の開国を分析したいと考える。従来の研究はむしろ東海岸のアメリカに重点が置かれてきたが，アメリカに「西方，西方」への，意識的か無意識的な運命は，カリフォルニアの立場から見るとより明確にわかるからである。

本稿の主な資料はサンフランシスコの新聞，*Daily Alta California* の記事である。この地方新聞の日本に関する記事は著しく多い。1851年には14点，1852年には8点，1853年には15点，1854年には10点の記事があった。しかし，その数よりも内容がおもしろい。これらの記事は太平洋におけるアメリカ，特にカリフォルニアの運命をとても情熱的，そして楽観的な態度で伝えている。そこではまた，カリフォルニアから見たペリーの行動も，アメリカの将来，そして経済的，政治的，軍事的あるいは社会的な力のために，大変重要な役割を果たすであろうことがしばしば語られているのである。