



The Japan Expedition Press

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The Japan Expedition Press

SEVERAL years ago a large collection of material relating to the China Trade in the mid-nineteenth century was received by the Harvard Business School Library.¹ Sorting of these records was interrupted by the war, and has only recently been resumed. In the course of this sorting, the discovery was made of two copies each of seven broadsides printed on board Commodore Perry's flagship in 1854, during his expedition to Japan.² Each broadside is headed 'Japan Expedition Press' in large ornate capitals (see Plate I). Under this is a line of smaller capitals indicating the ship on which the printing was done, the place (a port, or 'at sea'), and the date. Below this appears a large eagle, bearing in its beak a narrow banner with the words 'E Pluribus Unum.' On some of the sheets a title follows, indicating the contents; on those without title the opening words of the text are in capitals.

At first it was assumed that these broadsides were issues of a ship-board newspaper, but investigation has produced different conclusions about their printing and purpose. Although their content and historical association must have made them sought after by the merchants of China (from whom Harvard's copies derive) and in the United States, copies of these and other products of this press are now very rare;³

¹ This was the Heard Collection, comprising records of Augustine Heard and Company, engaged in the China Trade from approximately 1840 to 1875. The material came to the Library in two parts: the first segment was received in 1931 from members of the Heard family in Ipswich, Massachusetts; the second segment was deposited by Yale University in 1942 in exchange for certain collections of Connecticut material.

² Since the broadsides were found in that part of the collection received from Yale, one set has been returned to the Library there; the other set has been placed in the Kress Room, Baker Library, Harvard Business School.

³ The National Archives was found to have six broadsides, two of which are not in the Harvard set; on the other hand Harvard has three not in the National Archives set. A further publication of the press has been located at the Massachusetts Historical Society, as will be related below. The New York Public Library reported a photostat of a copy of the broadside dated 28 June 1854 that was sold at auction in 1945. Among institutions reporting no copy of any broadside were the Library of Congress, Columbia University, the New-York Historical Society, the Rhode Island Historical Society, the American Antiquarian Society, the Boston Public Library, the Boston Athenaeum, and the Peabody Museum and Essex Institute of Salem. As noted

thus a description of the broadsides found and an account of how they came to be printed will provide an unusual example of shipboard publication, as well as an interesting footnote to an event of major significance in world affairs.

A few brief notes about the Japan Expedition itself will help to provide the setting. As Charles M. Conrad, then acting Secretary of State, explained in an official letter in November 1852 to John P. Kennedy, Secretary of the Navy: 'Since the islands of Japan were first visited by European nations, efforts have constantly been made by the various maritime powers to establish commercial intercourse with a country whose large population and reputed wealth hold out great temptations to mercantile enterprise. . . . All these attempts, however, have thus far been unsuccessful.'⁴ Accordingly, Commodore Perry was commissioned by President Fillmore to make another attempt, this time ingeniously planned, to obtain a treaty with Japan. With an expedition consisting of some ten ships, carrying over sixteen hundred men, Perry sailed to Japan in 1853, presented a letter from the President, and announced that he would return the following spring to receive an answer. The squadron spent the intervening time in China, making preparations, and studying the information obtained on the first trip that related to natural history, ocean currents, and the like — for a subsidiary purpose of the expedition was to bring back such information about the little-known islands of Japan. Negotiations the following spring were ultimately successful, and a treaty was signed with the Japanese on 31 March 1854. Two ports were opened to American vessels, Simoda (or Shimoda) on the island of Honshu, and Hakodate on the northern island of Hokkaido, then known as Yesso. In effect this treaty marked Japan's entrance into world affairs, and the beginning of a rapid modernization.

The expedition took with it as presents to the Emperor of Japan a number of examples of industrial development, including a quarter-size railroad and locomotive, and a miniature working telegraph line. Commodore Perry also had with him publications illustrative of the size of the United States government and the diversity of its interests,

above, duplicates of the seven issues at Harvard are now in the Yale University Library.

⁴ U. S. Senate, 33rd Congress, 2nd Session, *Executive Document No. 34: Correspondence Relative to the Naval Expedition to Japan* (U. S. Document No. 751), p. 4 (hereafter referred to as *Correspondence*).

and he early became convinced that 'a small printing press, with type and materials, would go far to facilitate our plans, by giving us the means of putting forth information calculated to disabuse the Japanese of the misrepresentations of the Dutch.'⁶ President Fillmore approved of this plan and directed that 'a small printing press, with type and materials for printing of all kinds,'⁶ be sent out to China for Perry.

J. W. Spalding, Captain's Clerk on the *Mississippi*, who published an account of the expedition on his return, apparently at first thought the press was intended for the Emperor, since he includes 'a printing-press' among the gifts put ashore on 13 March 1854.⁷ However, two months later he celebrates the inauguration of its use on shipboard as an implement of the expedition:

This day [13 May 1854], I think it was, marked what may be considered a new item in the history of typography. We had on board one of the little engines, which from the days of Faustus have evolved more power, than the ponderous ones, that revolved our paddles, and by its aid, in a sea-way, an intelligent midshipman, familiar with the art preservative of arts, "wet sheets," and printer's ink, caused to be struck off copies of the commodore's correspondence with the Japanese, and of the surveys of Lieutenant Maury. That little press deserves a place in the patent-office, near the one, from which came "Poor Richard's Almanack."⁸

As far as can be discovered from the surviving products, the press was used mainly as a means of duplicating documents for special use. Whenever Commodore Perry wanted copies of the treaties and diplomatic correspondence, or of the 'surveys of Lieutenant Maury' (navigational directions for the various harbors of Japan), whether for reference at the time, to give to the Japanese, or to send to the State Department at Washington, the printing press could provide these copies quickly and efficiently. In the days before typewriters or mimeograph machines served this purpose, the press must have been a great asset, and Commodore Perry expressed his gratitude for it in a letter to the Secretary of the Navy at the close of the expedition: 'I

⁶ Letter from Perry in Madeira to the Secretary of the Navy, 14 December 1852 (*Correspondence*, p. 13).

⁶ Letter from the Department of State to Perry, 15 February 1853 (*Correspondence*, p. 15).

⁷ J. W. Spalding, *The Japan Expedition: Japan and Around the World* (New York, 1855), p. 242. Certain contemporary newspaper accounts also list a press among the gifts.

⁸ Spalding, *The Japan Expedition*, p. 293.

have found the printing-press sent out by the State Department particularly useful.⁹

The 'intelligent midshipman, familiar with the art preservative of arts,' of whom Spalding writes may well have been 'Miggs,' or Simon C. Mish, the friend of Edward Yorke McCauley, Acting Master on board the *Powhatan*. In a diary entry dated 'Simoda May 12th 1854' McCauley writes:

M: my old shipmate in the *Independence* has been ordered on board here in consequence of possessing a talent for manipulating types. The Japan Expedition press is underway, and "Miggs" in consideration of "Auld Lang Syne" has presented me with some of his first essays, I had to cut the leaves out and then replace them as soon as printed — from these may be gleaned a knowledge of what kind of a spirit our friendly Mission to Joe Pan, has been made in; and the seventh paragraph of Com: P.'s letter will explain how far the visit is complimentary or bellicose — I do not understand exactly how the President's letter has not received an answer from the Emperor of Japan — which is a custom, not set aside by any extraneous circumstance, in the civilized world, and I think it would have had a satisfactory effect here, had it been exacted.¹⁰

These 'essays' must have included numerous official letters that had passed between the Japanese and Commodore Perry since early in the spring of 1854. The only surviving copy,¹¹ however, is of a broadside containing President Fillmore's letter to the Emperor of Japan and translations into English and Dutch of the answer from the Japanese commissioners. (McCauley's criticism must be because the Emperor himself did not reply to the President's letter.) This is dated 'U. S. Steam-Frigate "Powhatan," Simoda, Japan, May 1st, 1854,' and bears the title 'Letter from the President of the United States.' It is in the form of two pages printed side by side on a large sheet (13 by 15½ inches), and may have been intended to be folded or cut in two; the first page contains the President's letter to his 'Great and Good Friend,' the Emperor, and the second the two translations of the answer, which is dated 23 February 1854.

This letter and reply were reproduced in *Correspondence Relative*

⁹ *Correspondence*, p. 171.

¹⁰ *With Perry in Japan: The Diary of Edward Yorke McCauley*, ed. Allan B. Cole (Princeton, N. J., 1942), p. 113. 'Miggs' was identified by Mr Elbert L. Huber, Archivist in Charge, Navy Branch, the National Archives, in a letter to the author of 7 May 1957.

¹¹ In the National Archives; the Baker Library has a photostat of this copy.

to the *Japan Expedition*,¹² which was ordered to be printed on 2 February 1855 (almost immediately upon Perry's return to the United States), and which contains all the official documents relative to the Expedition. From this publication it is clear that Perry used the press to send information back to the Secretary of the Navy during the expedition.¹³ As the contents of all the surviving broadsides that deal with official or navigational matters appear as enclosures with Perry's letters and reports in this Senate publication, it is probable that certain other documents quoted there in a similar manner were also originally printed by the Japan Expedition press. For instance, enclosures A, D, and E with Perry's letter to the Secretary of the Navy dated 18 July 1854¹⁴ correspond to surviving broadsides; it seems probable that enclosures B and C, documents relating to the currency problem, were similarly printed.¹⁵

Enclosures A, D, and E with this letter in the Senate publication reproduce three broadsides printing regulations of American business and conduct in the two treaty ports, Hakodate and Simoda. In his diary entry for 24 June 1854, Samuel Wells Williams, the expedition's interpreter, wrote: 'A supplementary boat went ashore this morning from the "Mississippi" to carry some printed copies of the port regulations and rates of pilotage in Simoda, to leave with the authorities.'¹⁶ These regulations were not finally agreed upon until 23 June, so they must have been printed the same day. No copies of this rush printing have survived, but the documents must have been reprinted at sea after the expedition left Simoda; Harvard has copies of the three broadsides Perry sent home, which are dated 27 June, 28 June, and 21 July, with the place of printing given as 'U. S. Steam Frigate Mississippi, at Sea.'¹⁷

¹² See note 4 above.

¹³ This is confirmed by information from Mr Huber, of the National Archives, that the six issues of the Japan Expedition press in the Archives are part of Volume II of Perry's 'squadron letters,' which were the basis for the Senate publication.

¹⁴ *Correspondence*, p. 158.

¹⁵ This probability is increased by the fact that Spalding, in the appendix to his published diary, prints the text of enclosure C along with the four sets of sailing directions that also survive in broadsides printed by the press, as described below.

¹⁶ Samuel Wells Williams, 'A Journal of the Perry Expedition to Japan (1853-1854),' *Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan*, Vol. XXXVII, Pt. II (1910), p. 221, with a similar reference on p. 226.

¹⁷ The copies sent home are in the National Archives, lettered 'A,' 'D,' and 'E.'

The question of the exact location of the press within the squadron is a minor

JAPAN EXPEDITION PRESS.



U. S. STEAM FRIGATE MISSISSIPPI, AT SEA, JUNE 29th, 1854.

REGULATIONS RESPECTING PERSONS,

AND THE SUPPLYING OF AMERICAN VESSELS ENTERING THE PORT OF SIMODA.

A lookout place shall be established at some convenient point, from which vessels appearing in the offing can be seen and reported, and when one is discovered making apparently for the Harbor, a boat shall be sent to her with a pilot.

And in order to carry this regulation into full effect, boats of suitable size and quality, shall always be kept in readiness by the harbor master, which, if necessary, shall proceed beyond Rock Island, to ascertain whether the vessel in sight intends entering the harbor or not. If it may be the desire of the master of said vessel to enter port, the pilot shall conduct her to safe anchorage, and during her stay, shall render every assistance in his power, in facilitating the procurement of all the supplies she may require.

The rates of pilots, shall be, for vessels drawing over 18 American feet, fifteen dollars; for all vessels drawing over 12, and less than 18 feet, ten dollars; and for all vessels under 12 feet, five dollars.

These rates shall be paid in gold or silver coin, or its equivalent in goods, and the same shall be paid for piloting a vessel out, as well as into port.

When vessels anchor in the outer harbor, and do

not enter the inner port, only half the above rates of compensation shall be paid to the pilot.

The prices for supplying water to American vessels at Simoda, shall be fourteen hundred cash, per bushel load, (the casks being furnished by the vessel.) And for wood delivered on board, about seven thousand, two hundred cash, per cubic of Eve American feet.

SILAS BENT,
Flag Lieutenant.

(Signed) KURAKAWA KANSI,
Lieutenant Governor.

Approved,
M. C. PERRY,
Commander-in-chief of the U. S. Naval forces
in the East India, China, and Japan seas.

U. S. Steam Frigate Mississippi,
Simoda, Japan, June 29th, 1854.

REGULATIONS MET BETREFFENDE HET HOOVEN,

En het leveren van benodigdheden aan Amerikaanse schepen in den haven van Simoda.

Op eene daartoe geschikt plaats zal een wijk worden aangelegd, van waar schepen in de nabijheid komende kunnen worden gezien, alsdan zal de overheid daarvan verwittigd, en een boot met een loods naar toord naar het schip afgezonden worden als hetzelfde naar deze haven schijnt te komen.

Ten einde deze bepaling ten volle uit te voeren zullen boeien van gepoetste gietijzer altijd door den havenmeester in gereedheid worden gehouden, welke boeien als zulks nodig magt zijn zoover als Rock Island (Mikawato Sima), zullen gaan om te onderzoeken of het schip in gezigt al of niet in den haven zal komen. Als nu de schipper van zulk een schip den haven wil binnen loopen, zal de loods hetzelfde naar eene veilige ankerplaats brengen, en gedurende deszelfs verblijf aldaar al het mogelyke aanwenden, om het verkrygen van wat hetzelfde nodig magt hebben, gemakkelek te maken.

Het loon van den loods zal zyn voor schepen meer dan achttien Amerikaanse voeten diep in het water, vyftien dollars; voor schepen meer dan dertien en minder dan achttien voeten diep in het water, tien dollars; en vyf dollars voor schepen minder dan dertien Amerikaanse voeten diep in het water.

Dit loon zal betaald worden in gouden of zilveren munt, of met eene gelyke waarde in goederen en

evenveel zal betaald worden voor het uitloopen, als voor het naar binnen loopen.

Als schepen niet in den binnen haven koelen, doch in den buiten haven ten anker gaan, zal alleen de helft van de hierboven vastgestelde loonen worden betaald.

Amerikaansche schepen in den haven van Simoda, zullen kunnen verkrygen water aan boord tegen veertien honderd pitjes (cash) voor een volgeladen boot, (de watervaten door het schip geleend wordende) en brandhout aan boord gelykdy voor ongeveer zeven duizend twee honderd pitjes per kubiek iki, of kubiek van vyf Amerikaanse voeten.

SILAS BENT,
Lieutenant Adjutant.

KURAKAWA KANSI,
Luitenant Gouverneur

Goedgehoord
M. C. PERRY,

Opperbevelhebber van de Oorlogsmagt van de Vereenigde Staten in de zeeën van Oost Indje, China, en Japan.

Eene ware vertaling,

A. L. C. PORTMAN.

U. S. Stoom Frigate Mississippi,
Simoda, Japan den 29sten July, 1854.

ETHIOPIAN CONCERT.

UNITED STATES STEAM FRIGATE

"POWHEATAN."

An Ethiopian entertainment will be given by the
Japanese Olio Minstrels,
on board this ship, on *Friday* evening, the 26th inst.
weather favorable, to which the OFFICERS invite your attendance.

PROGRAMME.

PART FIRST.

"As Colored 'Gemmen' of the North."

GRAND OVERTURE.

1. PICAYUNE BUTLER, Mr. Dabney.
2. LADIES WON'T YOU MARRY? " Tripp.
3. SALLY WEAVER, " Dabney.
4. UNCLE NED, " Reeves.
5. SALLY IS DE GAL FOR ME, " De Costa.
6. OH! Mr. COON, " Dabney.

PART SECOND.

"As Niggas of the South."

GRAND OVERTURE.

1. OLD TAR RIVER, Mr. Dabney.
2. MASSA'S IN DE COLD! COLD GROUND, " Pablo.
3. OLD GREY GOOSE, " Tripp.
4. OLD AUNT SALLY, " Dabney.
5. CANAL BOYS, " De Costa.
6. VIRGINIA ROSE BUD " Dabney.

SOLO ON VIOLIN, by C. McLewee.

The whole to conclude with a *burlesque* on Bulwer's
celebrated play of
THE LADY OF LYONS,
introducing a new and much admired *pas de deux*, with
the following cast of characters:—

CLAUDE MELNOTTE, *alias* SAM JOHNSING, Mr. Dabney.
PAULINE *alias* POLLY ANN, Miss Tripp.
GINGER, Mr. McLewee.
MINSTRELS, &c., By the whole Band.

Manager, MR. W. J. DABNEY.
Musical Director, MR. C. McLEWEE.

Performance to commence at . o'clock, precisely.
JAPAN EXPEDITION PRESS.

The broadside printed on 27 June has no separate title, but begins: 'THIS IS TO CERTIFY That Yohatsi, Hikoyemon and Dshirobe, have been appointed Pilots for American vessels entering or departing from the port of Simoda, and, That the following rates for pilotage have been established by the proper authorities'; the rates follow. It closes: 'By order of the Commander-in-chief, SILAS BENT, Flag Lieutenant. Approved, M. C. PERRY, Commander-in-chief of the U. S. Naval Forces in the East India, China, and Japan seas. U. S. Steam Frigate Mississippi, Simoda, Island of Nippon, Japan, June 22d, 1854.' This is printed in the left-hand column of the sheet (which measures $14\frac{3}{4}$ by $9\frac{7}{8}$ inches); in the right-hand column is a translation of the whole into Dutch, which is approved by A. L. C. Portman, the Dutch interpreter to the expedition.

The broadside reprinted on the following day, 28 June, is a smaller sheet ($13\frac{1}{2}$ by $8\frac{1}{4}$ inches), bearing the title: 'Regulations Respecting Pilots, and the Supplying of American Vessels Entering the Port of Simoda,' given likewise both in English and Dutch. This broadside is reproduced in Plate I. The handwritten signature in Chinese characters of Kura-Kawa-Kahei that appears on the document poses a problem: if the place and date of printing of this broadside were in fact 'At Sea' and 'June 28th, 1854,' this signature must be a copy (possibly by Wells Williams, the interpreter, whose journal shows that he could write Chinese characters), as the expedition left Simoda for Okinawa just before this date and had no further contact with Japan.

The broadside bearing the date of printing of 21 July ($14\frac{3}{4}$ by $9\frac{7}{8}$ inches in size) has the title 'Additional Regulations,' and begins:

Agreed to between Commodore MATTHEW C. PERRY, Special Envoy to Japan, from the United States of America, and HAYASHI DAIGAKU-NO-KAMI; Ido, Prince of Tsus-sima; IZAWA, Prince of Mima-saki; TSUDZUKI,

one but difficult to solve. The *Vermont*, on which it was to be shipped, along with other supplies, never sailed because of a shortage of manpower, and it is not known whether the press was put on board the *Macedonian*, the *Vandalia*, the *Lexington*, or some other of the ships that joined Perry in China toward the end of 1853. However it arrived, it was apparently soon transferred to the flagship, then the steam-frigate *Powhatan*, for the first two surviving printed documents give this ship as the place of printing. Perry moved his flag to the *Mississippi* on 18 June 1854, and presumably the press moved with him, as this ship is given as the place of printing in subsequent productions of the press. Allusions to the press in the journals of the expedition already referred to do not help to clarify the question of location.

Prince of Suruga; UDONO, Member of the board of Revenue; TAKE NO UCHI SHEHARO, and MATSUSAKI MICHITARO; Commissioners of the Emperor of Japan, on behalf of their respective governments.

It is a series of twelve short 'Articles,' giving the additional regulations, and stating at the end that copies in English, Japanese, and Dutch had been signed and exchanged. The date is given as 'Simoda, Japan, June 17th, 1854,' and Perry has signed it, adding to his usual title for this special occasion '*and Special Envoy to Japan.*'

The other four issues of the Japan Expedition press in Harvard's possession contain sailing directions, based on the surveys of the various harbors made by Lieutenants Silas Bent and William Maury and others. The earliest of these is dated 'U. S. Steam-Frigate "Powhatan," Harbor of Hakodadi, Island of Yesso, Japan, May 27th, 1854.'¹⁸ This is a large sheet (14¾ by 19¾ inches), printed in the form of two pages set side by side, containing three sets of sailing directions; on the first page appears 'Sailing Directions for Naha, Island Great Lewchew,' and on the second, 'Oonting, or Port Mellville, Island Great Lewchew' and 'Sailing Directions and Observations, Upon Lloyd's Harbor, Bonin Islands, from reports of Acting Masters Madigan and Bennett of the U. S. ships Saratoga and Susquehanna.' All three sections have the printed signature of Silas Bent. 'Macao, Oct. 1st, 1853,' appears as the date of composition for the first and third sections; the directions for Naha have an added note concerning some spar buoys, also signed by Bent.¹⁹ There is a manuscript correction on Harvard's copy of this broadside: the 'ing' in 'standing' has been crossed out in ink; presumably the correction was also made on the copy Perry sent to the Secretary of the Navy, for the word appears correctly as 'stand' in *Correspondence*²⁰ and in subsequent printed versions.

The squadron had visited Okinawa, referred to as 'Great Lewchew,' on the way to and from Japan on the first trip, and made a final visit there on leaving Japan for the second time. The *Mississippi* was at Naha, Okinawa, on 7 July 1854, when another set of sailing directions were printed: 'Sailing Directions for the Harbor of Simoda, by Lieut. Wm. L. Maury, U. S. N.' These, like the previous set, are printed as two pages on one sheet, this time of blue-green paper, measuring

¹⁸ There is a copy of this broadside in the National Archives.

¹⁹ In *Correspondence* the added note is dated 27 May 1854, the date of printing of the broadside.

²⁰ *Correspondence*, p. 155.

12 $\frac{5}{8}$ by 15 $\frac{1}{2}$ inches.²¹ A revised version of these directions was printed on the homeward trip; it is this version that Spalding prints in the appendix to his published diary.²² This is dated 'U. S. Steam Frigate Mississippi, Honolulu, October 26, 1854,' and embodies various corrections, mostly of technical matters such as compass directions and distances. A footnote by Lieutenant Maury explains: 'Several errors in the first edition of these directions, published in July last, have been corrected in the above. — W. L. M.' No copy of this revised broadside is now known to be in existence; the earlier version is printed in the Senate publication²³ but the official history of the expedition, *Narrative of the Expedition of an American Squadron to the China Seas and Japan*,²⁴ quotes the revised version and adds some further corrections.

'U. S. Steam Frigate Mississippi, at Sea, July 20th, 1854' is the imprint of another set of directions, 'Sailing Directions for Hakodadi, by Lieut. Wm. L. Maury, U. S. N.' These are printed on a buff sheet (14 $\frac{3}{4}$ by 9 $\frac{7}{8}$ inches), and include information about procuring wood, water, and various kinds of food in Hakodate, as well as the navigational instructions. They close: 'By order of Commodore M. C. PERRY, U. S. N.,' with 'SILAS BENT, Flag Lieutenant' as signature, and are dated 'At Sea, July 18th, 1854.'

'Sailing Directions for Yedo' (Tokyo) are also by Lieutenant Maury. These are printed on a sheet (12 $\frac{1}{2}$ by 7 $\frac{7}{8}$ inches) of the same blue-green paper as the directions for Simoda, and close with Perry's authorization and Silas Bent's signature. This broadside, however, gives 'U. S. Steam Frigate Mississippi, Hong Kong, Sept. 4th, 1854' as the imprint — a date only a week before Commodore Perry set out for

²¹ This broadside and those dated 20 July and 4 September are not in the National Archives set; see note 3 above.

²² *The Japan Expedition*, pp. 367-370.

²³ *Correspondence*, pp. 189-192. The only points of difference between the broadsides containing sailing directions and the reprintings in *Correspondence* (besides a few minor differences of punctuation) are in the expanding, in the latter, of the words 'northward,' 'eastward,' etc., which in the broadsides were abbreviated 'N'd.', etc. Presumably, while the broadsides were intended for the use of sailors and navigators who would regularly use these abbreviations, the politicians in Washington and other laymen were not expected to be conversant with such nautical shortcuts.

²⁴ This bulky work, in three volumes, was, according to the title-page, 'compiled from the original notes and journals of Commodore Perry and his officers, at his request, and under his supervision, by Francis L. Hawks, D. D. L. L. D with numerous illustrations.' It was 'published by order of the Congress of the United States' in Washington in 1856.

home in an English mail steamer, leaving the *Mississippi* to follow him after making one final visit to Simoda.

One further broadside of the Japan Expedition press, printed in the same style, has survived in a copy at the National Archives. This is dated 'U. S. Steam Frigate *Mississippi*, at Sea, July 17, 1854' and the title reads: 'Compact between the United States and the Kingdom of Lew Chew, Signed at Napa, Great Lew Chew, the 11th day of July, 1854.' Referring to this compact in his letter to the Secretary of the Navy dated 19 July,²⁵ Perry wrote: 'I also entered into a compact with the royal authorities, which binds the government and people of Lew-Chew to treat with kindness and friendship all Americans visiting the ports of the island, to supply them with whatever they may need, and to succor and protect all shipwrecked persons who may be thrown upon any part of the kingdom; to establish pilots, &c. (See accompanying paper, D.)'²⁶

Examination of an unpublished diary of the expedition, that of George Henry Preble, who was an officer on board the *Macedonian*, brought to light another product of the press, which is here reproduced in Plate II.²⁷ Illustrating another use to which the press was put, it is a printed program, measuring 8½ by 5½ inches, for a minstrel show given on board the *Powhatan* as part of the first reception held by the expedition for the Japanese. The phrase, 'Japan Expedition Press,' printed flamboyantly at the head of other broadsides (compare Plate I),

²⁵ *Correspondence*, pp. 169-170.

²⁶ The compact printed in *Correspondence* as the 'accompanying paper' lacks the 'D,' although it follows documents marked 'A,' 'B,' and 'C' and although the broadside original at the Archives has a handwritten 'D' at the top of the page.

²⁷ The broadside is tipped in between pages 199 and 200 of the bound volume of Preble's diary, now in the collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society, with whose kind permission the reproduction has been made.

In 1865 Preble, then Commander U. S. N., presented to Harvard a volume combining miscellaneous works on Japan, in which he had pasted a large number of press clippings relating to the Japan expedition. Other materials at Harvard of special interest in connection with the expedition include two letters from Commodore Perry to William Moore, merchant at Canton, 3 February and 31 March 1854 (also in the Heard Collection, Baker Library); a framed set of five contemporary lithographs of scenes relating to the expedition, done by Heine and Brown, and dedicated to 'Commodore M. C. Perry, Officers and Men of the Japan Expedition' (Harvard Business School); a manuscript account in Japanese of the expedition, including drawings, some in color, of officers, men, ships, and the small locomotive, a few of which were reproduced in *Life Magazine*, 17 September 1945 (Houghton Library, gift of the late Dr Ernest G. Stillman); and several publications in Japanese relating to the expedition (Chinese-Japanese Library).

here appears in modest capitals at the foot of the sheet. The date of the reception was obviously undecided at the time of printing, for spaces were left blank for the date and the hour of the entertainment; Preble himself wrote in 'Sunday' and '26,' but the reception was finally held on the following day, Monday, 27 March 1854.

Also pasted into this manuscript diary of Preble's is another program for a very similar performance, held on Thursday, 22 June, when the fleet was at Simoda. This measures $7\frac{3}{4}$ by $4\frac{7}{8}$ inches, and is printed in green ink, with what seem to be completely different types from those used for all broadsides previously described. The contents of the program are much the same, but there is no mention of the Japan Expedition press. However, unless this was a souvenir copy printed when the expedition returned home (which is most unlikely) there seems to be no explanation of its existence other than that it too was printed by the slipboard press, and it must consequently be assumed that the choice of type sent out by the State Department was quite considerable.

A third program must have been printed for another minstrel show, at Hakodate, for in the official *Narrative* there is a reference to this entertainment:

Everything was arranged appropriately as to dresses and scenery, much as it would have been at home. Bills of the performance, too, were printed by the aid of the press, which was on board one of the ships of the squadron, and freely worked within the dominions of the Emperor of Japan, without regarding any censorship that he might possibly be disposed to establish. American like, our men stuck to the principle of a "free press," on the ground that the press itself and popular opinion are about the best correctives of the abuse of the press.²⁸

This fervent defense of the freedom of the press hardly seems justified by the character and scope of the surviving broadsides. However, an entry in McCauley's diary for 3 June, about the activities of two of his friends, has led at least one writer to assume that the press was put to further, less official use.²⁹ McCauley writes:

Their sole amusement since our arrival in Joe. has been the keeping of a Journal in newspaper style, issuing a number every day, and occasionally an extra, when the news of the day was ample enough, expending any

²⁸ *Narrative*, I, 470.

²⁹ Arthur Walworth, *Black Ships off Japan* (New York, 1946), p. 215.

blank space in a reciprocal Editorial warfare, some thing á la Pottsville Independent & Latansville Gazette: I pat them encouragingly on the back to keep them from flagging. This kind of Journal is the most amusing I know of, besides the novelty of style in using the Editorial "we", they record all the incidents of the times in the most entertaining manner. . . . One of our doctors sings a very pretty song called "The Sailor boy's grave." Bibbles wanted the words for his paper the Nippon Herald.³⁰

No further evidence has been found either to confirm or refute the suggestion that these 'journals' were printed, but it seems possible that the men might have had access to the press, and used it for their own amusement. No copies however, either manuscript or printed, of any such newspapers have as yet come to light.

The products of the Japan Expedition press that are known to have survived are very few: five broadsides printing diplomatic documents, four containing sailing directions, and one, or probably two, minstrel-show programs. It is possible that the present scarcity is due to the fact that Perry did not need many copies of any particular document, and therefore that very few were printed. From evidence in *Correspondence* and the official *Narrative*, however, we may assume that there was a considerable number of further products of the press that have now either been lost or remain unrecognized. The author will of course welcome any information about other issues, or further copies of the issues known to have survived, from this unusual press.³¹

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³⁰ *With Perry in Japan*, pp. 120-121, where 'Bibbles' is identified as Captain's Clerk Bibby, who was on the *Powhatan* during the expedition.

³¹ The author wishes to acknowledge the cooperation of Mrs Elizabeth Fox, Assistant to the Editor of the BULLETIN, in assembling and presenting the information embodied in this article.

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