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## “COERCION IN JAPAN”: A HISTORICAL FOOTNOTE

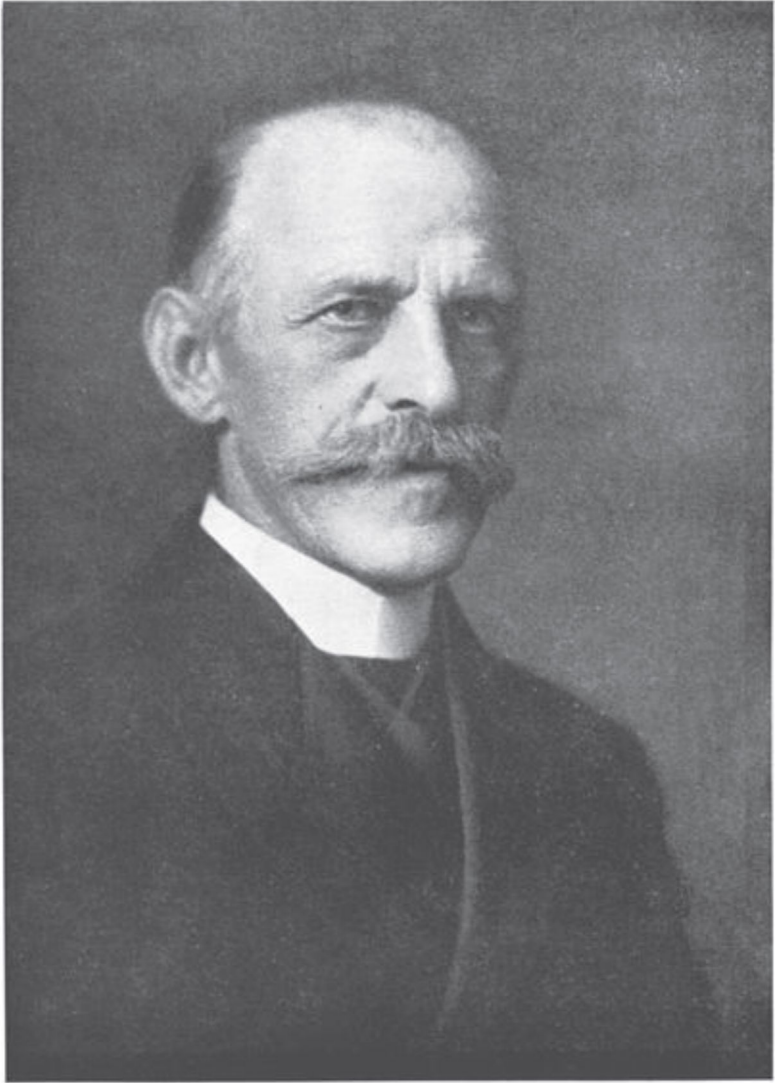
BY ARDATH W. BURKS

DR. BURKS, *Assistant Professor of Political Science, teaches international relations and government & politics of the Far East in the College of Arts & Sciences. During World War II, as an officer in the U.S. Naval Reserve, he was trained in the Japanese language, served as an intelligence-language officer in the Pacific Theater, and after VJ-Day visited China, Korea, and Japan. Recently he was awarded an Area Research Fellowship by the Social Science Research Council for 15 months' travel in the Far East, scheduled to begin in June, 1952. In the following article he discusses a folio of clippings and letters in the Far Eastern Section of the Griffis Collection, held by the Rutgers University Library.*

FOR A CENTURY Americans have approached Japan with an ambivalent attitude. Nothing better reveals this feeling than certain papers of the Reverend William Elliot Griffis, a graduate of Rutgers in 1869 and the first American to go out to the Far East as an employee of the Japanese government. Though he resided in Japan only four years (1870-74), Griffis' endeavors for friendly Japanese-American relations never ceased. Upon his death in 1928, many of his books and papers passed to the Rutgers University Library.<sup>1</sup>

Among the Griffis papers is an amazingly complete file of clippings and letters concerning an incident in 1887-88. This folio is first of all of some historic interest because it sheds new light on very delicate Japanese-American diplomatic relations at the time. The docu-

<sup>1</sup> Frederick Weldon, "Hashimoto Sanai: A Japanese Martyr," *The Journal of the Rutgers University Library*, Vol. IV, No. 1 (December, 1940), p. 16. Mr. Weldon, by means of a grant from the American Council of Learned Societies, first catalogued the Far Eastern section of the Griffis Collection. Any scholar who works in the Griffis papers owes him and the Council a debt of gratitude.



WILLIAM ELLIOT GRIFFIS, '69

ments illustrate familiar arguments about Japan's progress, as did recent debates over a Japanese peace treaty. They also serve as a historical warning against the tempting assumption of rapid and complete conversion of an ancient and persistent culture.

As is commonly known, the transformation of Japan from an isolated feudal state to a world power occurred in an incredibly short time. However, modern studies of Japan's conversion, resting on the firmer basis of Japanese documents, have concluded that what happened in the late 19th century was not so much a *Westernization* of Japan as a *Japanization* of Western culture.<sup>2</sup> Regardless of the reasons, by the late 1880's Japan had become in all but legal technicalities a member of the Western nation-state system.

Penetration of the legal screen, nevertheless, proved as time-consuming a task for the Japanese as lifting the self-imposed veil of isolation. The most ticklish problem lay in the so-called unequal treaties and their revision. Continuation of an unrealistic tariff schedule, imposed by the powers, threatened bankruptcy. An even greater affront to Japanese dignity was the system of extra-territoriality, whereby foreigners resident in Japan were tried under their own law. Extraterritoriality, for short, rested in turn on the fears by Westerners that Japan's legal code had indeed *not* been sufficiently modernized. Fruitless negotiations dragged on and on; promises were broken; fears kindled anew. In desperation, Japan eventually won freedom by indirection. In 1888 she signed an equal treaty with Mexico, a nation with little trade and no nationals resident in Japan. Great Britain was the first great power to follow, in July, 1894; the United States, friend of Japan, got around to signature in November, 1894.<sup>3</sup> But that is getting ahead of our story.

If the United States was among the last of the powers to grant Japan equal treaty status, at least the American Government was the first to urge revision. The American Minister in Tokyo, Judge John A. Bingham, had interested himself in the problem between 1874 and 1878. In a letter to the Reverend N. G. Clark, written ten years

<sup>2</sup> Despite the blow to our rightful pride in a cultural hero, Admiral Matthew Calbraith Perry, internal contradictions had as much to do with bursting Japan's hermetic seal as did foreign pressure. See E. Herbert Norman, *Japan's Emergence as a Modern State*, New York: 1940. Chitoshi Yanaga, *Japan Since Perry*, New York: 1949, based largely on Japanese sources, is the fullest account of Japan's modernization.

<sup>3</sup> L. Ethan Ellis, *A Short History of American Diplomacy*, New York: 1951, especially Chap. 15, "The Far East: Japan."



COUNT INOUE KAORU

after his Japan mission, he reviewed the official American position.<sup>4</sup> No government, wrote Judge Bingham, should be subjected to such provisions as were contained in the "oppressive & unjust" Tariff Convention of 1866. As to "existing odious extra-territorial provisions," the conditions which were supposed to call for foreign jurisdiction in Japan no longer existed. Japan's first proposal, made in 1882, to provide to foreigners free travel throughout the Empire, with "national" treatment, was so just and reasonable that it commanded the approval of the former American Minister.<sup>5</sup>

In January, 1887, Count Inouye Kaoru, Japan's Foreign Minister, expressed deep satisfaction in being able to pass along to his august sovereign President Cleveland's message to the 49th Congress. In it, the President had urged general revision of Japan's treaties.<sup>6</sup> In August, however, Count Inouye informed Washington that the most recent revision conference had adjourned *sine die*. The Japanese Cabinet had grown touchy over the demand that legal codification be submitted first to the scrutiny of the powers. It would be more "in conformity with our national dignity," he added, if the laws were completely compiled by the Japanese first. Meanwhile, public indignation within Japan over the failure to obtain revision led to the resignation of Count Inouye.<sup>7</sup>

Back in the United States, the American press was by and large favorably disposed toward Japan, its modernization, and revision of its treaties. The New York *Sun*, for example, carried a series of articles sympathetic to the Japanese. Attempted revision was fraught with more significance than treaty changes. The Japanese were, in fact, "endeavoring to effect a radical departure from all the traditions of Oriental diplomacy." Anti-foreignism was a thing of the past. In

<sup>4</sup> (Letter, Longhand Copy) Hon. Jno. A. Bingham to the Rev. N. G. Clark; Cadiz, Ohio, Feb. 20, 1888, Griffis Collection, Rutgers University Library, Folio 33. [Hereafter all documents referred to are from the Collection unless otherwise indicated, and are cited as Folio 33.]

<sup>5</sup> And that of President Arthur who, in 1884, declared that "Japan was entitled to assume separate and equal station in the community of civilized nations." *Ibid.*

<sup>6</sup> U.S. Dept. of State. *Papers Relating to the Foreign Relations of the United States*, 1887, Part 1, Washington: Govt. Printing Office, 1888, pp. 656-57. In giving Count Inouye's and other Japanese names, as is the custom, the family name comes first. For a brief sketch of the Foreign Minister (1835-1915), see (Ardath W. Burks) "Inouye Kaoru," *Collier's Encyclopedia*, New York: 1950, Vol. 10, p. 624.

<sup>7</sup> U.S. Dept. of State, *op.cit.*, pp. 665-66. In the fall of 1950 Mr. Inouye Kyoichi, 21-year-old native of Tokyo and grandson of Count Inouye, came to study at Rutgers under sponsorship of a Rutgers graduate and former trustee, John V. N. Dorr of Stamford, Connecticut. He thus reestablished academic ties between Rutgers and Japan, first formed in 1886.

regard to revision, the *Sun* concluded that "successful completion is only a question of time."<sup>8</sup> A Boston newspaper noted the bulk of admiring comment in the American press and refuted the minority which had published unbalanced criticism of Japanese laws and prisons.<sup>9</sup>

Meanwhile, American friends of Japan—many, missionaries who had resided in the islands and whose hearts were won—grew impatient. Dr. Griffis prepared a series of articles for *The Congregationalist*, in which he argued that the government of Japan was being transformed. Long a "despotism tempered by assassination," Japan followed the lead of the Son of Heaven (in Japanese, *Tennō*), who had taken an oath of progress, April 6, 1868.

Despite apparent discrepancies, the Japanese Government has, since the restoration of 1868, moved in the path of enlightenment and progress, until the empire possesses, as I believe, the best native political system in Asia.<sup>10</sup>

The next step, Griffis thought, should be obvious. In an article titled "Japan and the Treaty Powers," published in the same journal, he called for immediate revision of the unequal treaties. And Dr. Griffis was no mincer of words:

The United States first, in the name of friendship, bound an iron chain on her [Japan's] limbs; England followed, forging her clasps with double rivets; fifteen other nations added their gyves; and now Japan cries to the world for justice.<sup>11</sup>

Judge Bingham, continued the author, had tried to break out of the league of powers; a revised draft of an attempt at justice had actually arrived in Washington. Then, lo! a telegram from Tokyo bade the Japanese minister to withdraw it, thus revealing the fear Japan had of Great Britain and the willingness of Washington to play second

<sup>8</sup> (Clippings) Editorials, "Japan Going Ahead," Sept. 18, 1887; "Great Changes in Japan," Nov. 1, 1887, *New York Sun* [Folio 33].

<sup>9</sup> (Clipping) "From Uor [*sic*] Special Correspondent, Yokohama, Japan, Sept. 13: Japanese Prisons. Some of the Improvements Recently Made. The Domestic Revolution which has for its object the Peaceful Transformation in the Form of Government," [Boston *Evening Transcript*, Nov. 14, 1887?, Folio 33].

<sup>10</sup> (Longhand Ms.) "The Government of Japan, By Rev. William Elliot Griffis, D.D."; and (Clipping) publ. in *The Congregationalist and Boston Recorder*, Oct. 6, 1887 [Folio 33]. Text of the so-called Charter Oath of 1868 (*Gokajo no Goseimon*) is contained in Fujii Jintaro & Moriya Hidesuke, *Sogo Nihon Shi Taikei: Meiji Jidai Shi* [Synthesis of the History of Japan: the Meiji Era], Tokyo: 1934, pp. 213-216.

<sup>11</sup> (Galley Proof) "Japan and the Treaty Powers, By Rev. William Elliot Griffis, D.D."; and (Clipping) publ. in *The Congregationalist*, Jan. 5, 1888. The article must have received wide circulation (see below). In the Griffis papers is at least one reprint from *The Congregationalist* (Clipping) [ . . . *Journal*, . . . 12, 1888? ], [Folio 33].

fiddle to London! To the everlasting credit of American missionaries, in a noble paper published May 17, 1884, they prayed for speedy revision. Griffis concluded, "How long will our government keep in the league of oppression? How long join hands in iniquity?"

At the same time, an equally powerful and non-clerical pen was at work. Edward Howard House,<sup>12</sup> musician, journalist, author, and Japan's first official foreign publicist, lashed out at the unequal treaties in a pair of widely-circulated articles, originally published in the *New Princeton Review*. Editorial comment called them timely and forcible discussions. In his closing paragraphs, House pleaded for "an unconditional release from the ties which hold her [Japan] in political and moral enslavement. . . ." Here, some comment differed: the President of the United States himself could not act on sentiment; only those most competent to judge—Americans in Japan—could say when all was ready. Japan was still, "despite the outward bloom of civilization, and even a ready-made 'code of law . . .' an Asiatic power."<sup>13</sup>

Several ex-missionaries to Japan read the Griffis and House articles and commended them in letters to Dr. Griffis.<sup>14</sup> The Reverend N. G. Clark, of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, added his belief in the value of memorials to the Secretary of State, the House of Representatives, and the Senate. "It is not a large number of names that is needed, but a few leading persons."<sup>15</sup> By 1888, then, a "Japan Group"—somewhat amorphous, like the present "China Lobby"—was hard at work!

Suddenly the "Group" was startled by blasts loosed on their be-

<sup>12</sup> Edward Howard House (1836-1901) was born in Boston. After a career as journalist and music critic in New York, he went to Japan in 1871 and early won the favor of Okuma Shigenobu, one of the most famous leaders in the Restoration. Okuma subsidized for House, publication of the *Tokyo Times*. As editor, House took for his mission abolition of extraterritoriality; his favorite targets were attachés, businessmen, and missionaries. In 1877, the Government transferred its subsidy to Captain Frank Brinkley (who also figures in the incident here discussed) and *The Japan Mail*. House returned to the United States and continued to write for Japan. Later he returned to Japan and died in Tokyo. See Dumas Malone [Ed.], *Dictionary of American Biography*, New York: 1932, Vol. IX, pp. 257-58.

<sup>13</sup> E. H. House, "The Tariff in Japan" (Jan., 1888) and "Foreign Jurisdiction in Japan" (Mar., 1888), *New Princeton Review*. The summary and editorial comment quoted are drawn from (Clipping) "Foreign Jurisdiction in Japan," [Publication and date unknown, Folio 33].

<sup>14</sup> (Letters) J. K. Newton to Dr. Griffis; Oberlin, Ohio, Jan. 8, 1888; J. C. Seagrove to W. E. Griffis; [Illegible], Jan. 7, 1888 [Folio 33].

<sup>15</sup> (Letter) N. G. Clark to Wm. Elliot Griffis, D.D.; Boston, Jan. 19, 1888 [Folio 33]. For a letter from Judge Bingham to Clark, see above, fn. 4.

loved Japan, appearing almost simultaneously in *The Nation*, the *New York Post*, and the *Boston Evening Transcript*. They pondered at length on just who inspired, indeed who could have launched these attacks. The mystery deepened; some of the "Group" never did discover the author. Fortunately, Dr. Griffis was a "string-saver." By tying together the documents he saved, we are today left in no doubt.

Sometime early in February, 1888, W. P. Garrison, Far Eastern editor of *The Nation*, received a letter from a missionary in Tokyo. Thinking *The Nation* would be interested, the writer described a political crisis in Japan which occurred the previous December. For what reason the missionary did not know, Captain Frank Brinkley (Editor, *The Japan Mail*)<sup>16</sup> had been sustaining the position of the Government so strongly that it was impossible to accept his conclusions about the crisis. The missionary enclosed his card and signed the letter, E. Rothesay Miller.<sup>17</sup>

Apparently Itagaki Taisuke, a leader in the Restoration and founder in 1881 of the Liberal Party (*Jiyuto*) had come out of political retirement in the fall of 1887 and had called for petitions regarding oppressive land taxes, civil rights, and treaty revision. A whole series of political rallies, held in Tokyo, had thoroughly alarmed the Government. Prominent among the agitators were men of Tosa (modern Kochi Prefecture). Of interest to American missionaries was the role of the Liberal and converted Christian, Kataoka Kenkichi.<sup>18</sup> The Minister of Home Affairs, determined to suppress political agitation, on December 25, 1887, had drawn up a Peace Preservation Law. There followed forcible removal, perhaps not by

<sup>16</sup> See fn. 12, above.

<sup>17</sup> (Letter) E. Rothesay Miller to Editor of *The Nation*; Tokyo, January 12, 1888 [Folio 33]. Mr. Miller was a missionary of The Reformed Church in America in Japan (1875-1916). See "The Rutgers Graduates in Japan; An Address Delivered in Kirkpatrick Chapel, Rutgers College, June 16, 1885, By William Elliot Griffis," *Rev. and Republ.* at the 150th Anniversary of the College, New Brunswick: 1916, pp. 29, 32.

<sup>18</sup> Itagaki had established the *Risshisha* (Society for Fixing One's Aim in Life), one of Japan's earliest political societies, in 1874 in Tosa. Its name is believed to have been taken from the widely read translation of Samuel Smiles' *Self-Help* (*Risshihen*, published in Japan, 1871). The Society stood for local autonomy, self-government, natural rights, and the establishment of legislative assembly. In 1877, it had made its views known to the Government in a Memorial signed by its President, Kataoka Kenkichi. Later Kataoka established a pressure bureau in the Capital. In 1881, after the Imperial Rescript promising an Assembly, the Society became the *Jiyuto*. Under cross-pressures of Government oppression and economic depression the *Jiyuto* had been dissolved in 1884. The most thorough account of the Liberal movement is contained in Nobutaka Ike, *The Beginnings of Political Democracy in Japan*, Baltimore: 1950.



coincidence, of all political figures belonging to the opposition. Kataoka Kenkichi and several others were imprisoned.<sup>19</sup>

Since Mr. Miller's Letter to the Editor was not, according to Garrison, up to *The Nation's* standard and was rather blind without the text of the Peace Preservation Law, the editor decided not to print it. Nevertheless *The Nation* did print on February 16, 1888, a lead editorial entitled "Coercion in Japan" which immediately precipitated a violent newspaper controversy in the United States and in Japan.<sup>20</sup>

"Japan," the editorial began, "has not yet exhausted her resources of surprise." Just when her friends were convinced she had eliminated Asiatic features of her government, "a flash of lightning, followed by a roar of thunder out of a blue sky, an imperial rescript dated December 25 was published." It banned secret societies, put a stop to meetings, banished all suspects within eight miles of the Imperial Palace, and practically placed Tokyo under martial law.<sup>21</sup> *The Nation's* account went on:

. . . Within a few days after its issue several hundred persons—children, boys, and men—and these mostly from the province of Tosa, were summarily removed from Tokio or cast into prison for not instantly obeying the police.

To understand these events, the editorial continued, one must delve into the "secret springs" of Japanese politics. The Mikado has always been a fetish; all who oppose him are *choteki* (Imperial enemies). In 1868, the Sa-Cho-To-Hi<sup>22</sup> forces upset the feudal regime and restored the Emperor. But "revolutions move faster than the men who start them"; once hot-headed liberals reverted to arch-conservative type. Prince Ito Hirobumi,<sup>23</sup> visiting Europe, had become fascinated with Bismarck and the Prussian way. Ostensibly,

<sup>19</sup> For a text of the Peace Preservation Law, see Translation of Imperial Ordinance No. 67, Incl. to No. 733: Legation of the U.S., Tokio, Dec. 28, 1887, *Foreign Relations*, 1888, Part 2, Washington: 1889, pp. 1063-1064.

<sup>20</sup> (Clipping) "Coercion in Japan," *The Nation*, No. 1181 (Feb. 16, 1888), pp. 129-130 [Folio 33].

<sup>21</sup> Articles I & II of the Peace Preservation Law dealt with secret societies and assemblies; Art. IV provided a safety zone with a radius of 3 *ri* [1 *ri* equals 2.4 mi.] around the Palace; Art. V gave the Cabinet power to declare a district subject to disturbance. See Translation, *Foreign Relations*, 1888, cited, pp. 1063-1064.

<sup>22</sup> Leaders who engineered the Restoration were drawn mainly from SATsuma, CHOfu, TOsa, and HIzen clans. Thus the name, Sa-Cho-To-Hi. Gradually Satsuma and Choshu men came to dominate the Government and to exclude Hizen and particularly Tosa Liberals.

<sup>23</sup> Ito Hirobumi, a Choshu man, had become Minister President (Premier) of State. Later he became the chief architect in the building of the Meiji Constitution of 1889.

the reason for the Rescript of December 25 was a plot against Ito himself. Actually, it followed upon the appearance in Tokyo of a deputation of overtaxed people seeking redress. The result was to render the promise of a parliament an empty gesture, for the ablest politically had been banned from Tokyo. In one of its most lurid passages, the editorial stated:

Having turned Tokio into a camp, they yet find it necessary to do considerable beheading among the troops, who are at intervals suspected of aiding plotters. Only a few weeks ago the blood-pit was well moistened.

These events had not been described in Japan, since the native press was muzzled and the Western-language press corrupted. One of Yokohama's chief newspapers [*The Japan Mail*] had remained critical; suddenly its tone became "as genial as a tropical zephyr."

The prospects of Japanese absolutism becoming constitutionalism, the editorial concluded, are now remote. Most significant, so long as such methods are employed "it is an idle dream" to think the powers would yield extra-territorial rights. Friends of Japan hoped the incident had been a result of strained nerves; if repeated, however, the world would not be deceived as to the real nature of Japan's boasted "civilization."

The same week an article with identical title and similar charges appeared in the New York *Evening Post*. The Boston *Evening Transcript* followed with an editorial, "Revolution in Japan," which concluded:

Japan has made great progress, but it may be fairly questioned if she would not have done more wisely, as well as built more solidly, had she made haste more slowly.<sup>24</sup>

Appropriately, the first reaction came from Durham White Stevens, American-born Counsellor of the Japanese Legation in Washington. In a Letter to the Editor of *The Nation*, written February 18, he denounced the writer of the article as misinformed and the effect of the editorial as injustice to the Japanese Government. "A few obscure politicians" had been deported from Tokyo. Their zeal had outrun their discretion and regard for the law. It should be noted, Stevens wrote, that great Liberal leaders like Itagaki Taisuke

<sup>24</sup> (Clipping) "Revolution in Japan," Boston *Evening Transcript*, February 17, 1888 [Folio 33].

(from Tosa) had nothing to do with the demonstration.<sup>25</sup> In a follow-up letter to Horace White, Chief Editor of *The Nation*, Stevens enclosed pamphlets, books, and articles, among them Dr. Griffis' *Congregationalist* contributions.

. . . I hope that a glance here and there will prove to you that, in the estimation of enlightened and unprejudiced men on the spot, the Japanese Government is not quite as bad as they have been represented to you to be.<sup>26</sup>

Edward House tackled the New York *Post* article. The *Post's* confidence had been abused, he wrote, and what were called outrages were in truth "necessary steps for the preservation of social order." The result was to send some "four hundred restless rustics" back to their province. Japan was famous for the mildness with which it treated political offenders. Some, whose offenses had been condoned and who were allowed to exile themselves, manifested their appreciation by "persistent vilification of the land of their birth." To them may be traced reports disadvantageous to Japan.<sup>27</sup> In conclusion, Mr. House flatly charged:

The allegations that "the whole body of the people" were "put under martial law; that Tokio was turned into a camp"; that "considerable beheading among the troops" was practiced, and that "only a few weeks ago the blood-pit was well moistened," are the wildest rhapsodies of a distorted imagination.

To this letter, the Editor of the *Post* appended a note saying that trustworthy opinion did not sustain Mr. House's views. The Government of Japan had for centuries been one of "despotism, tempered by assassination." Prince Ito and his military-minded cabinet had only encouraged further assassination by wholesale deportations. So long as they taxed, spent money on the military rather than on education, and on "decorations and picnic parties in Europe," so long would they fail to satisfy the children of men who had heard the Emperor

<sup>25</sup> (Letter to Editor) D. W. Stevens to *The Nation*; Washington, D.C., February 18, 1888 [Folio 33]. Mr. Stevens had spent 15 years in Japan as Secretary, U.S. Legation, and later as an adviser in the Japanese Foreign Office. He served in the revision conferences in Tokyo, summer of 1887, and then came to his Washington post. (Letter) Charles Nordhoff to Horace White, Esq.; Washington, Feb. 17, 1888 [Folio 33].

<sup>26</sup> (Letter) D. W. Stevens to Horace White, Esq.; Washington, Feb. 23, 1888 [Folio 33].

<sup>27</sup> Thus House struck at Japan's most famous exile, Baba Tatsui; see below, fn. 41. (Clipping) "Political Tolerance in Japan," Letter to Editor by E. H. House; Hartford, Conn., Feb. 16, 1888; N.Y. *Evening Post*, Feb. 21, 1888 [Folio 33]. For identity of House, see above, fn. 12.

swear, in 1868, that “the uncivilized customs of former times shall be abolished.”<sup>28</sup>

The battle of words was on! The most sarcastic letter of all appeared in the *New York Times*, was entitled “Bloodthirsty Japan,” and was signed simply “R.” That enterprising purveyor of news, the *Evening Post*, had performed a feat of journalism, wrote “R.” The cables had carried no news of armed coercion; the letter of Mr. E. H. House, for some time a resident of Japan, threw doubt on the bloodiness of the December suppression; and further, the published reply—over the misleading name, “Ed. Evening Post”—evinced a knowledge of Japanese politics of which the real editors were guiltless. Was “the blood-pit” used in a Pickwickian sense for “three months in jail”? No.

There is an African in the hedge and the African is the missionaries’ pet. . . . It is with calm confidence that we await the thanks of these journals for showing them how sadly they have been fooled.

The “African,” “R” implied, was the Reverend Kataoka Kenkichi, in whose cause the articles were written “from the same semi-clerical hand.”<sup>29</sup>

The Boston article was answered by Edward Greey, in a letter to the editor published in the *Evening Transcript*, February 24, 1888.<sup>30</sup> Mr. Greey deemed it a privilege to reply “on behalf of a people whom I have known for over thirty years.” There had been no “revolution in Japan”; there had been an *émeute* in the capital, in which certain Christians were involved.

Reverend Kataoka, like any Japanese, was freely allowed to believe, preach and practice Christianity, but when he preached and practiced his political

<sup>28</sup> (Clipping) “Political Tolerance in Japan,” *op.cit.*, Editor’s Note [Folio 33].

<sup>29</sup> (Clipping) “Bloodthirsty Japan. *To the Editor of the New York Times*,” signed by R., February 26, 1888 [Folio 33]. The author of this article, as curious as the reader, found no evidence to identify “R.”

<sup>30</sup> (Clipping) “The Émeute at Tokio,” Letter to Editor by Edward Greey; Authors’ Club, New York, Feb. 20, 1888; *Boston Evening Transcript*, Feb. 24, 1888 [Folio 33]. Edward Greey, author, was born in Sandwich, Kent, England, on December 1, 1835. He was a member of an English naval expedition to Japan, 1855-1856, spent six years on station in Japan, learned Japanese, and studied the history of the country. He came to the U.S. in 1868, was naturalized, and settled in New York. Later, he wrote several works on Japanese history: *Loyal Ronins*, New York: 1880 and *Young Americans in Japan*, Boston: 1881. See James Grant Wilson & John Fiske [Ed.] *Appleton’s Cyclopaedia of American Biography*, New York: 1887, Vol. 11, p. 758.

faith he, like any other Japanese, received a check and, as a political leader, was ordered to quit the capital and to remain away two and a half years.

On receipt of the order, "only one course was consistent with the faith he possesses and with the conduct of a law-abiding citizen"—to obey. For his refusal to obey, he was jailed. Reports, sent to America by friends, had injured the cause and progress of Christianity. Greey specifically singled out references to Tokyo as a "camp," "beheading," and the "blood-pit" as "palpably malicious." In his added note, the *Transcript* Editor admitted that the original editorial might have been based on exaggerated reports. Yet according to Greey himself, the Government had embarked on a course toward banishment of political opponents. It is no compliment, snapped the Editor's note, to say a Government will leave you alone—if you are not a reformer!<sup>31</sup>

It was, of course, inevitable that sooner or later Dr. Griffis himself would become involved in the controversy. Widely known among the Old Japan Hands, he had been in the forefront of the revision campaign. Greey wrote Griffis a few days after appearance of the *Post* article, assuming it had been published in the interests of Mr. Kataoka. Actually nothing would hinder the progress of Christianity in Japan more, said Greey, than for its professors to use religious liberty as a cloak for political attacks.

The arguments resemble those of Tatui Baba—with this difference—they are too scholarly—and—Baba always boldly signs his name. I cannot quite understand the writer's motives—beyond his desire to attack somebody or something because a Japanese Minister of the Gospel—unfortunately—was mixed up in the students' movement.<sup>32</sup>

Greey had seen the articles in *The Congregationalist* and assumed Griffis wished to help neutralize the effects of the *Post* article.

On February 23, House also wrote Griffis, apparently to seek information. He had seen *The Congregationalist* pieces and wanted to know if any facts had since come to Griffis' attention, evidence which would cause friends of Japan to reverse their position. Specifically, had Dr. Griffis seen any evidence on: (1) executions, (2)

<sup>31</sup> (Clipping) "The Émeute at Tokio," *op.cit.*, Editor's Note, [Folio 33].

<sup>32</sup> (Letter) Edward Greey to Professor Griffis; New York, Feb. 17, 1888 [Folio 33]. Mr. Greey used the National system of romanization of Baba's given name, rather than the presently accepted Hepburn System (in which it is spelled Tatsui). For Baba's identity, see below, fn. 41.

beheading, or (3) assassination of officials? He concluded: “. . . the object of these inquiries is obvious, and I have no doubt that you will answer them, as I make them, frankly and in good faith.”<sup>33</sup> There must have been a delay in Griffis’ reply, for Mr. House wrote again on February 25, sent a telegram and another letter urging a reply on February 29.<sup>34</sup> The same day he must have received his answer, for then he wrote:

Dear Mr. Griffis: I have read yours of yesterday with much gratification, on account of the assurance which it gives me . . . that no facts in support of the frightful accusations lately made against Japan have come to your knowledge, apart from the promulgation of the order of Dec. 26th, and the putting in jail of the persons who refused obedience thereto.

I observe with interest, also, your suggestion that the information upon which the attacks were based was probably sent to the newspapers (New York and Philadelphia) by a gentleman now residing in Japan.<sup>35</sup>

Evidently House relied upon Griffis’ reply, for the New York *Evening Post* eventually carried his point-by-point refutation of the original charges. It was not true, he wrote, that Tokyo had been turned into a camp; that anything had occurred “to justify in the slightest degree the sensational cry that ‘only a few weeks ago the blood-pit was well-moistened’ ”; that any person had been beheaded of late years in Japan, no matter what the crime. The original charges should be substantiated by evidence or withdrawn.<sup>36</sup> This time the Editor’s Note claimed that House’s argument revolved around technicalities, particularly “beheading,” and did not shake the foundations of the story on the December suppression. The *Post* refused to be biased by those who reported but one phase of the problem; it had declined also to publish letters “representing either the ultra-liberal opinions of native Japanese” or views of missionaries “who see exclusively or mainly a religious significance in recent events.”<sup>37</sup>

Captain Brinkley’s *Japan Daily Mail*, of course, received texts of

<sup>33</sup> (Letter) E. H. House to W. E. Griffis; Hartford, Conn., Feb. 23, 1888 [Folio 33].

<sup>34</sup> (Letters) Same to same, Feb. 25, 1888; Feb. 29, 1888 [Folio 33].

<sup>35</sup> (Letter) Same to same, Mar. 1, 1888 [Folio 33].

<sup>36</sup> (Clipping) “Facts of Recent Japanese History,” Letter to the Editor by E. H. House; Hartford, Conn., Feb. 29, 1888; New York *Evening Post*, Mar. 10, 1888. House had written the Editor a personal letter, on which he had pasted the original charges, clipped from the *Post*. “If they stand uncorrected they will be deathblows to Japanese hopes of recognition by Western communities.” (Letter) E. H. House to the Editor; Hartford, Conn., Feb. 28, 1888 [Folio 33].

<sup>37</sup> (Clipping) “Facts of Recent Japanese History,” *op. cit.*, Editor’s Note [Folio 33].

the denunciatory articles late. Stung by the thrust that it was a kept press, the Yokohama newspaper replied late in April and early in May. With a vested interest, the *Mail* contributed little save guesses as to the source of the attacks. *The Nation* had become victim of a "political axe-grinder." Most ridiculous was the assumption that the Government, by banishing 463 (not 500 to 900) "children and boys," had choked its opposition. The charges, thought the *Mail*, were the work of "someone who has been just long enough in Japan to possess a smattering of knowledge, and to turn out plausible hash likely to impose on the uninitiated." But the libels doubtless originated, by inspiration, with "individuals or colleagues of the frenzied zealots lately expelled from Tōkyō," who were "a disgrace to the land of their birth."<sup>38</sup> The last sallies in the counterattack were letters from Japan, received in the United States. These included a "long & temperate reply" to *The Nation*, by a Chinese, T. S. Tyng;<sup>39</sup> and an equally moderate letter from a teacher of English in Mito, Japan.<sup>40</sup>

It should be noted that there were also letters published which corroborated the charges in *The Nation*, the *Post*, and the *Transcript*. Baba Tatsui, perhaps Japan's most famous political exile, wrote the Editor of the *Post*:

Dear Sir [:] Permit me to express my best thanks for the popular party to which I belong, in your taking up the cause of the Japanese people.<sup>41</sup>

Ever since he had come to America Baba had tried to publicize

<sup>38</sup> Baba Tatsui, again; see fn. 41, below. (Clippings) "Japanese Liberalism Interpreted By A Japanese Radical Refugee," *The Japan Daily Mail*, Yokohama, Mar. 27, 1888; "The New York 'Nation's' Liberal Patriot," *ibid.*, Mar. 28, 1888; "The New York Press Libels on Japan," *ibid.*, Apr. 4, 1888; and *ibid.*, Apr. 10, 1888.

<sup>39</sup> (Letter) W. P. Garrison to W. E. Griffis; *The Nation*, Apr. 30, 1888; (Clipping) "The State of Japan," Letter to the Editor by T. S. Tyng; Osaka, Japan, Mar. 27, 1888; *The Nation*, May 3, 1888 [Folio 33].

<sup>40</sup> (Letter) "Coercion in Japan," Letter to the Editor by E. W. Clement; Mito, Japan (unpubl.). In Garrison's hand was added "about May 6, 1888. . . . Teacher of English in the Ibaraki High School" [Folio 33]. Much later Dr. Griffis wrote an introduction to Clement's book: E. W. Clement [Ed.] *Hildreth's "Japan As It Was and Is,"* London: 1907.

<sup>41</sup> (Letter) T. Baba to Ed. *Eve. Post*; Philadelphia, Feb. 28, 1888; to the original letter is added, in Griffis' hand: "Exiled by the Government of Japan" [Folio 33]. Baba Tatsui (1850-1888) was also born in Tosa. In 1869 he had gone to England to study and mastered English. Back in Japan, he became editor of the Liberal *Jiyu Shimbun*, joined the *Jiyuto*, but later quit it in disgust. In 1886 he was jailed and, upon release, came to America to study and lecture at the Franklin Institute, Philadelphia, where he died in 1888.

Japan's popular movement.<sup>42</sup> He enclosed a long Letter to the Editor, in which he denounced the views of House and Stevens. But the Editor felt it contributed little and besides, he feared the public had tired of the debate.<sup>43</sup>

The *Post* did seize upon one morsel, a private letter to a gentleman from his niece, resident in Japan. The Tokyo press, she reported, had obscured the Tosa insurrection. Police methods were awful.

"... And the prisons are full—so full that the wretches die of vermin and disease; and then if confession come not readily, they extract it, even in petty criminal cases, by torture, one form of which is to put the prisoner in a cell so filled with vermin that, if he do not confess, he will be eaten alive. And yet this nation wishes to rank with Western nations, and also asks for treaty revision."<sup>44</sup>

Christian organs in the United States naturally worried most about the effects of the December suppression—and indeed, of the controversy—on mission work in Japan. In fact, in a much less publicized article of February 1, 1888, by the Reverend James H. Ballagh,<sup>45</sup> *The Christian Intelligencer* had carried the very first hint of trouble. Mr. Ballagh colorfully described the Christian movement, particularly in Tosa, from field reports. He cautiously relayed reports from missionaries in Tokyo, expressing concern over the suppression of Kataoka, other Japanese elders of the Tosa Church, and theological students.<sup>46</sup>

<sup>42</sup> For example (Clipping), "The Popular Movement in Japan. By Tatui Baba, A Former Editor in Japan, Now Visiting This Country," *Unity Journal*, Camden, N.J., Feb. 16, 188[?] [Folio 33].

<sup>43</sup> (Typed Letter) To the Editor, New York *Evening Post*, signed by Tatui Baba (no date, unpubl.). In Dr. Griffis' hand is added: "Exiled from J. charged with designs against the Govt. Dynamite found in his quarters, as alleged. Died in the U.S. . . ." [Folio 33].

<sup>44</sup> The source of this gem was (Letter) Joseph W. Harper to Mr. Godkin [Ed., *Evening Post*]; Harper & Bros., Publishers, New York, Feb. 27, 1888, enclosing a letter from his niece, Miss Blanchard Harper, Jan. 25, 1888; (Clipping) "Coercion in Japan," New York *Evening Post* (n.d.). The original of her letter was returned to Mr. Harper. On his letter was written in pencil "Destroy" [Folio 33].

<sup>45</sup> Rutgers College, Class of 1857; Rev. Ballagh was in Yokohama at various times between 1861 and 1916. "The Rutgers Graduates in Japan," *op.cit.*, p. 19. Ballagh's Japan diary is among the Griffis Papers [Folio 7].

<sup>46</sup> (Clipping) "The Latest from Japan," By the Rev. James H. Ballagh; Tenafly, N.J., Jan. 24, 1888; *The Christian Intelligencer*, Feb. 1, 1888. Stevens, Counsellor to the Japanese Legation, had immediately replied: (Proof) "An Open Letter to the Reverend James H. Ballagh," By D. W. Stevens; Washington, D.C., Feb. 28, 1888 (unpubl.) J. B. Drury, Editor of the *Intelligencer*, wrote Dr. Griffis, enclosing the proof and explaining that its appearance was made unnecessary in light of Ballagh's own later correction (see



Evidently Dr. Griffis had written Mr. Ballagh after the appearance of the latter's *Intelligencer* article. For on February 28 Ballagh replied, giving a complete description of Kataoka and the Tosa churchmen and expressing "distress and a sense of injustice that I believe will not go unnoticed of heaven."<sup>47</sup> Two days later he wrote again, this time expressing concern over the effect of the newspaper controversy.

I have felt the difficulty of my saying anything on this subject knowing it might lead to retaliation in Japan. . . . I may better leave it to more dispassionate advocates.<sup>48</sup>

Indeed Ballagh later received evidence that the suppression in Tokyo had not been motivated by anti-Christian designs.<sup>49</sup> He therefore cleared his conscience by sending to *The Christian Intelligencer* a long article, "The Latest from Japan (A Correction)."<sup>50</sup> In it, he wrote that he was glad "to state that the crimes charged and the grounds of imprisonment have had nothing to do with Christianity." Moreover, the Japanese Government had even permitted missionaries to supply the prisoners with Bibles which, Mr. Ballagh hoped, would "improve the time of their confinement" and "teach them their duty to God and Man." The Government could be acquitted of the charge of intolerance; Christianity, for its part, could not be held accountable for mistakes of native teachers.

Other churchmen, including missionaries in Japan, were not so easily convinced, at least of the political innocence of the Government.<sup>51</sup> *The Intelligencer* itself, on March 1 carried an article signed

below). (Letter) J. B. Drury to W. E. Griffis; New York, Mar. 7, 1888 [Folio 33]. Greey later assumed that Ballagh's article was the original basis of the "Coercion" attacks. See above, fn. 30; and below, fns. 50 and 60.

<sup>47</sup> Ballagh's letter is a gold mine of first-hand description of Japan's Liberal leaders of the day: Kataoka Kenkichi, Sakamoto Ryuma, Ozaki Yukio, etc. (Letter) J. H. Ballagh to W. E. Griffis; Tenafly, N.J., Feb. 28, 1888 [Folio 33].

<sup>48</sup> (Letter) J. H. Ballagh to W. E. Griffis; Tenafly, N.J., Mar. 1, 1888 [Folio 33].

<sup>49</sup> (Copy of Translation) Rev. Inagaki [to J. H. Ballagh]; Yokohama, Japan, Jan. 30, 1888 [Folio 33].

<sup>50</sup> (Clipping) "The Latest from Japan (A Correction)," By the Rev. James H. Ballagh; Tenafly, N.J., Mar. 1, 1888; *The Christian Intelligencer*, Mar. 7, 1888. To this clipping is pasted the longhand note: "This is Ballagh's backdown. No more need be said. Edward Greey." See below, fn. 60.

<sup>51</sup> See, for example (Clipping) ["The Outlook," *Christian Union*, [Feb.] 23, 1888; and (Clipping) "A Plea for Japan," Letter to Editor by "B" [*Christian Union*, n.d., Folio 33]. The latter, very possibly written by Ballagh himself, was a moderate reply expressing hope for Christianity in Japan.

by “Ai Ko” and titled “A Reactionary Movement in Japan.” All the original charges were thereby repeated: the “Coercion Act” dropped “like a flash of lightning”; it was *very* discriminate in singling out men of Tosa, theological students, and opponents of the Government. Even so, the Editor “toned down” the letter because, as he explained to Dr. Griffis, it might “compromise our mission.”<sup>52</sup>

There is an ironic twist in the “Ai Ko” letters. For we are today in a position to discover, upon examination of the documents, that the author turns out to be none other than the Reverend E. Rothesay Miller, upon whose original correspondence *The Nation* article was based. Miller forwarded his second letter to the *Intelligencer* through Griffis, explaining that he had not yet seen copies of *The Nation* of February 16 but assumed the source of its piece was a Japanese, or a correspondent writing from Japan!<sup>53</sup>

In 1888, however, some of the participants in the controversy, without benefit of all the documents, began to suspect someone else. One man, who figured little in the public argument, read the New York *Evening Post* articles, wrote to Dr. Griffis, enclosed recent papers from Japan, and added, “The Editorials seem to be your views, and I think must be from your pen.”<sup>54</sup>

In Washington, Durham Stevens studied the original *Evening Post* editorial and the editor’s notes appended to House’s and his own rebuttals. Convinced that only an experienced person wrote the charges, he sought an interview with the writer for the sole purpose of heading off any further controversy.

Dear Mr. Griffis: I desire to ask you a question which, I must confess, may very well seem impertinent, and which, under ordinary circumstances, could hardly be justified. . . . Are you the author of the editorial in the N.Y. Evening Post entitled “Coercion in Japan”?<sup>55</sup>

<sup>52</sup> (Letter) J. B. Drury to W. E. Griffis, *op.cit.*, in which the Editor explained the omission of Stevens’ reply to Ballagh, in light of the latter’s correction. (Clipping) “A Reactionary Movement in Japan,” By “Ai Ko”; Tokyo, Japan, Jan. 12, 1888; *The Christian Intelligencer* [about Mar. 1, 1888]; [Folio 33].

<sup>53</sup> See fn. 17 above. He wrote to Griffis: “The signature is my ‘go’ [a sign] bestowed by my former teacher, and means ‘Lover of Light,’ the ‘o’ being long, ‘Ai Kō.’” (Letter) E. Rothesay Miller to W. E. Griffis; Morioka, Japan, Apr. 12, 1888 [Folio 33].

<sup>54</sup> (Letter) Colgate Baker to W. E. Griffis; New York, Feb. 25, 1888 [Folio 33]. Mr. Baker headed a trade agency, Colgate Baker & Co., Japan, 124 Front Street, New York City.

<sup>55</sup> (Letter) D. W. Stevens to W. E. Griffis; Washington, Feb. 25, 1888 [Folio 33].

Exactly what Dr. Griffis wrote in reply is not known, for those were the days before typed carbon copies and he kept no record. A few days later, Stevens wrote again concerning an anonymous letter in the *Evening Post*. In words which might be used in 1952, in reverse, he deplored the "epidemic of sensationalism": Americans, having gone to one extreme in praise of Japan, had receded to the other, indiscriminate censure.<sup>56</sup> In any case, Stevens eventually arranged a meeting, and on one of the Counsellor's letters, in Griffis' hand, was written: "Mr. Stevens came on to Boston to see me and we had a mutually pleasant and profitable interview."<sup>57</sup> In a later letter, Stevens praised Griffis for his contribution to revision; on yet another, Griffis described Stevens as "a stout defender of Japan. He was assassinated by a Korean fanatic."<sup>58</sup>

In New York, Edward Greey was even more direct. He too wrote Dr. Griffis, enclosing the Boston *Transcript* cuttings: "Will you kindly tell me whether you wrote the article—'Revolution in Japan.' Yours very truly, Edward Greey."<sup>59</sup> Again, we do not have Griffis' reply but we do know Greey later assumed that the attacks originated with Mr. Ballagh's letter, and that Griffis wrote the *Post* and *Nation* articles.<sup>60</sup>

In Hartford, Edward House continued to assume, quite correctly, that information upon which the original attacks were based came from a gentleman residing in Japan. When rumor, attributing the *Post* article to Griffis, reached him he wrote directly that he could not "know upon what supposed grounds this offensive imputation" was based and that he, "at least, rejected it as incredible." Besides, he thought Griffis' letter to him of March 1 specifically denied authorship of the accusations. On March 31 he wrote again, saying that nothing had been further from his purpose than to inquire as

<sup>56</sup> Undoubtedly, Stevens referred to the letter, "Coercion in Japan," from Miss Blanchard Harper. See above, fn. 44. (Letter) D. W. Stevens to W. E. Griffis; Washington, Feb. 29, 1888 [Folio 33].

<sup>57</sup> (Letters) Same to same, Feb. 25, 1888, cited; Mar. 6, 1888; Mar. 9, 1888; Mar. 13, 1888 [Folio 33].

<sup>58</sup> (Letters) Same to same, Mar. 28, 1888; June 18, 1888 [Folio 33].

<sup>59</sup> (Letter) Edward Greey to W. E. Griffis; New York, Mar. 2, 1888 [Folio 33].

<sup>60</sup> It is still a mystery how the longhand notes, in Greey's hand and pasted on Ballagh's articles, got into the Griffis files. Greey wrote, on Ballagh's Feb. 1 article: "This is the original article (by Griffis' partial admission—for he declines to be frank) on which Griffis based his 'Coercion in Japan.' . . . The pity is that such charges should have appeared in the 'Post' & 'Nation' and the bitter side, that Griffis should have used his confidential relations to further his private aims. E.G." See footnotes 50, 46, 30 above.

to the origin of the attacks. Had he wished it, he could have had the name of the author in twenty-four hours! As to the rumor that Griffis had written the articles, House's advice was to ignore the report and say nothing, or face the rumor, with indignant disclaim. It was not until November, 1888, that House discovered for certain that Dr. Griffis had misled, but certainly had not lied to him.<sup>61</sup>

As the reader may have guessed, Dr. Griffis did in fact write the original articles in *The Nation*, the *Evening Post*, and the *Transcript*. And indeed, history proved him to be correct in his estimate, if somewhat flamboyant in his charges. Tokyo, in December, 1887, was a "camp." Secret orders went out to the police to kill all who resisted the notorious Peace Preservation Law; doctors were assembled at army hospitals; army communication lines were strung. In the measured words of scholarship, one present-day authority has concluded:

Indeed, it was as if martial law had been declared to put down an uprising. . . . Thus in one diabolical stroke, the government cleared the capital of its political opponents.<sup>62</sup>

The suppression of December, 1887, was as nothing compared with the potential and actual suppression, legitimized under the Meiji Constitution of 1889. Japan moved slowly, but inexorably toward authoritarian control, imperialism, and aggression, whose bitterest fruits were tasted in 1941 and in 1945.

Back in February, 1887, the details were not so clear. When the Editor of *The Nation* received the first Miller letter, he decided not to print it. But he wrote to Griffis, suggesting that his perusal of the letter and close watch on Japanese affairs might produce a lead article.<sup>63</sup> On a copy of the published article, among the Griffis papers, and in his own hand was written:

An article by W. E. Griffis which precipitated a violent newspaper controversy in New York and Japan. W.E.G.

<sup>61</sup> For the letter which misled him, see above, fn. 35. (Letters) E. H. House to W. E. Griffis; Hartford, Conn., Mar. 6, Mar. 31, 1888. By November, a personal quarrel, the details of which need not concern us, caused the two friends of Japan to exchange thrusts with their pens. Even then, House did not take the personal grievances seriously but claimed he had been stirred only by the attacks on Japan. (Letters) Wm. H. Ward to W. E. Griffis; *The Independent*, New York, Nov. 15, 1888; E. H. House to W. E. Griffis; New York, Nov. 20, 1888 [Folio 33].

<sup>62</sup> Nobutaka Ike, *op. cit.*, pp. 185-186.

<sup>63</sup> (Letter) W. P. Garrison to W. E. Griffis; New York, Feb. 9, 1888, with Encl. [Folio 33].

Two days after publication (February 18), Garrison of *The Nation* wrote about replies already received: "You have brought the hornets about you. Will you add an editorial note?" A little later, Garrison sent along one of Stevens' many protests and added: "No name was given him, of course."<sup>64</sup> Greey thought the original source of the attacks was Ballagh. House, writing to Griffis, may have had tongue in cheek all along. *The Japan Mail* thought the "libel" was inspired by Baba Tatsui. Miller perhaps never did know the part he had played.

Why did Dr. Griffis keep his role a secret? First, in February, 1888, he was not certain of details. Second, he did not foresee the weight of reaction. Finally, when he did, he stuck by his guns on both counts. His sympathy remained with Japan's liberals; but that was not sufficient reason to oppose revision.<sup>65</sup> Had his name, identified with the campaign for equal treaties, been linked with the attacks on Japan, revision would have received a mortal blow. Dr. Griffis went on, in his later writings, to champion Japan's equality and to hope for Japan's salvation.<sup>66</sup>

Today, discussion of a Japanese peace treaty offers once again an opportunity to survey the record and prospects of a nation with a long and eventful history. For the United States, ratification marks not only the end of a war but the completion of over six years of a

<sup>64</sup> (Letters) Same to same, Feb. 18, 1888, with Encl.; Same to same, Feb. 21, 1888, with Encl. [Folio 33].

<sup>65</sup> One of the most interesting letters of all (it remained unpublished) was that of George William Knox, a famous writer on things Japanese. In response to Dr. Griffis' queries, he wrote that he agreed with the leader in the *Post* and not with "S" (Stevens). His sympathy lay with the Liberals, yet the controversy did not settle the question of revision. If that were the assumption, then he differed with the "anonymous" writer too. The "Europeanization" of Japan was doubtful; yet Prince Ito was dedicated to progress—"other than in 'liberal' politics." Knox differed with Mr. House, too. Foreigners should not live under Japanese law, pure and simple. The Government was absolutist, irresponsible; laws were ill-enforced; there was no *habeas corpus*, no trial by jury. Mr. Knox was, he admitted, hard to suit. The answer? Why not insist upon guarantees to foreigners, in equal treaties, and then the Japanese Government would be shamed into equal treatment of its nationals? This was precisely the line of argument Dr. Griffis later pursued. (Letter) George Wm. Knox to W. E. Griffis; New York, Mar. 8, 1888 [Folio 33].

<sup>66</sup> See, for example (Clipping), "Japanese Treaty Revision," *The Nation* [March 20, 1888]; the (Clipping) *Japan Mail*, May 3, 1888, of course, crowed victory. It published excerpts from the later article, alongside excerpts from "Coercion in Japan," and congratulated *The Nation* for "climbing down from its pinnacle of lurid sensationalism, painted with blood." In reply, Dr. Griffis wrote a long letter for the Yokohama newspaper itself, arguing for revision but recalling acts "savouring of despotism" which "have given cause for grief to the friends of Japan." (Clipping) "Our Treaties with Japan," By W. E. Griffis, *The Japan Weekly Mail*, Aug. 4, 1888 [Folio 33].

unique social experiment, the most unusual military occupation in history.<sup>67</sup>

Most observers agree that Japan should be welcomed back—as she was once welcomed—into the family of nations. As General Douglas MacArthur himself put it, a military occupation soon runs into diminishing returns. Besides, we now need Japan as friend and ally. Yet the swift current of international events has obscured the deeper meaning of the occupation, the success or failure of so-called “democratization” of Japan. Unfortunately, there has been a tendency to evaluate our experiment in extreme terms. Some have drawn a dramatic scene of the complete renovation of our ex-enemy. Others have painted a somber portrait of inscrutable and devious Oriental guile, of unregenerate authoritarianism waiting to be unchained. One extreme view has given birth to the other. Sometimes comment on post-war Japan, informed or otherwise, runs the gamut and assumes both caricatures to be correct.<sup>68</sup>

Friends of Japan are even now embarrassed on occasion by the more than faint suspicion that “democratization”—if such a process is possible—has not been a conspicuous or immediate success.

<sup>67</sup> The issues of the treaty are objectively discussed by Robert E. Ward, “The New Japan and the United States,” *The Michigan Alumnus Quarterly Review*, Vol. LVIII, No. 10 (Dec. 8, 1951).

<sup>68</sup> In the hearings before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee on the Japanese peace treaty, the following views—chosen at random—were expressed: Herbert Coston, a former representative of the Methodist Board of Missions in Japan, denounced the treaty’s “encouragement of rearmament”; the Rev. Willard Uphaus, representing the American Peace Crusade, scored the text as one bringing the “militarists” back to power; Frederick J. Libby, National Council for the Prevention of War, gave qualified support, expressing the hope that ratification would lead to early revision. *New York Times*, Jan. 24, 1952; Jan. 26, 1952.