

Emily Dickinson's Seclusion and Japan¹

UNO Hiroko

エミリー・ディキンソンの隠遁と日本

鶴野ひろ子

Abstract

バーバラ・モスバーグはエミリー・ディキンソンの隠遁は当時の女性には参政権がないという社会に対する不満が原因だとしている。私はそれに同意するが、彼女の隠遁という選択には他にも様々な要因があり、社会に対する不満はその一つに過ぎない。また彼女の社会に対する不満には参政権の他にも理由があると思われる。当論文ではその不満の一つ、日本を開国させようとしていた米国の外交政策について考察した。

ディキンソンの教科書を見ると、日本の鎖国や文化についての記述が見られる。1850年代の新聞には日本の鎖国や、日本の漁船の難破、日本近海で難破した米国の捕鯨船員の日本での取り扱い等についての記事が見られる。そして捕鯨業者や貿易業者の要請から、ダニエル・ウェブスターが日本の開国を奨励し、最終的にはペリー率いる日本遠征隊が派遣されることとなる。一方、彼女の父親は法律家であったが、ホイッグ党员でもあり、また中国貿易業者を親戚に持つ者として、ウェブスターを支持していた。それ故、そのような政治的な話題は彼女にとって身近なものであり、大いに興味を持っていたことが伺える。特にペリーの日本遠征の時期は父親が国会議員を務めた時期と重なり、日本遠征の情報が新聞だけでなく、父親を通して直接届いたはずである。また当時の新聞記事を見ると、日本遠征には布教という目的も含まれていたことがわかる。

ディキンソンは宗教復興期に改宗できなかつた者として、また自分の作品を編集者に無断で書き換えられ憤慨した経験を持つ者として、他国の方針を無視する米国の外交政策に違和感を覚えたのではないだろうか。一方、日本が鎖国とは言え、長崎を通してオランダや中国から必要な物資や情報を得て独自の文化を育てたという事実は、隠遁を望んでいた彼女にとって、一つの希望の光であったと思われる。その結果、日本が開国し条約批准のため米国に外交使節を派遣した1860年を境に、皮肉にも、彼女は選んだわずかの友人との文通や新聞・雑誌を通して外の世界を覗きながらという特異な隠遁生活に入っていったのである。故に彼女は日本の鎖国を手本としていたと言えるであろう。

キーワード：エミリー・ディキンソン、隠遁、日本の開国、米国の外交方針、日本についての情報

Key words: Emily Dickinson, Seclusion, Opening of Japan, US Diplomatic Policy, Information of Japan

本学文学部英文学科教授

連絡先：鶴野ひろ子 〒662-8505 西宮市岡田山4-1 神戸女学院大学文学部英文学科
hirouno@mail.kobe-c.ac.jp

Just before the national Whig Convention in Baltimore of June 1852, Emily Dickinson at the age of 21 wrote in a letter to a friend:

Why cant *I* be a Delegate to the great Whig Convention?—dont [sic] I know all about Daniel Webster, and the Tariff, and the Law? Then, Susie I could see you, during a pause in the session—but I dont [sic] like this country at all, and I shant [sic] stay here any longer! “Delenda est” America, Massachusetts and all!

(L-94, To Susan Gilbert, 11 June 1852)

At the fourth international conference of the Society for the Study of American Women Writers in 2009, Barbara Mossberg suggested that Dickinson’s declaration in this letter shows the reason for her later withdrawal from American society, that is, her “indignation at being left out of the political processes to which she [felt] manifestly qualified to contribute.” I agree, but I think that her indignation at American society is only one of the reasons for her withdrawal, and that there were other factors, too, fueling that indignation. Dickinson was not only dissatisfied with “being left out of the political processes” but also with some other circumstances in those years. In this paper I would like to suggest that her knowledge of Japan and of America’s foreign policy to pry Japan out of seclusion in the 1850s could have been a further cause of her indignation and her withdrawal from society as a result.

One of the geography textbooks Dickinson must have read, *A System of Modern Geography* by S. Augustus Mitchell,² offers a little about the “Empire of Japan,” and explains that, “The people, like the Chinese, are jealous of Europeans; so that our knowledge of the country is limited” (301). Although only two pages in length, the section refers to the natural products and manufactures of Japan, and also to “the worship of Buddha, of Confucius, and of spirits, or genii” prevailing in the country (301). It also reports the severity of the laws and “the security of person and property” as a result (301). From such sentences as: “The Japanese are one of the most civilized nations in Eastern Asia, and educate their children of both sexes with great care. Women hold a higher rank here than in China; they enjoy the same degree of liberty as in Europe” (301), the country might have seemed attractive to the young Dickinson, who could not go to Amherst College or any other, as they were exclusively for boys in those years.

Another textbook which was used at Amherst Academy, the school Dickinson attended, *A System of School Geography* by S. Griswold Goodrich (Lowenberg 53), has a three-page section on Japan, mainly offering detailed geographical information, including its weather and plant. It also says of the seclusion of Japan: “This flourishing state, at the

farther extremity of Asia, is withdrawn from the researches of travelers, by the cautiousness of its policy, which excludes foreigners from its dominions” (261). It describes Nagasaki as the only harbor allowing entry to foreign shipping:

When approached by sea, this city presents views so beautiful, that any thing [sic] like them would be sought for in vain in the most celebrated picturesque gardens of Europe. A rock, 288 paces [sic] long, is the only place in which the Dutch are allowed to reside, where they live in a state of seclusion and solitude, ignorant of all the world beside. These are the only foreigners permitted in the Japanese dominions. (263)

As to the prohibition of Christianity in Japan, the textbook explains that “the Catholic missionaries propagated Christianity to a great extent, but, owing to their imprudence, the Portuguese, as well as all other Christian nations, were banished, and have since been excluded from the kingdom” (263).

The geography textbook used by her father Edward Dickinson at Yale College, *The American Universal Geography* by Jedidiah Morse, which Emily might also have read (Lowenberg 75), has a thirteen-page chapter entitled “Japan” in two sections: “Historical Geography” and “Natural Geography.” At the beginning of the former section Japan is portrayed as follows: “. . . excepting China, no existing Asiatic monarchy can aspire to superior rank, or is more calculated to excite rational curiosity, from the singularity of its government, abundant population, progress in the arts of life, and peculiar manners of the people” (528). Japanese culture is praised: “. . . in the sciences and literature the Japanese yield to few of the oriental nations”; and “some of their arts and manufactures even surpass those of Europe” (534). As to the commerce it says: “The inland commerce is very considerable, being free and exempted from imposts”; and “the trade with China is the most important, consisting of raw silks, sugar, turpentine, drugs, &c. while the exports are copper in bars, lackered[sic] ware, &c” (536).

This is something of what Dickinson learned about Japan at school in her teens in the 1840s, though she may have quickly forgotten it. However, within a few years it is likely to have been recalled and augmented with further information from newspapers and magazines, for Edward Dickinson, who was a lawyer and a statesman, subscribed to several Boston newspapers³ as well as *Springfield Daily Republican*, whose owner and editor Samuel Bowles was a friend of the Dickinson family.

In the 1840s American whalers found good whaling grounds near the Japanese coast in the Pacific Ocean, and “the Pacific whaling industry wanted a treaty with Japan to assure proper treatment of shipwrecked sailors” (Blum 287), should they be cast up on Japanese shores. In those years there were several articles about this issue. For example,

“American Sailors in Japan” in *Boston Courier* dated August 27, 1849 (Issue 27; col A), reports the recovery by Commander Glynn on board the United States ship Preble at Nagasaki of “a number of American sailors who had been wrecked on one of the Japanese Islands and kept for more than a year in captivity by the jealous and tyrannical government of that country.” The same article also mentions “another American whale ship, which, in May, 1846, was lost off the coast of Japan.” It is reported that the surviving sailors who reached the coast of Japan were “kept in close custody during a space of seventeen months, confined in dungeons, cages, boxes, and the holds of junks” and one of them who tried to escape was “put to death without mercy.”

Among Dickinson’s poems there are several in which she uses the image of a shipwrecked sailor, for example,

I many times thought Peace had come
When Peace was far way —
As Wrecked Men — deem they sight the Land ?
At Centre of the Sea —

And struggle slacker — but to prove
As hopelessly as I —
How many the fictitious Shores —
Or any Harbor be —

(Fr. 737, about the second half of 1863)⁴

Here the poet compares her own sense of despair to that of shipwrecked sailors who had a vision of a land “at Centre of the Sea.” The following poem also shows the poet’s sympathy for a shipwrecked sailor:

A South Wind — has a pathos
Of individual Voice —
As One detect on Landings
An Emigrant’s address —

A Hint of Ports — and Peoples —
And much not understood —
The fairer — for the farness —
And for the foreignhood —

(Fr. 883, about early 1864)

Here the forlornness and helplessness of a shipwrecked sailor in an unknown country is reproduced. In another poem she says, “The lonesome for they know not What — / The Eastern Exiles — be — / Who strayed beyond the Amber line / Some madder Holiday —” (Fr. 326, about early 1862). The poet must have had the newspaper articles of shipwrecked sailors in a foreign country, especially in the East, in mind when she wrote

these poems.

On the other hand, there were many shipwrecked Japanese fishermen who were carried by the tides as far as the west coast of North America.⁵ Some American captains who picked them up tried to return them to Japan as a means to get in direct touch with the Japanese government. For example, according to the article "American Ship in Japan" in *Boston Daily Atlas* on May 8, 1846 (Issue 265; col F), the whale ship Manhattan in the charge of "Capt. Budd" "of Sag Harbor" visited "the port of Jeddo in Japan" "for the purpose of restoring to their homes 22 Japanese, who had been picked up on board a wreck, and on a desolate island. They were, contrary to the usage of the Japanese, treated hospitably. . . ." They were furnished with "wood, water, rice, barley and sweet potatoes, a number of fowls" and so on "as a present," but were "enjoined not to come there again."⁶

Meanwhile, Boston merchants engaged in the China trade also wanted a treaty with Japan. They hoped to make Japan a port of call to secure water and provisions. Commodore Biddle, who succeeded in concluding the first treaty between China and the United States in December 1845, was ordered by his government on July 20, 1846, to open trade with Japan. A detailed report on his expedition to Japan written by a correspondent on board U. S. Ship Columbus was printed as "The American Expedition to Japan" in the section called "Historical" of *Boston Investigator* on February 17, 1847 (Issue 41; col C).⁷ It says that although Commodore Biddle entered Uraga Channel at the mouth of Edo Bay with two warships, USS Columbus and USS Vincennes, and "forwarded his letter of introduction to the Emperor, from the President of the United States, which explained the objects" of the visit, he was told that Japan forbade all commerce with foreign nations apart from that of the Dutch. He was also informed that all foreign affairs were conducted through Nagasaki and was ordered to leave Uraga immediately. Although his demand for a trade agreement was thus unsuccessful, he acquired a lot of information about Japan. For example,

They [the Japanese] have copper, iron, steel, and silver, and in working these metals they are not surpassed by Europeans. Coal also abounds in the islands. The manufacture of porcelain and glass, lacquered ware, silk and cotton goods, has been carried on by them for centuries. Their trade is confined to the Dutch, the Chinese and the Coreans [sic], and the only port open to these is Nangasaki [sic]. Their dread of foreigners was caused by an attempt of the Portuguese to establish the Roman Catholic religion over them in the beginning of the seventeenth century, when Dutch merchants disclosed the plot to the Japanese priests.

The article also says that since "all the great men of the empire speak the low Dutch," they "obtain from Dutch newspapers an accurate knowledge of occurrences throughout the

world.” “As an evidence,” it continues, “we were astonished to learn that they had heard of our intended visit.” In answer to the President’s letter, “the Emperor replied that he had heard of the greatness of the United States; he hoped they would continue to be prosperous and happy, but the policy of his country would not permit him to open his ports to any but the Chinese and Dutch.” It is also reported that “the Mandarins told [them] that if [they] attempted to land by force, they would all commit suicide by ripping out their intestines, that being the custom of their country.”

After the Seclusion Decree was issued in Japan at the beginning of the 17th century, all contact with the outside world became strictly regulated by the shogun.⁸ Only Dutch and Chinese traders were permitted to continue commerce in Japan, provided they agreed not to engage in missionary activities. Japan’s “Seclusion” was aimed principally to keep westerners away, while most trade policies were designed for access to Chinese goods. So why did Japan maintain contact with the Dutch? The explanation is that “the Dutch contact provided intelligence about the outside world,” and “each arriving captain had to submit an account of what had happened since the last ship’s arrival” (Jansen 85). Besides, through contacts with individual Dutch traders, the Japanese could procure books or scientific instruments. Thus, although Japan was isolated by her foreign policy, the doors and windows were not completely shut, and the Japanese kept track of outside events, taking only the information they wanted.

It can easily be supposed that Japan seemed all the more interesting to the United States because of her rejection of contact. Emily Dickinson says in her poems, “Impossibility, like Wine / Exhilarates the Man” (Fr. 939; c. 1865), and “Undue Significance a starving man attaches / To Food — / Far off — He sighs — and therefore — Hopeless — / And therefore — Good —” (Fr. 626, the second half of 1863). She might have become aware of such excitement from the negotiation between secluded Japan and the United States.⁹

On March 13, 1847, *Boston Daily Atlas* (“Japan”; Issue 219; col F) gave a piece of information very interesting to American merchants: although the Dutch were the only Europeans allowed to trade with Japan, “American cottons are sold to some extent to Chinese merchants for shipment to Japan.” This kind of information must have made textile-manufacturers and traders in New England desire much more of a chance to exploit the Japanese market. In fact, later, as soon as the two ports Shimoda and Hakodate were opened to American ships as a result of Commodore Perry’s Expedition to Japan in 1854, a ship named “Japan” was built in Boston in 1855 to commemorate the successful opening of the country (“The New Ship Japan, of Boston,” *Boston Daily Atlas*, January 1, 1855; Issue 155; col H). In early 1855 “an admiring New York chamber of commerce presented [Commodore Perry] with a 381-piece silver service (estimated to be worth more than

\$6,000)” (Ion 14) and the Boston Board of Trade in the name of “The Merchants of Boston” proposed that “a gold medal should be struck commemorating the event, Commodore Perry’s agency in which it is desired to recognize” (“Commodore Perry and the Japan Expedition,” *Boston Daily Advertiser*, March 2, 1855; Issue 53; col A).¹⁰

The husband of Dickinson’s favorite aunt, Loring Norcross, and her uncle, Joel Norcross, were dry goods importers, and her great uncle, Otis Norcross, imported Chinaware. Their offices were all in Boston (Uno 46). Therefore, Japan must have looked very attractive and interesting to Dickinson’s relatives in Boston as well as mysterious to herself as a country which had been isolated for more than two hundred years.

Actually the demand to open the country became stronger and stronger in those years. The article “Japan” in *Boston Courier* dated May 24, 1849 (Issue 3525; col D), says that “it is probable that the commerce of this secluded nation Japan will, before many years have passed, be forced open to the commerce of Europe and America,” while also reporting the history of failed attempts to open trade with Japan. *Emancipator & Republican* dated August 30, 1849 (“Japan”; Issue 19; col G), even bitterly criticizes Japan: although “the right of a nation thus to fence itself out from intercourse with the rest of the world cannot be disputed,” it says, there is “one feature of the case which calls for decided interference at any cost,” that is, “American seamen, with no desire to trespass, but shipwrecked upon the coast, instead of being allowed to leave the country in peace, are seized, imprisoned, and subjected to the most barbarous usage.” Therefore, it asserts, “if the Japanese can’t be made to comprehend the equity of the case, and to redress the grievance on grounds of justice, they must be subjected to less ethereal arguments.”

Emily Dickinson’s father, Edward Dickinson, was a so-called “die-hard Whig” (Scheurer 306) as well as a lawyer. He was “state senator in 1842 and 1843, and became a member of the Governor’s Council in 1846 and 1847.” From early 1853 until early 1855 he served in the Thirty-Third Congress as the representative from the Tenth District of the state of Massachusetts. He also “attended several state and national conventions and stumped for presidential candidates Henry Clay, Zachary Taylor, and Daniel Webster” (Longworth 68). In those years America’s politics must, therefore, have been a familiar topic in the Dickinson household. Judging from her complaint of the impossibility of attending the Whig Convention in the letter cited above, it is clear that Emily was seriously interested in America’s politics in those years.

Daniel Webster, who was specifically mentioned by Dickinson in the letter, was “U. S. statesman, orator, and lawyer, the most effective advocate of national unity in his generation” (Bradford and Bemis). He was a member of the national House of Representatives from New Hampshire from 1813 to 1817, from Massachusetts from 1823 to 1827, and was Senator from the same state from 1827 to 1841 and from 1845 to 1850. He

served as United States Secretary of State from 1841 to 1843 and from 1850 until his death in October 1852 (Bradford and Bemis; Remini "Chronology of Webster's Life: 1782-1852," 15-21). As mentioned above, textile-manufacturers and traders in New England were eager for the chance to make Japan their market, while whalers were demanding a treaty with Japan (Blum 287). Therefore, it was quite natural that Daniel Webster, a representative from Massachusetts and New Hampshire, should try to meet their requests. When he served Presidents Tyler and Fillmore as Secretary of State, he advocated establishing commercial relations with China and Japan. He even actually wrote the President's letter ordering the expedition to Japan that was handed to Commodore John Henry Aulick (Rayback 314-15; Remini 711-12). Their requests were important, too, to Edward Dickinson, as a representative from Massachusetts and as a relative of Boston merchants. Therefore, he must have supported Daniel Webster, not only because he was a famous orator and influential Whig leader but also because he "championed the interest of the Northeast" (Holloran 305). After Webster gave on March 7, 1850, one of his most famous speeches "for the preservation of the Union" supporting the so-called "Compromise of 1850" led by the then president Henry Clay and Stephen Douglas that included the Fugitive Slave Law of 1850, he was bitterly criticized by "almost the entire Massachusetts delegation in Congress," especially by abolitionists and Free Soilers. Even clergymen in Massachusetts called him "a traitor" (Remini 662-81). Nevertheless, Edward Dickinson was among "Webster's staunchest political supporters and one of his delegates at the 1852 national Whig Convention in Baltimore" (Holloran 305), which Emily wanted to attend.

In May 1851, Commodore John Henry Aulick, hearing of shipwrecked Japanese sailors brought to San Francisco, "rushed to Daniel Webster, then Secretary of State, with a scheme for using the waifs as an instrument for winning access to Japan" (Wildes 241). Since "[t]he Fillmore Cabinet was already deeply interested in the Japanese adventure," on May 30 "Aulick was handed a letter of credence authorizing him to act as American envoy to negotiate a treaty with the Shogun."¹¹ Some instructions from Webster were added "to get the right for coaling stations for the Navy" (244).¹² Later Commodore Aulick was replaced by Commodore Matthew C. Perry. According to the article "the Expedition to Japan" in *Springfield Daily Republican* dated March 12, 1852, the objects of the Expedition to Japan were "well known," as "to effect a landing at Jeddo, the capital city of Japan, at all hazards, and orders have been given to make various explorations on shore, and to leave no efforts untried to open commercial intercourse with that long sealed people."¹³

This enterprise promoted by Webster drew other countries' attention; on December 8, 1852, the article "The Japan Expedition" in *Boston Investigator* (Issue 32; col D) reported: "The attention of the whole civilized and commercial world has been strongly attracted to the expedition which our government is fitting out for Japan." According to this article,

London Sun of Great Britain gave on October 19th the reason for the delay of the expedition as “the unlucky squabble about the British fisheries,” and reported that the trouble was settled “owing to the better judgment of Mr. Webster and the energetic resolution of Lord Malmesbury.” *London Sun* also reported that British people “looked forward to the result” of the expedition, for “Japan is to the rest of the world almost as untrodden [sic] a region as the surface of the moon, or of Jupiter.” It also emphasized their excitement by writing: “Seriously speaking, we may assert that we know rather more about the inhabitants of the Flying Island than the hitherto almost inscrutable and nearly fabulous Japanese. *Golownin*, it is true, has given us an account by no means so categorical or explicit as that furnished in reference to the former by Lemuel Gulliver.”¹⁴

At the same time, there were objections to the expedition to Japan, which was condemned by a senator from Virginia as “impolitic, improper, and entirely uncalled for,” in a session of Congress on April 9th (“Discipline in the Navy— . . . —Expedition to Japan — . . .” (*Boston Daily Atlas*, April 15, 1852; Issue 245; col D).¹⁵ In April, 1853, a rumor was circulating in the Washington area that the expedition was to be cancelled. According to the article “The Japan Expedition” in *Boston Investigator* dated April 6, 1853 (Issue 49; col C), one of the reasons for the cancellation of the expedition given was that “the portentous aspect of affairs all over the continent of Europe, admonishes us to husband the disposable strength of our little navy for the possible contingencies of war, and the consequent necessity of protecting our commerce.” The other reason reads “the expedition is too weak to effect the civilizing and charitable purpose of opening the Empire to the blessings of Christianity, to say nothing of the great work of a hydrographical survey of those barbarous islands.”

The author of the article attacks one of the purposes of the expedition, that is, “the civilizing and charitable purpose of opening the Empire to the blessings of Christianity,” saying:

It seems, then, that our holy religion depends altogether upon its guns for its introduction among the heathens of Japan. Well, this was the way Pizarro introduced religion upon this continent—the Bible in one hand and the musket in the other!

Although the intention to introduce Christianity to Japan had never been mentioned in any newspaper article until then, this article reveals that there had been also such an intention behind the expedition.

It was known that Japan had strictly prohibited Christianity, as several articles had been written in textbooks and newspapers on this subject, as seen above. *Boston Investigator* issued on September 29, 1852 (“The Japanese”; Issue 22; col D), even reports on the harsh Japanese test to prove oneself a non-Christian by stepping on a copper tablet

with a crucifix: “It seems that the Japanese hate Christians; and unless the American seamen had trampled upon the *cross*, they would have been massacred on the spot.” The same newspaper issued on December 29, 1852 (“A Japanese Edict”; Issue 35; col B), also reports:

A reward of five hundred pieces of silver is offered for the discovery of a Christian priest, and for a Christian layman in proportion. All persons who spread the Christian doctrines, or bear so scandalous a name, are to be imprisoned. Finally, all the Portuguese, with their mothers, nurses, and all their property shall be transported to Macoa [sic].

Meanwhile, it was found that the Japanese had learned of America’s project to open commerce with Japan as reported in *Boston Investigator* on Feb. 17, 1847, which is cited above (see p. 5). *Boston Daily Atlas* on March 23, 1852 (“Switzerland— . . . —Japan Demanding the Assistance of Holland against the United States— . . .”; Issue 226; col G), also reports, “An Amsterdam paper says that the Court of Jeddo in Japan has called upon the Dutch government, to lend assistance in case of an attack from the United States of America. It adds that Holland will know how to take a dignified stand as mediator.”¹⁶

Therefore, the Americans should be very careful not to let their intention of missionary work become known to the Japanese. *New York Times* (April 7, 1852) warns as follows:

The Commodore’s mission will be likely to fail utterly, if missionary purposes are associated with it. It ought to be borne in mind that once Christianity flourished in Japan, and that the present system of Government is founded upon the ruins of it. The Japanese have such a dread of its re-introduction among them that one department of their Government has no other duty but to guard against the revival of the Christian religion in the Empire. If the slightest attempt to proselytize be made, irretrievable mischief will be done. (“Affairs on the Pacific”) Actually, “Webster stressed to Aulick that he was to ensure that Japanese officials understood that the American government would never interfere with the religion of other countries—a recognition of Japanese hostility toward Christianity” (Ion 11).¹⁷ Consequently, even now there is no mention of such an intention in any history textbook or encyclopedia. However, these articles reveal that their intention of carrying out missionary work was an open secret in the United States, at least on the East Coast.

There is another piece of evidence of the missionary intention: just after the President of the United States “appoint[ed] consuls for the United States, to reside” at the two seaports, “Simoda and Hakodadi [sic],” (“Appendix to the Congressional Globe,” 33d Congress, 2d Session) (Courtesy, National Archives) early in 1855, a report by a committee of the Boston Board of Trade celebrated the success of Perry’s Expedition to Japan as a

“Christian victory”:

The throwing open of the ports of Japan to our countrymen,—an event the precursor of relations of comity between that hitherto isolated people and the commercial nations of Christendom,—will mark the too sanguinary story of the nineteenth century with *one* unstained page, *one* Christian victory!

(“Commodore Perry and the Japan Expedition,” *Boston Daily Advertiser*, March 2, 1855; Issue 53; col A)

Besides, the intention can be ascertained by the fact that Townsend Harris, who was “a Protestant Episcopalian and a strong Christian” (Ion 15), was appointed to the position of consul general. And, by Article 8 of the Treaty of Amity and Commerce concluded in 1858, Harris “achieved the three goals”: “Americans’ right to free exercise of their religion, as well as their right to build churches, and the abolition of the Japanese custom of trampling the Cross” (Ion 16). As soon as the news of the conclusion of the Treaty of Amity and Commerce reached the United States, several missionaries were sent to Japan even though the prohibition of Christianity had not yet been removed.¹⁸ According to Takeuchi, in 1859 Channing Moore Williams, Samuel Robbins Brown, James Curtis Hepburn, Daniel Jerome MacGowan, and John Liggins, and in 1860 Jonathan Goble and John Livingston Nevius were sent to Japan as Christian missionaries (533–34).¹⁹ Thus, we can say Christian missionary work was also one of the motivations of the Japan Expedition, and it can also be said that Edward Dickinson, who was converted to Christianity during a religious revival in 1853 (Sewall 66, 68), must have supported the expedition as a faithful Christian.

On December 5, 1852, *Springfield Daily Republican* reported:

To the commander of the East India squadron has been intrusted[sic] the important and delicate task of opening of Japan, a necessity which is recognized in the commercial adventure of all Christian nations, and is deeply felt by every owner of an American whaleship[sic], and every voyager between California and China. (“Annual Report of the Secretary of the Navy for 1852”)

Then, on November 11, 1853, the same paper reported on “the Japan Expedition” in detail. It says that Commodore Perry with a fleet of four steam-powered warships finally “made Japanese land, not far from the entrance of the great Bay of Yedo (or Jeddo),” and, in spite of some resistance by Japanese, kept up the Bay to “anchor off the town of Uruga” on July 8, 1853. Japanese officials were informed that although the Americans “came as friends, upon a peaceable mission,” “an attempt to surround us with a cordon of boats, as in the case of the Columbus and Vincennes, would lead to very serious consequences.” It is also reported in the newspaper that on July 14th about 320 Americans as well as Commodore Perry “landed Gori-hama[sic]” and “the letter of the President and the

Commodore's letter of credence, in their sumptuous boxes, wrapped in scarlet cloth" were handed to a prince to be delivered to the emperor. Then on July 17 they left Yedo, after having informed the Japanese side that they would return after several months to receive an answer from the emperor.

Then, on June 13, 1854, *Springfield Daily Republican* reported of "the successful negotiations of Commodore Perry, of the U. S. navy in Japan": "On the 27th of March, Com Perry was to have a grand meeting near Jeddo with the Princes and minister of Japan, for the consideration and conclusion, and most probably, ratification of the treaty" ("Items by the Pacific"). Just after the article cited above there is another article named "Treaty with Japan," which reports:

... It is beyond doubt that the free intercourse between the two countries is fully opened, and that two ports for U. S. steamers, to supply coal, would be conceded to the Americans. By the treaty kind treatment and an abundant supply of water and provisions are secured to all Americans who may visit any part of the Japanese coast. . . .

Actually on March 31, 1854, the Shogun signed the "Treaty of Peace and Amity" establishing formal diplomatic relations between the United States and Japan. Later it was said that "[b]y combining vague threats of war with skillful diplomacy, he [Perry] secured a treaty of friendship that opened two small ports . . . to American trade, permitted the establishment of a consulate at one of them, guaranteed the safety of shipwrecked sailors, and gave the United States 'most favored nation' treatment" (Blum 287).

Thus, Emily Dickinson must have known about Commodore Perry's Expedition to Japan and his success in opening the country in detail from the newspapers.²⁰ She must also have got regular information directly from her father, because he was a Whig, wanting to carry out the intentions of the deceased Daniel Webster, who had advocated the expedition up to his death in October 1852, and because Edward Dickinson himself was a representative from Massachusetts in the 33rd Congress from early 1853 until March 1855, the period corresponding to that of the expedition.²¹ It can also be supposed that several years later she read the book *Narrative of the Expedition of an American Squadron to the China Seas and Japan . . . under the Command of Commodore M. C. Perry* (1856) because two editions of the book were found in her brother's house,²² and because in the second volume there are chapters which must have particularly interested Emily Dickinson, as a lover of flowers and birds, such as "List of dried plants collected in Japan," "Description of the birds collected in Japan &c.," and "Descriptions of the botanical specimens."

At the same time, Emily Dickinson would also have known, through newspapers as well as textbooks and other books, how tightly Japan was closed against the outside world and how the secluded country had developed a unique culture, uninfluenced by other

countries. For example, an article on the American Government's enterprise to open Japan in *Springfield Daily Republican* ("Japan"; March 2, 1852) describes the country as "almost entirely shut out from the world by its own policy of exclusiveness," and then says:

It is a singular fact that the policy of non-intercourse has had a tendency to develop the internal resources of the country, to a remarkable extent. The Government, of course, can have no revenue except that which it derives from taxation, and in order to keep the people able to pay taxes, there are stringent laws enforcing the cultivation of the soil, which has consequently reached a high degree of productiveness.—They demonstrate thus one important fact,—that a country can become rich, without commerce.

Thus, this article points out one advantage of a country being secluded: "a tendency to develop [its] internal resources."

While Perry was still on the Pacific Ocean, an officer of the Japanese Expedition, Lieutenant Contee, United States Navy, returned to Washington, D. C. after the first visit to Japan in July, 1853. He brought to the President from Commodore Perry, "an assortment of Japanese articles such as silks, pipes, &c." ("Japanese Present," *Sun*, Dec. 29, 1853). Dickinson might have heard from her father about the exotic presents sent from Japan. After the expedition was completed in March, 1854, in January 1855, another set of Japanese gifts, this time from the Emperor of Japan to the President, reached Washington, D. C. in January 1855²³ and were "deposited, at least temporarily, in the State Department." "The contents of the Packages are said to be silks, swords, writing tables, delicate and fragile ornaments, vases, bowls of glass and other materials, umbrellas, mats, bells, jars, cabinets, flower box, lances, Japan matting, stone from Japan, stone from Loo Choo, agricultural implements, Japan shine (marked from Sindda [sic]) hermetically sealed, samples of sugar cane, seven dogs, two birds, seed wheat from the Cape of Good Hope, &c" ("The Japanese Presents," *Boston Daily Advertiser*, Jan. 24, 1855; Issue 21; col F).²⁴

According to the biography of Franklin Pierce, who had just then been elected President of the United States, those presents and also "plants," which were not mentioned in the list in the newspaper article cited above, "represented the flower of Japanese art and civilization, and became the marvel of many a wondering visitor" to the White House (Nichols 375-76). Judging from the fact that "Mrs. Pierce continued her social duties at the Friday receptions" (Nichols 375), and also that the first Embassy from Japan actually saw the gifts from the Emperor of Japan, such as a lacquered stationary box, in the White House in 1860 (Hattori 193; Miyanaga 116), there is a possibility Emily Dickinson may have had a chance to see the Japanese presents while visiting her father in Washington, D. C. for about three weeks from the middle of February, 1855, one month after the gifts arrived.²⁵ Thus, in addition to hearing through newspapers and her father she might also

have actually witnessed how far a secluded country had developed a unique culture without influence from others.

Commodore Perry also sent back to the United States the first living plants from Japan, since, according to Durnell, botany was his hobby. He had collected so many specimens that “upon his return, Congress appropriated \$1,500 for a greenhouse for Perry’s plants (some of them picked up in China on the way home) on the Capitol Hill grounds in Washington” (4–5) during the second session of the 33rd Congress in early 1855 (“Appendix,” *Congress Globe*, the 2nd Session, the 33rd Congress, 393) (Courtesy, National Archives of the United States). Emily Dickinson, who was known to be an excellent botanist, cultivating various foreign specimens in her garden and greenhouse, most probably saw them during her visit to Washington, too, although the greenhouse would not yet have been built. It might even be possible to say that one of the purposes of her visit to Washington, D.C. in February, 1855, was to see those gifts and plants from Japan, for she had refused to accompany her mother and sister on a visit the previous year.²⁶

As we have seen, Emily Dickinson must have had access to information about Japan and the success of the United States in opening up the country through newspapers and her father. So what did she make of it all? Although she does not mention the opening of Japan in the extant letters, we can guess her reaction from the circumstances in those years. For example, she knew that Great Britain had opened up the “sleeping dragon,” the Empire of China, and defeated it in the Opium Wars (1840–1842), since she visited the Chinese Museum in Boston in 1846 and read its brochure, which describes Chinese culture and history (Uno 56–59).²⁷ Therefore, she could have guessed that Japan, too, would suffer the same tragic history as China and that its unique culture cultivated without any influence from western cultures for more than two hundred years might sooner or later be destroyed. Dickinson, who herself had been hurt by the editors’ intervention to her poetry style,²⁸ might therefore have been critical of the foreign policy of the United States, especially of Daniel Webster, to interfere with another country’s policy. In those years the United States appointed their consuls “as the extension of the “Manifest Destiny” to reside in China, Borneo, Sandwich Islands, Hayti, Mexico, Central America, New Granada, Venezuela, Brazil, Argentine Republic, Peru, Chili, as well as in Japan (“Appendix,” *Congressional Globe*, 2nd Session, the 33d Congress, 402) (Courtesy, National Archives of the United States). If, as Mossberg argues, the government’s policies were the reason for Dickinson’s indignation against American society in those years, this foreign policy must have been one of them. At least Dickinson could not have been happy with the foreign policy as one who had encountered the East and was influenced by Chinese culture in her life (Uno 59–62). Besides, as we have seen, Dickinson must have known the secret

motivation to open Japan, that is, the missionary purpose, and she must also have heard of the discussions against it. She herself would not convert to Christianity during the religious revivals in the 1840s and 50s, despite the urgings of people around her, and she must have felt strong reservations about the intentions of the United States.

Therefore, Dickinson writes in the letter cited above, referring to Webster, who advocated the expeditions to the Eastern countries: "... dont I know all about Daniel Webster . . . ?" and declares, "I dont like this country at all, and I shant stay here any longer! 'Delenda est' America, Massachusetts and all!" quoting the expression constantly repeated by the Roman orator Marcus Porcius Cato (234–149 B.C.): "Carthago delenda est" meaning "Carthage must be destroyed" (Scullard 84). However, since Dickinson could not actually leave the country, as Mossberg says, she instead might have chosen her own withdrawal from society. And although there must have been others, this was surely one of her reasons.

There is a further reason for her seclusion connected with the political situation in the United States. Later in the same year 1852 her father became a Whig candidate for member of Congress from the tenth district of Massachusetts. There is even an article "Edward Dickinson of Amherst" to support him in *Springfield Daily Republican* on September 22, 1852.²⁹ Then, until the day of the election December 14, almost every other day his name was printed in the list of candidates in the newspaper as: "FOR MEMBER OF CONGRESS / DISTRICT NO 10 / EDWARD DICKINSON of Amherst." It seems his name was made very public. Although in 1852 he was successfully elected and went to Washington in 1853, in the 1854 election he failed and was deeply disappointed. Emily Dickinson seemed to share the pain her father felt as a failing politician as she writes in a poem:

"They have not chosen me" — he — said —

"But I have chosen them".

Brave — Broken hearted statement —

Uttered in Bethleem!

I could not have told it,

But since Jesus *dared*,

Sovreign! Know a Daisy

Thy dishonor shared!

(Fr. 87, about summer 1859)

The experience of his election campaigns might have led Emily Dickinson, who already had an aversion to American politics, to have a sarcastic opinion about a public life. She wrote a poem:

I'm Nobody! Who are you?

Are you — Nobody — too?

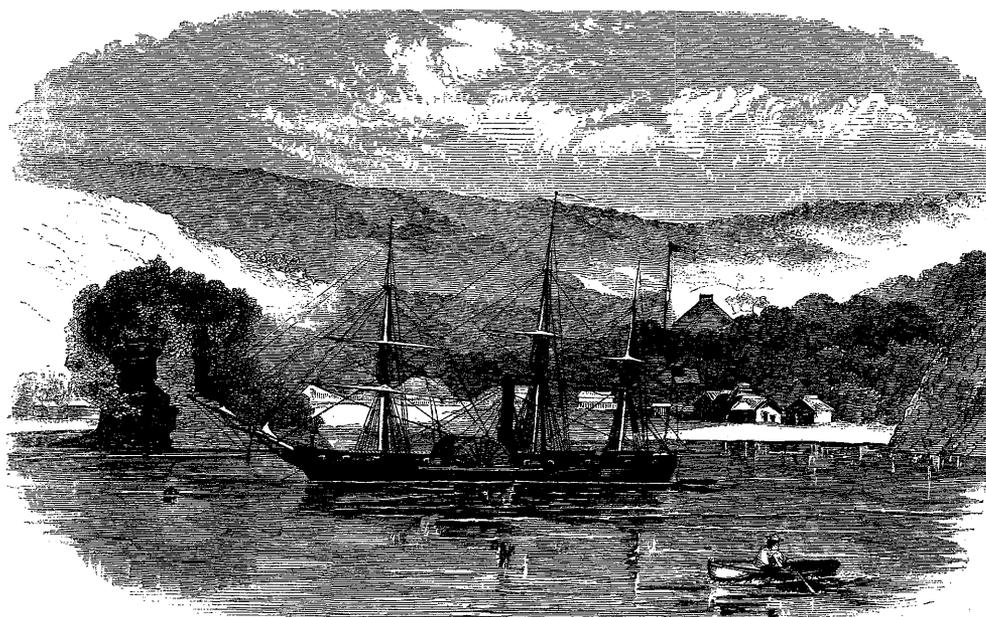
Then there's a pair of us!
Don't tell! they'd advertise — you know!

How dreary — to be — Somebody!
How public — like a Frog —
To tell one's name — the livelong June —
To an admiring Bog! (Fr. 260, about late 1861)

Although we do not know whether or not they in an election campaign called out a candidate's name as in Japan now, even the printed names in the newspaper must have been "noisy" for the poet. This experience of the elections in 1852 and 1854 must have been another reason of her later seclusion.

On the other hand, in an article named "Departure of the Japanese Envoys for this Country" dated April 7, 1860, in *Harper's Weekly*, to which the Dickinson family subscribed, the "residence of our consul, Townsend Harris, Esq., at Simoda, Japan, is described as "a spot eminently suggestive of repose and religious retirement":

I landed . . . to pay Mr. Harris a visit. The external aspect of his abode, as seen from the ship, did not belie its romantic character upon a closer acquaintance. Had one wished to retire altogether from the cares and anxieties of this troublesome world, it would be difficult to conceive a retreat more perfectly adapted for the purpose. When, however, entire and total seclusion is the result



DEPARTURE OF THE JAPANESE ENVOYS—RESIDENCE OF U. S. MINISTER HARRIS AT SIMODA, JAPAN.—[SEE NEXT PAGE.]

rather of necessity than choice, it is small consolation to feel that you are imprisoned in a corner admirably suited to a recluse. Often, in the course of his wanderings, the traveler is struck with the charms of some silent nook in this bustling universe. His first impression is, "What a delightful spot for a hermit". . . .
(218)

This description of a quiet, secluded place in Japan away from "the cares and anxieties of this troublesome world," as well as what she knew of the unique culture of the secluded country, must have been attractive and encouraging to Dickinson, who had various reasons to choose a secluded life or "Asiatic Rest" (Fr. 1563 B, about 1881) in those years. Besides, the drawing of the scenery attached to the article unintentionally visualizes the disturbance of the quiet life by a big ship from the United States (Illustration). Thus, Emily Dickinson inclined to refuse the communication with the outside world as a "Cato's Daughter" (Fr. 149, about early 1860) with a bitterly critical view of the United States, a few of which are discussed here.

According to Alfred Habegger, Dickinson's "avoidance" was "so well established that in the winter of 1859–60 she pointedly reminded Cousin Louisa she was one of the few 'from whom I do not run away!'" (373). By the year of 1860 she seemed to cease going to church (287) and says in a poem "Some keep the Sabbath going to Church, / I keep it staying at Home, / With a Bobolink for a Chorister, / And an orchard for a dome" (Fr. 236 A), whose fair copy is thought to be made about "late spring 1861" (Franklin 259). And about autumn 1862, she made a fair copy of the following poem as a declaration of her decision for seclusion:

The Soul selects her own Society —
Then — shuts the Door —
To her divine Majority —
Present no more —

Unmoved — she notes the Chariots — pausing —
At her low Gate —
Unmoved — an Emperor be kneeling
Opon[sic] her Mat —

I've known her — from an ample nation —
Choose One —
Then — close the Valves of her attention —
Like Stone — (Fr. 409A)

As the speaker writes in this poem, "Choose One," while shutting out others, she actually

kept corresponding with a few selected friends. Besides, she continued to get information of the outside world through newspapers and magazines. This habit is similar to that of Japan, the secluded country that had kept trading only with China and Holland through the small window of Nagasaki to learn what was going on in the outside world.

The bold rejection even of “an Emperor” by a small, weak woman in the poem emphasizes the firmness of the poet’s resolution for seclusion. This attitude could have been learned from historical facts she found in an article named “Japan” in *Atlantic Monthly* vol. V, No. XXXII issued in June 1860. It recounts that in 1804 a mission was sent to Japan from Russia “by the Emperor Alexander I., with the purpose of effecting a treaty of some sort” (emphasis added). However, the ambassador Resanoff [Nikolai Rezanov] was sent away “unsatisfied” (729).³⁰ Dickinson might have been encouraged by the determined attitude of the small, secluded country that had prohibited Christianity owing to Catholic missionaries’ “imprudence” (Goodrich 263). She may also have found for her own seclusion a hope in the foreign policy of Japan, which had cultivated a unique culture to a high degree of sophistication while rejecting communication with all but a few other countries, and by looking outside only through the small window of Nagasaki. The period of the establishment of her seclusion was around 1860, when the first Japanese delegation was sent to Washington for the ratification of the Treaty of Amity and Commerce, which was signed at Shimoda, Japan, on July 29, 1858. By this treaty the ports of Kanagawa (Yokohama), Nagasaki, Niigata, and Hyogo (Kobe) were opened, in addition to Shimoda and Hakodate, and “Americans in Japan shall be allowed the free exercise of their religion, and for this purpose shall have the right to erect suitable places of worship” (O’Brien). Therefore, we can say that at the same time the doors of Japan were being opened by the United States, Dickinson was ironically closing her own door against American society as a sign of her critical attitude towards it.

*This work was supported by JSPS KAKENHI (20520265).

Notes

¹ This paper was originally written in Japanese and published in a book: *Emily Dickinson no Sekai* [The World of Emily Dickinson’s Poetry] edited by Toshikazu Niikura (Tokyo: Kokubunsha, March 2011) as “Emily Dickinson to Nihon-no Kaikoku [Emily Dickinson and the Opening of Japan]” (276–91). The paper has been completely revised, with additional materials and discussions in English.

A part of the paper was read in “Closing Plenary, Transnational American Women’s Writing” at Fourth International Conference of Society for the Study of American Women Writers held at Philadelphia on Oct. 24, 2009. Another part of it was read as “Emily Dickinson and Japan” at Seventh International Conference of Emily Dickinson International Society held at Oxford on August 6, 2010.

² According to Lowenberg on Dickinson’s textbooks, “George Whicher points out ED’s spelling of

- 'Himmaleh' as current in the geographies of the time, of which Mitchell's was one" (74).
- ³ In L-97 (To Susan Gilbert, early December 1852) Dickinson writes, "I see by the Boston papers. . . ."
- ⁴ The date of each poem is only a presumptive one of composition or its clear copy since the manuscripts were found after the poet's death.
- ⁵ Katherine Plummer has made a list of those fishermen, including those rescued by American ships on the Pacific Ocean between 1617 and 1854 (274–79).
- ⁶ On March 10, 1852, *Boston Investigator* ("A Visit to Japan"; Issue 45; col A) also reported the visit to the capital of Japan by the same whale-ship Manhattan, of Sag Harbor, but not with Captain Budd, but with Captain Mercator Cooper, in order to carry "a party of Japanese" whom he had found on an island. The story is almost the same as the article "American Ship in Japan" printed in *Boston Daily Atlas* on May 8, 1846 (Issue 265; col F).
- ⁷ Almost the same article is printed as "Japan" in *Boston Daily Atlas* on March 13, 1847 (Issue 219; col F).
- ⁸ The strict regulations relating to Japanese castaways were known in America, as an article in *Boston Investigator* issued on December 29, 1852 ("A Japanese Edict," Issue 35 col B) reports:
- No Japanese ship or boat whatsoever, or any Japanese born shall dare go out of the country. All who disobey this order shall be punished with death; the ship, with her cargo, shall be affected with sequestration. All Japanese who return home from abroad shall be punished with death.
- ⁹ As to Dickinson's appreciation of the concept of "impossibility," see my paper "Impossibility in Emily Dickinson's Poetry" or the section "The Concept of Impossibility" in my book *Emily Dickinson's Marble Disc* (71–83).
- ¹⁰ In the same article it is also reported that "while this gold medal will be presented to him, impressions of the same in silver will be presented to his officers."
- ¹¹ The article "Affairs on the Pacific" in *New York Times* on April 7, 1852, reports of the shipwrecked Japanese in 1851:
- It will be remembered the bark *Auckland*, Capt. JENNINGS, brought into the port of San Francisco, about a year ago, the survivors taken from a Japanese junk, drifting in the ocean. The Collector, by order of the Treasury Department, took these people in charge, and they have since been cared for on board the revenue cutter *Polk*, in that harbor. It was reported that the Government had undertaken to return them to their home, and that the United States sloop-of-war, *St. Marys*, Captain MAGRUDER, to sail from San Francisco on the 2d of March, was charged to convey them to China, where Com. AULICK will receive them for that purpose, and it is hoped that the Commodore will be more favorably received than was Cap. MERCATOR COOPER, who found that Government anything but grateful to him, because he rescued and returned some of its shipwrecked subjects, and it is known the Russians have failed repeatedly to commend themselves by similar acts of humanity and good neighborhood.
- ¹² According to *Boston Investigator* on Dec. 17, 1851 ("The United States and Japan"; Issue 33; col D), "Commodore Aulick was charged with a friendly letter from the President to the Emperor" and with propositions for a liberal commercial treaty." However, according to Rayback, the letter was not handed to Aulick, but "Edward Everett, who on November 6, 1852, became Secretary of State on Webster's death, drew up another letter that incorporated much of the childishness of the first one" (316).
- ¹³ The same article was printed as "The Japan Expedition" in *Boston Daily Atlas* on March 11, 1852 (Issue 216; col E).
- ¹⁴ "Golownin" here refers either to *Recollections of Japan, Comprising a Particular Account of the Religion,*

Language, Government, Laws and Manners of the People, with Observations on the Geography, Climate, Population and Productions of the Country written by Captain R. N. Golownin (London: Henry Colburn, 1819) or to *Narrative of My Captivity in Japan, During the years 1811, 1812 & 1813: With Observations on the Country and the People* by the same author (London: Colburn, 1818).

- ¹⁵ The article "Editorial Correspondence of the Atlas" from Washington in *Boston Daily Atlas* on April 15, 1852 (Issue 245; col D) says:

The remainder of the session of the Senate was occupied in a continuation of the discussion of Mr. Borland's resolution of enquiry in relation to the expedition to Japan. Mr. Mason, of Virginia, made a brief speech, in which he strongly opposed the resolution, as impolitic, improper, and entirely uncalled for.

The principal portion of the discussion was maintained by Mr. Borland, in defence [sic] of his resolution, and in reply to the attacks upon it. The only thing worthy of notice in the course of his remarks was his reference to an insignificant hebdomadal print, issued in Boston, under the title of "Our Country." He assumed this paper to be the official organ of Mr. Webster, and to hold the Secretary of State, and through him the administration, responsible for the contents of this journal. Mr. Borland quoted at length some articles of this paper in reference to the expedition to Japan, absurdly assumed them to be furnished by the government, and therefore as official, and after thus investing them with this false importance proceeded to speak of them, and comment upon them as if they were official papers, from the Department of State.

- ¹⁶ The Article "the Japan Expedition" in *Boston Daily Atlas* on May 29, 1852 (Issue 283; col D), reports on the assistance of Holland for the United States' expedition to Japan:

The New York Courier & Enquirer says, it may not be inappropriate to announce, that so far from the Dutch Government having remonstrated with the Government of the United States against its proposed expedition to Japan, it has very cordially approved of the object of that expedition, and expresses the earnest hope that the expedition may be successful in opening the ports of Japan to the commerce of all nations, and as asylums for all who may seek them in distress. . . . Not only do the Dutch cheerfully look upon the destruction of their monopoly, but they have forwarded to our Government all the charts, memoirs, surveys, statistics, reports, &c., &c., in their possession, for the use of the expedition about to sail for Japan, under the direction of Commodore Perry.

- ¹⁷ According to Remini, in the letter from President Fillmore to the Emperor of Japan, Webster "denied that Aulick came as a 'missionary of religion' " (712).

- ¹⁸ The prohibition of Christianity was removed in 1873 and the formal admission of Christian missionary work was made by the Japanese government in 1899.

- ¹⁹ See also Ion, "Appendix 2: List of missionary societies, 1859–73."

- ²⁰ Between these articles on the first visit and the second visit to Japan by Perry, there were several articles on the expedition: for examples, on the Japanese present from Commodore Perry to the President of the United States ("Japanese Present," *Sun*, Dec 29, 1853), on the comparison between "the Chinese and Japanese" by Bayard Taylor (*Springfield Daily Republican*, Feb. 28, 1854), and on the order to Commodore Perry to recall the Japan squadron immediately after the second visit ("Washington Gossip," *Springfield Daily Republican*, March 27, 1854).

- ²¹ For example, in early 1855 Dickinson must have known that it was decided that twenty thousand dollars should be paid to Commodore Perry for his "eminent public service," and the salary of "a consul general, to reside at Simoda, in Japan" would be "at the rate of five thousand dollars per annum, three thousand seven hundred and fifty dollars" ("Appendix," *Congressional Globe*, 2nd Session,

- 33rd Congress, 390) (Courtesy, National Archives of the United States).
- ²² The 1856 and 1858 versions of the book are now kept in Brown University.
- ²³ The arrival of the presents had been expected since the fall of 1854, according to the article “The Japan Expedition” in *Boston Daily Atlas* on Oct. 24, 1854 (Issue 98; col F): “U. S. ship Southampton, Capt. Boyle, was to sail in a few days directly to Washington, with the Emperor’s presents, which will make a fine show.”
- ²⁴ The same article is printed in *New York Daily Times* dated January 24, 1855.
- ²⁵ See L-178 (To Susan Gilbert, from Washington, 28 February 1855).
- ²⁶ See Johnson’s Note to L-157 (*Letters* 289).
- ²⁷ The Second Opium War ran from 1856 to 1860 in China.
- ²⁸ For example, see L-316.
- ²⁹ In the article Edward Dickinson is praised as a man of “industry, integrity, sound sense, practical ideas, manliness, decision of character, high moral principle and unfaltering truth to the principles of the Whig party and to the party itself.” It also reports he has “served with much acceptance in the State Legislature, has held various public responsibilities” and that he went into the Baltimore Whig Convention a Webster man, voted throughout a Webster man . . .” and urges the readers, “Let us give to him . . . a majority that will be alike honorable to ourselves, and gratifying to him.”
- ³⁰ The article continues: “Enraged at his failure, Resanoff dispatched two armed vessels to the Kurile Islands, where, under his directions, a wanton attack was made upon a number of villages. . . . This was an offence not to be forgiven; and when, in 1811, Captain Golownin was dispatched by the Russian government to make renewed applications, he was captured . . . and imprisoned for several years” (729).

Works Cited

All the newspapers cited are by the courtesy of Library of Congress of the United States.

The following abbreviations are used to refer to the writings of Emily Dickinson:

Fr. *The Poems of Emily Dickinson*. Ed. R. W. Franklin. 3 vols. Cambridge, MA: Harvard UP, 1998.
Citation by poem number.

L. *The Letters of Emily Dickinson*. Ed. Thomas H. Johnson and Theodora Ward. 3 vols. Cambridge, MA: Harvard UP, 1958. Citation by letter number.

Blum, John M., Edmund S. Morgan, et al. *The National Experience: A History of the United States*. Forth Edition. New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, Inc., 1977.

Bradford, Gamaliel and Samuel Flagg Bemis. “Daniel Webster.” *Encyclopedia Britannica*. 1969.

“Departure of the Japanese Envoys for this Country.” *Harper’s Weekly* (April 7, 1860).

Durnell, Hazel. *Japanese Cultural Influences on American Poetry and Drama*. Tokyo: The Hokuseido Press, 1983.

Eberwein, Jane Donahue, ed. *An Emily Dickinson Encyclopedia*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1998.

Goodrich, S. Griswold. *A System of School Geography Chiefly Derived from Matte-Brum, and Arranged According to the Inductive Plan of Instruction*. Twelfth Edition. Hartford: F. J. Huntington, 1836 (1830).

Habegger, Alfred. *The Life of Emily Dickinson: My Wars Are Laid Away in Books*. NY: Random House, 2001.

Hattori, Itsuro. *77 nin-no Samurai America-he Iku* [77 Samurais Went to America—A Document of Japanese Embassy to the United States in 1860]. Tokyo: Kodansha, 1974.

Hawks, Francis L., ed. *Narrative of the Expedition of an American Squadron to the China Seas and Japan*,

- Performed in the Years 1852, 1853, and 1854, under the Command of Commodore M. C. Perry, United States Navy.* Washington: Beverley Tucker, 1856.
- Holloran, Peter. "Webster, Daniel." Eberwein 304–305.
- Ion, Harmish. *American Missionaries, Christian Oyatoi, and Japan, 1859–73.* Vancouver: UBS Press, 2009.
- Longworth, Polly. "Edward Dickinson." Eberwein 68–69.
- Lowenberg, Carlton. *Emily Dickinson's Textbooks.* Lafayette, CA: n. p., 1986.
- Mitchell, S. Augustus. *A System of Modern Geography, Comprising a Description of the Present State of the World, and Its Five Great Divisions, America, Europe, Asia, Africa and Oceanica.* Second Revised Edition. Philadelphia: Thomas, Cowperthwait & Co., 1847 (1846).
- Miyanaga, Takashi. *Manengan'nen-no Kenbei-Shisetsu-dan* [The First Japanese Mission to the United States in 1860]. Tokyo: Kodansha, 2005.
- Morse, Jedidiah. *The American Universal Geography.* 2 Vols. Sixth Edition. Boston: Thomas & Andrews, May, 1812 (n.c.d.).
- Nichols, Roy Franklin. *Franklin Pierce: Young Hickory of the Granite Hills.* 1931. Univ. of Penn. Newtown, CT: American Political Biography Press, 2007.
- O'Brien, Joseph V. "The Harris Treaty, 1858." <<http://web.jjay.cuny.edu/~jobrien/referebce/ob58.htm>>. June 12, 2010.
- Rayback, Robert J. *Millard Fillmore: Biography of a President.* Newtown, CT: American Political Biography Press, 1998.
- Remini, Robert V. *Daniel Webster: The Man and His Time.* New York: W. W. Norton, 1997.
- Rives, John C. *The Congressional Globe: the Official Proceedings of Congress 33 Congress.* (Courtesy, National Archives of the United States)
- Scheurer, Erika. "Whig Party." Eberwein 305–306.
- Scullard, Howard Hayes. "Cato, Marcus Porcius." *Encyclopedia Britannica.* 1969.
- Sewall, Richard B. *The Life of Emily Dickinson.* 2 vols. N.Y.: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1974.
- Takeuchi, Hiroshi, ed. *Rainichi Seiyou Jinmei Jiten* [Encyclopedia of Western Visitors to Japan]. Tokyo: Nichi-gai Associates, n.d.
- Uno, Hiroko. "Emily Dickinson's Encounter with the East: Chinese Museum in Boston." *The Emily Dickinson Journal* (the Emily Dickinson International Society) 17. 1 (2008): 43–67.
- . *Emily Dickinson's Marble Disc: A Poetics of Renunciation and Science.* Tokyo: Eihosha, 2002.
- . "Emily Dickinson-to Nihon-no Kaikoku." *Emily Dickinson-no Shi-no Sekai* [The World of Emily Dickinson's Poetry]. Ed. Toshikazu Niikura. Tokyo: Kokubunsha, 2011. 270–84.
- . "Impossibility in Emily Dickinson's Poetry." *The Shiga Review of English Studies* 3 (September 1985): 41–55.
- Wildes, Happy Emerson. *Aliens in the East: A New History of Japan's Foreign Intercourse.* Philadelphia: Univ. of Pennsylvania Press, 1937.

Illustration:

"Departure of the Japanese Envoys—Residence of U. S. Minister Harris at Simoda, Japan." *Harper's Weekly* 7. Tokyo: Hon'notomo-sha, 1999. 217. Reprint of *Harper's Weekly* IV, 171 (April 14, 1860).

(Received September 20, 2011)