

【研究ノート】

The American View of the History of Japanese-American Relations during the McKinley Administration

Tokumitsu Shibata

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Introduction

This research paper will clarify how American scholars and historians have generally drawn the history of Japanese-American relations during the period of the McKinley Administration (1897-1901) through secondary sources. Namely, this paper will examine previous studies of the relations during the period in English publications, focusing on American foreign policy.

Then, this paper will conclude that although the relations were approaching a turning point from friends to rivalries for each other around that time, none of the American scholars has clearly defined the role of the McKinley administrations in the relations around the turn of the century. Even if those authors touch on affairs with Japan, basically, they do not take a view that the relations were aggravating.

This paper is based on a viewpoint that the period of the McKinley

administration was a turning point of Japanese-American relations. With respect to the turning points of the relations up to the first half of the 20th century, previous research has generally explained that the arrival of Matthew Perry to Japan in 1853, the Mukden Incident in 1931, and the end of World War II in 1945 were major turning points.¹ A good amount of previous studies consider that the Russo-Japanese War (1904-1905) and the Portsmouth Treaty (1905) during the period of the administration of Theodore Roosevelt were one of the major turning points following those three events in 1853, 1931, and 1945:² Thomas Bailey expresses that “unfortunately, the Russo-Japanese War marked a sharp turning point in the traditionally friendly relations between America and Japan,”³ and Raymond Esthus mentions that “the Russo-Japanese War marked a turning point in Japanese-American relations...Japanese-American relations entered upon a new course...The new road led from Portsmouth to Pearl Harbor.”⁴ On the other hand, William Neumann, Charles Neu, and William Nester consider that Japan and the U.S. promoted rival relations around the period from the first half of 1890s, although they do not clearly define when the turning point was.⁵

James Rhodes, Lewis Gould, Kevin Phillips, and others mention that there were similarities on foreign policy between the McKinley Administration and the Roosevelt Administration (1901-1909),⁶ which succeeded the McKinley Administration.⁷ Furthermore, for example, it has generally been considered that the Reagan administration (1981-1989) built a friendly relationship with Japan,⁸ and scholars have attempted to examine the role of the Trump administration (2017-2021) on the relations with Japan.⁹ This paper stands as an evaluation on the American administrations among the relations with Japan. Namely, the period of the McKinley administration and Japanese-American relations will be focused on in this paper.

Based on the background of the above, the major question should be what the role of the McKinley administration in terms of Japanese-American relations was. However, as the first step to examine the role of the administration, it may be necessary to analyze how Japanese-American relations have been explained by previous research. This paper will review those previous studies on American foreign policy and affairs connected with Japanese-American relations. If anything, besides some trading exchanges, the American annexation of Hawai‘i, the American acquisition of the Philippines, and issues in Qing China—such as a “cooperation” between Japan, the U.S. and European countries on the Boxer Rebellion and the Open Door Notes—are major matters for the Japanese-American relations during the period.¹⁰

1 Literature on the history of Japanese-American relations

In this section, this paper will review how writers in literature on the history of Japanese-American relations have drawn American foreign policy and issues with Japan during the period of the McKinley administration.

Except for *Diplomatic Relations between the United States and Japan* by Payson Treat, William Neumann’s *America Encounters Japan: From Perry to MacArthur* has probably been the oldest publication on the history of the relations.¹¹ As the title shows, Neumann covers from the first official diplomatic exchanges in the 1850s to the American occupation in the 1940s. Neumann considers that “the first abrasions” between the two countries emerged from the middle of the 1890s, implying 1895 although it is not clear, to 1914, the year when the World War I started, due to rise of nationalism as well as militarism and patriotism.¹² Neumann draws a picture of the annexation of Hawai‘i as one story as a conflicting stage between Japan and the U.S. from the Hawaiian coup d’état in 1893 to a few months after when the annexation treaty was signed in 1897, expressing,

“the first occasion on which a modern Japanese warship faced an American warship had with historical appropriateness taken place only a few miles from Pearl Harbor,”¹³ happening in 1893. While he also mentions “the Japanese, it was said, were planning to seize control of Hawaii,”¹⁴ the confrontation between the two countries over the islands is explained. In terms of the American acquisition of the Philippines, Neumann notes that the acquisition “in 1899 created a new source of Japanese-American tension,”¹⁵ and he points out that after the two countries became a neighbor country for each other, the situation set a higher possibility of the clash between their naval powers. Neumann briefly touches on the Open Door notes and the American demand of the Samsah Bay although the name “Samsah Bay” is not written.¹⁶ However, he does not explain the Boxer Rebellion. Furthermore, while his name “McKinley” is mentioned only once, it is very unclear what the role of the McKinley administration was.

Akira Iriye, in *Pacific Estrangement: Japanese and American Expansion, 1897-1911*, taking “imperialism” as a theme, he argues that the time from 1897 to 1911 was “the origins of the trans-Pacific crisis”¹⁷ between Japan and the U.S., regarding that both of the countries rose as an imperialistic power in the middle of the 1890s as Neumann argues. In terms of the annexation of Hawai‘i, while Iriye, unlike Neumann, notes, “there was no Japanese plan to ‘take over’ the Hawaiian islands, as alleged by some then and since,”¹⁸ he explains a major part of the Japanese-American conflict over the island such as that Japan protested the American annexation giving impetus to the annexation as a result. The fact that some Japanese people spoke out against the American acquisition of the Philippines is also mentioned with some details referring to Japanese newspapers at that time,¹⁹ and John Hey’s Open Door notes and the incident of the Boxer Rebellion are also touched on in the book. However, Iriye, for example,

does not explain an American view that some Americans were worried about Japanese soldiers' brave actions in the incident of the rebellion, which might have accelerated rivalry between the two countries. As Rhodes, Gould, Phillips, and others note similarities of the McKinley Administration and the Roosevelt Administration, and as the years of *Pacific Estrangement* shows, Iriye draws a similar picture of them adding a few years of the following administration—the Republican administrations. Although Iriye remarks that the McKinley administration “was much more receptive to expansionist thinking than its predecessor,”²⁰ it is not clear what the role of the McKinley administration was.

Charles Neu, in *The Troubled Encounter: The United States and Japan*, suggests that Japan's victory of the Sino-Japanese War brought a situation of clash between the two countries although he expresses “in 1897 the first serious Japanese-American crisis erupted over Hawaii.”²¹ The period of “the first confrontation”²² continued up to around the end of the Roosevelt Administration, and Neu recognizes that “antagonism between Japan and the United States”²³ grew after the Russo-Japanese War. Neu briefly describes the annexation of Hawai'i touching on a naval instruction which the U.S. navy should “proclaim a provisional protectorate if Japan seemed likely to employ force.”²⁴ Even though Neu mentions the American acquisition of the Philippines, the Open Door notes, and the Boxer Rebellion, besides remarking “Japan needed American cooperation,”²⁵ he does not describe how those two countries thought about the other side and how they made their policy towards the other one. In *The Troubled Encounter*, it is also unclear what the role of the McKinley administration was.

William Nester, in *Power across the Pacific*, explains that the rivalry between the two countries occurred at the end of the 19th century, setting the start as 1894 and the road of rivalry continued to 1930—basically from

the Sino-Japanese War to the Mukden Incident.²⁶ As other authors explain, Nester regards the issues in Hawai'i as "the first immigration crisis"²⁷ occurring in 1897 as well as the first tension between the two countries. He briefly describes the conflict between them over the Hawaiian island in 1897. Nester touches on the American acquisition of the Philippines expressing, "Tokyo acquiesced in America's takeover of the Philippines,"²⁸ and he briefly describes the Open Door notes and the Boxer Rebellion although conflicts and rivalry factors are not mentioned besides the matter of Samsah Bay. However, just as other authors do not clarify it, what the role of the McKinley administration was is not explicit in Nester's book.

Even though Walter Lafeber, in *The Clash: U.S.-Japanese Relations throughout History*, remarks that "between 1900 and 1912, the United States and Japan turned from friendship to rivalry,"²⁹ Lafeber explains the annexation of Hawai'i as a "direct conflict" between the two countries before 1900. Concerning the American acquisition of the Philippines, Lafeber expresses that Japan "offered to be 'associated' in any American plans for the islands,"³⁰ but the U.S. refused the offer. Lafeber also touches on the Open Door notes and the Boxer Rebellion, mentioning Samsah Bay, but it is not clear how the two countries cooperated and saw each other as big rivals. As others suggest similarities between the McKinley administration and Roosevelt administration, Lafeber simply consider that years from 1900 to 1912 are a turning point of the relations. Namely, Lafeber also draws continuation of Republican presidents, but he does not clarify the role of the McKinley administration.

It can be said that those authors have provided great work to gain ideas and to understand the brief passages of times about the history of Japanese-American relations, based on abundant sources—mainly American sources. While the authors basically recognize that the Russo-Japanese War of 1905 was a turning point of Japanese-American relations, focusing on themes

such as rise of imperialism, nationalism, and militarism, they draw a picture of a relations' shift from friends to rivals at the end of the 19th century. However, none of them describes the role of the American administrations in the relations around the turn of the century. Namely, those authors never clarify the role of the McKinley administration. Furthermore, no work has touched on all of American affairs with Japan which can be regarded as the affairs aggravating the relations.

2 Literature on McKinley American and his Administration.

In this section, literature on McKinley himself and his administration will be focused, in terms of the American affairs with Japan during the period of the McKinley administration.

As Howard Wayne Morgan remarks that “McKinley had never taken a stand on foreign affairs before,”³¹ those writers of literature on McKinley and diplomatic history have stood on the view that William McKinley was a mysterious figure about his thought of foreign policy.³² Even if no one can surely explain McKinley's foreign policy—especially towards the issues with Japan—it is obvious that the U.S. had passively been involved with foreign affairs and had intentionally intervened in international issues during the period of the McKinley administration. In addition, basically, literature on McKinley touching on foreign policy and foreign affairs explain the matters on the Spanish-American War as the major foreign issues during the period.

John Dobson's *Reticent Expansionism: The Foreign Policy of William McKinley* has probably been one of the major books about American foreign policy during the period. As other writers do, Dobson provides a major portion to the matters of the Spanish-American War, but he also devotes a relatively large amount of pages into the matters in Qing China—about 20 percent of the book. Concerning the issues of the Boxer Rebellion,

John Hay, secretary of state known as the person of the Open Door Note, “gradually being drawn closer to an alignment with the other foreign powers,” argued the U.S. “must act alone.”³³ This means that the U.S. declaring the Open Door Note carefully sought its own interests in Qing China, and it also brings the question whether Japan and the U.S. might have been sincerely cooperating at that time. Dobson briefly touches on the U.S. interests in Samsah Bay in Qing China,³⁴ and Dobson explains that Hay may have thought the U.S. request would “encourage Japanese-American friendship” but did not work for the request.³⁵ In other words, Dobson considers that while Hay preferred that the U.S. would act alone, Hay wanted to build “Japanese-American friendship” in the same area.

While Dobson briefly describes the chronological process of the American annexation of Hawai‘i, he mentions Japanese immigration issues at that time. However, the portion of the part is small, and the clash between Japan and the U.S. is not explained enough. Regarding the American acquisition of the Philippines, Dobson, explaining that McKinley and Hay wanted to acquire the Philippines after “a majority of senators favored territorial expansion,” mentions that “the Japanese wished Germany in particular excluded. If the United States did not wish to take sole responsibility, Japan stood willing to participate in any joint settlement.”³⁶ Dobson does not draw that Japan was the most major or second most major country to face diplomatic issues, but it can be said that Japan is important in some levels.

President McKinley, War and Empire by Richard Hamilton, divided into two volumes, has been another publication which explained McKinley in detail with ample sources on William McKinley and U.S. foreign policy of his administration. As some other authors who want to deny American imperialism, he takes a standing point by arguing that “unexpectedly, the United States acquired an empire consisting of [those new colonies]”,³⁷ and considering, unlike other powers, the foreign policy of the administration

was not imperialistic. He is unique in thoroughly explaining the actors, policymakers, factors of foreign policy, and it is very clear who the main actors were on the annexation of Hawaii. However, Hamilton does not touch on American issues with Japan over Hawaii at all. Concerning the American acquisition of the Philippines, Hamilton mentions Japan's interest in the islands briefly but not the incident of *Nunobiki maru*. As Dobson does, Hamilton also set a large portion on the matters in Qing China—about a little less than 20 percent of the second volume. It is also his main argument in the book that the market in Qing was a “fabled” China market.”³⁸ Even though Hamilton notes the Boxer Rebellion very briefly, he does not explain at all how the U.S. was connected with Japan in Qing China including the issues of Samsah Bay.

It can probably be said that two volumes of *The Life of William McKinley* by Charles Olcott are the oldest comprehensive biography of McKinley in details, applying official Papers, for example, of George Cortelyou (a Secretary to the President), William Day (Secretary of State), and Charles Dawes (Comptroller of the Currency) who were around William McKinley. Concerning McKinley himself and the U.S. foreign policy of his administration, for example, Olcott remarks McKinley had “the sole responsibility of holding the Philippines” and “dictated the Chinese policy.”³⁹ However, it does not describe what policy McKinley applied towards the issues in the Philippines and China and how the U.S. was related with Japan over those areas. Moreover, although Olcott very briefly touches on the annexation of Hawaii, he does not note anything about Japan in the affairs of the islands. In *The Life of William McKinley*, Olcott applies the word “Japan” only a few times in the context of the Open Door notes and the Boxer Rebellion.

Kevin Phillips, in *William McKinley*, notes that McKinley faced with hostility against Japan having tensions in the Pacific and that “American concern about Japan also intensified during the late 1890s, first over Hawaii

and then over the Philippines.”⁴⁰ In the part of Japanese-American tensions over Hawai‘i, where Phillips also mentions Japan’s dispatch of cruiser *Naniwa*, he remarks that the McKinley administration “drafted a possible war plan against Japan and sent three U.S. warships to Honolulu” although it is not clear whether Phillips means the blockade instruction by John Long or another war plan.⁴¹ Citing from Ivan Musicant’s *Empire by Default*, Phillips describes that Emilio Aguinaldo, the Philippine leader of their independence, attempted to make Japan recognize their regime.⁴² Hay’s Open Door notes is also touched on, and it can be said that Phillips draws a picture of American affairs with Japan in some levels. However, in Phillips’ work, it is hardly possible to see what the role of the administration was in the history of Japanese-American relations.

Margaret Leech’s *In the Days of McKinley*, a comprehensive biography known for receiving the Pulitzer Prize for History, focuses on McKinley’s presidency mainly. While Leech describes issues with Japan in the American annexation of Hawai‘i, mentioning Japan’s dispatch of a cruiser, for example, she explains about the tensions between the two countries and about Japan’s formal protest against the annexation treaty in June, 1897.

The tension of the Hawaiian officials was shared by McKinley’s minister, Harold M. Sewall of Maine, who was in thorough sympathy with the imperialist sugar planters to whom he was accredited. He was so fearful that Japan might resort to force that he asked for authority, in an emergency, to land a counterforce and announce a provisional protectorate....

The State Department had declined to admit the validity of Japan’s sweeping protest.... In December, Japan withdrew her objections to the treaty of annexation.⁴³

Leech also recognizes that McKinley used “the argument of Japanese aggression” effectively.⁴⁴ Concerning the acquisition of the Philippines, Leech notes that Japan “signified a preference for American domination over any but her own” after “Japan had officially communicated her interest.”⁴⁵ In the affairs in Qing China, explaining the Open Door notes and the Boxer Rebellion, Leech very briefly touches on the issue of Sansha Bay, noting that “the American inquiry was politely rebuffed by Tokyo.”⁴⁶ Overall, it can be said that American affairs with Japan are relatively well explained in Leech’s work, but in the history of the relations, what the role of the McKinley administration was is not clear.

William McKinley and His America by Howard Wayne Morgan is another comprehensive biography, focusing on McKinley’s actions and his role in the historical affairs, although there is a mistake in his work.⁴⁷ Concerning the annexation of Hawai’i and the affair with Japan, Morgan notes, “the Japanese government entered sharp protests and even sent warships to the islands,”⁴⁸ and he describes that McKinley wanted to annex Hawai’i increasing naval power and being cautious about other powers. In terms of the American acquisition of the Philippines, Morgan claims, “Simply to abandon them to the intervention of another power, most likely Japan, would be both irresponsible and dangerous. This would disturb the region’s power arrangements, with adverse consequences to everyone involved, including the Filipinos.”⁴⁹ In the context of the affairs in Qing China, although Morgan does not mention Sansha Bay, he suggests that American rivalry against Japan rather than co-operations rose in the affairs. However, no one can recognize how Howard Wayne Morgan defines the role of the McKinley administration in the context of the history of Japanese-American relations.⁵⁰

The Presidency of William McKinley, by Lewis L. Gould is one of the

biographies of the American Presidency Series, and Gould claims that McKinley was “the first modern president in a systematic and detailed way.”⁵¹ In other words, Gould clarifies the role of McKinley and his presidency in American history.⁵² In terms of the annexation of Hawai‘i, Gould briefly explains the issues with Japan grasping the points of the issues and touches on immigrant issues, Japan’s dispatch of a cruiser, Japan’s protest against the annexation treaty, and American “naval precautions against possible Japanese action.”⁵³ Concerning the acquisition of the Philippines, Gould expresses:

Japan preferred that the United States take over the Philippines, but would, should Washington decline to accept sovereignty, help to set up “a suitable government for the territory,” either by itself or with other powers. If the United States withdrew from the picture, a Philippine republic would confront, at the very least, serious threats to its existence from Japan and Germany.⁵⁴

Gould also mentions that Emilio Aguinaldo attempted to make Japan accept diplomatic recognition. Gould explains the chronological process of the Open Door notes—mentioning Japan’s reaction—the Boxer Rebellion, and the issues of Samsah Bay, but he does not clarify how Japan participated with the rebellion. Overall, even though Gould focuses on McKinley’s role in a historical context, he does not clarify what the role of the McKinley administration in the history of Japanese-American relations was.

Scott Miller’s *The President and the Assassin* is focusing on McKinley and setting Leon Czolgosz as the central figure covering the McKinley years. Concerning the annexation of Hawai‘i, Scott Miller argues that Japan threatened Hawai‘i and the U.S. although he does not explain on the details of Japanese immigration issues with the Hawaiian Republic and

Japan's protest. Similarly, while Scott Miller touches on the acquisition of the Philippines, it is not mentioned how Japan was related to the affairs of the acquisition. Compared with the issues of Hawai'i and the Philippines, Scott Miller more explains about the affairs in Qing China such as the Open Door notes and the Boxer Rebellion, but he neither mentions how the U.S. "cooperated" with Japan for the issues of the compensation after the rebellion nor touches on the issues of Samsah Bay. It is also not clear in Scott Miller's work how the role of the McKinley administration in the history of the relations was.

President McKinley: Architect of the American Century by Robert Merry is probably the newest, published in 2017, among the biographies, and Merry very strongly claims that McKinley actively adopted an imperialistic policy. With respect of the annexation of Hawai'i, Merry well describes the issues with details, touching on the Hawaiian rejection against Japanese immigration, Japan's dispatch of the *Naniwa*, the ratification of the annexation treaty, and Japan's protest against the U.S. Merry also notes that "Japan wasn't prepared for war."⁵⁵ Concerning the American acquisition of the Philippines, Merry implies that Japan had interests in the Philippines although *Nunobiki-maru* is not mentioned. In terms of the issues in Qing China, although Merry describes the Open Door notes and the Boxer Rebellion, Merry touches upon neither the cooperative actions by the U.S. and Japan for the negotiation of the compensation or the affairs of Samsah Bay. Merry does not suggest how the role of the McKinley administration in the history of Japanese-American relations.

Besides the work above, any of *The McKinley and Roosevelt Administrations 1897-1909* by James Rhodes; *William McKinley* by Deborah R. Mariniski; *Our Martyred President...: Memorial Life of William McKinley ... Together with a Full History of Anarchy and its Infamous Deeds* by George Townsend; *The Life of William McKinley: Including a Genealogical Record*

of the McKinley Family and Copious Extracts from the Late President's Public Speeches, Messages to Congress, Proclamations, and Other State Papers by Oscar Davis and John Mumford; *A Journal of the McKinley Years* by Charles Gates Dawes; *William McKinley, Stalwart Republican: A Biographical Study* by William Spielman; *McKinley, Bryan, & the People* by Paul Glad; *The William McKinley Story* by Edward Heald; *William McKinley* by Edwin Hoyt; *William McKinley, 1843-1901: Chronology, Documents, Bibliographical Aids* by Harry Sievers; *The Spanish-American War and President McKinley* by Lewis Gould; *Major McKinley: William McKinley and the Civil War* by William Howard Armstrong; *Murdering McKinley: The Making of Theodore Roosevelt's America* by Eric Rauchway; *William McKinley, apostle of protectionism* by Quentin Skrabec does not mention the role of the McKinley administration in the history of Japanese-American relations. Furthermore, there have been some chapters and articles on McKinley, but they hardly touch on Japan in connection to the U.S. foreign relations.⁵⁶

Conclusion

First of all, originally, there was a plan to add one more section to review literature on American diplomatic history and the history of U.S. foreign policy to provide further information. In fact, those publications on diplomatic history and foreign policy have been looked at by the author of this paper,⁵⁷ but similar to the work above, it can be said that no publication has defined the role of the McKinley administration in the history of Japanese-American relations.

As this paper has reviewed publications in English, which can be called American sources, related with William McKinley, a variety of studies on McKinley have already been done by those great scholars. Concerning American affairs with Japan, some authors provide detailed explanation with rare episodes in an affair although a perspective of those authors about

an American viewpoint during the period of the McKinley administration is sometimes different from others. It is also clear that there were some tensions, but also cooperation, between Japan and the U.S. during the period of the McKinley administrations through those secondary sources. Furthermore, it can also be said that rivalry as powers between the two countries rose during the period.

However, none of the work covers all of American foreign affairs related to Japan such as an American plan of blockade against Japan, the issues of *Nunobiki-maru*, and the American demand of Samsah Bay. Also, unlike the Russo-Japanese War in 1905 and the Roosevelt administration which are regarded as a turning point of Japanese-American relations, the period of the McKinley administration is ambiguous in the context of Japanese-American relations. In other words, none of those previous works clarifies the role of the McKinley administration in the relations around the turn of the century. In other words, regarding the role in the history of the relations, it is a mysterious administration under the mysterious president. Furthermore, it can be said that American scholars have considered American foreign affairs concerning with Japan were relatively less important.

The following argument based on this research will be clarified in the next article of this series.

Notes

- 1 For example, see Lawrence H. Battistini, *Japan and America: From Earliest Times to the Present* (1953, repr., Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1970); Walter LaFeber, *The Clash: U.S.-Japanese Relations throughout History* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1997); Charles E. Neu, *The Troubled Encounter: The United States and Japan* (Malabar, FL: Robert E. Krieger Publishing Company, 1975); William L. Neumann, *America Encounters Japan: From Perry to MacArthur* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1963); William R. Nester, *Power across the Pacific: A Diplomatic History of*

American Relations with Japan (New York: New York University Press, 1996); Akira Iriye, *Across the Pacific: An Inner History of American-East Asian Relations Revised Edition* (1967: repr., Chicago Imprint Publications: 1992); Chihiro Hosoya 細谷千博 and Nagayo Honma 本間長世, eds. *Nichi-Bei kankeishi: Masatsu to kyôchô no hyaku-yonjnen 日米関係史：摩擦と協調の一四〇年* [A History of Japanese-American Relations: 140 Years of Friction and Cooperation], 2nd ed. (Tokyo: Yûhikaku, 1991); Makoto Iokibe 五百旗頭真, ed. *Nichi-Bei kankeshi 日米関係史* [A History of Japanese-American Relations: From Perry to Present] (Tokyo: Yûhikaku, 2008); Morinosuke Kajima 鹿島守之助, *Nichi-Bei gaikôshi 日米外交史* [A History of Japanese-American Diplomacy] (Tokyo: Kajima Kenkyûjo, 1958); Masataka Kôsaka 高坂正堯, *Fushigi no Nichi-Bei kankeishi, 不思議の日米関係史* [A Mysterious History of Japanese-American Relations] (Tokyo: PHP Kenkyûjo, 1996).

- 2 For example, see Alexander DeConde, *A History of American Foreign Policy*, vol. 1, *Growth to World Power (1700-1914)*, 3rd ed. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1978); Robert H. Ferrell, *American Diplomacy: A History*, rev. ed. (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1969); A. Whitney Griswold, *The Far Eastern Policy of the United States*, Rev. ed. (1938, repr., New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1971); David Starr Jordan, "Relations of Japan and the United States," in *Japan and Japanese-American Relations*, ed. George H. Blakeslee (New York: G. E. Stechert and Company, 1912); Akira Iriye, *Across the Pacific*; Neu, *The Troubled Encounter*; Edwin Reischauer, *The United States and Japan*, 3rd ed. (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1965); Frank Ninkovich, *The United States and Imperialism* (Malden, Mass: Blackwell Publishers, 2001); Hosoya and Honma, *Nichi-Bei kankeishi*; Iokibe, ed. *Nichi-Bei kankeshi*; Shin'ichi Kitaoka 北岡伸一, Monko kaihô seisaku to Nihon 門戸開放政策と日本 [The Open Door Policy and Japan] (Tokyo: Tôkyô Daigaku shuppankai, 2015); Masataka Kôsaka, *Fushigi no Nichi-Bei kankeishi*; Shigeru Kurobane 黒羽茂, *Taiheiyô o meguru Nichi-Bei kôsôshi 太平洋をめぐる日米抗争史* [A History of Japanese-American Strife over the Pacific] (Tokyo: Nansôsha, 1968).

Even *Nihonshi* 日本史 [The History of Japan] by Yamakawa shuppansha, the most broadly used high school textbook of Japanese history classes in Japan, suggests it by expressing that "confrontations" between the U.S. and Japan "began to grow." Fumihiko Gomi 五味文彦 and Yasushi Toriumi 鳥海靖, eds., *Môichido yomu Yamakawa nihonshi もういちど読む山川日本史* [Rereading the History of Japan by Yamakawa] (Tokyo: Yamakawa shuppansha, 2009), 254.

- 3 Thomas Bailey, *A Diplomatic History of the American People* (New York: F.S. Crofts & Co., 1940), 568.
- 4 Raymond A. Esthus, *Theodore Roosevelt and Japan* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1966), 3.
- 5 Charles Neu does not clearly argue that the rivalry started in the first half of the 1890s, but it can be understood that Neu considers, as he mentions, “Japan’s victory in the Sino-Japanese War” caused a start of rivalry between the two countries. Neu, *The Troubled Encounter*, chapter II; Neumann, *America Encounters Japan*, chapter VII; Nester, *Power across the Pacific*, chapter 2.
- 6 James Rhodes, *The McKinley and Roosevelt Administrations 1897-1909* (New York: MacMillan Company, 1922), 218-221; Lewis L. Gould, *The Modern American Presidency* (Lawrence, KS: University of Kansas, 2003), 19, 23, Chapters 2-4; Kevin Phillips, *William McKinley*, (New York: Time Books, 2003), 150; Tyler Dennett, *John Hay: From Poetry to Politics* (New York, Dodd, Mead & Company, 1933), 410; Deborah R. Marinski, *William McKinley: A Modern Man* (New York: Nova Science Publishers, 2011), xxi; Charles S. Olcott, *The Life of William McKinley*, (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1916), II: 193.
- 7 The Roosevelt administration here means the administration under Theodore Roosevelt at the time he was president. Roosevelt was the vice-president during the second term of the McKinley administration from March 1901. After McKinley was assassinated in September 1901, Roosevelt was inaugurated as President.
- 8 For example, see Roger Buckley, *US-Japan Alliance Diplomacy 1945-1990* (Chippenham, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1992); LaFeber, *The Clash*; Nester, *Power across the Pacific*; Iokibe, ed. *Nichi-Bei kankeishi*.
- 9 For example, see Mitoji Yabunaka, *Toranpu jidai no Nichi-Bei shin rûru* トランプ時代の日米新ルール [New Rules between Japan and America in the Era of Trump] (Tokyo: PHP kenkyûjo, 2017).
- 10 For example, William Langer remarks, “In the early stages if the crisis the European powers had been obliged to act together from force of circumstances...,” and he also mentions Britain, Japan, and the U.S. cooperated together. William L. Langer, *The Diplomacy of Imperialism, 1890-1902*, 2nd ed. (1951, repr., New York: Alfred. A. Knopf, 1972), 694-695; Walter LaFeber briefly mentions that “some twenty thousand troops from Japan, France, Great Britain, Russia, and the United States finally reached the capital and lifted the siege.” Walter LaFeber, *The Cambridge History of American Foreign Relations*, vol. II, *The American Search for Opportunity*,

1865-1913 (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 174.

Also see, Foster Rhea Dulles, *Prelude to World Power: American Diplomatic History, 1860-1900* (New York: Collier Books, 1965), 216; Ferrell, *American Diplomacy*, 411-412; Jerald A. Combs, *The History of American Foreign Policy from 1895*, 4th ed. (New York: M. E. Sharpe, 2012), 34-35.

- 11 It can be said that Treat's *Diplomatic Relations between the United States and Japan* has been the most comprehensive book on history of the relations during the period. Treat's book has abundant details on diplomatic exchanges between the two countries, referring to official diplomatic documents such as dispatches between Department of State and the American legation in Japan. However, while Treat lists historical facts touching on those diplomatic records, how the relations have changed is not mentioned. He does not provide historical transition and perspective of the relations. Payson J. Treat, *Diplomatic Relations Between the United States and Japan*, Vol. III, (1938, repr., Gloucester, MA: Peter Smith, 1963).
- 12 Neumann, *America Encounters Japan*, chapter VII.
- 13 Neumann, *America Encounters Japan*, 113.
- 14 Neumann, *America Encounters Japan*, 113.
- 15 Neumann, *America Encounters Japan*, 117.
- 16 Samsah Bay (Sansaō 三沙澳) is now around the Port of Fuzhou, Fujian, China. The U.S. demanded the right to use ports in Samsah Bay, but Japan refused against it.
- 17 Akira Iriye, *Pacific Estrangement: Japanese and American Expansion, 1897-1911* (1972, repr., Chicago: Imprint Publications, 1994), Foreword.
- 18 Iriye, *Pacific Estrangement*, 50.
- 19 However, Iriye does not mention the issues of *Nunobiki-maru* 布引丸 at all. Japanese supporters of Phillipine independence attempted to ship weapons to Filipinos through *Nunobiki-Maru*, a Japanese ship, but the ship sank before it arrived in the Philippines. In other words, it was an action against the U.S.
- 20 Iriye, *Pacific Estrangement*, 51.
- 21 Neu, *The Troubled Encounter*, 34.
- 22 Neu, *The Troubled Encounter*, Chapter II.
- 23 Neu, *The Troubled Encounter*, 46.
- 24 Neu, *The Troubled Encounter*, 35.
- 25 Neu, *The Troubled Encounter*, 35.
- 26 Nester remarks "from the twentieth century's dawn, as both the United States and Japan seized colonies in the Far East" starting to clash. He also notes "at the century's turn, America's relationship with Japan shifted from

patronage to rivalry.” However, as Iriye explains, Nester’s theme is also rise of imperialism, and Nester considers it began in the middle of the 1890s. Nester, *Power across the Pacific*, 1, 59.

27 Nester, *Power across the Pacific*, 64.

28 Nester, *Power across the Pacific*, 70.

29 LaFeber, *The Clash*, 65.

30 LaFeber, *The Clash*, 62.

31 Howard Wayne Morgan, *William McKinley and His America* (1963; repr., Kent, OH: The Kent State University Press, 2003), 223.

32 For example, see Robert L. Beisner, *From the Old Diplomacy to the New, 1865-1900*, 2nd ed. (Arlington Heights, IL: Harlan Davidson, 1986); Tyler Dennett, *John Hay: From Poetry to Politics* (New York: Dodd, Mead & Company, 1933); Walter Karp, *The Politics of War, The Story of Two Wars Which Altered Forever the Political Life of the American Republic* (1979; repr., New York: Franklin Square Press, 2003); Ernest R. May, *Imperial Democracy* (New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, Inc., 1961); Olcott, *The Life of William McKinley*, Vol. I; William Spielman, *William McKinley, Stalwart Republican: A Biographical Study* (New York: Exposition Press, 1954); Paolo Coletta, “Prologue: William McKinley and the Conduct of American Foreign Relations,” in *Threshold to American Internationalism*, ed. Paolo Coletta (Jericho, NY: Exposition Press, 1970); William Reynolds Braisted, “The Open Door and the Boxer Uprising,” in *Threshold to American Internationalism*, ed. Coletta.

33 Dobson, *Reticent Expansionism*, 183, 186.

34 The bay was a part of the sphere of Japan’s influence at that time Japan refused the U.S. demand, and the U.S. withdrew its demand.

35 Dobson, *Reticent Expansionism*, 195-196.

36 Dobson, *Reticent Expansionism*, 106, 108.

37 Richard F. Hamilton, *President McKinley, War and Empire: Volume 1, President McKinley and the Coming of War, 1898* (New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Publishers, 2006), 7.

38 Richard F. Hamilton, *President McKinley, War and Empire: Volume 2, President McKinley and America’s “New Empire”* (New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Publishers, 2007), xvi, 88.

In addition, although Hamilton provides abundant economic data to prove his argument, his argument seems merely being wise after the event. It must be pointed out that whether people at that time were interested in the market is the main discussion. However, this is not an argument in this paper.

39 Olcott, *The Life of William McKinley*, II: 345.

- 40 Phillips, *William McKinley*, 105.
- 41 Phillips, *William McKinley*, 106.
- 42 Phillips, *William McKinley*, 106.
- 43 Leech, *In the Days of McKinley*, 147.
- 44 Leech, *In the Days of McKinley*, 213.
- 45 Leech, *In the Days of McKinley*, 327-328.
- 46 Leech, *In the Days of McKinley*, 528.
- 47 Howard Wayne Morgan mistakenly interprets the letter from Lodge to Roosevelt on December 2, 1896. Referring the letter, Morgan notes that McKinley already considered the U.S. should annex Hawai'i at that time, but McKinley did not mention his opinion about the affairs of Hawai'i to Lodge. Howard Wayne Morgan, *William McKinley and His America*, 193; Theodore Roosevelt and Henry Cabot Lodge, *Selections from the Correspondence of Theodore Roosevelt and Henry Cabot Lodge, 1884-1918*. Vol. 1 (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1925), 240-241.
- 48 Howard Wayne Morgan, *William McKinley and His America*, 224.
- 49 Howard Wayne Morgan's claim brings a question: Is it not the case that increased American influence in the region would have meant "disturbing the region's power arrangements"? Howard Wayne Morgan, *William McKinley and His America*, 313.
- 50 In addition, Howard Wayne Morgan, in *America's Road to Empire*, another book, also describes the issues of Hawai'i and the Philippines, mentioning a conflict between the U.S. and Japan, but it is also not clear how Morgan interprets the role of the McKinley administration in the history of Japanese-American relations. Howard Wayne Morgan, *America's Road to Empire: The War with Spain and Overseas Expansion* (New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1965).
- 51 Lewis L. Gould, *The Presidency of William McKinley* (Lawrence, KS: The Regents Press of Kansas, 1980), viii.
- 52 Gould also mentions that McKinley's "guiding role as a war leader facilitated the accretion of power in the executive and in the federal government generally." Gould, *The Presidency of William McKinley*, viii, x.
- 53 Gould, *The Presidency of William McKinley*, 49.
- 54 Gould, *The Presidency of William McKinley*, 133.
- 55 It must be pointed out that one can notice that Merry's work in this Hawaiian part seems a summary of William Morgan's *Pacific Gibraltar*. Also, besides Leech's and Howard Wayne Morgan's works, Merry basically quotes from William Morgan's *Pacific Gibraltar* and the *Washington Post* only. Robert Merry, *President McKinley*, 209.

- 56 Rhodes, *The McKinley and Roosevelt Administrations 1897-1909*; Marinski, *William McKinley*; George Washington Townsend, *Our Martyred President ...: Memorial Life of William McKinley... Together with a Full History of Anarchy and its Infamous Deeds* (Philadelphia: National Publishing, 1901); Oscar K. Davis and John Kimberly Mumford, *The Life of William McKinley: Including a Genealogical Record of the McKinley Family and Copious Extracts from the Late President's Public Speeches, Messages to Congress, Proclamations, and Other State Papers* (New York: P. F. Collier & Son, 1901); Charles Gates Dawes, *A Journal of the McKinley Years*, ed. and with a foreword by Bascom N. Timmons (Chicago, Lakeside Press, 1950); Spielman, *William McKinley*; Paul W. Glad, *McKinley, Bryan, & the People* (1964; repr., Chicago: Ivan R. Dee, 1991); Edward Thornton Heald, *The William McKinley Story* (Canton, Ohio: The Stark County Historical Society, 1964); Edwin P. Hoyt, *William McKinley* (Chicago: Reilly & Lee, 1967); Harry Joseph Sievers, *William McKinley, 1843-1901: Chronology, Documents, Bibliographical Aids* (Dobbs Ferry, NY: Oceana Publications, 1970); Lewis L. Gould, *The Spanish-American War and President McKinley* (Lawrence, KS: University Press of Kansas, 1982); William Howard Armstrong, *Major McKinley: William McKinley and the Civil War* (Kent, Ohio: Kent State University, 2000); Eric, Rauchway, *Murdering McKinley: The Making of Theodore Roosevelt's America* (New York: Hill and Wang, 2003); Quentin R. Skrabec, *William McKinley, apostle of protectionism* (New York: Algora Publisher, 2008).

Also, for example, see the following articles. Ephraim K. Smith, "William McKinley's Enduring Legacy: The Historiographical Debate on the Taking of the Philippines Islands," in *Crucible of Empire: The Spanish-American War & Its Aftermath*, ed. James C. Bradford (Annapolis, MD: Naval Institute Press, 1993), 226, 231-237; Eric Rauchway, "William McKinley and Us," *The Journal of the Gilded Age and Progressive Era*, Vol. 4, No. 3 (July, 2005), 236; Thomas C. Sutton, "William McKinley," in *The Presidents and the Constitution: A Living History*, ed. Ken Gormley (New York: New York University Press, 2016), 316-325; John S. Latham, "President McKinley's Active-Positive Character: A Comparative Revision with Barger's Typology," *Presidential Studies Quarterly*, Vol. 12, No. 4, Perceptions of the Presidency, Leadership and Statesmanship (Fall, 1982), 491-521; Stephen Ponder, "The President Makes News: William McKinley and the First Presidential Press Corps, 1897-1901," *Presidential Studies Quarterly*, Vol. 24, No. 4, Forming a Government (Fall, 1994), 823-836; John L. Offner, "McKinley and the Spanish-American War," *Presidential Studies Quarterly*, Vol. 34, No. 1, Going

to War (March, 2004), 50-61; Steven G. Galabresi and Christopher S. Yoo, "William McKinley," in *The Unitary Executive: Presidential Power from Washington to Bush* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2008), Chapter 25; Mel Ayton, "The Anarchists and William McKinley," in *Plotting to Kill the President: Assassination Attempts from Washington to Hoover* (Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 2017), Chapter 9.

- 57 For example, see John W. Foster, *American Diplomacy in the Orient* (New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1903); Griswold, *The Far Eastern Policy of the United States*; Julius W. Pratt, *A History of United States Foreign Policy* (1955, repr., Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice Hall, 1961); Julius W. Pratt, *Expansionists of 1898: The Acquisition of Hawaii and The Spanish Islands* (Gloucester, Mass: Peter Smith, 1959); Samuel Bemis, *A Short History of American Foreign Policy and Diplomacy* (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1959); Lawrence Battistini, *The Rise of American Influence in Asia and the Pacific* (East Lansing, MI: Michigan State University Press, 1960); Dulles, *Prelude to World Power*; John A. S. Grenville and George Berkeley Young, *Politics, Strategy, and American Diplomacy: Studies in Foreign Policy, 1873-1917* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1966); Ferrell, *American Diplomacy*; Daniel M. Smith, *The American Diplomatic Experience* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1972); Armin Rappaport, *A History of American Diplomacy* (New York: MacMillan Publishing, 1975); Robert A. Hart, *The Eccentric Tradition: American Diplomacy in the Far East* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1976); Thomas G. Paterson, John Garry Clifford, and Kenneth J. Hagan, *American Foreign Policy: A History* (Lexington, MA: D.C. Heath and Company, 1977); DeConde, *A History of American Foreign Policy*; Beisner, *From the Old Diplomacy to the New*; LaFeber, *The Cambridge History of American Foreign Relations*; Patrick J. Buchanan, *A Republic, Not an Empire: Reclaiming America's Destiny*, (Washington, D.C.: Regnery Publishing, 1999); David Ryan, *US Foreign Policy in World History* (New York: Routledge, 2000); Ninkovich, *The United States and Imperialism*; Thomas G. Paterson, J. Garry Clifford, and others, *American Foreign Relations: A History since 1895*, Vol. 2, 6th ed. (Boston, Houghton Mifflin Company, 2005); Howard Jones, *Crucible of Power: A History of American Foreign Relations from 1897*, 2nd ed. (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2008); Combs, *The History of American Foreign Policy from 1895*.