

# The Path to Peace / 平和への道程

Multi-Level Diplomacy to Negotiate the Treaty of Portsmouth To Settle the Russo-Japanese War, August-September 1905

## EXPLANATION OF THE DISPLAY

### INTRODUCTION

The Treaty of Portsmouth of 1905 is one of history's great peace negotiations. This began a new era of diplomatic negotiations, multi-track diplomacy.

This visual display of analytical information expresses the cadence of interrelated multi-level diplomatic activities over a 27-day period in 1905 to end the Russo-Japanese war. It was created as part of the many activities to commemorate the 100th anniversary of the peace treaty coordinated by the Japan American Society of NH funded by the center for Global Partnership of the Japan Foundation. For more information see their web site: [www.portsmouthpacetreaty.com](http://www.portsmouthpacetreaty.com)

The formal negotiations took place at the Portsmouth Naval Shipyard in Kittery, Maine. The delegations resided at Hotel Wentworth in New Castle, New Hampshire. The principal personalities involved in the treaty negotiations were Tsar Nicholas, the Russian First Plenipotentiary Sergius Witte, the Japanese General Leadership, First Plenipotentiary Nituro Komura, and behind the scenes US President Theodore Roosevelt. There was a great deal of support from state and local government as well as from people in local communities on both sides of the Piscataqua River and throughout New England.

### THE WAR BACKGROUND

The war was a fight over disputed territories, Manchuria and Korea, between two expanding world powers. Russia was considered Europe's strongest nation but was unprepared for war in the east. Japan was ready. Hostilities began February 8, 1904 when Japanese torpedo boats sank attacked the Russian fleet off Port Arthur, Manchuria, China. Japan then laid siege to Port Arthur. At Liao-Yang, August 26th to September 4th, 1904 almost 300,000 troops were engaged in the largest battle of modern times during which 40,000 were killed or wounded. After eleven months of struggle, the Russians at Port Arthur surrendered on January 1, 1905. In March 1905 500,000 troops fought at Mukden where Japan also prevailed. Russians suffered 90,000 casualties and 20,000 were taken prisoner. Japan suffered 70,000 casualties. Russia sent its large Baltic fleet on an epic journey around the world in an attempt to cut Japan off from its army on the mainland. The Baltic fleet was destroyed in the strait between Korea and Japan at the historic naval battle of Tsushima on May 27th - 28th 1905, the largest Naval battle in history. Of 38 Russian ships, 2 destroyers and 1 light cruiser made it to Vladivostok and a few small vessels to neutral ports. The remainder including all battleships and cruisers were sunk or captured. Japan lost only three torpedo boats. Russia was defeated on land and sea. Japan was stretched to the limit and worried that the tide could turn. Both countries had incurred a crushing financial burden. President Roosevelt, concerned about the balance of power in east Asia, supported peace.

### DISPLAY STRUCTURE

There are four horizontal sections to this graphic display plus annotation and legends for color coding and symbols. The graphic display background is a calendar covering a seven week period (42 days) from July 30, to September 9, 1905. A horizontal Summary Bar half way down the piece extends for the 30 days that the primary negotiations (plenipotentiaries) were actually in the Portsmouth, NH area.

### SECTION 2

#### FORMAL NEGOTIATIONS

A calendar section at the top divides section two from section one and reads both up and down. Formal negotiations at the Portsmouth Naval Shipyard are the centerpiece of the display and are represented in bright yellow. This is the only section of the graphic that is also divided by the 24 hours in the day vertically. Secret sessions are cross hatched. Turning points are orange. After agreement in principle on August 29th, sessions to finalize exact Treaty language were held at the Hotel Wentworth indicated in tan. The vertical section of blue/gray tone represents the time period that shipyard personnel were given to prepare the second floor of the newly constructed Naval Stores Building (Building 86) to serve as the peace conference center. The horizontal section of blue/gray represents the time periods during the day that the plenipotentiaries originally blocked out for formal negotiation sessions. The darker vertical columns indicate weekends and the lighter gray sections show divisions of day and night (sunrise/sunset).

### SECTION 1

#### BACK CHANNEL NEGOTIATION

"Back channel diplomacy" took place behind the scenes, away from the conference between world leaders and their governments. On August 5th U.S. President Theodore Roosevelt introduced the delegations on board the USS Mayflower in Oyster Bay, Long Island, NY and sent them on their way to Portsmouth, NH. The center horizontal row indicates continued facilitation of negotiations by Theodore Roosevelt. The top row indicates consultations, actions and decisions by the Tsar of Russia. The bottom row indicates consultations, actions and decisions by the Japanese leadership "GISENKO". The second and fifth rows show consultations between World leaders and various envoys of the U.S., Russian and Japanese governments. On the right side world powers aligned with the two sides at the time of negotiations are indicated.

### SECTION 3

#### INFORMAL SOCIAL ACTIVITIES

A myriad of informal social functions support and entertain the delegations in effort to bring negotiations to a successful conclusion. Activities included a welcome parade, dinners, parties, a ball, picnics, concerts, drama, church services, athletics, games, beach walks, shopping, excursions, tours, sailing, cinema, press interaction, audiences with groups and general mingling. A calendar section at the top divides section two from section three and reads both up and down.

### SECTION 4

#### DEMANDS FOR PEACE

The Japanese won virtually every major battle in the war prior to the commencement of peace negotiations. They presented the 12 demands for peace at the initiation of the conference on August 9, 1905. The demands were numbered 1-12 in no particular order of importance. Heavy cross hatching indicates the time until "agreement in principle" was reached. Light cross hatching continues until the final treaty language was agreed upon. Bright yellow color relates to when the issues were discussed in formal session.

### LOCATIONS

CCH	Christ Episcopal Church, Portsmouth, NH
CF	Carey Creek Farm, Portsmouth, NH
GAB	Green Acres Bahai Center
HEI	Dr. Hefflinger House, Portsmouth, NH
NC	Niles Cottage, New Castle, NH
KCC	Kittery Congregational Church
MCH	Methodist Church, Portsmouth, NH
MILLS	Manchester Mills Visit
PMH	Portsmouth Music Hall
PNS	Portsmouth Naval Shipyard
RH	Rockingham Hotel
SH	Sagamore Hill, Long Island, NY
STJ	Saint Johns Church, Portsmouth, NH
USSD	USS Dolphin Vessel
USSM	USS Mayflower Vessel
WCM	Wentworth Coolidge Mansion
YCC	York Country Club Tea
YH	York Harbor

### ABBREVIATIONS

AR	Auto Ride
BB	Baseball Game
CON	Concert
DEN	Dinner
FILM	Film
GP	Garden Party
IM	Informal Meeting of Delegations
ILP	International Love Feast
LP	Lawn Party
MB	Mechanic Ball
MUS	Musical Presentation
ROW	Rose Garden Walk
SAIL	Sailing Outing
SD	State Dinner
SHOP	Shopping Trip
SYOH	Shipyard Open House
TR	U.S. President Theodore Roosevelt
YB	York Beach Outing

## DISPLAY OBSERVATIONS

### FORMAL SESSIONS

- The majority of face to face negotiations took place the week of August 13th (week 33).
- The time blocked out for formal negotiations that was not used is instructive.
- Once agreement was reached on August 29, some additional sessions of hard work were conducted at delegates' suites at the Hotel Wentworth to finalize the treaty language.
- After signing the treaty on September 5, 1905, both plenipotentiaries left the next day with little fanfare.
- At home, the public on both sides were disappointed. September 7, 1905: Martial law was declared in Tokyo.

### BACK CHANNEL DIPLOMACY

- The intensity of "back channel" negotiations increased as the negotiations reached a stalemate regarding peace demands 5 and 9.
- The Tsar ordered his delegation to withdraw and threaten to resume the war on August 22 and 28 and was persuaded to rescind the order.

### INFORMAL / SOCIAL

- Timing or location of informal activities happened throughout the region and included local people, the Navy, the Hotel Wentworth and US Federal Government representatives.
- Russian and Japanese participation is relatively equal.
- The intensity of social activity increased as the negotiations bog down on the settlement of demands 5 and 9.
- The substantial array of informal activities that supported the peace process was one of the most difficult facets of the peace process to duplicate today as present day security concerns would preclude much of this kind of open informal interaction.

### DEMANDS FOR PEACE

- Ten of the 12 issues were resolved in principle by day 9 of the 27 day conference.
- Demands 10 and 11 were dropped by Japan on August 18, 1905, as a major unilateral compromise gesture.
- Demands 5 and 9 were the most contentious and the difficulty in their resolution almost causes breakdown of the conference. These two demands are not related to the primary reasons the powers went to war initially.

### COLOR LEGEND

	PLenary Session
	SECRET Session
	TURNING POINT
	RUSSIA
	TSAR of Russia
	JAPAN
	GENRO
	TEDDY ROOSEVELT / US GOVERNMENT
	LOCAL HOSTS / SOCIAL / INFORMAL
	LOCAL ATTENDEES
	NAVY (HOST)
	HOTEL WENTWORTH (HOST)
	THE PRESS

### SYMBOL LEGEND

	ACTIVITY / EVENT
	DIALOGUE PARTIES
	INFORMAL / SOCIAL ATTENDEES (HOST)
	CHURCH SERVICE ATTENDEES
	PRIMARY REASONS FOR THE WAR: CONTROL OF KOREA AND MANCHURIA
	DISCUSSIONS TO REACH AGREEMENT IN PRINCIPLE
	DISCUSSIONS TO AGREE ON EXACT TREATY LANGUAGE
	FORMAL SESSION NUMBER
	AGREEMENT IN PRINCIPLE
	TREATY LANGUAGE DECIDED
	DEMAND FOR PEACE DROPPED
	PARADE
	NUMBER OF DEMANDS REACHED

### REFERENCES

#### EVENTS OUTLINE

- Selected outline of events 1875 through 1909 provided by Charles Dolenc, President of the Japanese American Society of New Hampshire.

#### BOOKS

- "There are No Victors Here. A Local Perspective on the Treaty of Portsmouth," Peter Randall, 1983, 2002 by the Portsmouth Marine Society.
- "Double Eagle and Rising Sun," Raymond A. Easton, Duke University Press, Durham and London 1988.

#### WEB SITE

[www.portsmouthpacetreaty.com](http://www.portsmouthpacetreaty.com)

### ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

For inspiration to create this visual display of information thanks go to Edward Tufts and Bruce Mast. For invaluable help in the creation of this peace display thanks go to Charles Dolenc, and Ryan Tangany.

### DEDICATION

This visual display is dedicated to greater understanding and the hope that we may evolve to live together in peace on this planet.

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603 436 5372  
patrickstevens@aol.com

