THE MANY FACES AND LEGACY OF SIR ERNEST SATOW (1843-1929)

- Ian Ruxton
- Meiji University Nakano Campus Room 410
- October 19, 2017 5.10-6.50 pm
- (In English)
Large family – 11 children, six sons and five daughters. Ernest was the third son. (More about the family Later.)
Ernest Satow photographed in Japan by William Willis, c. 1863
Ernest Satow in Paris, December 1869
He was awarded the CMG in 1883, so this photo is from that time.

Centre parting has gone!
Satow in Uruguay? 1889-93
Satow in 1895
Satow in 1900
(Illustrated London News)
Satow in 1903
Satow in Vanity Fair, 1903
Outline of Sir Ernest Satow’s Life and Career

1843 – Born in London
1861 – Graduated from University College London. Joins Consular Service.
1861-62 – China
1862-69 – Japan
1870-83 – Japan
1884-88 – Siam. Promoted to Diplomatic Service.
1889-93 – Uruguay
1893-95 – Morocco
1895-1900 – Japan
1900-06 – China
1906-29 – England (Retirement)
Ernest Mason Satow had many faces:

1. Professional Diplomat
2. Linguist, Interpreter and Translator
3. Scholar
4. Japanologist
5. Book collector
6. Guidebook author
7. Amateur botanist – he did not write about this.
8. Mountain walker – especially around Nikko.
9. Lawyer – qualified as a barrister in the 1870s.
10. Diplomatic Historian (International Law from a historical perspective)
11. Diary writer
12. Letter writer
13. Family man – English and Japanese families
14. Loved Nikko and promoted it.
15. Christian – strong supporter of Missionaries in retirement
1. Career as a Professional Diplomat

- He started as a student interpreter in China (1861-2) and then in Japan.
- Promoted in Japan to “Interpreter of the Japanese Language” on April 1, 1865. Salary doubled from 200 to 400 pounds per year. No more office work (copying documents)!
- On 31 December 1867 Foreign Office approved his promotion to Japanese Secretary with a salary of 700 pounds per year. He had an argument with his boss, Sir Harry Parkes, because he wanted to be a Consul on 800 pounds per year. There was a vacancy at Hyogo.
- Satow had a strong desire for promotion, he did not want to be overtaken by juniors or left behind. Still, he never became a consul and accepted the rank of Japanese Secretary.
- In 1876 Satow was granted the local rank of Second Secretary in recognition of his achievements. This was NOT a promotion to the Diplomatic Service. It was to be held so long as he was Japanese Secretary.
Ernest Satow in Japan
1865-66
- Satow leaves Japan at the beginning of 1883 for promotion. Appointed Consul-General in Bangkok, 1884. Promoted to Minister Resident in 1885. Very rare promotion from Consular to Diplomatic Service. His aim was to come back to Japan as Minister.

- In all his subsequent posts (Uruguay, Morocco, Japan and China) he was Minister. He was unlucky not to be made Ambassador. His successor in Tokyo, Sir Claude MacDonald, became Ambassador in 1905 when the status of diplomatic relations between Britain and Japan was upgraded. China was better paid than Japan (5,000 pounds vs. 4,000 pounds p.a.) and regarded as more prestigious.

- In China Satow served first as the British High Commissioner (September 1900-January 1902) because he could not present his credentials as Minister. The Imperial court had fled from Peking, but anyway the allies were at war with the court after the Boxer uprising (Giwadan no Ran). After the Boxer Settlement he presented his credentials as Minister.

- In retirement he was Britain’s second plenipotentiary delegate at the Hague Peace Conference in 1907.
2. Satow as a Linguist

- He was the best linguist in the British legation in Japan. How did he learn Japanese?

- He explains in his memoir, *A Diplomat in Japan*, Chapter 5. He was introduced on 9 September 1862 to Dr. James Hepburn (editing a Japanese-English Dictionary) and Reverend Samuel Brown who gave him some sheets of his *Colloquial Japanese*. At first he had no teacher, but he was then allowed to learn twice a week from Brown.

- Takaoka Kaname from Wakayama taught him the epistolary (letter-writing) style.
- After 1868 he learned Chinese style writing from Takasai Tanzan, one of the best teachers in Tokyo.
- Satow never claimed to have good handwriting, and he pointed out that most of his written work for eight years was translating official documents into English which was “not calculated to ensure correctness, as the translator’s attention is more bent on giving a faithful rendering of the original than on writing good Japanese.”
A rare example of Chinese calligraphy by Ernest Satow.

Chinese poem ‘Spring Garden’ by Wang Bo (650-676).

Probably done in mid-1870s.

In the British Library.
3. Scholar and 4. Japanologist

Satow was a distinguished scholar. In his early career he researched Japan as part of his job, and he was a founding member of the Asiatic Society of Japan, Japan’s oldest academic society, founded in Yokohama in 1872.

His publications from 1865 to 1882 include:

1. The Various Styles of Japanese Writing (1865)
2. Translation of the Diary of a member of the Japanese Embassy to Europe in 1862-63 (1865)
3. British Policy (Japan Times, 1866)
4. The Ainos of Yezo (1870)
5. Extract from The History of Taikosama (Translation, 1871)
6. The History of the Hojo Family (Translation, 1871)
7. History of the Minamoto Family (Translation, 1872)
8. Kinsei shiriaku (Translation, 1873)
9. Japan 1853-1864 (Translation, 1873)
10. Kwaiwa Hen (Japanese Conversation for students, 1873)
11. Geography of Japan (Transactions of A.S.J. 1874)
12. Japanese Chronological Tables (1874)
13. The Shin-tau Temples of Ise (Transactions of A.S.J. 1874)
15. Guide Book to Nikko (Japan Mail, 1875)
18. Introduction of Tobacco into Japan (Transactions of A.S.J. 1877)
19. The Korean Potters in Satsuma (Transactions of A.S.J. 1878)
20. The Use of the Fire-Drill in Japan (Transactions of A.S.J. 1878)
22. The Climate of Japan (Translated from German, Transactions of A.S.J. 1878)
25. Vicissitudes of Church at Yamaguchi 1550-1586 (Transactions of A.S.J. 1879)
26. On Transliteration of the Japanese syllabary (Transactions of A.S.J. 1879)
27. Ancient Japanese Rituals II (Transactions of A.S.J. 1879)
28. Reply to Dr Edkins on ‘chi’ and ‘tsu’ (Transactions of A.S.J. 1880)
29. Ancient Sepulchral mounds in Kaudzuke (Transactions of A.S.J. 1880)
31. A Handbook for Travellers in Central and Northern Japan (Kelly & Co., Yokohama, 1881)
33. On the early history of Printing in Japan (Transactions of A.S.J. 1882)
34. Further Notes on Movable Types in Korea and early Japanese printed books (Transactions of A.S.J. 1882)
35. A Sanskrit Manuscript (The Chrysanthemum, 1882)

However, he did not stop writing when he left Japan in January 1883.

36. List of Korean Geographical names (Japan Mail, 1884)
37. Notes on the Intercourse between Japan and Siam in the 17th century (Transactions of A.S.J. 1885)
38. Essay towards a Bibliography of Siam (Singapore, 1886)
39. Report on the Country traversed by Mr. Satow in his journey to Chienmai (F.O. paper, 1886)
40. The Jesuit Mission Press in Japan (privately printed, 1888)
41. The Origin of Spanish and Portuguese Rivalry in Japan (Transactions of A.S.J. 1890)
42. The Laos States, Upper Siam (Journal of the Royal Society of Arts, 1892)
43. Visits to the Ruins of Sukkhothai (Journal of the Royal Society of Arts, 1892)
44. Life of Buddha (Buddhist Text Society, 1894)
45. The Jesuit Mission Press in Japan (Transactions of A.S.J. 1899)
46. The Cultivation of Bamboos in Japan (Transactions of A.S.J. 1899)
47. The Voyage of Captain John Saris to Japan (Hakluyt Society, 1900)
48. Preface to The Chinese Empire (1907)
49. An Austrian Diplomatist in the Fifties (Rede Lecture, Cambridge, 1908)
50. The Far East, 1815-1871 (1) China (2) Japan (Cambridge Modern History, 1909)

After this he stops writing about the Far East, except for A Diplomat in Japan.

51. Preface to Saint Theresa (Cambridge, 1909)
52. The Foundation of the Third Republic (Quarterly Review, 1909)
53. The Immunity of Private Property at Sea (Quarterly Review, 1911)
54. Private Property at Sea in time of War (Nineteenth Century, 1913)
55. The Treatment of Enemy Aliens (Quarterly Review, 1915)
56. The Silesian Loan and Frederick the Great (Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1915)
57. A Guide to Diplomatic Practice (Longmans, 1917)
58. International Congresses (H.M.S.O., 1920)
59. A Diplomat in Japan (London, 1921)
60. The Reorganization of Europe (Quarterly Review, 1921)
61. Peacemaking Old and New (Cambridge Historical Journal, 1923)
62. Congress of Aix-la-Chapelle (Cambridge Historical Journal, 1925)
63. Pacta Sunt Servanda (Cambridge Historical Journal, 1925)
64. The Family Chronicle of the English Satows (privately printed, 1925)
65. Lord Reay (Dictionary of National Biography, 1927)

His two most important books are No. 57 – Guide to Diplomatic Practice, and No. 59 – A Diplomat in Japan
5. Satow as a Book Collector

Satow began collecting Japanese scrolls and books before the Japanese themselves did. Most of his collection is now at the British Library and Cambridge University Library.

“Throughout his time in Japan Satow was an inveterate book collector, initially to assist him in his acquisition of the Japanese language and later, as his range of interests broadened, to support his scholarly researches. The scope of his studies was almost encyclopaedic covering subjects as diverse as Shinto ritual and mythology, the Japanese Syllabary, Korean potters in Satsuma, the Ainu, the introduction of tobacco to Japan, And the use of the fire-drill. However, it is his work on Japanese and Korean bibliography, in particular of the history of printing in Japan and Korea, which is his most important scholarly achievement and which led to his acquisition of key Japanese and Korean rare editions which formed the most important part of the collection now in the possession of the British Library.”

Hamish Todd, Head of East Asian Collections at the British Library (2007 paper)
6. Satow as a Guide Book Author

1. Guidebook to Nikko (Yokohama: Japan Mail, 1875)


Japan Punch, March 1881
A HANDBOOK FOR TRAVELLERS IN
CENTRAL & NORTHERN JAPAN

BEING A GUIDE TO

TOKIO, KYOTO, OSAKA, HAKODATE, NAGASAKI, AND OTHER
CITIES; THE MOST INTERESTING PARTS OF THE MAIN
ISLAND; ASCENTS OF THE PRINCIPAL MOUNTAINS;
DESCRIPTIONS OF TEMPLES; AND HISTORICAL
NOTES AND LEGENDS

BY

ERNEST MASON SATOW, C.M.G.

A.M. AGENT AND CONSUL-GENERAL AT BANGKOK
LATE SECOND SECRETARY AND JAPANESE SECRETARY TO H.M. LEGATION IN JAPAN
AND

LIEUTENANT A. G. S. HAWES
ROYAL MARINES (INTERN.)


WITH MAPS AND PLANS.

LONDON

JOHN MURRAY, ALBEMARLE STREET

YOKOHAMA: KELLY & CO., 28 MAIN STREET
SHANGHAI AND HONGKONG: KELLY & WALSH
PREFACE TO THE SECOND EDITION.

The first edition of this Handbook having been exhausted, the Authors have taken advantage of the opportunity thus afforded to revise many portions, and to make considerable additions. The descriptions of ‘Hakone, Miyano-Shita, and Neighbourhood,” and ‘Fuji and Neighbourhood,” have been almost entirely rewritten and much enlarged. The Valleys of the Abe-kawa and Oi-gawa, the routes from Osaka to Nara and Tatara, from Hase to the Temples of Ise, Hakodate and excursions in Yezo, and Nagaasaki and journeys in Kitashiki, are now described for the first time, while much additional information is given concerning Ikuo, Husato, and the surrounding districts, and the route to Nikko are completed. Lists of skeleton routes and of the telegraph stations now open have been added to the introduction, and at p. 632 will be found a glossary of the Japanese words used in the book. Consequently, in spite of the efforts of the editors to economize space by printing legends and historical notices in smaller type, the bulk of the volume has necessarily increased. An attempt has been made to render the Index more minute and exact, and special care has been bestowed on the preparation of the Maps, most of which are based upon an excellent map of Japan compiled by the Japanese Topographical Bureau in 1866.

In order to add further to the usefulness of the work, it has been thought advisable to include in the Introduction articles on Geography and Climate, on Pictorial and Glyptic Art, on Mineral Springs, on the Natural History, and on the Religion of the country. For the former of these special chapters they are indebted to their friends Professor J. J. Rein, of the University of Bonn; Mr. William Anderson; Dr. Irwin Beals, of the Tokyo Medical School; and Mr. E. V. Dickins, of the University of London; while in the chapter on Buddhism they have received most valuable aid from Mr. Bunyia Naquio. In the chapters upon Japanese Art it has not been considered necessary to introduce the subjects of Lacquer and Keramics, as these have already been treated by Mr. Quin in a Report published in Blue Book form, the latter by Mr. Franks in the Catalogue of his collection now in the British Museum.
PAPER: THE VARIOUS STYLES OF JAPANESE WRITING (1865)

I. Square (Chinese) Character from Watokuyourei (On Reading Japanese)

II. Square (Chinese) Character from Toku shi yo ron

III. Giosho and Hirakana from Ye-hon Taikouki

IV. Specimen of a well-educated woman’s letter in Hirakana
Introduction of Tobacco into Japan (1877)

Paper read before the Asiatic Society of Japan on 10 November 1877
ANCIENT SEPULCHRAL MOUNDS IN KAUDPZEKE.

BY ENEST SATOW.

[Read April 13, 1880.]

A great impulse has lately been given to the study of archaeology in this country by the important discoveries of Prof. Ed. Morse in the shell-heaps at Ohomori1 and elsewhere, by the publication of Mr. Ven Siebold's "Notes on Japanese Archaeology," full of interesting facts and valuable illustrations, and still more recently by the researches of Mr. John Milne in Yezo, which have formed the subject of a paper already presented by him to this Society.2 Fresh helps to the study of this subject may be daily looked for, and every additional scrap of information is worth collecting. It is with this conviction that I venture to offer to the society a few notes on some prehistoric burial-mounds in the province of Kaudzuke which were opened about two years back, as well as on the ancient pottery and other articles discovered in them and at one or two neighbouring places.

Whoever has travelled in the province of Yamato cannot fail to have visited some of the remarkable circular tumuli, often surrounded by moats, under which lie the remains of the early sovereigns of this country. In Kaudzuke, also, there are numerous circular burial-mounds, and in the course of an hour's ramble in the neighbourhood of the village of Ohomuro on the occasion of a recent visit, I counted at least six undoubted ones, three of which have been already opened, besides as many more of similar shape that will probably turn out on examination to be of the same character. None of those that had been opened,

Satow’s *A Diplomat in Japan*, published 1921, records his years 1862-69 in Japan.

Very famous and has appeared in many editions, notably the first edition and the Oxford Historical Reprint in the late 1960s which keeps the original page numbers. (Later paperback editions, e.g. Tuttle and Stone Bridge Press, do not.)

Written in two stages:

1. 1885-87 when Satow was Minister in Bangkok
   - His memory of Japan was fresh, and a diary which he claims in the Preface he “kept almost uninterruptedly” (in fact there are some lengthy gaps) from his leaving home in November 1861 was the foundation.

2. September 1919 – January 1921, when some younger relations urged him to complete it. He transcribed his ‘journals’ (diaries) and used Confidential Print etc. He wrote the Preface in January 1921.
Prof. Gordon Daniels in his 1968 introduction to the Oxford reprint stated that there was not much difference between Satow’s diaries and the book, so that the advantages of publishing the diaries was “marginal”. HOWEVER more than one third of the diaries did not appear in the book, and much was altered in significant ways.

The diaries provide a franker, more immediate account than the one in A Diplomat in Japan. They are Satow’s raw and unprocessed experiences, written as the events happened. In this sense they are day-to-day ‘journal-ism’ (the so-called ‘first rough draft of history’) and of course were written by a young man. Some of the language has been sanitized (cleaned up) in the book.

So it is the diaries where we really see Satow as a human being and how he progressed from a “scholarly, ambitious but disrespectful teenager” to the highly responsible and competent diplomat of 1869.
A DIPLOMAT IN JAPAN

THE INNER HISTORY OF THE CRITICAL YEARS IN THE EVOLUTION OF JAPAN WHEN THE PORTS WERE OPENED AND THE MONARCHY RESTORED, RECORDED BY A DIPLOMATIST WHO TOOK AN ACTIVE PART IN THE EVENTS OF THE TIME, WITH AN ACCOUNT OF HIS PERSONAL EXPERIENCES DURING THAT PERIOD

BY

THE RIGHT HON. SIR ERNEST SATOW
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British Minister at Peking 1900-03;
Formerly Secretary of the British Legation at Tokio

PHILADELPHIA
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1921
A DIPLOMAT IN JAPAN

BY

SIR ERNEST SATOW

WITH AN INTRODUCTION BY

GORDON DANIELS

OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS

LONDON NEW YORK

1968
10. Satow as a Diplomatic Historian: Satow’s Guide to Diplomatic Practice (Longman, 1917)

• Now called Satow’s Diplomatic Practice (7th edition, 2016 ed. Sir Ivor Roberts).

“Sir Ernest Satow’s Guide to Diplomatic Practice although first published nearly a hundred years ago remains a masterpiece. The book he wrote in 1917 was no dry collection of facts and legal terms. It was suffused with illuminating, interesting, often whimsical, anecdotes, and wise counsel. Nevertheless, when I was invited to edit the first revised edition for 30 years, I quickly realized that nothing less than radical surgery was required. For diplomacy has changed too much in its practice, if not in its essentials.”

Roberts “concluded with regret that it would have by and large to depart from the Satow writing style to make it more contemporary and accessible to the practitioners of the 21st century.”

“First published a year before the Versailles Peace Conference, the original Satow described a world where the only way for the Great Powers to meet was at a major conference lasting weeks and in some cases months. Berlin and Vienna were perhaps the most famous of these conferences in the preceding [19th] century.”

(Preface to 6th edition, 2009, Roberts)
11. Satow as a Diary Writer

• He kept a diary from 1861 (aged 18) until 1926 (aged 83).

• He did not write an entry every day – there are gaps, sometimes long ones.

• It is interesting to compare diaries from the beginning, middle and end of his life. He becomes increasingly discreet, reports facts and events without emotion. We very rarely see his innermost thoughts!
Diaries published so far by Eureka Press of Kyoto and Edition Synapse of Tokyo (1895-1900)

1861-69 diaries edited with Robert Morton, the rest by Ian Ruxton alone
12. Satow as a Letter Writer

In the Satow Papers (National Archives UK) we can find:

1. Semi-official letters, mainly reporting to Foreign Office in London (adding details and explanations to despatches).

2. Letters to friends: W.G. Aston, F.V. Dickins, J.H. Gubbins, Lord Reay etc.

3. Letters from friends, acquaintances and editors (scholars of international law such as Harold Temperley)

In the Yokohama Archives of History (Yokohama Kaiko Shiryokan) there are letters from Ernest Satow to his Japanese family, the Takedas. (Takeda Kane and Hisayoshi especially)
13. SATOW AS FAMILY MAN

His English family and German origins are described in his Family Chronicle of the English Satows, privately published in 1925. He also describes his upbringing in a strict Nonconformist household, and school days at Mill Hill School.
THE FAMILY CHRONICLE OF THE ENGLISH SATOWS

My father was born on February 18th, 1801, at Wismar, a seaport of what was then Swedish territory, and he was consequently born a Swedish subject, as his father and other ancestors were. His parents were married at the St. Nicolai Kirche, and he was christened at the St. Marien Kirche.

Wismar and the territory belonging to it were ceded to Sweden by the 6th and 13th paragraphs of Article 10 of the Treaty of Peace of Ösnabrück in 1648. In 1803 the King of Sweden, Gustavus-Adolphus IV, mortgaged this town and the adjacent territory to the Duke of Mecklenburg Schwerin, for the sum of one million two hundred and fifty thousand thalers, for the period of one hundred years, subject to the right of redemption at the end of that time, by repayment of this sum, together with compound interest at the rate of three per cent. per annum. Article II of the Treaty of 1803 provides that the King of Sweden renounces in favour of the Duke of Mecklenburg Schwerin and his successors all the rights which he had up to that time exercised of a political, military and civil, as well as of a spiritual and judicial nature over the said possessions and the inhabitants thereof. As soon as delivery of possession was made all native-born inhabitants of the town of Wismar and its territory were to be regarded as released from their oath of allegiance to the King of Sweden. This treaty was signed at Malmö, June 26th, 1803, and can be found at p. 55 of vol. VIII.

First draft completed June, 1919.
Revised February, 1925.

Addendum

p. 70, l. 3, Offspring: Eva Maria, b. April 15, 1825.
Hans David Christopher Mason (1801-1874) — Margaret Mason (1812-1899)

Selina Mason (1833-1852) — Margaret Agneta Allen (1835-1910)
   — Arthur John (1829-1911)
   — Lacy Emma (1836-1857)

Adah Jane Drew (1837-1880) — David Collis (1839-1910)
   — Margaret Henrietta Fanshawe (1840-1865)
   — Augusta Henry Edwar Tozer (1829-1916)

Arthur Louis Satow (b. 1861) — Reginald Satow (b. 1862)
   — Margaret Agneta Satow (b. 1866) — Evelyn Satow (b. 1868)
   — David Basil Copleston (b. 1870) — Helen Mary Satow (b. 1872)
   — Olga Lucy Satow (b. 1874)

David Lawrence Urban de Wahl (b. 1863) — Edith Margaret Fanshawe (b. 1865)
   — Henry Stella Selina (d. 1899) — d. 1948)

Mary Mason (1841-1892) — Joseph Allen Mason (1844-1893)
   — Ernest Mason (1843-1928)

Josephine Mary Allen married her cousin Lawrence de Wahl Satow on 30 April 1907. They are buried near their uncle Ernest Satow in the churchyard at Ottery St. Mary.

* Helen Mary Allen married her cousin Percy Stafford Allen on 20 September 1898.

X Agneta and Augusta died in Oxford on 18 and 20 May 1910 respectively.

(Based on The Family Chronicle of the English Satows, 1925)
Satow Family (left to right from top): Selina, Agneta, Lucy, David, Augusta
Edward, Mary, Ernest, Theodore, Charles, Samuel (Sam)

Scanned from The Ernest Satow Album (Yurindo, 2001)
Satow took two nieces with him to Uruguay in 1889. Josephine and Margaret Allen.

In retirement he was frequently visited by his large extended English family, Including Sam his younger brother and various others.

Henry Tozer, Professor of Oxford University was a brother-in-law through his sister Agneta.

Percy Stafford Allen was also an Oxford professor, scholar of Erasmus and a nephew.

Lawrence de Wahl Satow married Josephine Allen. They were cousins and Ernest was their uncle. They often visited him at Ottery St. Mary during his retirement, and were buried in the churchyard near him.
Takeda O-Kane (1853-1932) in the 1870s

She had two sons with Ernest Satow:
Takeda Eitaro (1880-1926) (Alfred T. Satow)
Takeda Hisayoshi (1883-1972)

The Takeda Family letters (including some to his ‘wife’ and sons, are held at the Yokohama Archives of History. About 2,000 letters, available to view.
Alfred Takeda Satow (1880-1926) Takeda Eitaro. 武田 栄太郎 (NOT 英太郎！)

- Had chest pains and weak constitution as a boy.
- In summer of 1900 when he was 20, his father made him undergo a medical check in England.
- Result: Tuberculosis was found in one lung.
- He began living in Denver – where the air was better - soon after that.
- Received financial support from his father and bought land at La Salle, near Denver.
- Managed a farm and changed his name to Alfred T. Satow.
- In 1908 he married an American.
- He could not recover from his illness, and died on 15 June 1926 after his tuberculosis developed into peritonitis.
久吉・ルーシー・栄太郎
(左から)
Takeda Hisayoshi  武田 久吉  (1883-1972)

- Botanist
- Founder of Japan Natural History Society
- Studied in the UK at Kew and Birmingham, 1910-16
- Lecturer at Kyoto University, then Hokkaido University (1920)
- Chairman of the Japan Alpine Club, 1948-51
- Known as “the Father of Oze” – helped to establish Oze national park

* There is a memorial hall to him at Hinoemata, Fukushima Prefecture.

『尾瀬と鬼怒沼』 梓書房、1930年（平凡社ライブラリー、1996年）
『登山と植物』 河出書房、1938年（日本文芸社、1970年）
『高山の植物』 アルス、1941年
『道祖神』 アルス、1942年
『民俗と植物』 山岡書店、1948年（講談社学術文庫、1999年）
『尾瀬』 岩波写真文庫、1951年
『高嶺の花』 山と渓谷社、1956年
『原色日本高山植物図鑑』 保育社、1959年
『続原色日本高山植物図鑑』 保育社、1964年
The first page of the Diary (Journal)
1861-62 Journal

Nov 4    Left Southampton, Monday 3 p.m.
Nov 10   Sunday, got into Gibraltar Harbour at midnight.
Nov 11   Monday, left Gibraltar at 8 a.m.
Nov 15   Friday, arrived in Valetta Harbour [Malta] at 10 a.m., left at 4 p.m.
Nov 19   Tuesday, anchored in Alexandria Harbour at 8.30 a.m., arrived at Cairo 4 p.m.
Nov 20   Wednesday, left Cairo at 9 a.m. arrived in Suez 2 p.m. embarked anchor 9 p.m.
Nov 26.  Tuesday. arrived at Aden 10 p.m.
Nov 27   Wednesday left Aden at 6 p.m.
Dec.  7   Anchored in Galle Harbour [Ceylon] at 9 am, left at 4 pm.
Dec. 14   Saturday – arrived at Penang 11 p.m.
Dec. 17   Tuesday. anchored in New Harbour Singapore at 8 am.
Dec. 18   Wednesday, left at 8.30 am.
Dec. 30   Monday. anchored opposite Manila.
Oct 2. Started for Hakodate on the Princess Royal, Vice Admiral King, in suite of Sir H. Parkes. Macdonald also accompanied Sir H. on duty. Octr. 5 Anchored in Hakodate harbour. The town is situated on a kind of mountain jutting out into the straits & connected with the mainland by a belt of sand & water. About 5 miles back up the shore of the Bay of Hakodate lie a range of hills, covered at this time of the year with brush, dried fern &c., which has a finer appearance than if they were all green.
“The two preceding sketches, tho‘ not pretending to be anything artistic, being sketched with a Mordau’s pencil on the leaf of a notebook, represent male Ainós pretty correctly. They were always pleased with notice taken of them by foreigners, & made the salute by raising both hands from the knee & carrying them up to head, a kind of abbreviation of a sign of humiliation namely, putting dust on the head in the presence of a superior; is there any such abbreviated ceremony practiced still anywhere.”
Jan. 1. 1868. Great alteration today at Hiroo and
Koishiki in favor of the Shogun. The two
places. If I have been made trium-
phant that the Shogun has been deposed,
before the notification about the west-
ern front (Mogata), which they look to now.
Hiroo, post is west of Hiroo, great deal of
true. I want to take the chief to Hiroo.
It is possible, but not advisable to prevent
the Japanese cutting there or any other
rather. I write to Bushiri to return yet
will. Seto-Taiji.

Jan. 2. The report is today that Choshins
intention is to return to the court. The
Daimyo turned yesterday.

Jan. 3. Report says that Choshin's forces left
Koishiki last night, proceeded to Ikeda, a town

Jan. 4th. Nothing further to report concern-
ings to the Shogun. This is discontented with the
Kawasaki affair instead. It seems
the Shoshins. All the Daimyo men have come in.

Jan. 5th. Great disturbances at Koishiki apparently. All the
Daimyo's forces were sent there, the chief and tell
him the impression they have of what has passed.
A roughChinese tone. Von Brandt makes a mistake
between Choshin's Shoshins. He says that his
9th. New Satsuma (now, Kuni) shows Choshin's
Koishiki with force. Some of them talks in con-
junction with Satsuma are at Koishiki. Satsuma
Shoshin's men guard the palace instead of the
Daimyo. There is no talk of the Shoshins. Coming down
the coast to Ikeda so that all the boats at Yoko-
have been stopped for this purpose. Now Ikeda's
arrived, at Momi, in Satsuma's Ikeda territory
a few days ago, by sea, will probably come to
Ikeda. The fleet of the Shoshins is not to fight,
but to act concessions from the Shoshins. They
take of their previous position towards the

Jan. 6th. Satsuma's forces, not true.
Jan. 1. 1868 Great salutes fired today at Hiogo [兵庫] and Tempôzan [天保山] in honour of the opening of the two places. Jap[ane]se. have been under the impression that the opening had been deferred because of the notification about the West coast port (Niigata), which they took to mean Hiogo, as it is west of Kioto. Great sell, if true. I want to take the chief up to Kioto if possible, to act as mediator & prevent the Japanese cutting each others’ throats; & I will go to Fushimi & arrange it with Goto & Saigo.
1872, Jany 17. [the first entry for 1872] Started with [F.O.] Adams in chaise at one o’clock on a tour by the Kôshiu Kaidô. Fine but cold. Road frozen into ruts, and progress slow. Intermittent views of the Ôyama range in nearing Fuchiu. New milestones and wooden postlets before each house with Nº --- yashiki on them; signs of reorganisation of the system under which their peasants are retained in poverty & consequent brutality. Truly their dwellings are wretched; the wind has free course through most of them. Arable land nearly all the way, and keya trees in abundance in the hedges. From Shinjiku [Shinjuku] to Fuchiu six ri. Hotel Shinshiuya good. Bluffs on opposite side of the Tamagawa very picturesque.
July 24. to Brussels by train, arr. abt. 6.20, left my heavy baggage at the terminus Gare du Nord, and went to the Hotel de la Poste in the Rue fossé aux loups to have a wash and some breakfast. Last time I was in Brussels I stopped at the Hotel de Flandre on the Place Royal, wch. is a much better house to stop at. Had a bad attack of rheumatic pains in the left leg, wch. was a little relieved by walking in the sun. They have had continuous rain in Brussels for the last two months. At 10 visited the Musée, wch. has been enlarged since I was last here in 1870.
Bruxelles
La gare du Nord.
The Sphinx is disappointing, and the engravings make its features much more marked than they really are. Coming on it from behind, the strata of which the head is composed give it a very dilapidated look, and as the stone is merely the natural limestone rock in situ with clumsy additions of sandstone to fill up gaps & holes, no great idea of labour spent on it is conveyed to the spectator. But the temple close by, now buried in sand, which is built of gigantic blocks of granite is very imposing, and by itself alone is worth coming to see.
MONTEVIDEO – FIRST IMPRESSIONS – MAY 9, 1889

The noise of trams & carts in the street is quite overwhelming, a good deal worse than in London. [T]he place where we are is on the ridge w[hi]ch. runs down separating the River from the Bay, & from the balconies one sees water at the end of the street right & left. I have been running about so much that I have not had time to examine the town at all. They say that today is warmer than we ought to have it at this season, & that there will be more rain; but the air is delicious.
1 Jan [1897] Usual reception at 2 pm. The Emperor having a slight cold did not receive anybody. Supposed to be that he and some of the Princes had enjoyed too good a dinner the previous night. So there was no defile-cour, and after about ¼ hr we all went to the Empress. Yamashina the only Princess. Arisugawas and elder Komatsu, Fushimi all absent. Lowther wrote name for me at all the Princes [houses]. Dined at d’Anethans. The Herods and Paul May. It would seem that the distribution of the pamphlet about Queen’s murder by Corean Minister before his departure was not altogether uninspired by De Speyer, and that Prince Wihwa and other Coreans get supplies thence also.

3 Jan The boys [his sons] to tea at Totsuka.
Empress Shoken (Meiji)
[Jan.] 12  [1901] Began to do work, and got out into the garden for a bit of a walk. [U.S. Minister E.H.] Conger came to see me. He says the 1st decree authorizing acceptance of our terms contained a number of objections, which Li refused to communicate, but thro’ a sure source (? Pethick) Li sent him some of them. But it is now believed that it is all arranged, and that the “Protocols” one for each legation, will be signed in a day or two. He fears Germany will break away from us on the question of indemnities, & says instructions have already been sent to the Chinese Minister at Petersburg to arrange all matters between Russia & China. I said I thought Germany wouldn’t break away, that she was working very well with us, and tho’ her war expenses might be £10,000,000, yet the others would be much less. Ours I thought would be £3,500,000 up to the present, then the Japanese, French, Russians & Americans could hardly be as much as £30,000,000. Perh[aps]. the private claims might amount to £1,000,000. Say £50,000,000 in all.
Signing the Boxer Protocols (September 7, 1901)
[January] 2. We went over [from Sidmouth] to Ottery, took Sam [Satow] to see Beaumont, then lunched with the Prykes; their boy Maurice, red headed niece Albinia Adams, curate Acland Edmonds, a young Arnold. Walked back by Yonder Street up on to the East Hill and along it to the Beacon, home in 2¼ hours. The view along the ridge over the Otter valley and from the Beacon Hill, with Bulverton in front like a huge fortress, the sea off Budleigh & Sidmouth very fine. Dined at Miss Tollers. There were an old Captain Johnson & his wife, formerly in the navy, who as a middy was with old Sir Harry Keppel in the “Raleigh” when she was wrecked, a son of his named Willis Johnson & his pretty musical wife and some other people including Vere Johnston. The drawing room was pleasantly lighted with candles, and she has some fine oriental china of old importation. She is a niece of old Mrs. Bremridge, who died a year or two ago at 105.
OTTERY ST MARY, DEVON – LOCATION – EAST OF EXETER
Beaumont House, Ottery St. Mary.
17 [June]. This morning we had a discussion in presence of the whole staff of Tornielli’s private proposal to modify the right of capture of enemy ships and cargoes by sequestration during the period of war. Ottley read a memo[ random]. against it, and Hurst another in which he concluded on the whole unfavourably. It was finally decided to inform the F[oreign].O[ffice]. of the proposal, and to say that we opposed it, and should take that line in conference unless we rec[eive]d. definite instructions to the contrary.

In the afternoon with Mrs. Hurst to see the Dutch pictures in the Mauritshuis, principally Paul Potter’s Bull, Rembrandt’s school of Anatomy and others by him, especially portrait of his brother, some Jan Steen, Ostade, a delightfully sunny landscape by Jan Both, some by the two Mieris.
Plenary session
In the Ridderzaal at The Hague
Satow in centre of photo:  
First day of Hague Peace Conference 2007  

He was the second British delegate:  
1st – Sir Edward Fry  
2nd – Sir Ernest Satow  
3rd – Lord Reay  
4th – Sir Henry Howard  

No women in the photo!
Jan. 1. Bright morning and a hard frost, but before noon the wind had backed to S.W. and a pretty rapid thaw ensued. After lunch I walked up the lane, down thro’ Littlewell and up Sandhill, mostly very muddy, and after returning finished sawing up the service tree trunk. Letter from [Harold W.V.] Temperley saying my article on Peacemaking Old and New is just what is wanted for the historical annual, but it seems to contain 18,000 words and I can only have 15,000. So I have asked him to mark what he thinks can be cut out or shortened, & return it to me, also can he help me to get Pacta sunt servanda printed. Paid Luxton my income & other taxes due today £43.17.7. Got as far as 1041 l. [1041st line] of Hercules Furens. Ordered vegetable and flower seeds from Suttons.
Ernest Satow in his library

(October 4, 1924)
30 June [1926]. My 83rd birthday. Congratulatory letters from Helen, Percy, Maud, Olga, Norah, Basil Chamberlain & p.c. from Mabel Ching. Lawrie & Josephine sent me a patent tobacco pouch, the Reginald Snows an azalea called Kurume A. van Kirin from Veitch, Norah a box of chocolates. Mary D. gave me a little blue earthenware jug. A fine cloudless day. To Watton by train to Exmouth, where Lawrie met me with his car, and we had a drive along the front whence the view of the western coast was beautiful. I lunched at Watton, and at 3.10 started in his car together with Connie Ching for Beaumont, where we had tea in the loggia, to which Mary D. also came. A letter from Lucy’s sister Carolyn tells me that Alfred [T. Satow, eldest son] died at 10.30 pm on the 15th inst. After my guests had left I continued reading Poincaré’s book till I went to dress for dinner. A clear sky and bright sunset. After dinner went on with chap. IV of Bk V of Port-Royal at ¼ to ten. The hay from the field was carted away today. Stars visible at midnight.

News of the death of his eldest son Alfred/Eitarō must have been a hard blow, especially on his birthday, but Satow appears to have received it stoically and with no comment or change in his daily routine. He avoided strong emotions in his diary, especially in later years.
FINAL ENTRY – 31 DECEMBER 1926

- 31 Dec. Morning sky overcast. Read Psalms 129-131 in the Russian Bible. Had my hair cut after a long interval. Wrote letters & posted them. Helen & Percy [Allen] went to Watton to lunch leaving Kenneth & me alone. Afternoon some sunshine, so we walked to Pithing Lane & back. After tea read on in Carlyle vol. II. At 7 sky overcast. Vol VI of British documents on the origin of the War came back this afternoon from Basil to whom I had lent it. At 10 o’cl. planets & stars shining brightly. Tristram Shandy after dinner.

- Subscriptions, gifts to Lucy Satow, Fedor’s wife & loan to Parette. 712.11.8.

- [There follows a list of “People I knew who died during the year.”]
I left and took a train to the post in the walled. Read some of James Pope in Palestine. Afternoon, and a brilliant sunset. Engaged Mr. Tilsford Cock at £38. Ellen Lowell to leave the same. At both planets and storm thunder. I'll went to dress for dinner. Worked at Carlyle vol. 2 & after dinner met Tristan Handy. At 11 o'clock, the sky was clouded over. 80°. 90°. Morning cloudy. I read Psalms 126 to 128 in the Russian Bible. After breakfast I had an attack of giddiness which frightened me, and I was afraid to go down town alone. After lunch, May, I went up a lane through a field to North Beach. By the lane at the high end, off Furfed Brook lane through the fields home. Then I had a comfortable nap on the way. Worked on with Carlyle till dinner, and with Tristan Handy afterwards. At 4 o'clock, my present. 3 3/4. Morning sky overcast. Read Psalms 129-131 to the Russian. Bobbin had my hair cut after a long interval. Made letters to Miss Lee. Bells at Porcy went to bed. To Sandy, leaving Porcy with me alone. Afternoon some some time, was walked to Pitching Brook. After tea and wine in Carlyle vol. 2. At 7 o'clock. 128. 1 of various documents on the origin of the War came back this afternoon for Basis &
31 December 1926

Whom I have lost. At 10° S. I have not been there longer. W. S. T. Thency after dinner.

Subscriptions, gifts to the, in town, Peter with a loan to Parete. 1:12. 11. 8

People I knew, who died during the year.

Mrs. Charles Allen, 15 Jan.


Mrs. Haggard, 21 Jan.

Mrs. Martin, of Sandick, 22 Jan.

Admiralemmack, 26 Jan.

Maurice Drye, 31 Jan.

J. C. J. Davis, 12 Feb.

George Argumand, 26 Mar.

Mrs. Knights of the House, Rodman, 25 Mar.

Montague Irwin, 26 Mar.

John Maclean, Brown, April 6

Mrs. Lionel Brown, April 9.

Harry Haydon, April 15.

Mary Solomon, April 15.

Raven's, April 26.

Ralph Mine, Baydock, Aug. 12

Arthur Brown, Hillman, Sept. 19

G. W. Knox, Nov. 13
31 December 1936.

whom I had cut it. A stellar planet was shining brightly. Thursday after dinner.

Subscriptions, gifts to charity. Saturday: Peters with a loan to Pareto. 7.12.11.8

People I knew, who died during the year: Mrs. Charles Allen 15 Jan.


Mrs. Higgin 22 Jan.

Mrs. Martin of Sandbeck 26 Jan.

A. W. Marrack 26 Jan.

Maurice Pryke 31 Jan.

J. C. F. Davis 12 Feb.

George A. G. 20 Mar.

Mrs. Maycock of Red House Holmworth 25 Mar.

Montague Kirkwood, 28 Mar.

John Maclean Brown April 6

Mrs. Lionel Budge April 12

Harold Horder April 15

Mary Salter April 15

Kawamura April 28

Ralph Paine Maycock. Aug. 12

James K. Morris, London, Sept 26

G. W. Know Nov. 18
The Diaries of Sir Ernest Mason Satow, 1889-1895: Uruguay and Morocco

Previously published through Lulu.com by the same author-editor:

The Diaries of Ernest Satow, 1870-1883
The Diaries of Sir Ernest Satow, 1883-1888
The Diaries of Sir Ernest Satow, British Minister in Tokyo, 1895-1900
The Diaries of Sir Ernest Satow, British Envoy in Peking, 1900-06

Sir Ernest Satow's Private Letters to W.G. Aston and F.V. Dickins

The Semi-Official Letters of Sir Ernest Satow from Japan and China, 1895-1906

The Correspondence of Sir Ernest Satow, British Minister in Japan, 1895-1900 (4 volumes)

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Edited by Ian Ruxton
With a Foreword by T.G. Otte
Thank you very much!

http://www.dhs.kyutech.ac.jp/~ruxton/satow.html