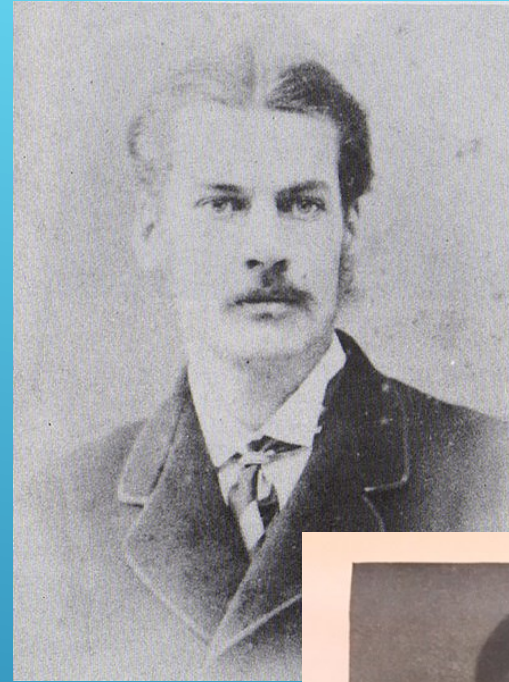
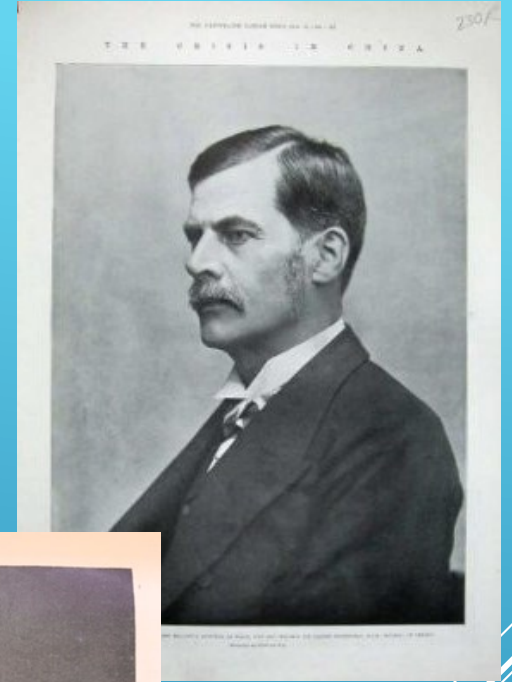


THE MANY FACES AND LEGACY OF SIR ERNEST SATOW (1843-1929)

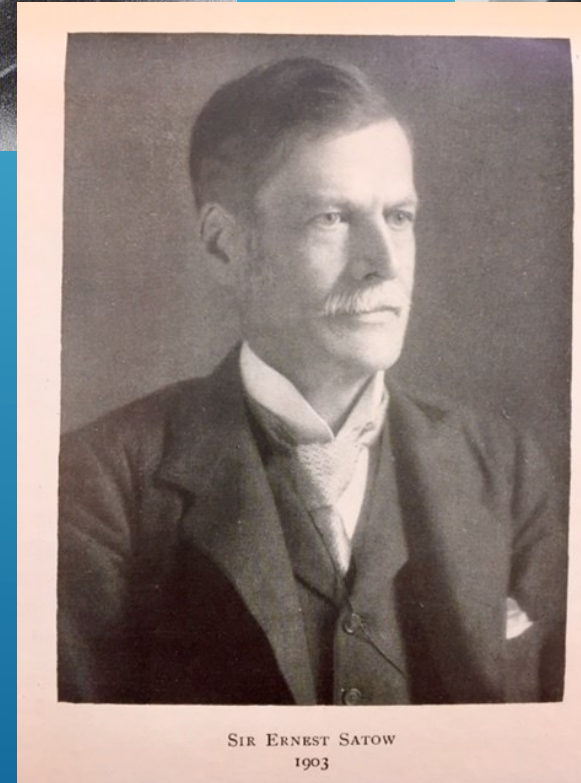
- ▶ Ian Ruxton
- ▶ Meiji University Nakano Campus Room 410
- ▶ October 19, 2017 5.10-6.50 pm
- ▶ (In English)



1869

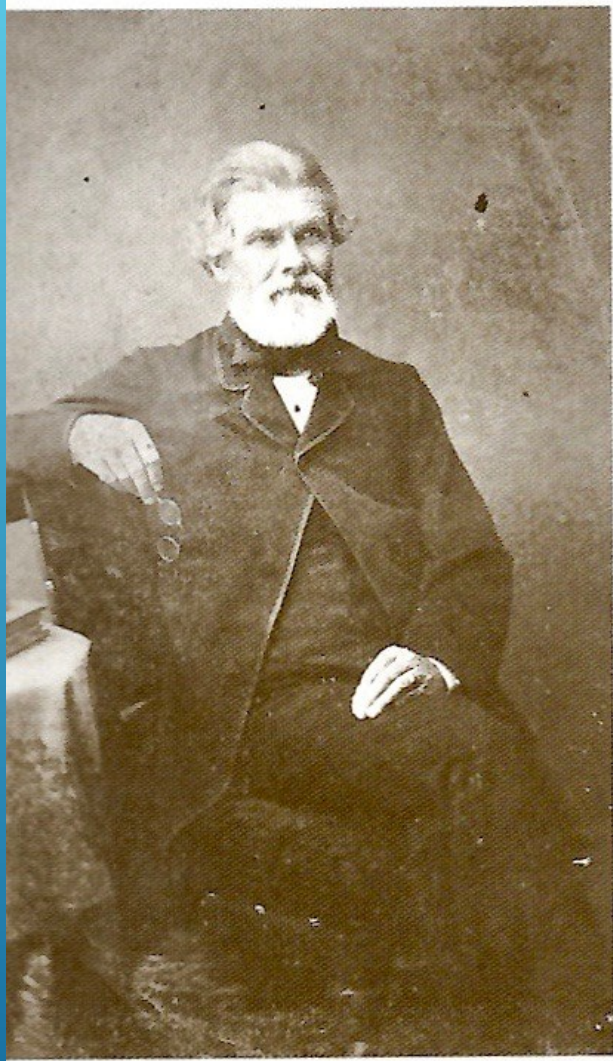


1900



1903

SIR ERNEST SATOW
1903



Hans David Christopher
Satow



Margaret Satow
(nee Mason)

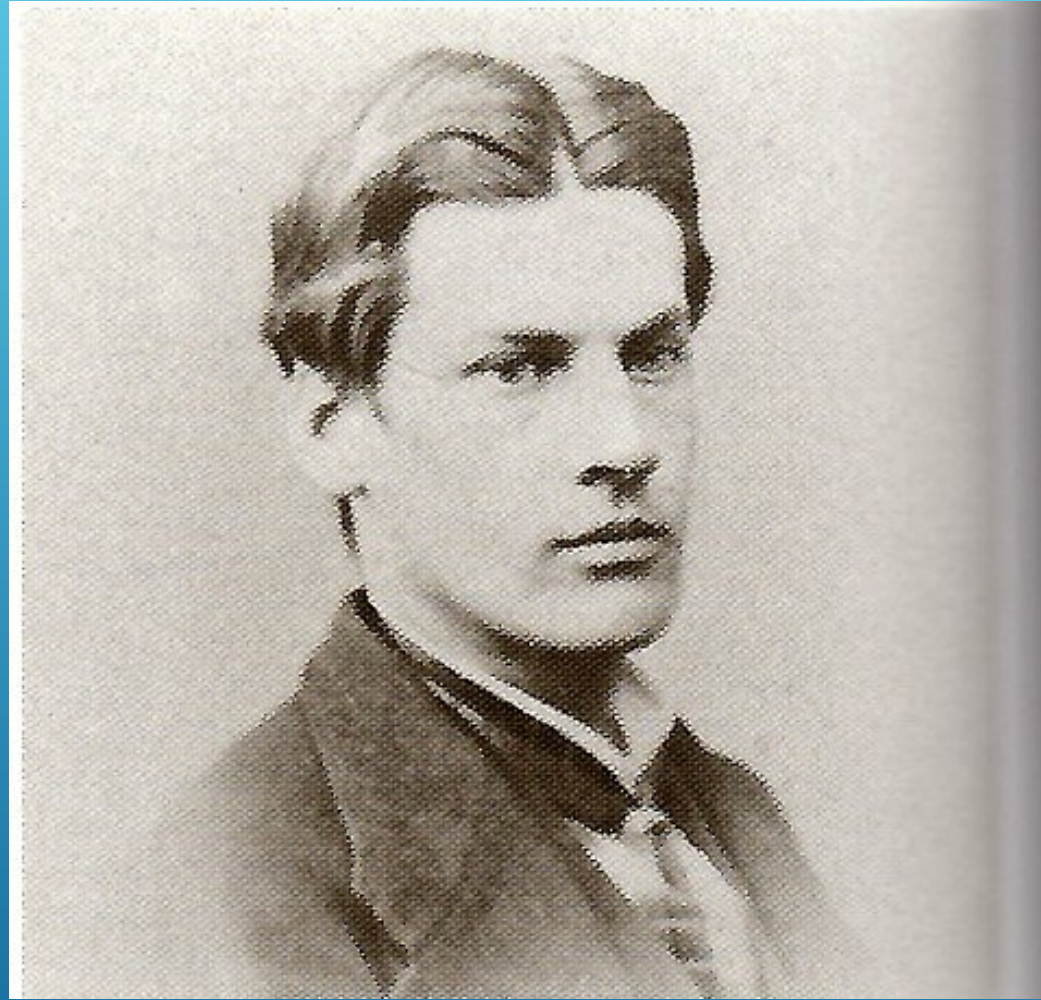


Ernest aged 18

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

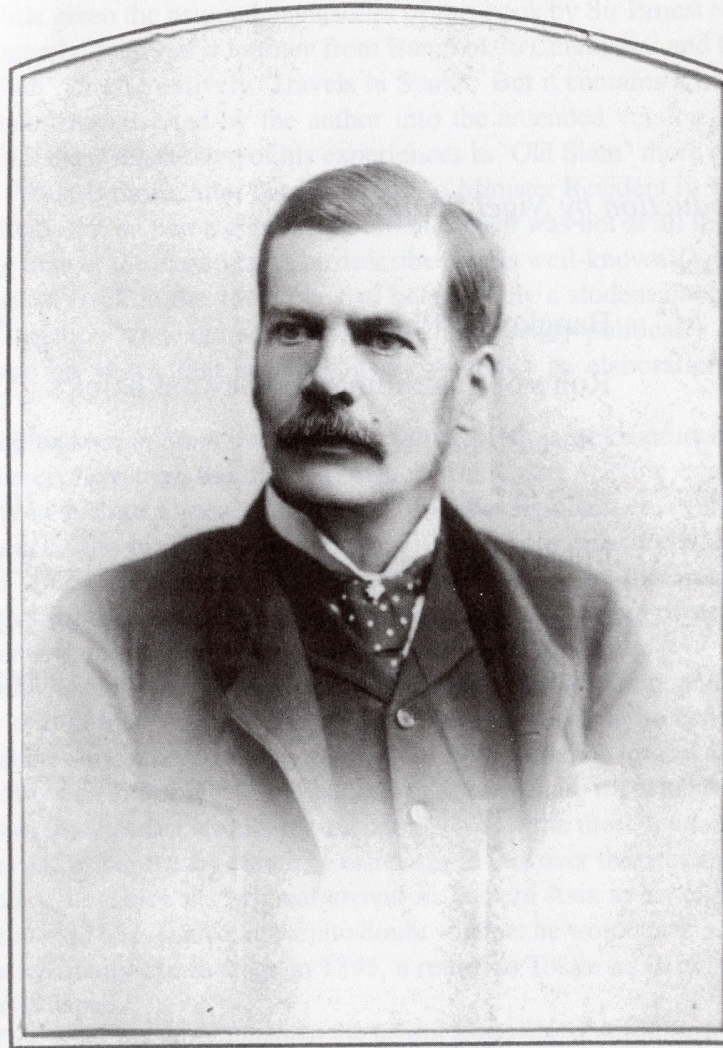


Ernest Satow in Paris,
December 1869



He was awarded the CMG
in 1883, so this photo is from
that time.

Centre parting has gone!



Ernest Satow C.M.G.

Satow in
Uruguay?
1889-93

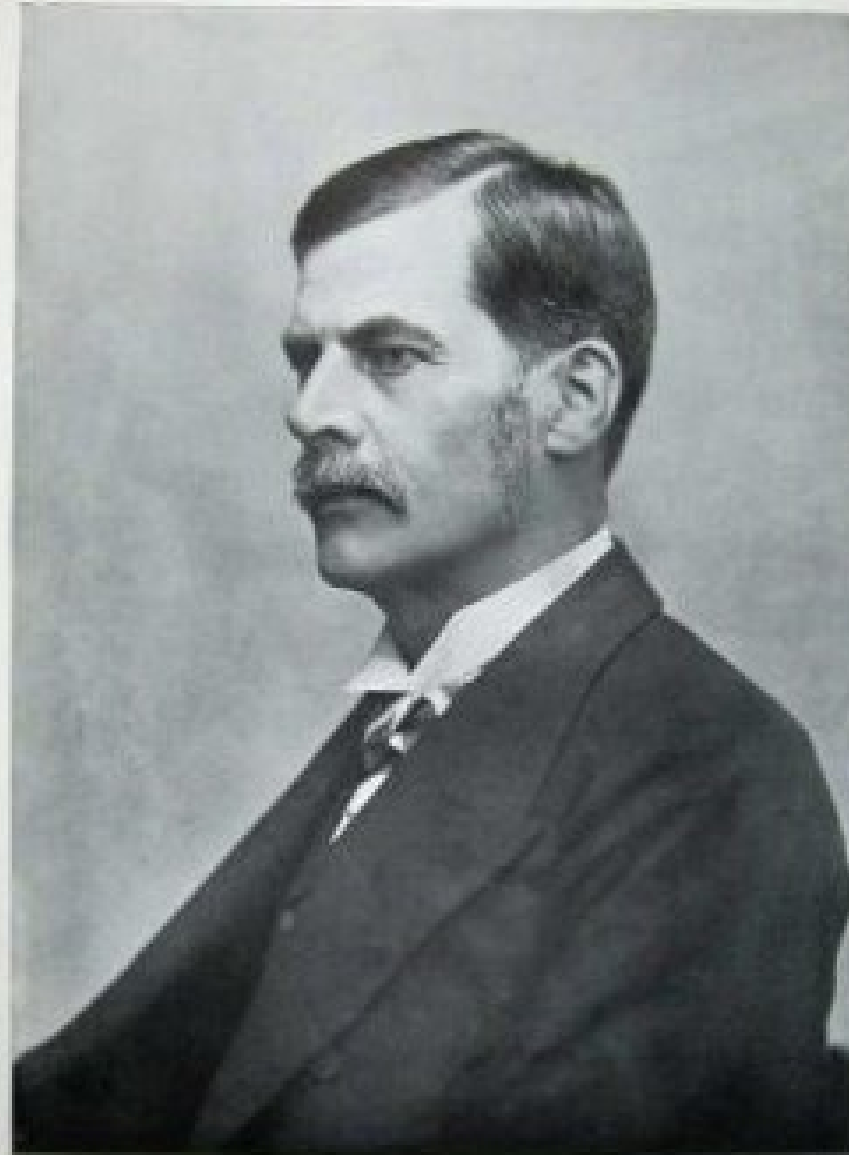


Satow in 1895

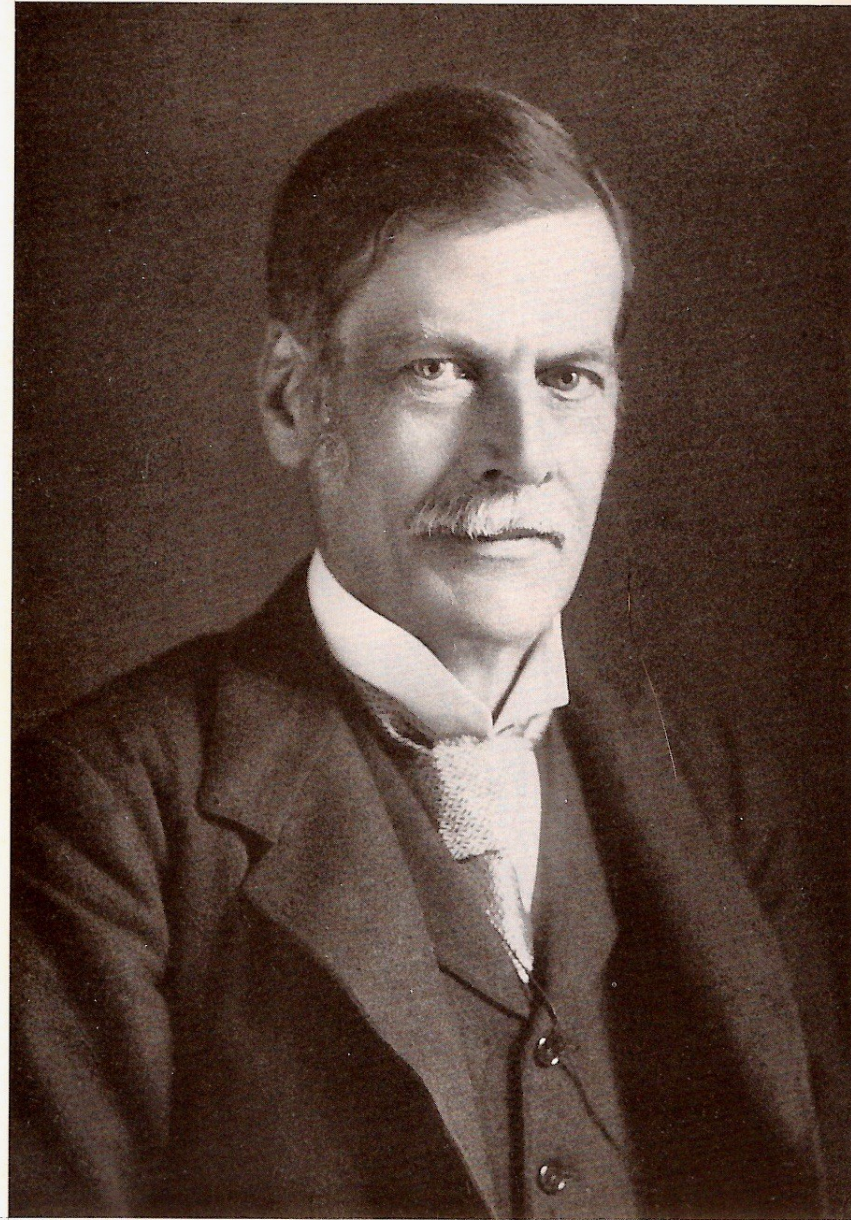


サー・アーネスト・サトウ

Satow in 1900
(Illustrated London News)



Satow in 1903



サー・アーネスト・サトウ

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.

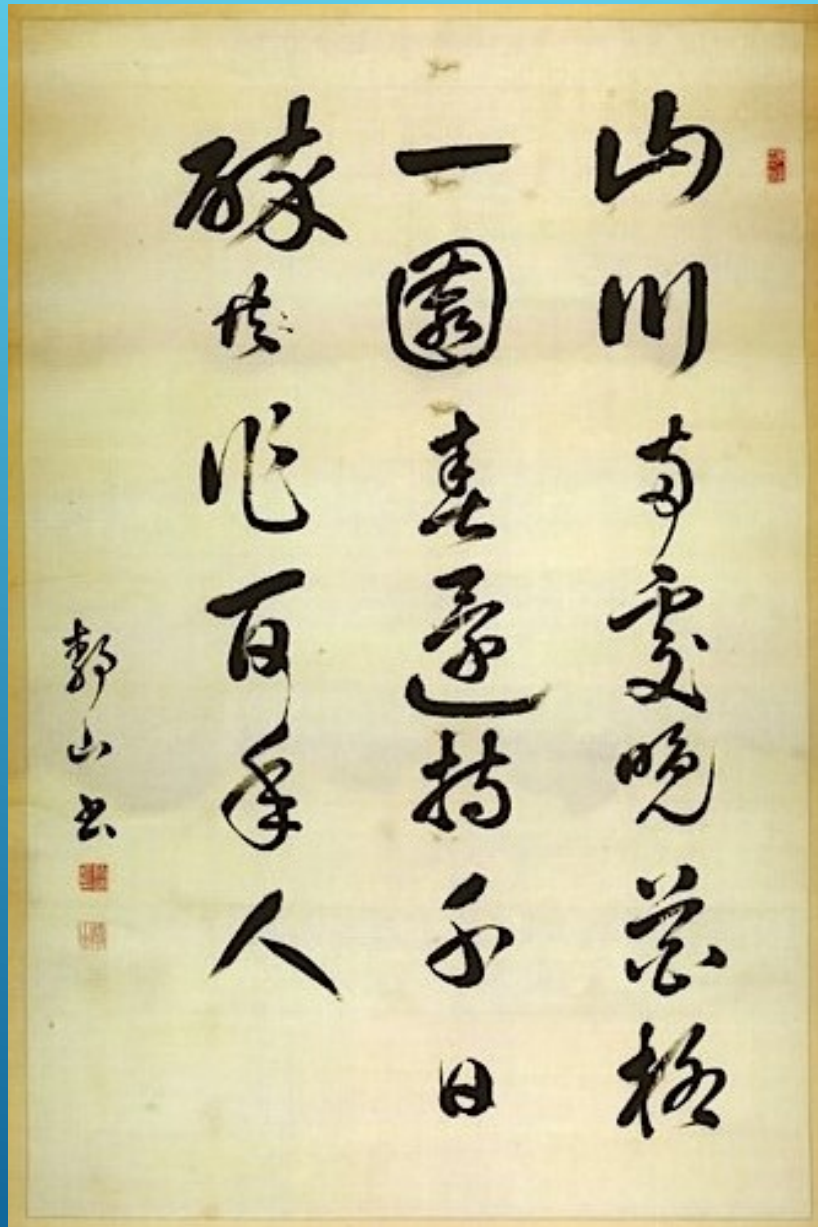
Ernest Satow in Japan
1865-66



- 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)
14. Revival of Pure Shin-Tau (Transactions of A.S.J. 1875)
15. Guide Book to Nikko (Japan Mail, 1875)
16. An English-Japanese Dictionary (London, 1876)
17. Observations on the Downfall of the Christian Mission in Japan (Transactions of A.S.J. 1877)
- 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)
21. Notes of a Visit to Hachijo (Transactions of A.S.J. 1878)
22. The Climate of Japan (Translated from German, Transactions of A.S.J. 1878)
23. The Mythology and Religious Worship of the Ancient Japanese (Westminster Review, 1878)
24. Ancient Japanese Rituals I (Transactions of A.S.J. 1879)
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)**
30. Ancient Japanese Rituals III (Transactions of A.S.J. 1881)

31. A Handbook for Travellers in Central and Northern Japan (Kelly & Co., Yokohama, 1881)
32. Notes on a Chinese-Japanese Vocabulary of the 15th century (Transactions of A.S.J. 1882)
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.

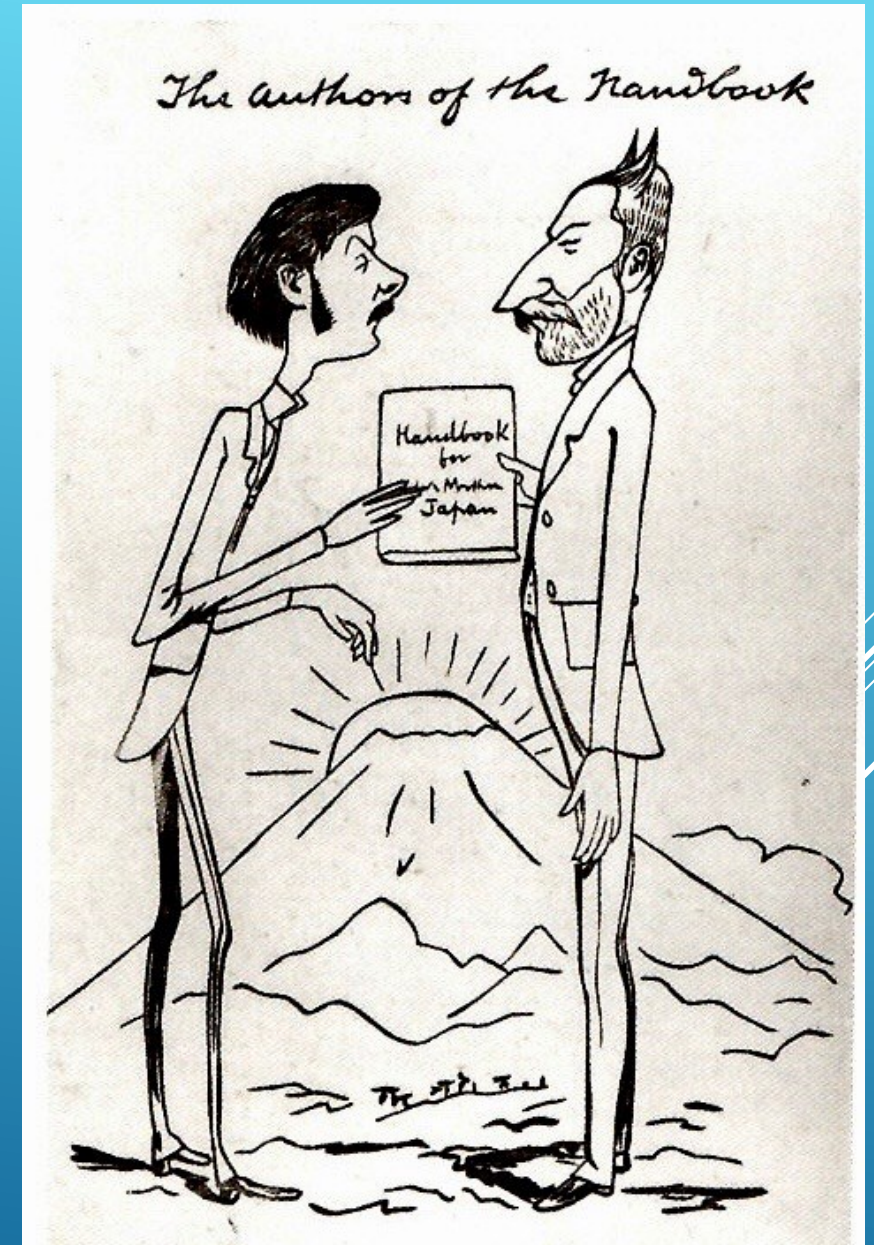
“Throughout his time in Japan Satow was an inveterate book collector, initially to assist him in his acquisition of the Japanese language and later, as his range of interests broadened, to support his scholarly researches. The scope of his studies was almost encyclopaedic covering subjects as diverse 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)
2. A Handbook for Travellers in Central and Northern Japan (with A.G.S. Hawes) (Yokohama: Kelly & Co. 1881, 2nd edition 1884)

Japan Punch,
March 1881



A HANDBOOK FOR TRAVELLERS
IN
CENTRAL & NORTHERN JAPAN

BEING A GUIDE TO

TŌKIŌ, KIŌTO, ŌZAKA, 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 ^{Sir} ERNEST MASON SATOW, C.M.G.

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

AND
^{Albert} LIEUTENANT A. G. S. HAWES
ROYAL MARINES (RETIRED)

Second Edition, (revised).

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, Miya-no-Shita, and Neighbourhood,' and 'Fuji and Neighbourhood,' have been almost entirely rewritten and much enlarged. The Valleys of the Abe kawa and Ōi-gawa, the routes from Ōzaka to Nara and Tatta, from Hase to the Temples of Ise, Hakodate and excursions in Yezo, and Nagasaki and journeys in Kiū-shiū, are now described for the first time, while much additional information is given concerning Ikao, Kusatsu, and the surrounding district, and the routes to Nikkō are completed. Lists of skeleton routes and of the telegraph stations now open have been added to the introduction, and at p. 552 will be found a glossary of the Japanese words used in the book. Consequently, in spite of the endeavours to economise 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 1880.

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 Religions 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 Baelz, of the Tōkiō Medical School; and Mr. F. V. Dickins, of the University of London; while in the chapter on Buddhism they have received most valuable aid from Mr. Bunyiu Nanjio. In the chapters upon Japanese Art it has not been considered necessary to introduce the subjects of Lacquer and Ceramics, as these have already been treated, the former 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

[6]

Preface.

and of the collection in the South Kensington Museum, and by Captain Brinkley, R.A., in the 'Chrysanthemum.' The initials at the end of each section will sufficiently indicate its author. They have also to acknowledge their obligations to Mr. B. H. Chamberlain, Mr. J. J. Quin, Mr. H. A. C. Bonar, Mr. W. A. Woolley, and other gentlemen, for extensive and important new contributions in the body of the book.

Changes are constantly taking place in roads and inns, and the Authors will be glad to receive and acknowledge communications from travellers who may have found that the actual facts do not tally with the descriptions given in the Handbook. They have to thank Baron von Zednitz for information with regard to the road over the Hari-no-ki Pass (described on p. 313), received after that part of the book had already been printed, and showing that the route had in the summer of 1883 become almost impassable. As they cannot hope to acquire personal knowledge of such facts with regard to more than a comparatively limited portion of the country included in their work, they trust that their appeal for assistance from travellers will not be in vain.

N.B.—A railway is now open from Tōkiō to Honjō, on the Naka-sen-dō, which shortens by one day the time required for the journey by that route from Tōkiō to Kiōto, and renders Nikkō, Ikao, and Kusatsu more easy of access.

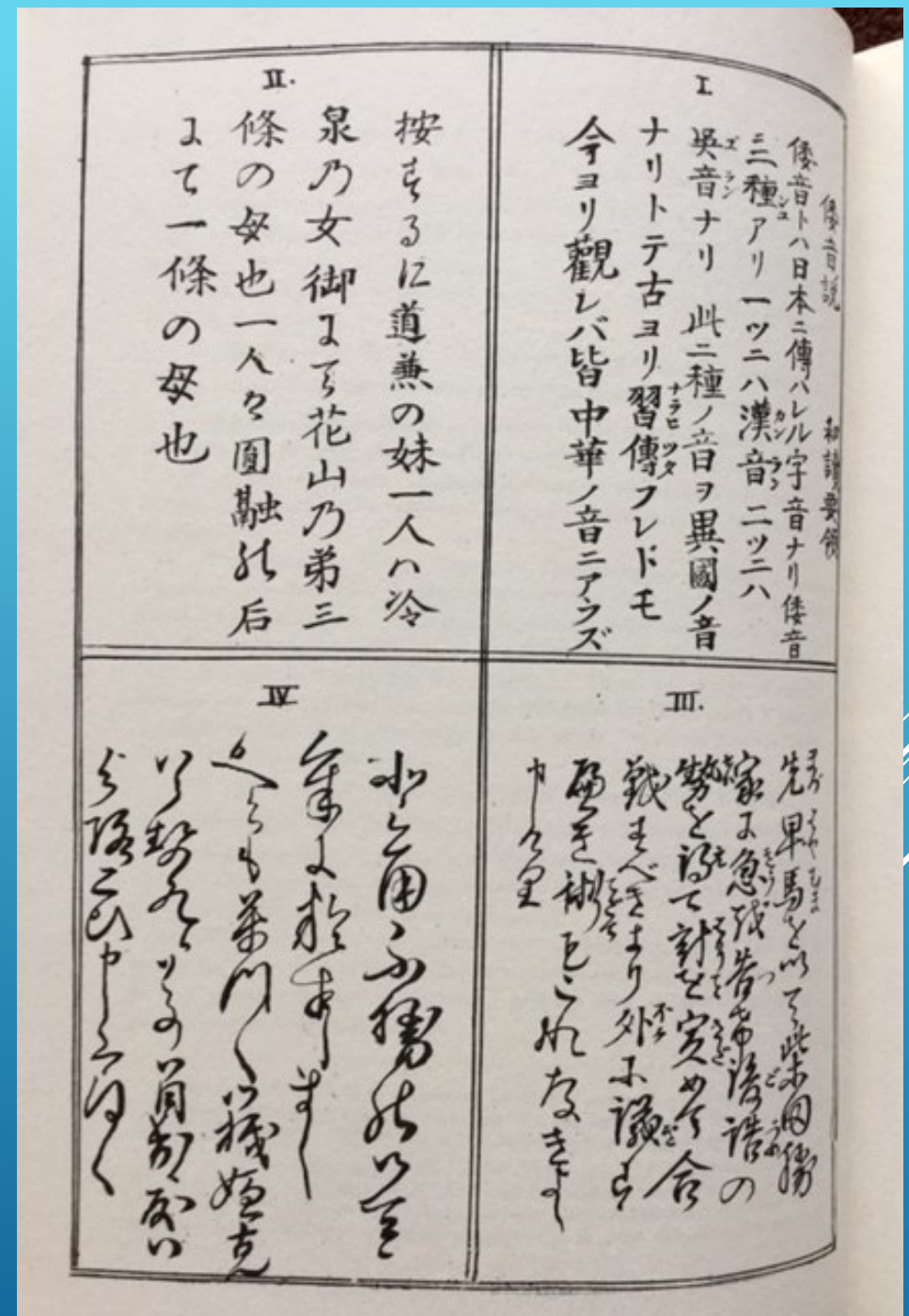
Information received too late for insertion in the body of the book has been formed into an Appendix. Readers are earnestly requested to make corresponding notes in the margin of the pages to which the Appendix refers.

Extract from the Preface to the First Edition.

It is with much pleasure that the authors acknowledge the important assistance afforded to them in its preparation by numerous friends. Amongst these their especial thanks are due to Mr. B. H. Chamberlain, Mr. W. G. Aston, Mr. T. R. H. McClatchie, Mr. J. J. Quin, and Mr. W. A. Woolley for contributions of considerable extent. To Mr. W. Gowland they are indebted for valuable remarks upon the geology of Yoshino and the Hida-Shinano mountains, besides detailed information concerning the principal peaks in the latter range, and to Mr. J. Milne for the ascents of Gan-jū-san, Iwaki-san and Ban-dai-san, with notes on other mountains in Northern Japan. The Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan have also been consulted, notably a paper from Mr. R. W. Atkinson on 'Yatsu-ga-take, Haku-san and Tate-yama,' their obligations to which have been recognized in several places. Extracts from papers published by Dr. J. J. Rein and Miss Bird's 'Unbeaten Tracks in Japan' have been acknowledged in the body of the work. Contributions made by the authors in past years to the *Japan Mail* and *Japan Herald* have been to a considerable extent rewritten for this volume, by far the greater part of which, however, now appears in print for the first time.

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

THE INTRODUCTION OF TOBACCO INTO JAPAN.

BY

ERNEST M. SATOW, Esq.,

JAPANESE SECRETARY H. B. M.'s LEGATION.

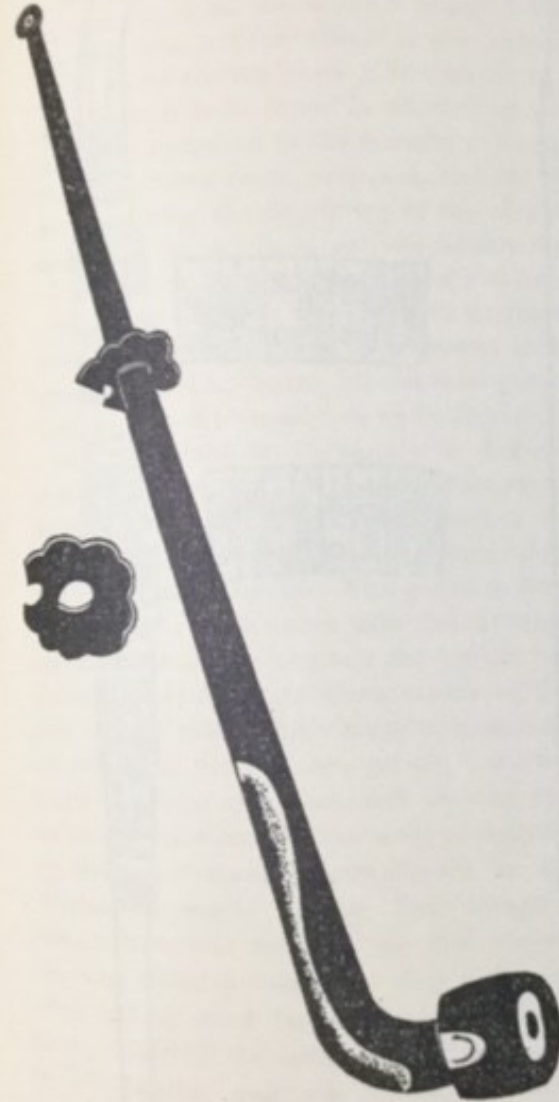
*Read before the Asiatic Society of Japan, on the
10th November, 1877.*

—O—

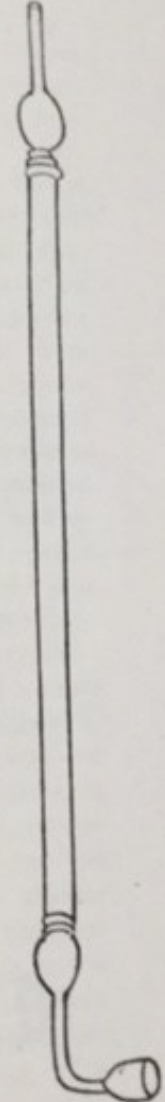
Various dates are assigned to the introduction of tobacco into Japan by different native writers. Kaibara Yoshifuru in the *Wajishi* (和事始, vol. IV. p. 7) says "it first came to Japan about the tenth year of Keichiyau (慶長)," that is, 1605 of our era; but he does not explain whether he means the dried leaf fit for smoking, or the plant itself for purposes of cultivation. The next authority in point of antiquity is the Japanese Encyclopædia (和漢三才圖繪) published in 1714, in which work (vol. 99, p. 20 verso) we find the statement that "Tobacco seed was first brought as tribute by the ships of the Nañbañ in the chronological period Teñ-shiyau (天正)," that is to say, between 1573 and 1592. Nañbañ, or Southern barbarians, was applied to the Portuguese of Macao and Spaniards of Manila, as well as to natives of other countries who came to Japan in the train of those nations (the Dutch and English excepted), but as the first Spanish mission under Lupo de Liano did not arrive before 1592, the last year of this chronological period, it



PL. I.



PL. II.



PL. IV.

Paper: Ancient Sepulchral mounds
in Kaudzuke (Transactions of A.S.J. 1880)

ANCIENT SEPULCHRAL MOUNDS IN KAUDZUKE.

BY ERNEST SATOW.

[*Read April 13, 1880.*]

A great impulse has lately been given to the study of archæology in this country by the important discoveries of Prof. Ed. Morse in the shell-heaps at Ohomori¹ and elsewhere, by the publication of Mr. Von Siebold's "Notes on Japanese Archæology," 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,

¹ See "Memoirs of the Science Dept., University of Tokio, 1879, vol. i, pt. 1.

² Transactions, vol. viii., pt. 1.



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.



THE LAST OF THE SHOGUNS
Tokugawa Yoshinobu (Keiki)

210.6
S-19

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
G.C.M.G., LL.D., D.C.L.;
British Minister at Peking 1900-05;
Formerly Secretary of the British
Legation at Tokio



PHILADELPHIA
J. B. LIPPINCOTT COMPANY
LONDON: SEELEY, SERVICE & CO., Ltd.
1921



Oxford
University
Press
Historical
Reprint
1968



THE LAST OF THE SHOGUNS
Tokugawa Yoshinobu (Keiki)

A DIPLOMAT IN JAPAN

BY
SIR ERNEST SATOW

WITH AN INTRODUCTION BY
GORDON DANIELS

OXFORD
IN ASIA
Historical
Reprints

TOKYO
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.”

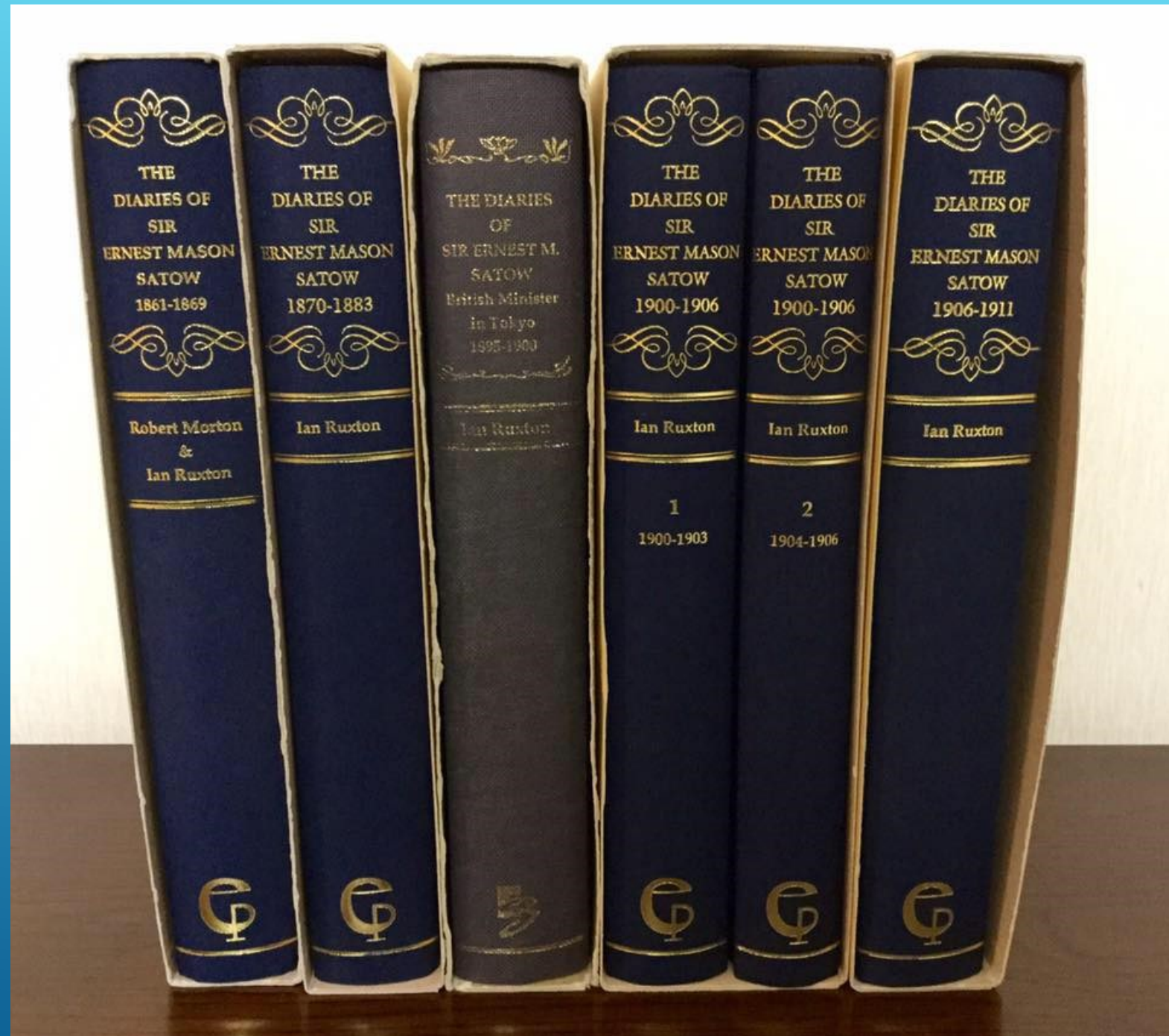
(Preface to 6th edition, 2009, Roberts)

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

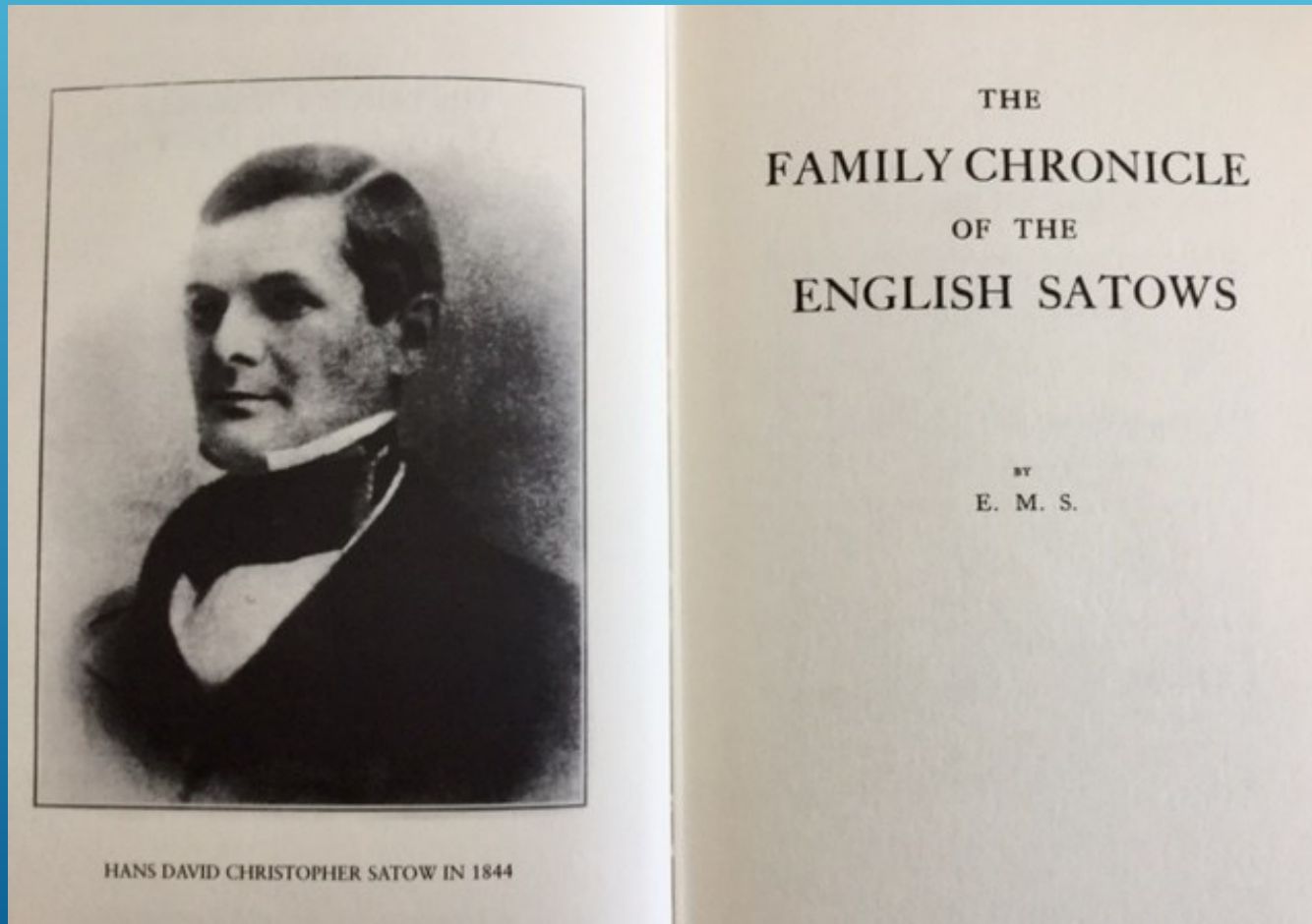
In the Satow Papers (National Archives UK) we can find:

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.



First draft completed June, 1919.

Revised February, 1925.

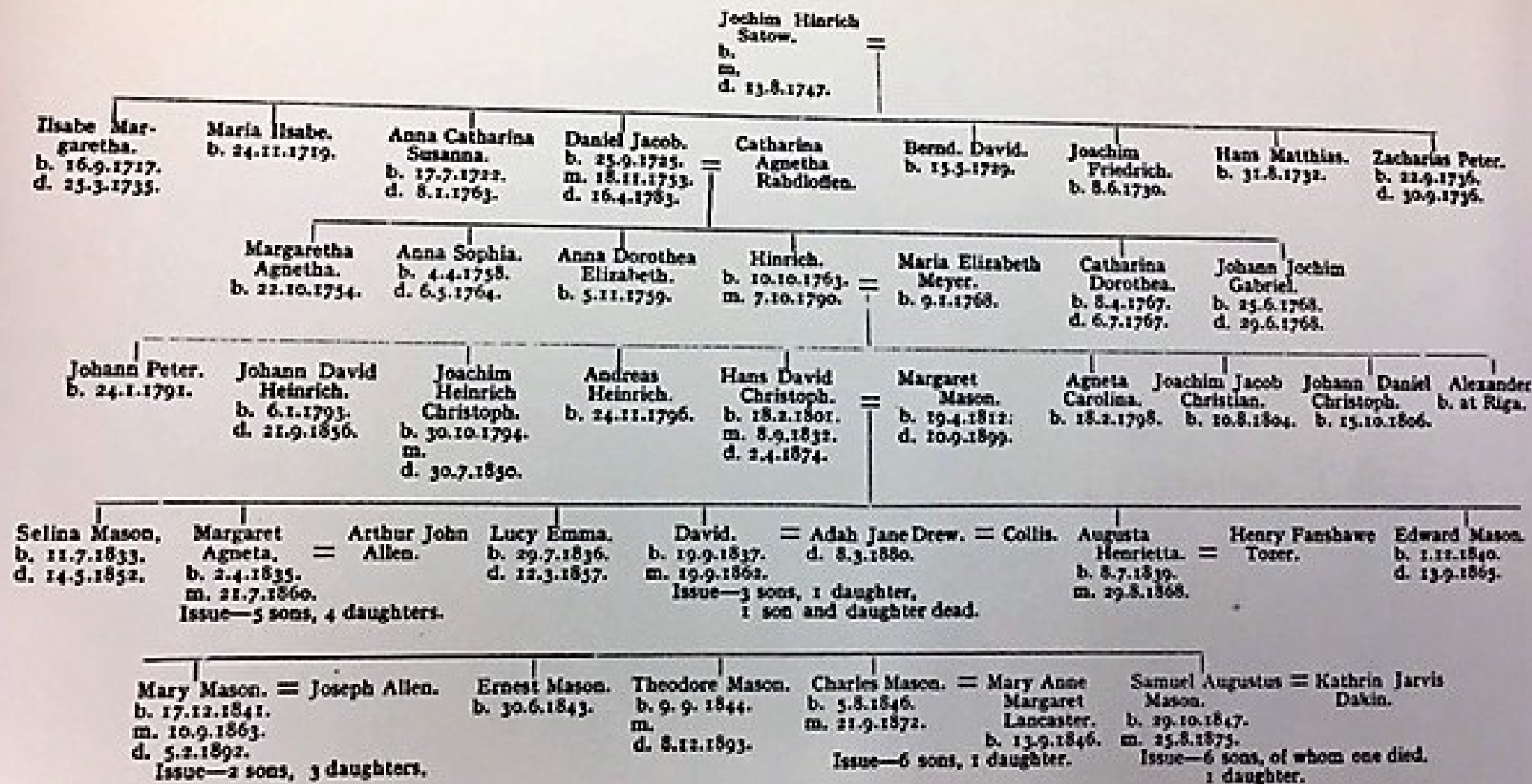
ADDENDUM

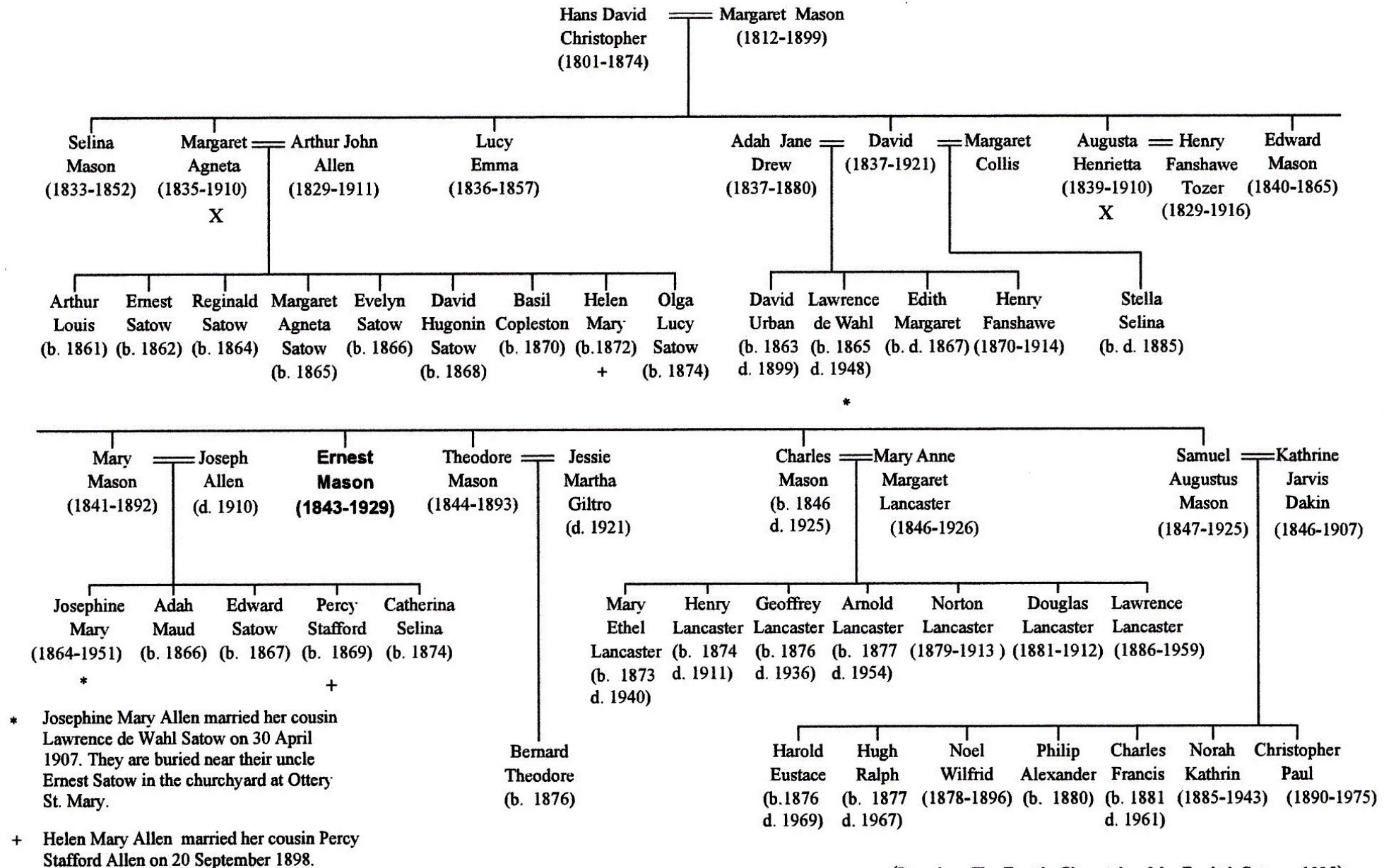
p. 70, l. 3, Offspring : Eva Maria, b. April 15,
25.

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 Osnabrück 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

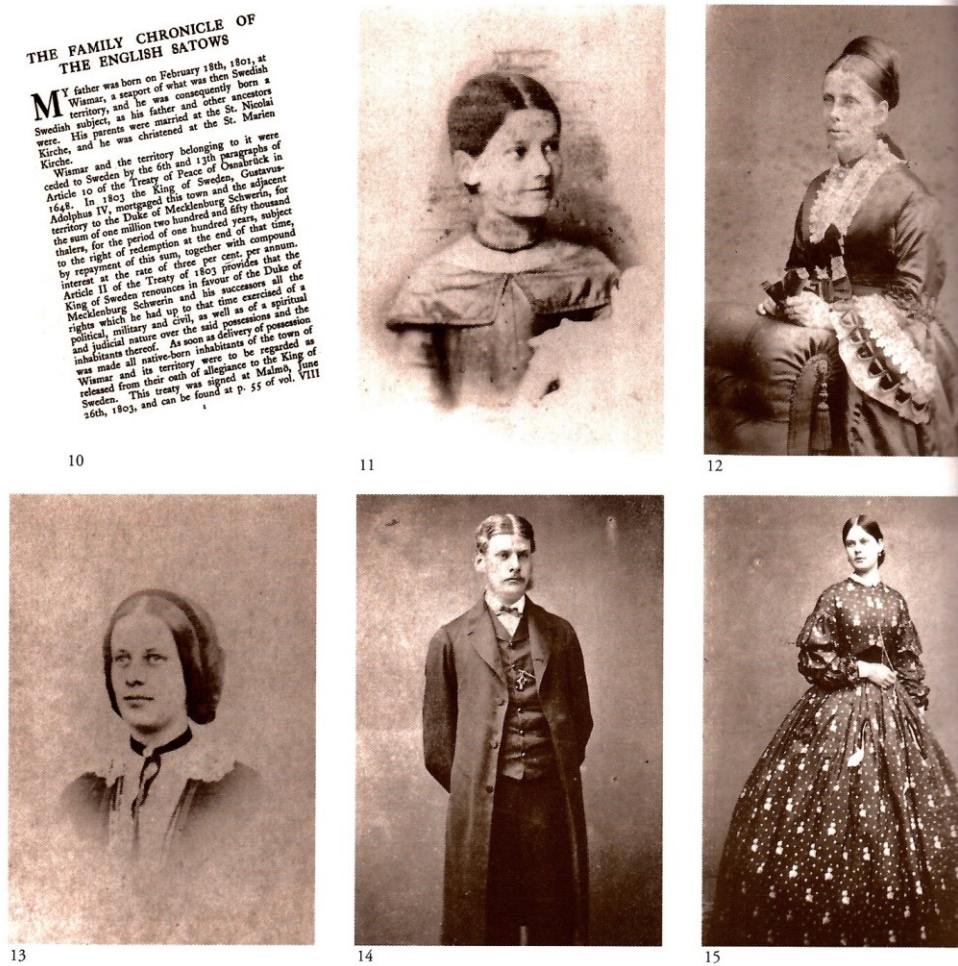
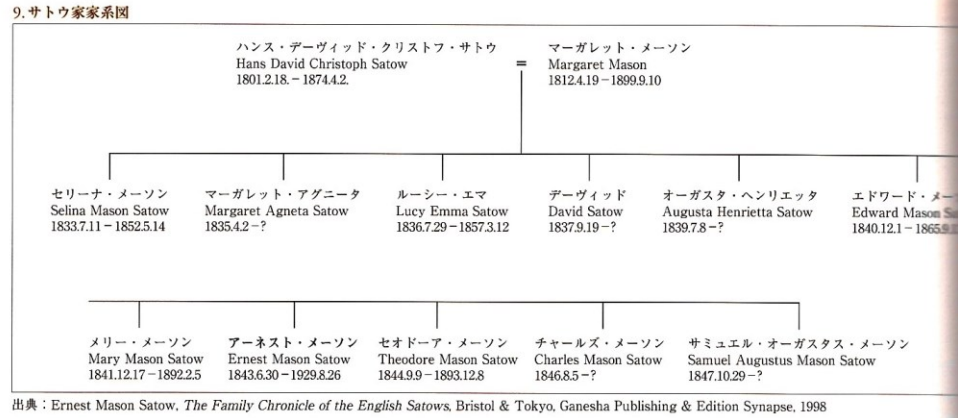




X Agneta and Augusta died in Oxford on 18 and 20 May 1910 respectively.

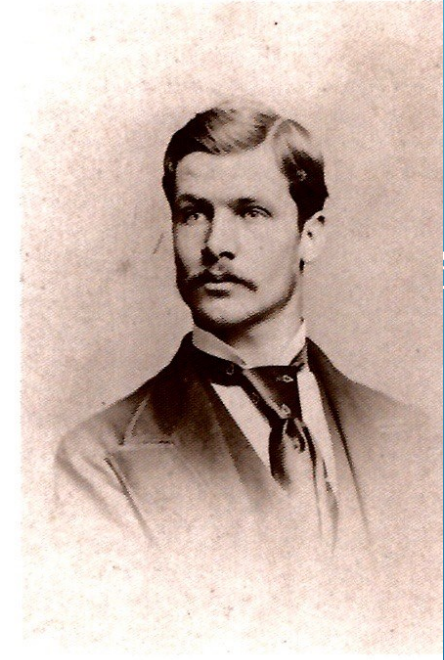
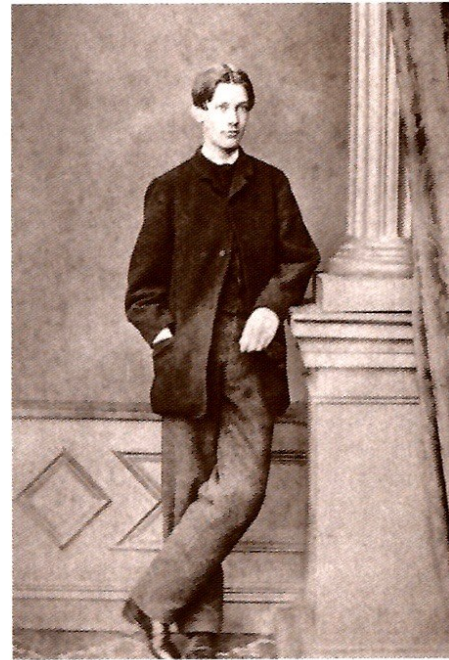
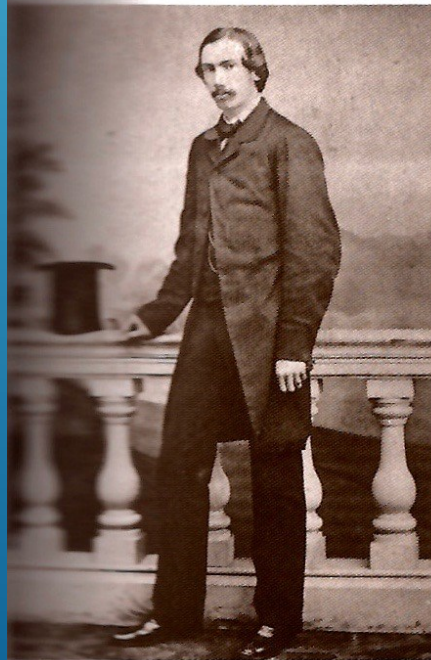
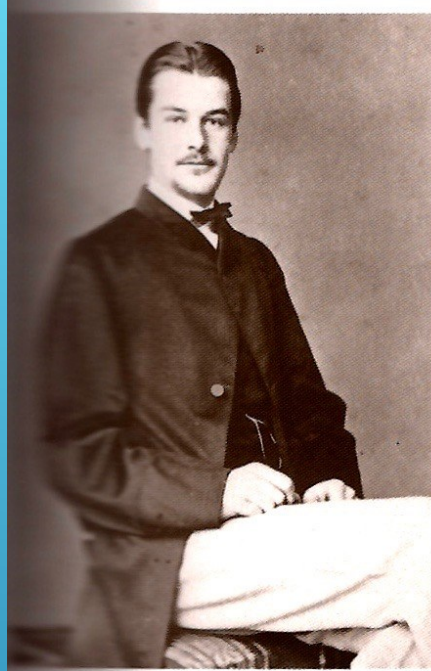
(Based on *The Family Chronicle of the English Satows*, 1925)

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.



⑪ 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』 山と溪谷社、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* 2

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 Valletta Harbour 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. ~~Sunday~~ ^{Wed}. left Cairo at 9 a.m. arrived in Suez
2 p.m. embarked at 4 p.m. weighed anchor 9 p.m.
Nov 26. Tuesday. arrived at Aoua 10 p.m.
Nov 27. Wednesday. left Aoua at 6 p.m.
Dec. 7. Saturday. anchored in Zelle Harbour at 9 a.m.
left at 4 p.m.
Dec. 14. Saturday. arrived at Penang 11 p.m.
Dec. 15 Sunday. left Penang at 9 a.m.
Dec 17. Tuesday. anchored in New Harbour Singapore
at 8 a.m.
Dec 18. Wednesday. left at 8.30 a.m.
Dec. 30. Monday. anchored opposite Manila
1862. January 4th. Saturday. 4 p.m.
Jan. 8. Wednesday. anchored at Hong Kong at 10 a.m.
Jan 10. Friday. left at 3 p.m.

Satow diary 1861 (PRO 30/33 15/1)

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 Wed., left Cairo at 9 a.m. arrived in Suez 2 p.m. embarked at 4 p.m. weighed 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.

1865 – October 2nd

Oct 2. Started for Hakodate on the Princess Royal, Vice Admiral King, in suite of Sir H. Parkes.

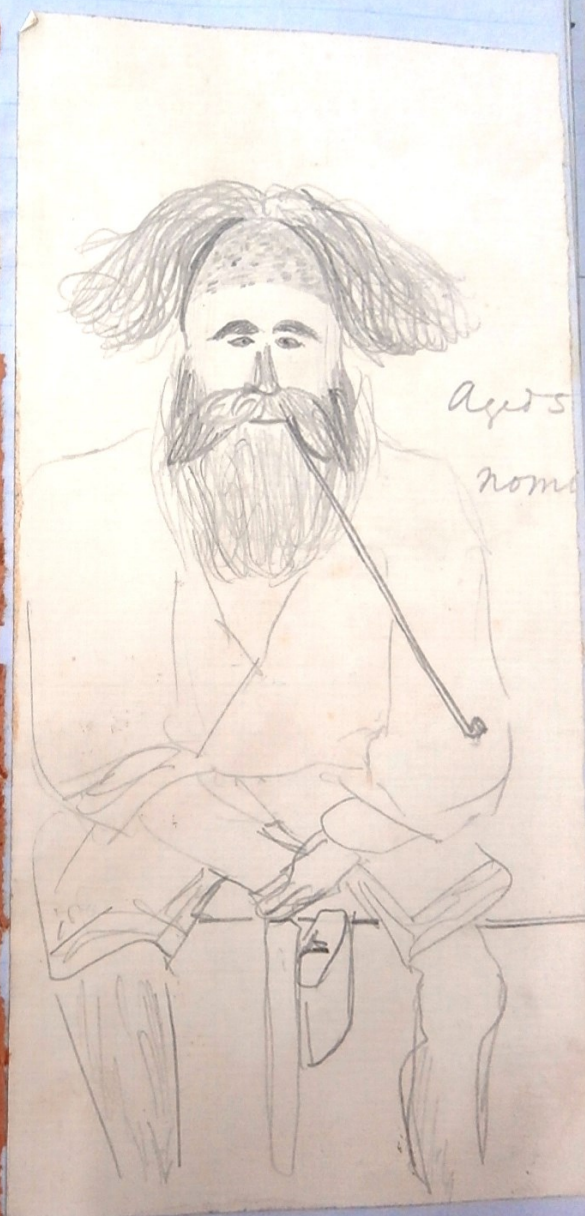
Macdonald also accompanied Sir H. on duty.

Oct. 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.



Yaito; aged 68



Nomirankke; aged 55

“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 Ainos 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 salutes fired today at Kiogo and Tempozan in honor of the opening of the two places. Japs 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 Kiogo, 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 ~~them~~ one another throats; & I will go to Pushimi tomorrow with Goto & Saigo.

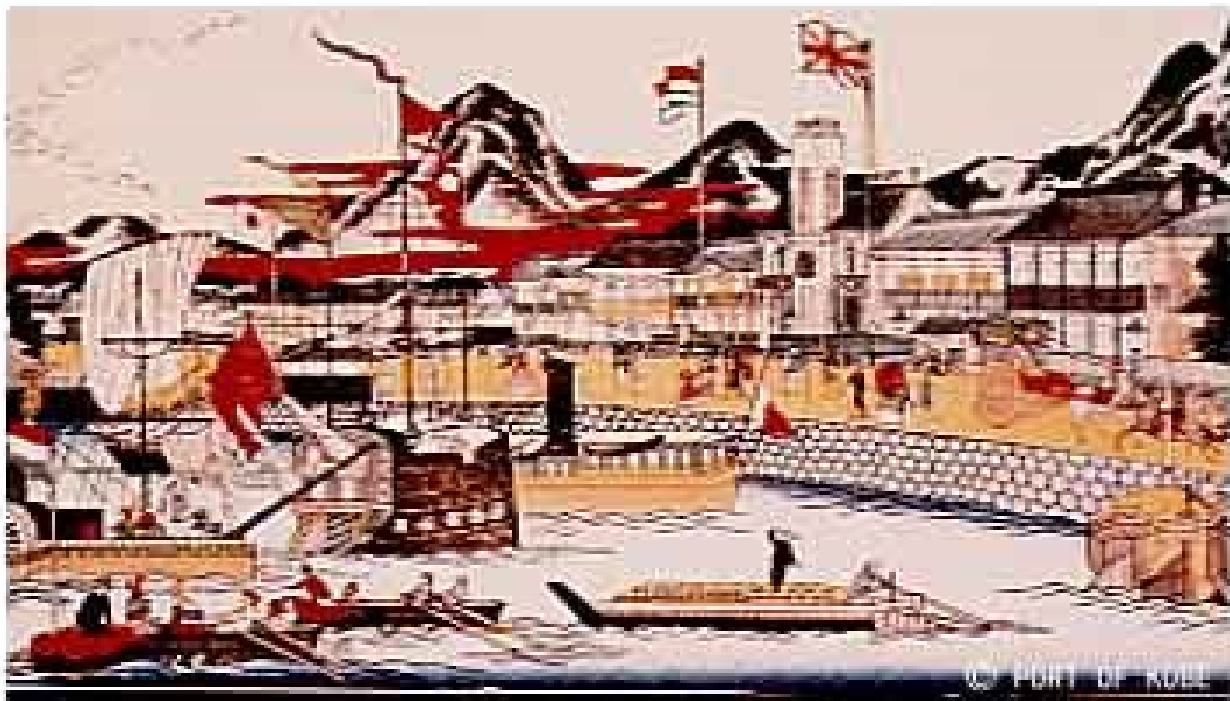
Jan. 2. The report is today that Choshin is reinstated in his titles. The Tosa inkis landed yesterday afternoon & went up at once without stopping at all. Paikun said to be in a bad way: no one supports him except Hidzu and one or two small clans. Choshin's people have taken military possession of Nishinomiyama and patrol the surrounding country as if afraid of being attacked.

Jan. 3. Noguchi says that Choshin's troops left Nishinomiyama last night & proceeded to Koya, a place

very north of their previous position towards Kioto. Also that Hidzu is discontented with the Paikun's terming in the Choshin affair & intends to resign the Shugoshoku. All the Hidzu men here have gone up.

Jan. 4. Great disturbance at Kioto apparently. All the Min^{is} & Foreign Powers come to visit the chief and tell him the impressions they have of what has passed. I think value some! Von Brandt makes a mistake between Geishin & Kishin. Endo says that his genl. Mori Takumi (son of Kari Mori Chikuzen) is in Kioto with forces & that some of their troops in conjunction with Satsuma are at Pushimi. Satsuma, Geishin & Tosa guard the palace instead of Hidzu. There is some talk of the Paikun coming down to Osaka to reside & that all the boats at Yodo have been stopped for that purpose. Mori Heinosuke arrived at Onomichi in Geishin's Bingo Territory a few days ago, by sea, & will probably come up by sea. The object of the daimio is not to fight but to extort concessions from the Paikun. They talk of taking away 1,000,000 Koku of land as a punishment for the transgressions of the

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 Kyoto. Great sell, if true. I want to take the chief up to Kyoto if possible, to act as mediator & prevent the Japanese cutting each others' throats; & I will go to Fushimi & arrange it with Goto & Saigo.



Hyogo Harbour, 1868.

圖全見細津羅兵年二治明

TRAVEL IN JAPAN - 1872

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 N° ---

yashiki on them; signs of reorganisation of the system under which ther 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.

Gokaidō 五街道

- A Ōshū Kaidō
- B Nikkō Kaidō
- C Kōshū Kaidō
- D Nakasendō
- E Tōkaidō



Koshu Kaido



TRAVELING IN EUROPE - 1875

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.



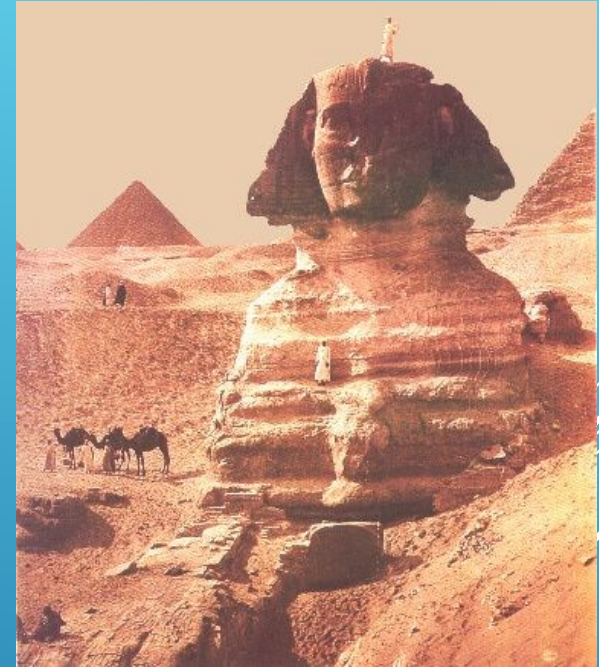
Bruxelles

La gare du Nord.



IN EGYPT – FEBRUARY 9, 1883

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 w[hi]ch. 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, w[hi]ch. 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.



SATOW IN JAPAN (1895-1900)

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 de file-cour, and after about $\frac{1}{4}$ 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)



SATOW IN CHINA – AFTER BOXER REBELLION

- ▶ [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, w[hi]ch. 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 fr[om]. us on the question of indemnities, & says instructions have already been sent to the Chinese Min[ister] at Petersburg to arrange all matters betw[een]. Russia & China. I said I thought Germany w[ou]ld. not break away, that she was working very well with us, and tho' her war expenses might be £10,000,000, yet the others w[ou]ld. be much less. Ours I thought w[ou]ld. be £3,500,000 up to the present, then the Jap[ane]se. Fr[ench]. Russians & Americans c[ou]ld. 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)

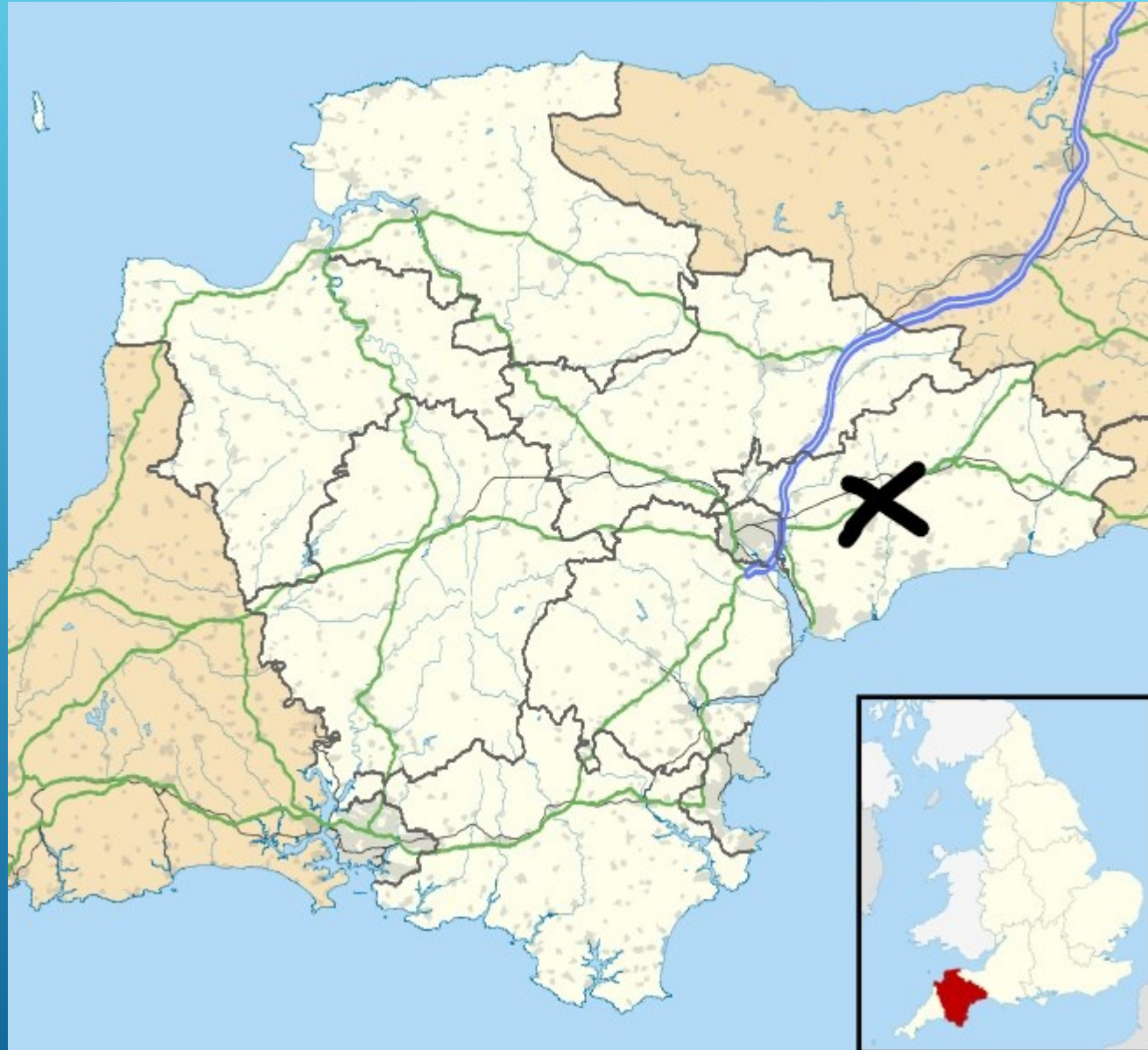


清廷全权代表庆亲王奕劻（前右一）、李鸿章（前右二）与英、美、俄、德、日、奥、法、意、西、荷、比等 11 国代表在北京签订《辛丑条约》。

SATOW IN RETIREMENT - 1907

[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 h[ou]rs. 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, Offery St. Mary.

Ottery
Parish
Church



SATOW AT THE HAGUE PEACE CONFERENCE (1907)

- ▶ 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!



RETIREMENT IN ENGLAND

► 1923

- 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 Snobs 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."]

Field and back, & down to the foot in the wall. Read
 some of James Pape on Palestine, Clear afternoon, and
 a brilliant sunset. Engaged Mrs. Tilt as cook, at
 £38, Ellen Lovell to have the same. At 6 o'clock planets
 and stars shining. Till went to dress for dinner worked
 at Carlyle's vol. II. & after dinner more Tristram Shandy. At
 11 o'clock the sky was clouded over. 30th Dec Morn-
 ing cloudy & mild. Read Psalms 126 to 126 in the Russ-
 ian Bible. After breakfast I had an attack of
 giddiness which frightened me, and I was afraid
 to go down town alone. After lunch Percy, Helen &
 I walked up the lane, through Sidling Field to Holcombe Barton,
 by the lane into the high road, up Furzebrook lane, through
 the fields home. Then I had a comfortable nap till tea-time. Went
 on with Carlyle till dinner, and with Tristram Shandy
 afterwards. At bed time sky overcast. 31st Dec. Morning sky over-
 -cast. Read Psalms 129-131 in the Russian Bible. Had
 my hair cut after a long interval. wrote letters & posted them.
 Helen & Percy went to Walter's to lunch, leaving Robert with
 me alone. Afternoon some snow-hind, so we walked
 to Piddington and back. After tea read on in Carlyle
 vol II. At 7 sky overcast. Vol II of British documents on the
 origin of the War came back this afternoon from Basil to

31 December 1926.

whom I had lent it. At 10¹⁵ h. planets & stars shining brightly. Frost on Sunday after dinner.

Subscriptions, gifts to Lucy Sator, Peter's wife &
loan to Parette. 712-11-8

People I knew, who died during the year.

Mr. Charles Allen 15 Jan.

Arthur Brent 21 Jan.

Wm. Waggard 22 Jan.

Mrs. Martin of Sandrock 24 Jan.

Admiral Marrack 26 Jan.

Maurice Pryke 31 Jan.

J. C. S. Davis 12 Feb.

George's Arcy. Mann 20 Mar.

Mrs. Ruyshie of Sid House Kidmarch 25 Mar.

Montague Kirkwood, 28 Mar.

John Macleary Brown April 6

Mrs. Lionel Birch. April 13

Harold Spender April 15

Mary Sator April 15

Kawamura April 28

Ralph Pine Haycock Aug. 12

Hiram Shaw Wilkinson Sept 26

G. W. Knox Nov. 13

31 December 1926.

whom I had lent it. At 10.5 l. planets & stars shining
brightly. Tristram Handy after dinner.

*Subscriptions, gifts to Lucy Satow, Peter's wife &
loan to Parete. 712-11-8*

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Mrs. Buyshe of Sid House Richmond 25 Mar.

Montague Kirkwood, 28 Mar.

John Macleary Brown April 6

Mrs. Lionel Birch, April 13

Harold Spender April 15

Mary Satow April 15

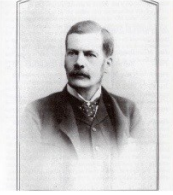
Kawamura April 28

Ralph Pine Haycock. Aug. 12

Hiram Shaw Wilkinson Sept 26

G. W. Knox Nov. 13

The original diary in
London – last page



These are the diaries of Sir Ernest Satow (1843-1929) for the six and a half years from 1889 to mid-1895. Throughout the period his ultimate goal was promotion to Minister in Japan, which he achieved in 1895. The original diaries are at the National Archives (UK).

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Thank you very much!

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