

Ernest Satow in the *Bakumatsu* (1862-69) and 1870-83 in Japan

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IN JAPANESE

Outline of Sir Ernest Satow's Career

- 1843 – Born in London
- 1861 – Graduates from University College London. Joins Consular Service as a student interpreter. Begins his diary.
- 1861-62 – China
- **1862-69 – Japan (Memoir: *A Diplomat in Japan*; *Eikoku Sakuron* (1866-67))**
- **1870-83 – Japan (Japanese Secretary)**
- 1884-88 – Siam. Promoted to Diplomatic Service in 1885 (Minister-Resident).
- 1889-93 – Uruguay
- 1893-95 – Morocco
- 1895-1900 – Japan (Envoy Extraordinary & Minister Plenipotentiary)
- 1900-06 – China (British High Commissioner for settling Boxer Claims until 1902, then Minister after he was able to present his credentials.)
- 1906-29 – England (British delegate at the Second Peace Conference at the Hague, 1907; Retirement, becomes a scholar of international law and diplomacy). Continues his diary until end of 1926.
- Dies in rural Devon, 1929.

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Ernest Satow in 1865-
6 (aged 22-3)



Satow arrives in Japan (1862)

- Ernest Mason Satow arrived in Japan aged 19 on 8 September 1862, shortly before the Namamugi Incident of September 14th. He had spent January to August 1862 in China, a period which he regarded as mostly a waste of time, since his ultimate goal was Japan and the languages proved to be quite different.
- He was a student interpreter at first, later promoted to interpreter and then Japanese Secretary. In other words, he was a very junior official, not expected to be influential in British policy towards Japan. However, his acute intelligence and great aptitude for the Japanese language (which he was required to study for his work) meant he was heavily relied on by his superiors and the Japanese, and this allowed him influence disproportionate to his status.
- He had almost no time and limited knowledge in the 1860s to publish papers or writings on Japan, except...

British Policy (Eikoku Sakuron)

- ▶ In 1866 he dabbled in journalism, writing a series of three anonymous articles in the *Japan Times* in which he accused the Shogun ('Tycoon') of fraudulently concluding treaties in 1858 with foreign powers, and advocating a change in the polity of Japan towards the Emperor and 'Confederate Daimios'. This was translated into Japanese, and the title *Eikoku Sakuron* (British Policy 英国策論) was added, along with Satow's name as author. The translation was widely circulated throughout Japan, including to the Court where Iwakura Tomomi read it, Daimyos and Shogunate. It became a template for the Meiji Restoration.

British Policy

1. Introduction of 'British Policy' (*Eikoku Sakuron*, 英国策論)
 2. Why did Satow write the series of three articles?
 3. Why did he have them translated into Japanese?
 4. What were the effects
 - (a) on the political situation and polity of Japan? How widely was it read by Japanese people, and what did they think of it?
 - (b) on his relationship with Sir Harry Parkes, his superior?
 5. Concluding Remarks
- Bibliography

1. Introduction of 'British Policy'

- Ernest Satow, aged only 22, wrote a series of three articles in English for the *Japan Times* in 1866. Because he was attached to the British Legation as an interpreter, service rules forbade him from writing on the political situation of Japan. Hence he wrote anonymously. (Was he paid for the articles? Probably not, or only a very small amount.)
- The first *Japan Times* (1865-1870) was a daily advertising sheet known as the *Japan Daily Advertiser*. Based in Yokohama, owned by a consortium (C. Rickerby, N.P. Kingdon and B. Seare) and edited by Charles Rickerby. The second *Japan Times* – the one which we know today - was founded in 1897.
- Satow went on a brief trip with Rickerby and was persuaded to try journalism (*A Diplomat in Japan*, p. 159). He first wrote a travel article, but then “an incident occurred which tempted me to write on politics.” The incident was the Shogunate preventing foreign trade with a Satsuma ship at Yokohama.
- Satow admitted: “It was doubtless very irregular, very wrong, and altogether contrary to the rules of the service, but I thought little of that.” (*D in J*, p. 159)

Summary of the Series of Three Articles

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Article 1: March 16th. Satow stated that the Treaty of Yedo signed by Lord Elgin with the Shogun ("His Majesty the Tycoon" in the English version) on August 26, 1858 was of no use, because the Shogun only ruled half of the country. A new treaty was needed with the "real head" of Japan, representing and ruling the whole country, i.e. the "Confederate Daimios of Japan." Britain wanted to trade with the whole country, not just one part.

Article 2: May 4th(?). In this article Satow took an historical approach to explain how the Tokugawa shogunate came to rule Japan. He also noted that the Namamugi Incident of 1862 proved that the Shogunate did not rule the whole country. Satsuma and Choshu were clearly not controlled by the Shogunate. (Note: The original Japan Times article has never been found. Content from Japanese version.)

Article 3: May 19th. Satow attacked the Shogun for signing a treaty as "Tycoon", a title to which he had no right. It means "Majesty" and so belonged to the Emperor. He said the Shogun had fraudulently signed the Treaty. Trade had been disrupted. A more comprehensive settlement with the Emperor and all of the daimyos was needed.

2. Why did Satow write the articles?

- Influenced by his previous superior Sir Rutherford Alcock, who had stressed the importance of TRADE. This was in accordance with Foreign Office policy: if it was not possible or desirable for Britain to colonise a country, global trade was the next best thing.
- It was the prevention of trade at Yokohama between foreigners and a Satsuma steamship which had come to the port for that purpose which actually triggered the articles, as he stated therein.
- He was still young and not totally settled on a career which at this time was in the consular service, lower than the diplomatic service to which he aspired but was very hard to enter. It was a chance to try his hand at journalism: “try my inexperienced pen” (Diplomat, p. 159)
- He probably thought he could influence and change the situation for the better, at least by putting forward strong views about the need for a change in the Japanese polity.

3. Why did he have them translated into Japanese?

- Referring to *Sakuron*, Satow writes in *Diplomat in Japan* (pp. 159-160): “With the aid of my teacher, Numata Torasaburô, a retainer of the Prince of Awa [Tokushima] who knew some English, I put them [the three English articles] into Japanese in the form of a pamphlet for the perusal of his prince, but copies got into circulation, and in the following year I found myself to be favourably known through this means to all the *daimiôs* retainers whom I met in the course of my journeys. In the end the translation was printed and sold in all the bookshops at Ozaka and Kiôto under the title of ‘*Ei-koku Sakuron*,’ English policy, by the Englishman Satow, and was assumed by both parties [Shogunate and anti-Shogunate] to represent the views of the British Legation. With this of course I had nothing to do.”
- He continues: “As far as I know it never came to the ears of my chief [Parkes], but it may fairly be supposed to have been not without its influence upon the relations between the English Legation and the new government afterwards established in the beginning of 1868. At the same time, it doubtless rendered us more ‘suspect’ to the Tycoon’s [Shogun’s] government while the latter lasted.”
- Note: Satow is not claiming here that his article was a catalyst towards the major change of polity which was the Meiji Restoration. For him to do so in his memoirs would be embarrassing and underline the inappropriateness of his action in writing and having it translated. However...

Paper Documents of *Eikoku Sakuron*

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1) Handwritten Manuscripts

a) *Sakuron* in Iwakura Monjo (National Archives of Japan 国立公文書館 内閣文庫) – at the end is a reference to a Satsuma domain translation, from which this manuscript is taken.

b) *Sakuron* in Tokyo University Historiographical Institute (former Endō Mitsuaki collection)

c) *Eikoku Sakuron* in Tohoku University Library (Kano collection) and others.

From this we may conclude that the court nobles in Kyoto and various domains had manuscripts of varying degrees of accuracy.

2) Published Books printed from Woodblocks

- a) *Eikoku Sakuron*. 34 pages (17丁) version held by [National Diet Library](#), Waseda University Library, Nagasaki Prefectural Library, Cambridge University Library etc.
- b) *Eikoku Sakuron*. 36 pages (18丁) version held by Okayama University Library, Kyoto University Library, Tenri University Library, Tokyo University Meiji Shinbun Zasshi Bunko, Yokohama Archives of History, Waseda University Library etc.

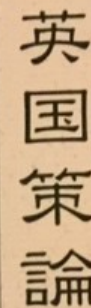
The Bakufu (Shogunate) also had knowledge of *Eikoku Sakuron* and its stress on 'Confederate Daimios'. Based on this it was proposed by the daimyo Inaba Masakuni (Minō no Kami) in a letter dated 24 November 1866 to Shogun Yoshinobu that the *tozama daimyo* (outer lords of Choshu, Satsuma etc.) be invited to attend an audience in Osaka between him and the diplomatic representatives of Britain, France, America and the Netherlands.

(Prof. Yoshie Kira, *Nihon Joshi Daigaku* in foreword to reprint of pamphlet by Edition Synapse)

薩良藩某
翻刻

策
二

英國士官サトウ著

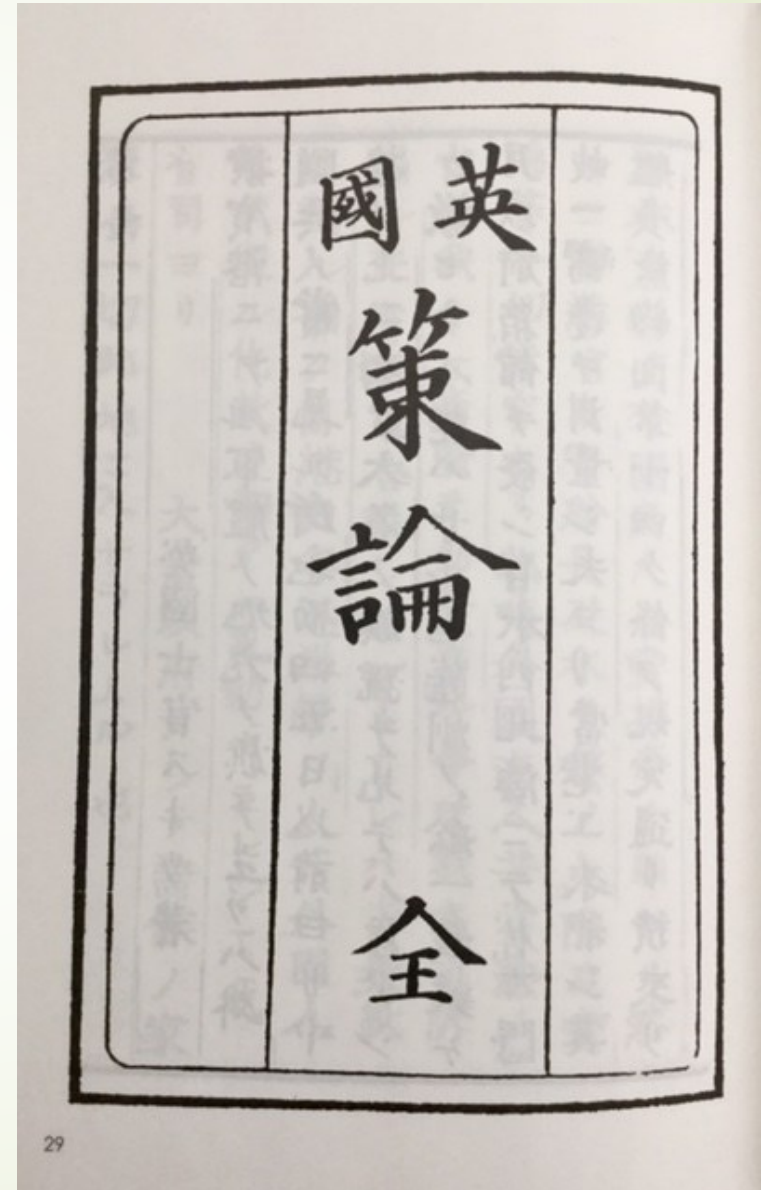
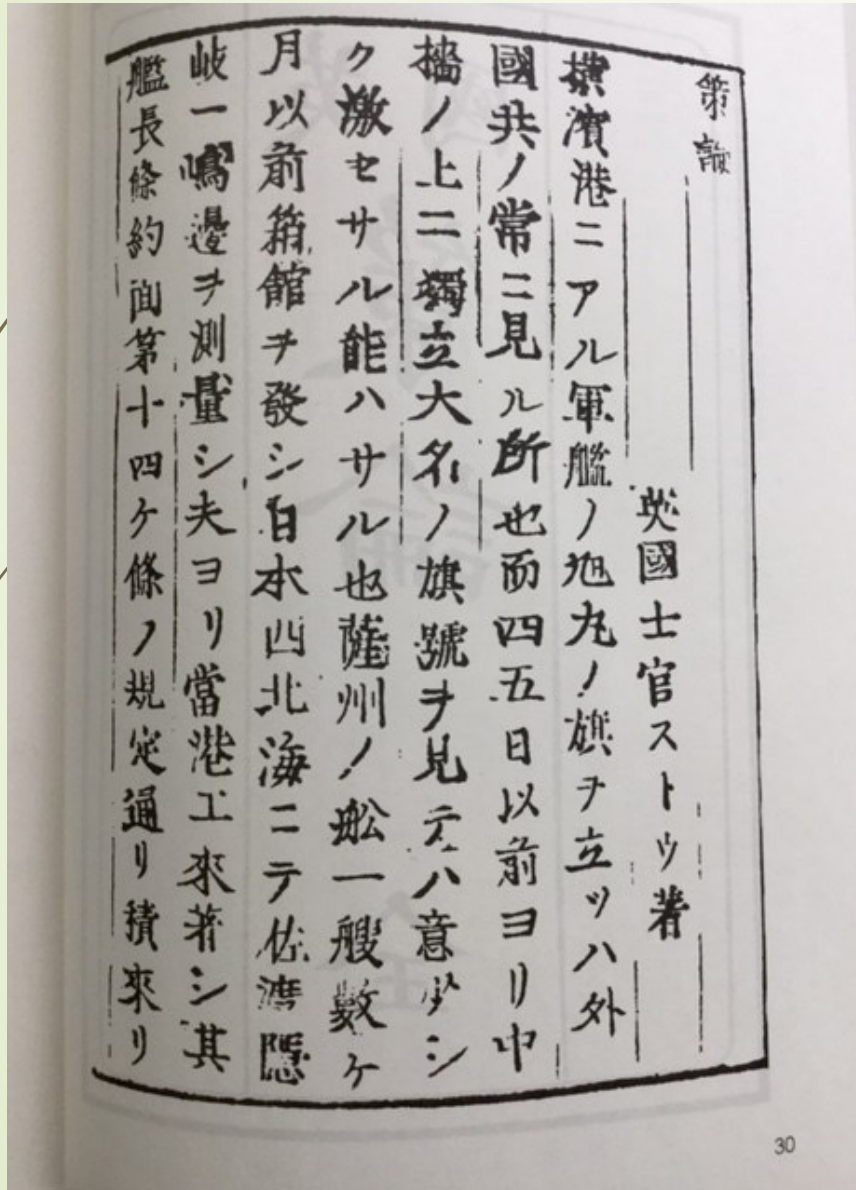


アーネスト・サトウ著作集

第二期 新聞記事・雜誌論文集 成 別冊付録

Edition Synapse

薩州藩某翻譯 = From a certain translation of the Satsuma domain (i.e. not Satow's translation?)



More about *Sakuron*'s publication in printed form

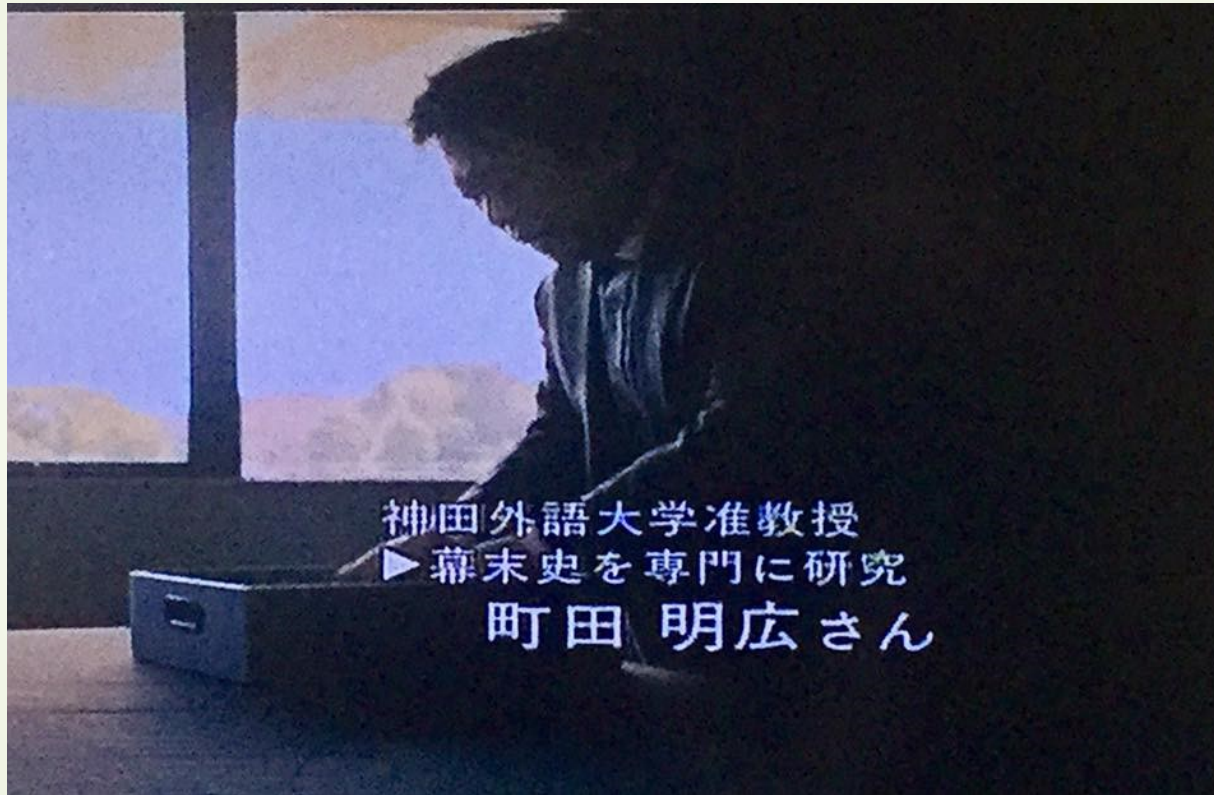
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- *Sakuron* first appeared as a *kinsei mukkatsujihon* 近世木活字本, probably in 1866. In katakana, small print run, maybe 10-100.
- A woodblock edition with the same format but small textual differences appeared in 1867. Probably in response to increased demand. Print run could be as many as 5,000, but we don't know how many were printed.
- Neither edition shows a publisher – probably due to fear of repercussions, since commercial printing of books relating to politics and current affairs was technically illegal.
- Probably because of small print runs, *mukkatsujihon* apparently never had censorship trouble. Thus they were used for first editions. (A kind of 'pilot' edition.)
- Only a small number of printed copies survive. There may be more in private libraries (e.g. those of Meiji politicians).
- (Information from Prof. Peter Kornicki, Cambridge University)

4. (a) Effects on the political situation and polity of Japan

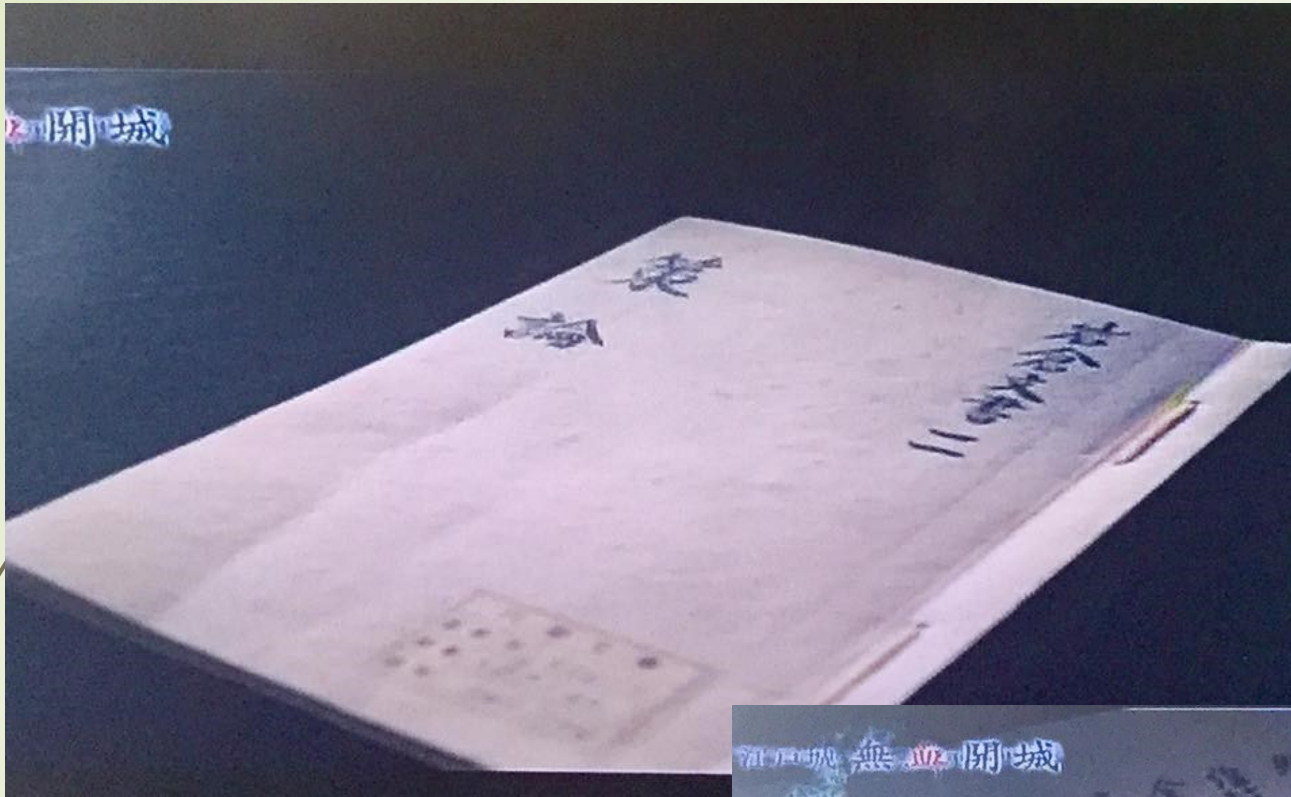
- Many influential people read 'Eikoku Sakuron' and appear to have agreed with it.
- When Satow visited Uwajima (western Shikoku) in January 1867 he spoke to the retired head of the domain (*inkyō*) who had read it.
- "The *in-kio* then remarked that his idea for Japan to become a confederated empire, with the Mikado for its head, and that this idea was favoured by Satsuma and Chōshiū. I said I thought there was no other way out of the difficulty, and I had written an article in a Yokohama newspaper to that effect. 'Oh,' said the *in-kio*, 'I have read it,' meaning the translation which has already been mentioned." (*A Diplomat in Japan*, p. 179; Satow's Diary, January 8, 1867)
- Soon afterwards Satow discussed the Sakuron policy (without referring to it by name) with Saigo Takamori, (*A Diplomat in Japan*, p. 183; Satow's Diary, January 12, 1867)

Other Japanese who read 'Sakuron'

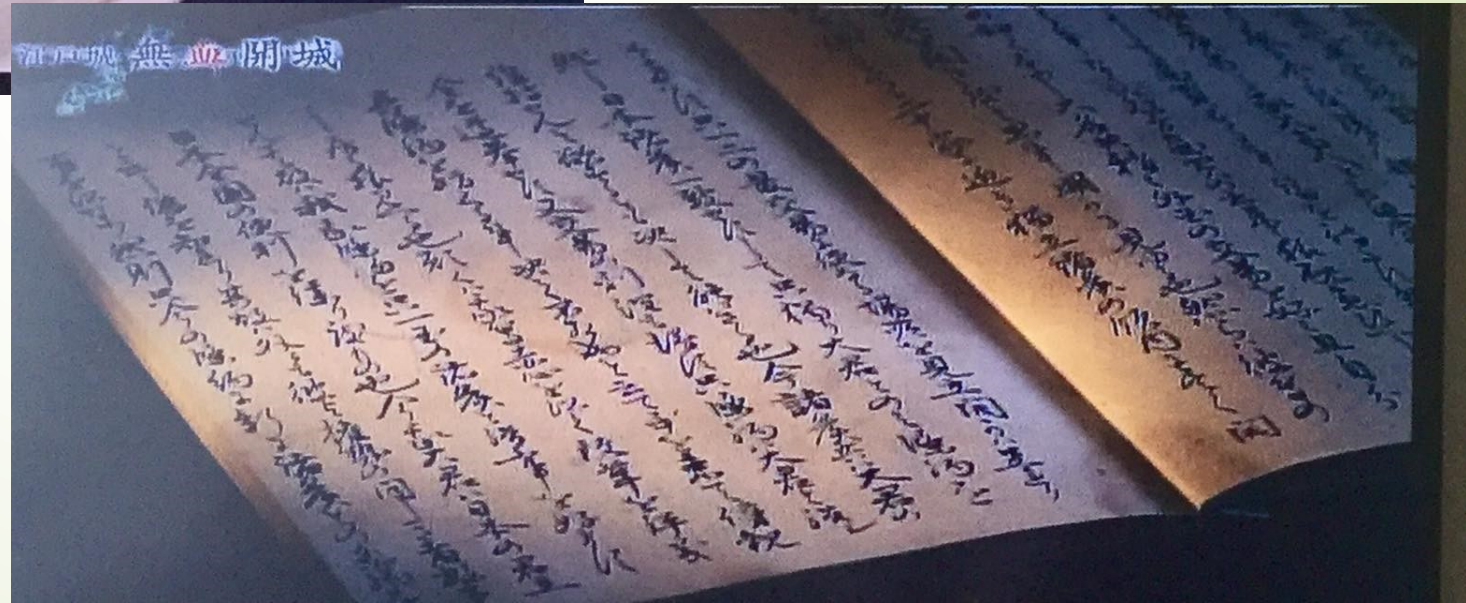


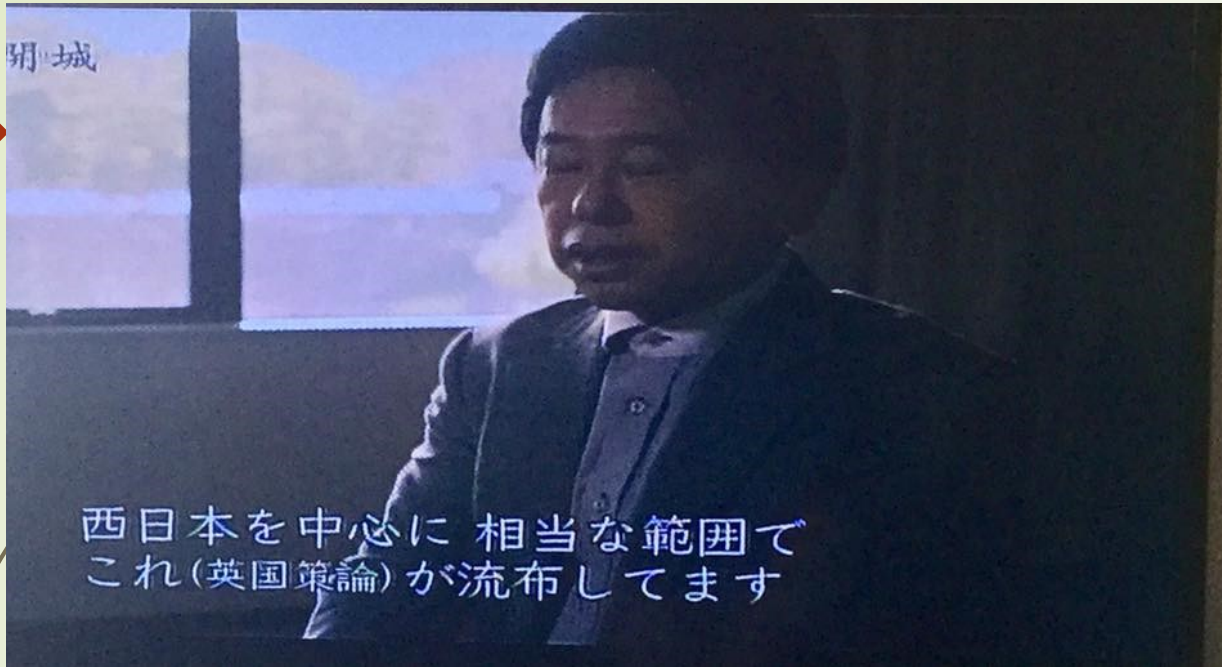
Prof. Akihiro Machida

This and following photos from 江戸城無血開城 (NHK BS Premium January 1, 2017)



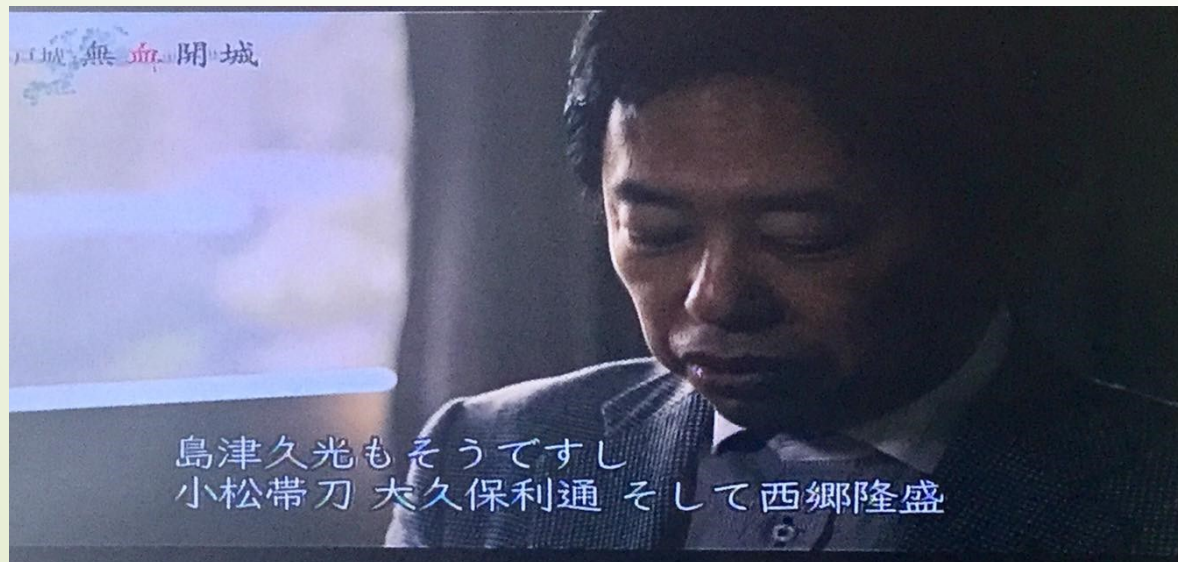
Handwritten Copy of *Eikoku Sakuron*



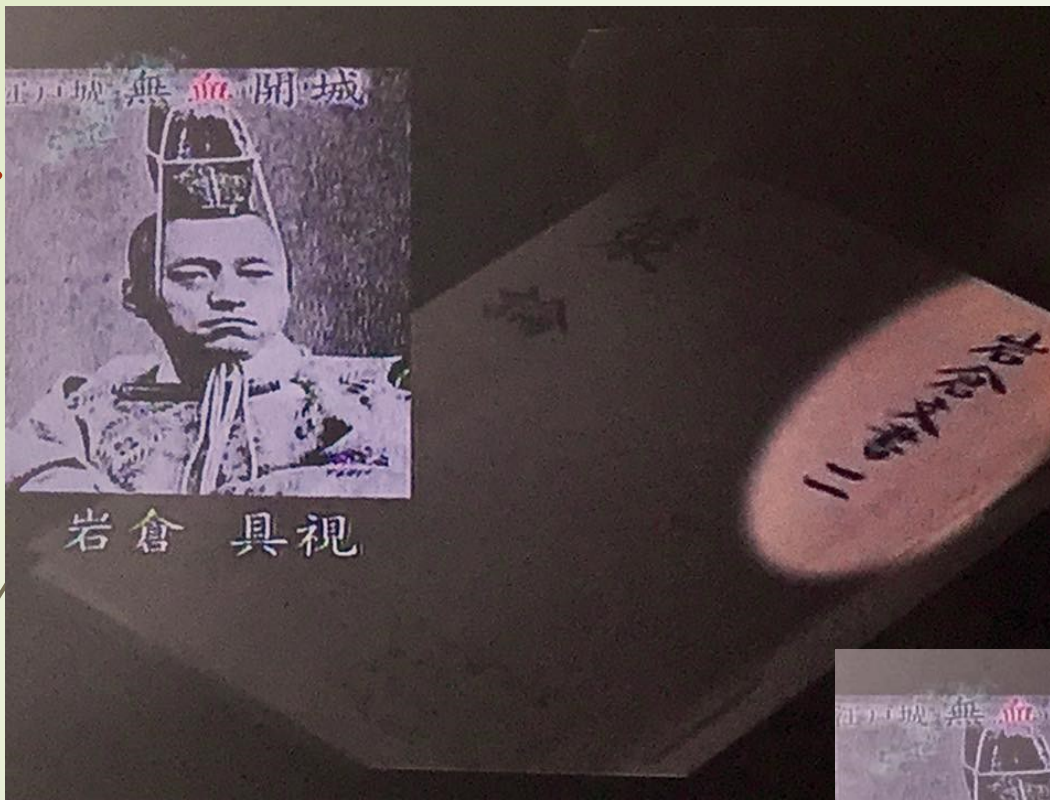


“From West Japan, *Eikoku Sakuron* was distributed very widely.”

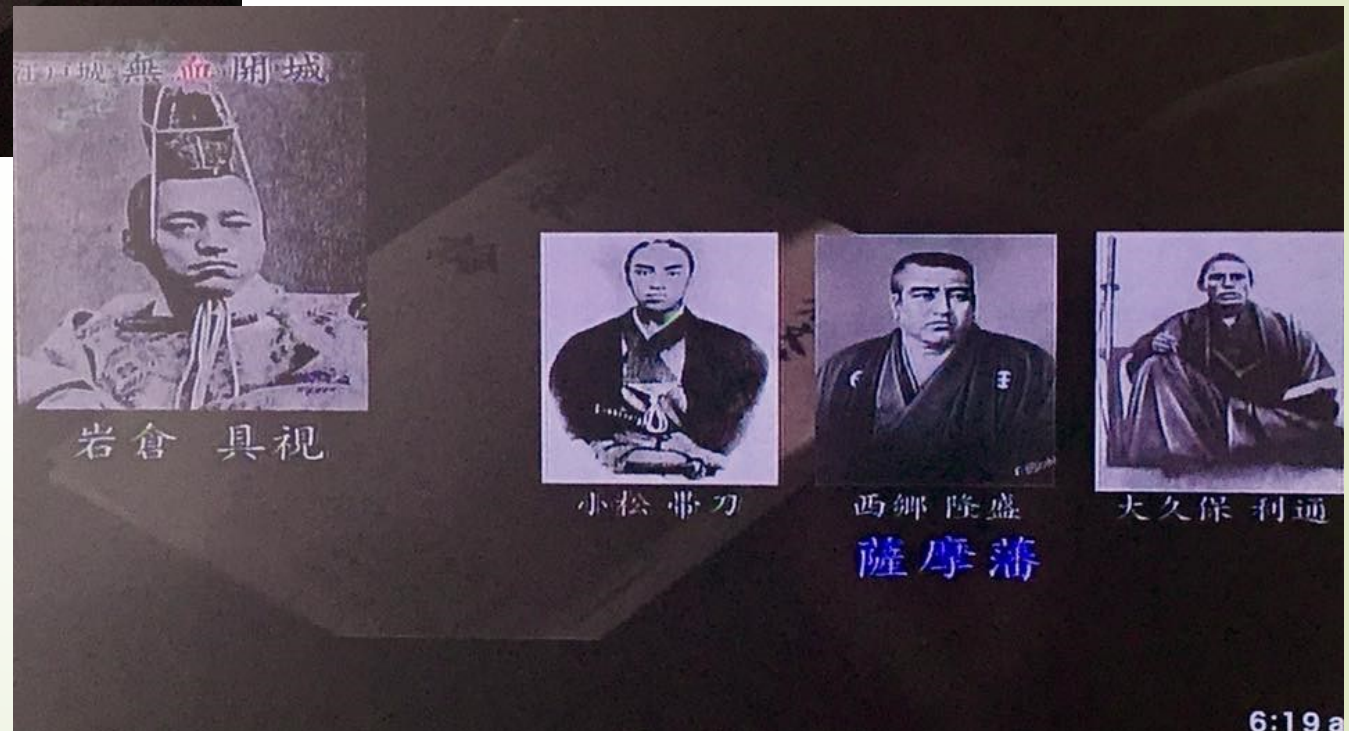
甚大な影響 = *jindai na eikyō* =
immense influence



“The Satsuma domain chief Shimazu Hisamitsu, Komatsu Tatewaki, Okubo Toshimichi and Saigo Takamori all read and were familiar with it.”

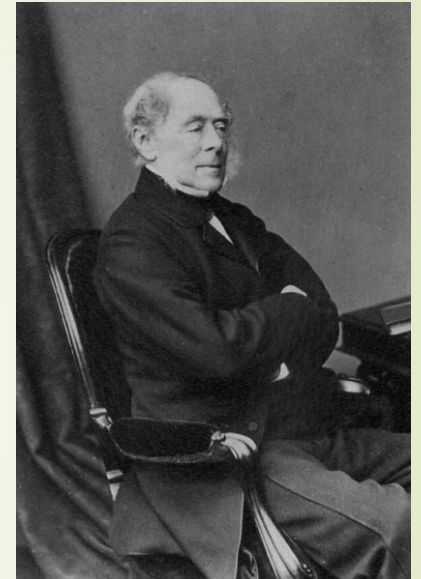


This copy is in the *Iwakura Monjo* archive (highlighted). Iwakura Tomomi was a high-ranking court official, who later led the Iwakura Mission to Europe and the United States (1871-73).



Matsuki Koan (Terashima Munenori), chief envoy of Satsuma delegation

- He was making proposals for the extension of foreign trade throughout Japan, including Satsuma, to the Foreign Secretary (George Villiers, 4th Earl of Clarendon) in London in March 1866, about the same time as the first *Japan Times* article appeared. This “coincided with Britain’s own desire for an expanding commerce.” (Fox, p. 175)



Sakamoto Ryoma

- No evidence has been found that he read *Sakuron*. However, Matsuoka Mamoru in his exhaustive biography of Ryoma (松岡司、「定本 坂本龍馬伝」, 2003, p.445) suggests that he may have done.
- This is based on the similarity with Ryoma's own plan for the restoration of Imperial rule, the 船中八策 (senchu hassaku) of June 1867. (Information from Romulus Hillsborough, author)
- See especially the fourth proposal by Ryoma for the Revision of Treaties.
- 外国ノ交際広ク公議ヲ採リ「とり」、新二至当「しとう」ノ規約ヲ立ツベキ事 (条約改正)
- "Increase intercourse with foreign powers, and make new treaties which are fairer and more appropriate."



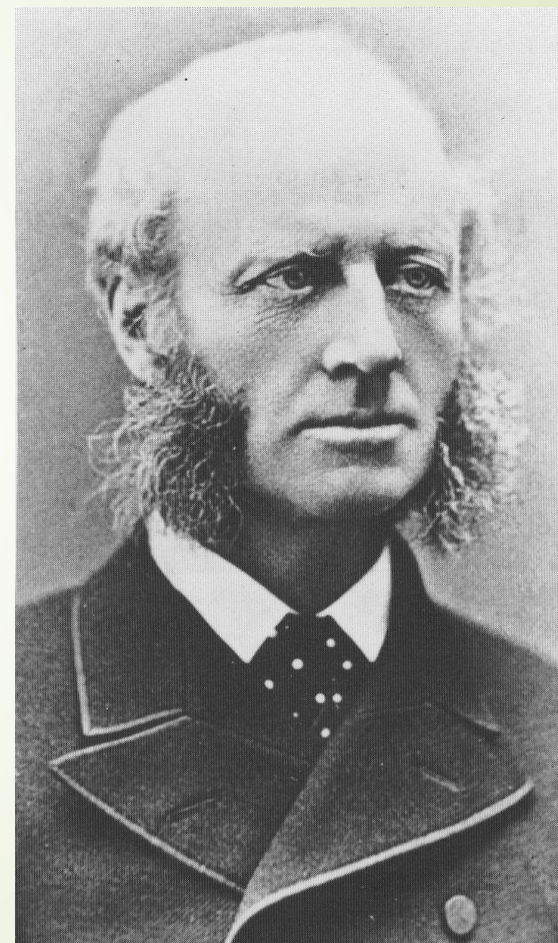
船中八策

Ryouma's "Eight Proposals on a Boat"

- 天下ノ政權ヲ朝廷ニ奉還セシメ、政令宜シク朝廷ヨリ出ツベキ事（大政奉還）
- 上下議政局ヲ設ケ、議員ヲ置キテ万機ヲ参賛セシメ、万機宜シク公議ニ決スベキ事（議会開設）
- 有材ノ公卿諸侯及ビ天下ノ人材ヲ顧問ニ備ヘ官爵ヲ賜ヒ、宜シク従来有名無実ノ官ヲ除クベキ事（官制改革）
- **外国ノ交際広ク公議ヲ採リ「とり」、新ニ至当ノ規約ヲ立ツベキ事（条約改正）**
- 古来ノ律令を折衷シ、新ニ無窮ノ大典ヲ撰定スベキ事（憲法制定）
- 海軍宜ク拡張スベキ事（海軍の創設）
- 御親兵ヲ置キ、帝都ヲ守衛セシムベキ事（陸軍の創設）
- 金銀物貨宜シク外国ト平均ノ法ヲ設クベキ事（通貨政策）

4 (b) Effects on Satow's relationship with Sir Harry Parkes

- Grace Fox found no documentary evidence in archives to suggest that Parkes knew of Satow's journalism: "There is nothing in these letters of Parkes – either official or private – that indicates his support or knowledge of the three articles...which recommended a new basis for Japan's relations with the West." (Fox, p. 179) More recently, Robert Morton has also found no evidence that Parkes knew.
- Satow himself believed that Parkes never heard of *Sakuron* or who had written it: "As far as I know it never came to the ears of my chief..." (*D in J*, p. 160)
- If this is correct, as appears likely, then there can have been no adverse effect on their relationship.



4 (b) Effects on Satow's relationship with Sir Harry Parkes - continued

- ▶ On the other hand, Parkes may have been aware of the existence of *Sakuron*, but might have thought that it was not particularly important, just some unknown person giving their opinion. He probably read the English articles anyway. Like Alcock, Parkes was concerned that the Treaties be upheld by the Government and that trade was unaffected.
- ▶ It is possible (but unlikely) that Parkes did know it was Satow and gave him a private reprimand 'off the record' which Satow has denied in his memoirs. Satow was too valuable a member of the Legation (thanks to his excellent language skills) to be dismissed for such a breach of the rules, effectively for meddling in Japan's domestic affairs. If that is the case, then the matter must have been kept quiet and dropped, but this seems unlikely.
- ▶ Satow and Parkes never got on well. The more conciliatory Satow sometimes found interpreting for his boss in his most irascible moods an embarrassment. "I was myself rather sick of being made the intermediary of the overbearing language to which the chief habitually resorted..." (*Diplomat in Japan*, p. 266)

5. Concluding Remarks (1)

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- *Eikoku Sakuron* was taken seriously by many domains (e.g. Satsuma, Choshu), the Bakufu and Court, and assumed to represent the views of the British Legation – even though it was completely unofficial, and the views of one man. The *Japan Times* was not mentioned in the translation, though Satow's name was given, and that he was a “British official” (*Eikoku shikan*).
- The original articles did not have a title. This was only added later, after they were translated into Japanese. The pamphlet's title ‘*Eikoku Sakuron*’ implied that it was official British policy, which was neutral.
- It therefore qualifies as an example of *gaiatsu* (external pressure exerted by foreigners on Japan). However, as Fox notes, its influence on the policies of *Bakufu* and Court “can be neither measured nor denied.” (p. 180)
- “Satow's solution for Japan's political ills developed from his many conversations with the retainers of daimyo and two-sworded men, and from the state papers they gave him.” (Fox, p. 180) In a sense he was therefore merely summarising, articulating and reflecting commonly held views, and it is not surprising that his pamphlet was well received by the pro-Imperial, anti-Shogunate faction.

Concluding Remarks (2)

- Though Satow insisted that a desire for foreigners to trade with the whole of Japan was his main objective, the proposals to achieve this involved a fundamental change in Japan's polity, or constitutional settlement. He of course was well aware of this.
- 1868. January 7. Satow's diary: "Sakuron will be the policy after all."
- Compare *Diplomat in Japan* p. 300, about the same day: "The policy advocated in the *Sakuron*, translated from my articles in the 'Japan Times', seemed to govern the situation."
- It was a mere 19 months since the *Japan Times* articles had been published. It is therefore tempting to conclude that Satow's writing in its translated *Sakuron* form was indeed a catalyst or blueprint for major change in Japan. But further work is required to gather evidence that this was the case: how many copies of *Sakuron* were sold? Who bought them? Who read them? Etc.

Bibliography

- Ernest Satow, *A Diplomat in Japan* (1st edition, 1921; Oxford in Asia Historical Reprint preserving original pages and their numbering, 1968; other paperback editions)
- Grace Fox, *Britain and Japan 1858-1883*, Oxford University Press, 1969 includes The Treaty of Yedo (Appendix I, pp. 555-565) and the first and third articles by Satow (Appendix II, pp. 566-575).
- Ian Ruxton, 'Ernest Satow, British Policy and the Meiji Restoration', *Bulletin of the Kyushu Institute of Technology (Humanities and Social Sciences)*, 1997, Vol. 45, pp. 33-41. Includes a retranslation from a Japanese woodblock print version back to English of the second article which has never been found. Can be downloaded [here](#) or [here](#).
- 'Collected Works of E.M. Satow: Part 2, Collected Papers' (Tokyo: Edition Synapse, 2001) includes a Japanese transcription of *Eikoku Sakuron* with a commentary by Professor Yoshie Kira of Japan Women's University.
- Robert Morton & Ian Ruxton (eds.), *The Diaries of Sir Ernest Mason Satow, 1861-1869*, Kyoto: Eureka Press, 2013.

Ernest Satow in Paris, 1869



So how about Satow in 1870-83?

- It was not as exciting or as turbulent as the Bakumatsu period of course, but it was a chance to learn more about Japan and travel in the interior.
- Hugh Cortazzi (Foreword to Satow's diaries 1870-83) says that these years were "an interlude during which he sometimes must have felt that he was marking time and making no progress in life."
- However, it was very productive in terms of Satow's study of Japan. He got to know the country much better.
- The Asiatic Society of Japan was founded in Yokohama in 1872 and it was a great platform for Satow and others to read scholarly papers.

Chronology

- ▶ 1869 – Satow leaves Japan (February 24) for home leave.
- ▶ 1870 – He returns to Japan by end November.
- ▶ 1871 – He travels in Japan with Baron Huebner.
- ▶ 1872 – Travels with Adams. Inspects lighthouses with Okuma Shigenobu.
- ▶ 1873 – Travels to Ogawa and Oyama.
- ▶ 1874 – Visits Nikko, September-October.
- ▶ 1875 – Leaves Japan for home leave (February).
- ▶ 1876 – Studies law at Marburg University, Germany (May-August).
- ▶ 1877 – Returns to Japan (January). Satsuma Rebellion.
- ▶ 1878 – Visits Hachijo with Dickins, and Toyama with Hawes. Visits Korea.
- ▶ 1879 – Travels in Yamato and Chiiba.
- ▶ 1880 – First son (Eitaro) born. Travels.
- ▶ 1881 – *Handbook for Travellers in Central & Northern Japan* published.
- ▶ 1882 – Treaty revision conference begins. Travels. Gubbins relieves Satow in December.

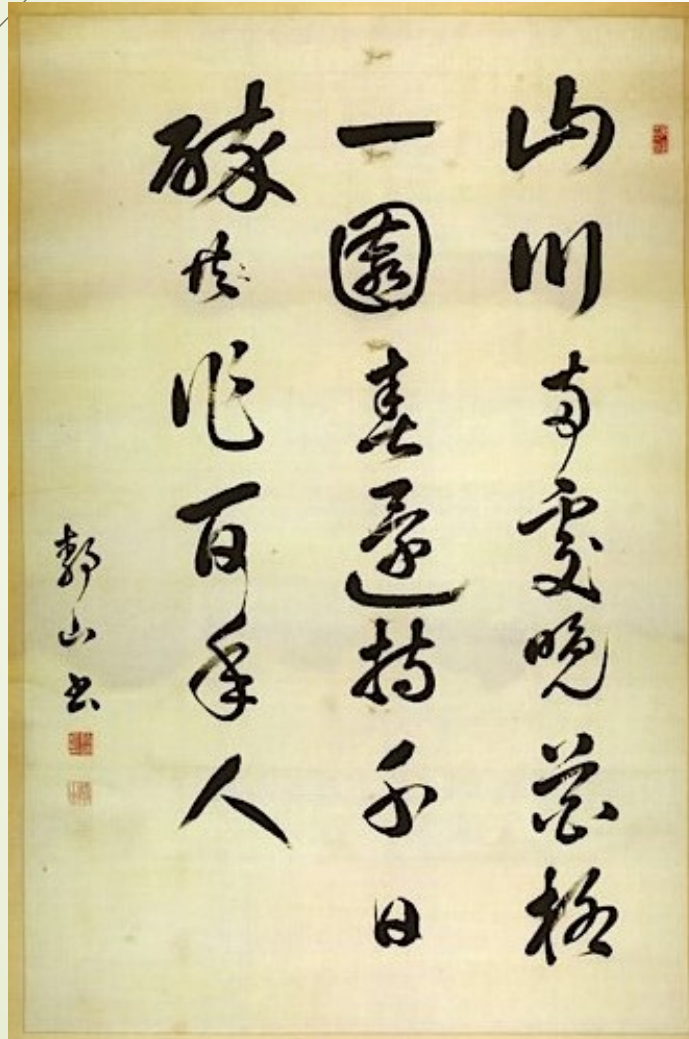
Satow returns to Japan (1870)
Japan Punch



F.O. Adams, Huebner and Satow
travelling in the interior (1871)
Japan Punch



Calligraphy by Satow (1873)



A rare example of Chinese calligraphy by Ernest Satow.

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

In the [British Library](#), London.

Satow's Publications 1870-83

1. The Ainos of Yezo (1870)
2. Extract from The History of Taikosama (Translation, 1871)
3. The History of the Hojo Family (Translation, 1871)
4. History of the Minamoto Family (Translation, 1872)
5. Notes on Loochoo (Okinawa) (T.A.S.J., 1873)
6. Kinsei shiriaku (Translation, 1873)
7. Japan 1853-1864 (Translation, 1873)
8. Kwaiwa Hen (Japanese Conversation for students, 1873)
9. Geography of Japan (Transactions of A.S.J. 1874)
10. Japanese Chronological Tables (1874)
11. The Shin-tau Temples of Ise (Transactions of A.S.J. 1874)
12. Revival of Pure Shin-Tau (Transactions of A.S.J. 1875)
13. Guide Book to Nikko (Japan Mail, 1875)
14. An English-Japanese Dictionary (London, 1876)
15. Observations on the Downfall of the Christian Mission in Japan (Transactions of A.S.J. 1877)

Publications (2)

16. Introduction of Tobacco into Japan (Transactions of A.S.J. 1877)

17. The Korean Potters in Satsuma (Transactions of A.S.J. 1878)

18. The Use of the Fire-Drill in Japan (Transactions of A.S.J. 1878)

19. Notes of a Visit to Hachijo (Transactions of A.S.J. 1878)

20. The Climate of Japan (Translated from German, Transactions of A.S.J. 1878)

21. The Mythology and Religious Worship of the Ancient Japanese (Westminster Review, 1878)

22. Ancient Japanese Rituals I (Transactions of A.S.J. 1879)

23. Vicissitudes of Church at Yamaguchi 1550-1586 (Transactions of A.S.J. 1879)

24. On Transliteration of the Japanese syllabary (Transactions of A.S.J. 1879)

25. Ancient Japanese Rituals II (Transactions of A.S.J. 1879)

26. Reply to Dr Edkins on 'chi' and 'tsu' (Transactions of A.S.J. 1880)

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

Publications (3)

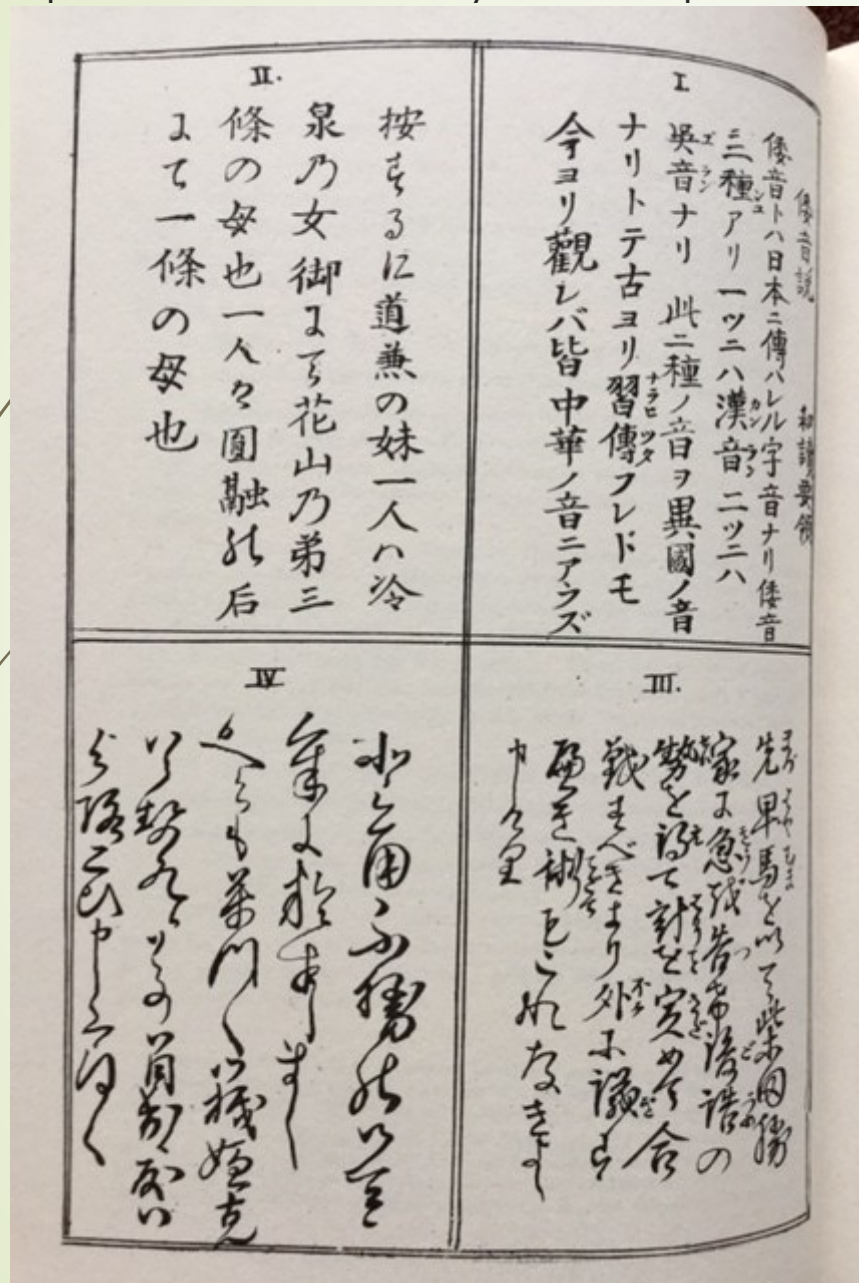
28. Ancient Japanese Rituals III (Transactions of A.S.J. 1881)
29. A Handbook for Travellers in Central and Northern Japan (Kelly & Co., Yokohama, 1881) – with A.G.S. Hawes
30. Notes on a Chinese-Japanese Vocabulary of the 15th century (Transactions of A.S.J. 1882)
31. On the early history of Printing in Japan (Transactions of A.S.J. 1882)
32. Further Notes on Movable Types in Korea and early Japanese printed books (Transactions of A.S.J. 1882)
33. A Sanskrit Manuscript (The Chrysanthemum, 1882)

In the 1860s Satow did not have time for a deep study of Japan (Japanology)

He only wrote three 'papers' in the 1860s:

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)

He was still learning the language and too busy interpreting to research Japanese subjects deeply. That chance came in the 1870s.



- 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

ABSTRACTS OF BLUE BOOKS.

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Chinese and Japan
Report, Mar 1, '67

III. *Specimen of Giôsho and Hirakana, with the latter written sometimes alongside of the characters.*

An extract from the *Ye-hon Tai-kô-ki*.

1. *Japanese Text.*—Madzu haya m'ma wo mots'-me (motte) shiba ta Kats'-iye ni kiu wo tsu oye go-dzume no sei-wo ete hakari koto wo sada mete kats'sen (kassen) subeki yori hoka-ni gi-su beki tedate mokore na ki yoshi môshi kerî.*

2. *Translation.*—In the first place, he sent a swift messenger on horse-back, informing Kats'-iye of the peril he was in, and that he could propose no other plan than to fix on a stratagem and fight a battle by means of the succours which he would obtain from him.

IV. *Specimen of a well-educated woman's letter (in Hirakana).*

1. *Japanese Text.*—To kaku fu-shô no o tenki ni o washi-mashi sore-domo madzu-madzu goki ngen yoku i-rase rare sôrô on koto on me de taku on yorokobi môshi ange mairashi sôrô.†

Translation.—I congratulate you on your continuing in good health, at least in spite of the length of the bad weather.

*III.—** In this specimen Chinese characters are written in the cursive form, in which a large part of Japanese literature is printed, but the words by which they are called are pure Japanese. *Keri* is the sign of the preterite.

IV.—† *To kaku*, 'a long time;' *fu-shô*, 'not surpass;' *ten-ki* is the Chinese *t'ien-ki*, 'weather;' *mad-su-mad-su*, 'at all events;' *ki-n-gen*, in health' or 'temper;' *yoku*, 'well;' *o*, *on*, and *go* are honorific. *Yorokobi*, 'joy.' *Mairashi* is an auxiliary verb.

THE INTRODUCTION OF TOBACCO INTO JAPAN.

BY

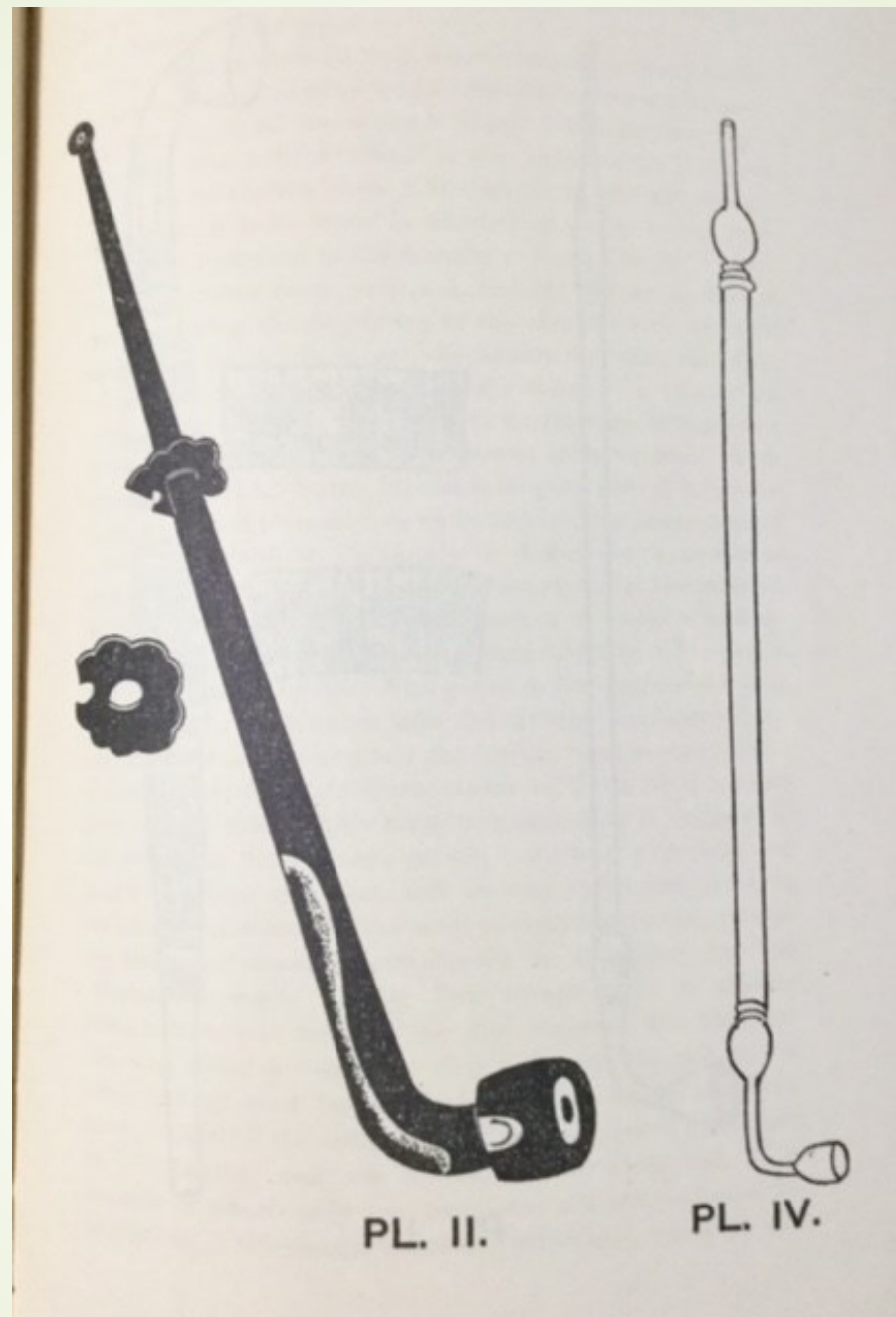
ERNEST M. SATOW, Esq.,
JAPANESE SECRETARY H. B. M.'S LEGATION.

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

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.



ANCIENT SEPULCHRAL MOUNDS IN KAUDZUKE.

BY ERNEST SATOW.

[Read April 13, 1880.]

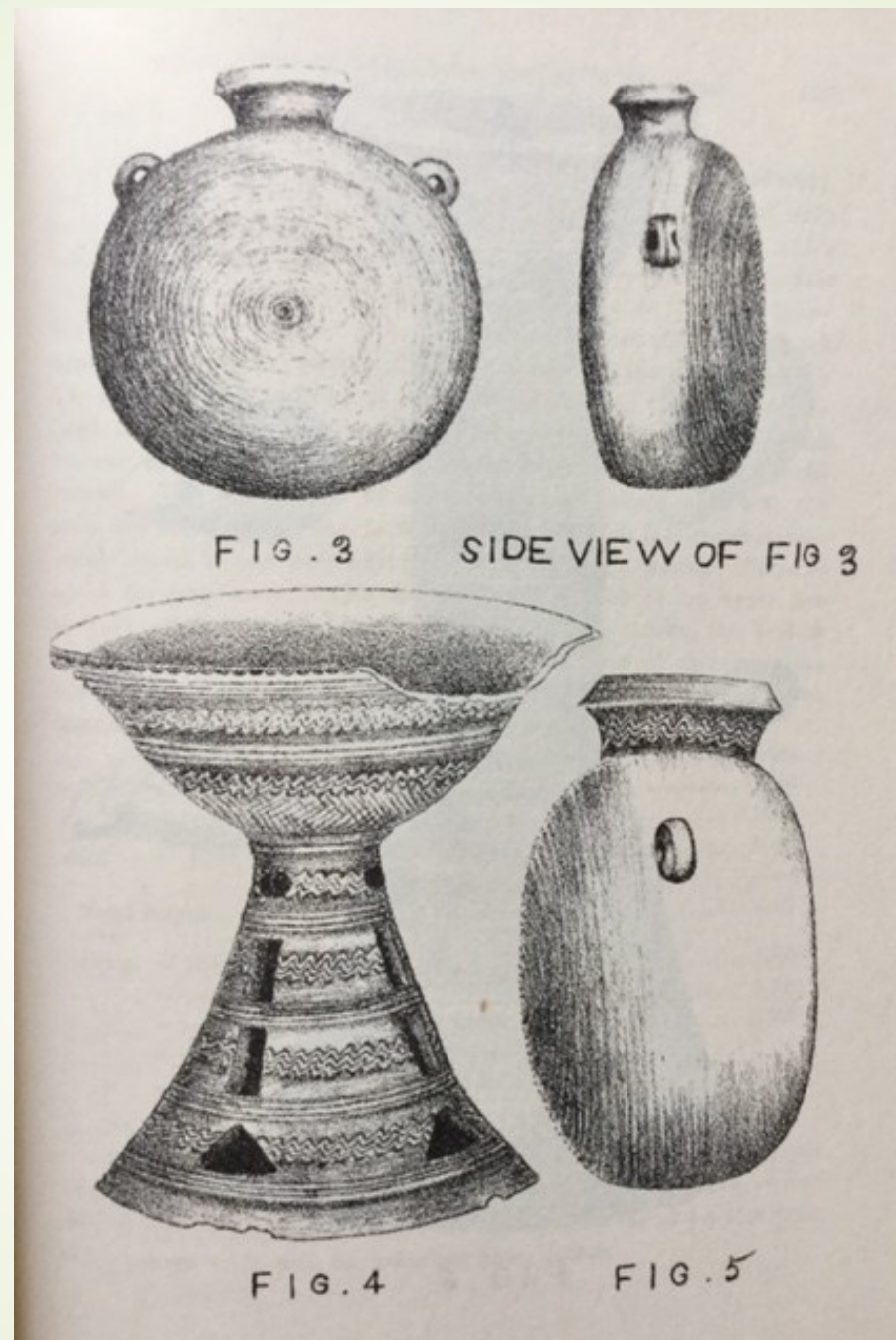
A great impulse has lately been given to the study of archæology in this country by the important discoveries of Prof. Ed. Morse in the shell-heaps at Ohomori¹ and elsewhere, by the publication of Mr. Von Siebold's "Notes on Japanese Archæology," full of interesting facts and valuable illustrations,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



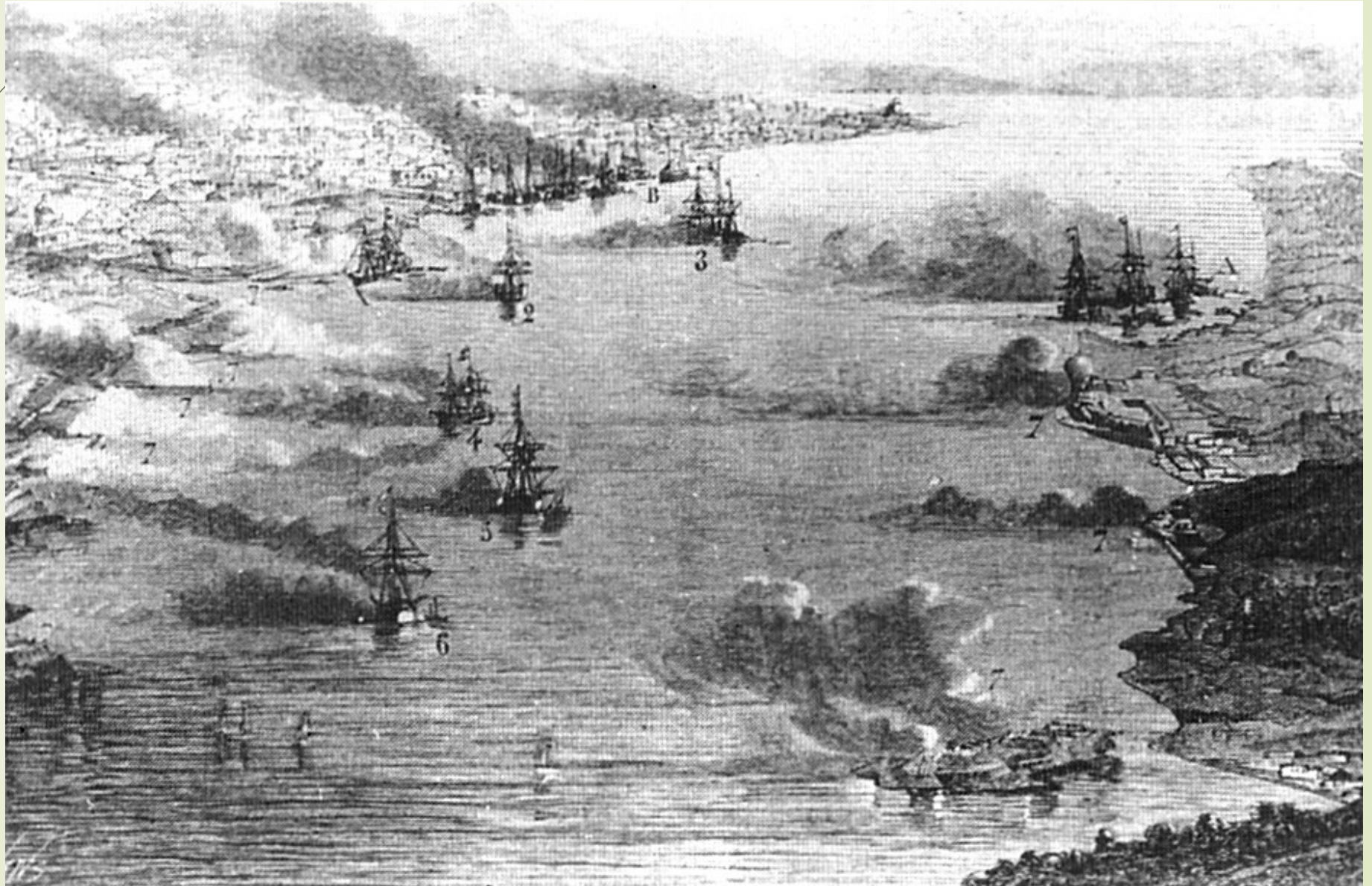


DIARY ENTRIES

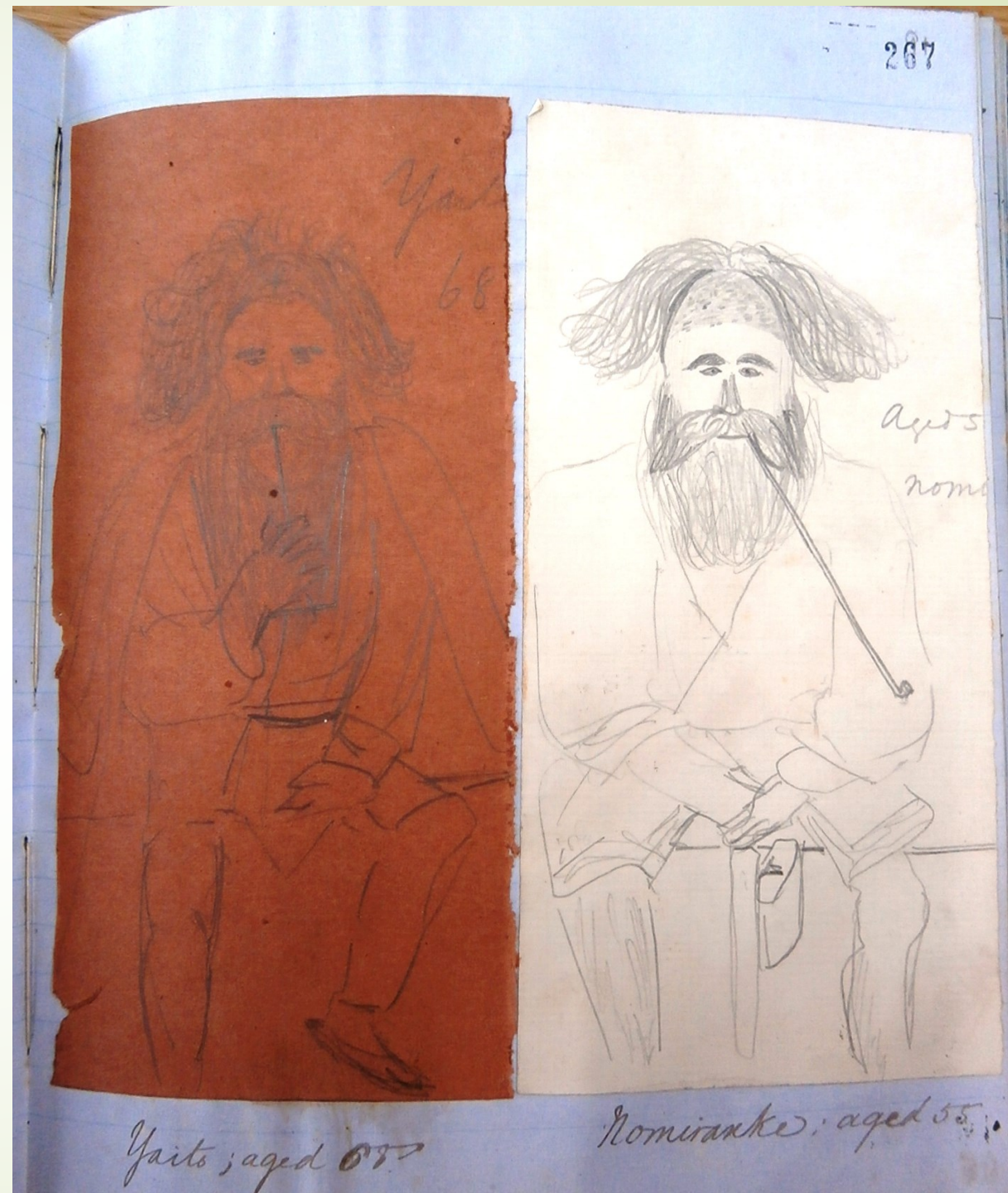
- ▶ Sept. 13. [1863] Last month the demands were at last made on Satsuma. After a great deal of hesitation on the part of the Admiral, who wanted to send no more than two ships, it was decided that the Squadron should consist of the Euryalus, Pearl, Perseus, Argus, Coquette, Racehorse and gunboat Havoc. All the Legation from Col. Neale down to myself accompanied the fleet, upon the plea that our services might be wanted as interpreters, but in reality, in order to “makee look see.” We started on the 6th August; Willis & I in the Argus 6, a paddlesteamer, commanded by L.F. Moore, who put us up in his large and comfortable cabin.

Bombardment of Kagoshima

46



In October 1865 he visited Hokkaido and encountered Ainus for the first time, sketching them in his diary.



Yaito; aged 68

Nomisake; 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."

DIARY 1867

- Jan. 1 Started from Nagasaki in the Argus. Com[mander]. H.L. Round. Breeze blowing, rough weather.
- Jan. 2 At half past one anchored in front of Kagosima. Some officers pulled off from shore, bringing a flag with them for us to hoist whilst firing a salute in answer to theirs on our dropping anchor. Matsuoka Juidayu was sent on board to explain that Shiuri no Daibu & Ôsumi no Kami were in retirement on account of the death of the latter's mother a short time previously. As neither of them c[ou]ld show themselves, the duty of receiving the Admiral's letter would be performed by the Prince's second brother, supported by two Karôs. Went on shore & stopped at the Shiu-zei-kuan (集成館) at Iso [磯]. J. Sutcliffe, H. Harrison & N. Shillingford are the names of the three foreigners stopping here, the two former being here on spec. to pick up what they can, and the latter having a year's engagement.

DIARY 1868

- Jan. 7 All is up with the Taikun now. Moriyama came in the morning to communicate the news of his withdrawal from Kioto. Pretended to suppose at first that he had come down to see the French Minister. Not at all. He has come down here deprived of the Shōgunate. He had made up his mind to do this four or five days ago, but was persuaded to countermand the orders given for his departure, whereat the Gaikokubugiō down here had much rejoiced. Now the orders were repeated & would be carried out. Sauntered out to look at the preparations made for his coming. Small bodies of drilled troops marching about drumming. Field pieces placed so as to sweep the streets. Men in all sorts of costumes suffering from the cold, & with their heads muffled up. Did not present a very martial appearance.

7016. 1868

The Taikun apparently does not object but his respect is in vain. He seems bent on sacrificing everything to preserve the peace of the country. His views accord well with Endo's information.

Jan 7. All is up with the Taikun now. Moriyama came in the morning to communicate the news of his withdrawal from Kyoto. Pretended to suppose at first that he had come down to see the French Minister. Not at all. He has come down here, deprived of the Shōgunate. He had made up his mind to do this four or five days ago, but was persuaded to countermand the orders given for his departure, whereat the Gaiyokubugai down here had much rejoiced. Now the orders were repeated & would be carried out. Sauntered out to look at the preparations made for his coming. Small bodies of drilled troops marching about drumming. Field pieces placed so as to sweep the streets. Men in all sorts of costumes suffering from the cold & with their heads muffled up. Did not present a very martial appearance. Proceeded past the Kach-Kenya landing place to Harumaya. found it full of idle people and arms piled outside. Toshimune a Karō, inside, on whom I called. He ascribed the

Taikun's withdrawal to his objection to fighting under the walls of the palace, and described the Daimios as ~~now~~ being divided. Satsuma & wants to do everything by main force, and Tosa by reason, but their end and object the same. Not Kaga but Tosa trying to arrange matters between Satsuma & the Taikun. Talked a good deal about forms of government. The old fellow thought that the Soto Shogins' plans would be delightful if possible, the nation is not yet ripe for fundamental changes. I agreed too that a system of representative government would be a curious change ^{to make good} from the hitherto existing despotic form. Got back about twelve and dined, about two o'clock Milford & I went out to have another look at the preparations. I wandered down over the Kiōbashi. Here it was apparent that the Taikun was expected at once. Wonderful groups of men in armour, in war surcoats of various gay colours, with spears and helmets. We found here Kubota Tentaro with a couple of colleagues, one of whom told Milford in bad Japanese that they were very brave & intended to die. I whispered to Kubota

DIARY – 1869 – AUDIENCE WITH THE EMPEROR

52

- ▶ Jan 5. Tuesday. Today we had our audience of the Mikado. On this occasion Parkes asked a whole lot of naval and military men besides Stanhope and Col. Norman, and the number of persons to be presented was increased from 12 to double that. As usual the chief had mismanaged it and did not even know who was going. The [naval] squadron supplied a hundred marines to form a guard. The costumes were various, especially of the Legation and Consular people. Fearfully cold with snow, wch. changed into sleet and then into rain by the time we got to the Castle. The audience took place in the palace of the Nishinomaru, just inside the Sakurada gate. We were admitted past the usual geiba over one of the bridges, right up to the edges [abutments] of the 2nd [bridge]. Here we were met by Machida Mimbu and conducted inside into the courtyard, from which we ascended at once into the antechamber. The Prince of Awa, Higashi-Kuzé, Saigô, Nakayama Dainagon and Ôkubo Ichizô came in and paid the usual compliments. Then we were ushered into a very dark room, where the Mikado sat under a canopy rather larger than that used at Osaka [Ozaka]. The prime minister stood below on the right and read the Mikado's speech. Sir Harry replied very neatly. We then left and returned at a canter to the old Legation in Takanawa, now a branch of the Foreign Office, where we had great feasting.

DIARY – 1872 – TRAVEL IN JAPAN

Jan. 18 Left Fuchiu at 8.10. It was fearfully cold and I had to get Reeve to tie one of my boots. We had jinrikisha [rickshaws] but I did not use mine. Fuji first appeared to us just after we got out of the town. Road lined with trees to a slight hill on this side of the Tamagawa called Hinozaka. Streams which gave forth steam shortly after leaving Fuchiu, somewhat lukewarm. Beautiful view of Fuji, with a mountain wch. we fancy we discovered to be Awonéyama on the left. Hino is a respectable-sized place. Ascended onto a slightly elevated plateau extending to the Ôwadagawa, which we had to cross to enter Hachôji. Mulberry trees everywhere. Reached it at 11.5. It was full of packhorses, from one end to the other. Left in jinrikisha at 11.35, and got to Komagino at 12.35. Inn where we breakfasted Hanaya Hiôkichi, clean and nice. Left at 2 p.m. walking, and got at once into the hills. Road not very steep. Got to top of pass at 3.30. Wild boar & monkeys. Fine view over Yedo plain the whole way up.

Fuchin six in Hotel, Shinshingya. Bluffoon
opposite side of the Amagawa very picture-
-que.

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hills. Road not very steep. Got to top of pass
at 3:30 ^{wild bear & monkeys} fine view over Yodo plain the whole
way up. Teahouse in bad position & smoky.
Splendid view of Kōshin mountains a few
paces beyond, with Oyama, Awone yama
Fuji, and crowds of others. Steep descent, like
a winding staircase on the ^{wall} top of a house, but
as we lanced to the bottom, then had to as-
cend again for a considerable distance. Then
a wide well cultivated valley, with the Ba-
nin flowing toward ~~the~~ Matsugi at the bottom
of a deep ravine. Arrived at Ohara by 4:50
and rested a few minutes at the Shōya's
house to procure Kago. Got quickly to
Yose, and then took a short cut down to
the river Banu. by a precipitous and some-
-what new exciting path. Ferried across.
One of the Kago bearers said: "He who goes
first into a ferry boat comes out last,
is a proverb." He also told me that the
bearers work on the farms, and do coolie
work in turn. Passed thru Katsuse village,
along a great bare stony bed, across the
river again, up a steep bluff to Yoshino.

DIARY – 1874 - CHUZENJI

55

- Sept. 29. Started 8.15 for Chiuzenji. Road fr. Magaeshi over hill washed away, & path along bed (kawara) of the torrent perpetually crossed & recrossed by small temporary bridges. This is however the more advantageous route; The kazana high up in a rocky precipice which crowns left bank. Fine view fr. the Naka no chaya, after passing Hanya no taki. Stone said to be magnetic. Highest point 4000 feet, Nikkô being 1600. Path on left thro' wood to view of Kagon no taki. The stream fr. the lake descends a hundred feet or so, and little of it is visible above the fall. Grand semi circle of rock, surmounted by hills covered to their very summits by deciduous trees; lovely autumn tints. Descent, rather steep, to brink of precipice $\frac{3}{4}$ facing cascade; no balustrade to prevent falling into abyss. bottom of the opposite rock invisible. Far far below on the left the stream can be seen flowing silently at what can be no great distance fr. the foot of the cascade: the estimate of 750 feet is perhaps no exaggeration. By another path thro' the wood to Chiuzenji. Sat down & lunched at a large smoky chaya near entrance of village. All the pilgrims' huts closed, three teahouses open in all. About 2 started for Yumoto. The Chiuzenji lake seems much finer than in March/72, hills covered to their tops with deciduous trees all round it. Nantaizan rising into the sky close fr. the northern shore, also completely covered with trees, excepting here and there a long streak of bare black rocks, down which the water must rush headlong in rainy weather.

to the ~~land~~ town.
 Sept. 28. Morning cloudy. Walked to Takinoo
 and round between Toshōgū + Iyeyasu's
 Shrine with Mr. Haydar. Visit fr. Hiko-
 zaka Atōshi, Buddhist priest, Shitōji
 of Ilanguanji, who is descended fr. a
 faithful retainer of Iyeyasu. Speaking of
 the Nakkaishō, he said it was probably
 written down by Honda Saellasazumi or
 by the ancestor of the Hotta family. Notes
 that Kuanyejī, which is mentioned in it,
 is of course later than Iyeyasu's death.
 The original is certainly at Kunōzan, but
 this temple is now in the hands of Shintō
 priests. He sent me the 神徳集 to read.
 Afternoon. Visited Iyeyasu's Iyemitsu tomb.
 Chief priest delighted with present of
 a riō, & invited us to drink tea in his
 own house. He, as well as Hiko-zaka,
 anxious about the negotiations at
 Peking and Formosa.

Sept. 29. Started 8:15 for Chuizenji. Road fr.
 Itagawashi over hill washed away, & path
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Lake Chuzenji and Mount Nantai

1877 – SATSUMA REBELLION (SEINAN SENSO)

58

- Feb. 11. Saigô [Takamori] came to see Willis, who had proposed to call on him on business, and I had also desired to pay him a visit. He was accompanied by a guard of some 20 men, who kept jealous watch over his movements; four or five insisted on following him into the house , in spite of his orders to the contrary, and even upstairs into Willis' private sitting-room. One sat at the bottom of the stairs, 2 occupied the first landing and another posted himself outside the door. The conversation was of no importance. Willis wished to impress on him the necessity of giving a definite position to Mitamura (a Kishiu man) who is going as chief of the medical staff. Saigô and I also exchanged a few sentences. He told us that the number of rank & file would be over 10,000. Date of departure not fixed.



Saigo Takamori



Dr. William Willis

1882 – TREATY REVISION CONFERENCE

60

- [Jan.] 25 The first serious meeting of the Preliminary Conference [on Treaty Revision] met today at the Foreign Office. In the evening I dined at the German Legation, and after dinner we drafted the protocol in French and English. Roquette & Eisendecker the former, with a few hints from Hoffer, and while Roquette dictated the Fr[ench]. to Eisendecker, I made an English version.
- [Jan.] 26 Sir Harry arrived with his two daughters and Dr. Hepburn and his wife.
- Feb. 1. Second meeting of the Conference. We tried in vain to get the English recognized as the sole language of the Conference, but the other party was too numerous, and it was finally agreed that English, French & Japanese sh[ou]ld. all be recognized, and each delegate sign the version which he chose to be bound by. The other members of the secretariat are A. von Siebold, H. von Siebold, Krien of the German Legation, Père Evrard and Lavoisy, French, and three Japanese Yoshida Masaharu, Kurino Shin-ichi-ro and Kō-miō-ji Saburō.





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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