

Meiji Japan (1868–1912) through the Eyes of Ernest Satow (1843–1929)



日本国際政治学会

Japan Association of International Relations
(JAIR)

名古屋国際会議場

Nagoya Congress Center

2012年10月21日(日)

21 October 2012 (Sunday)

イアン・ラックストン

Ian Ruxton

九州工業大学

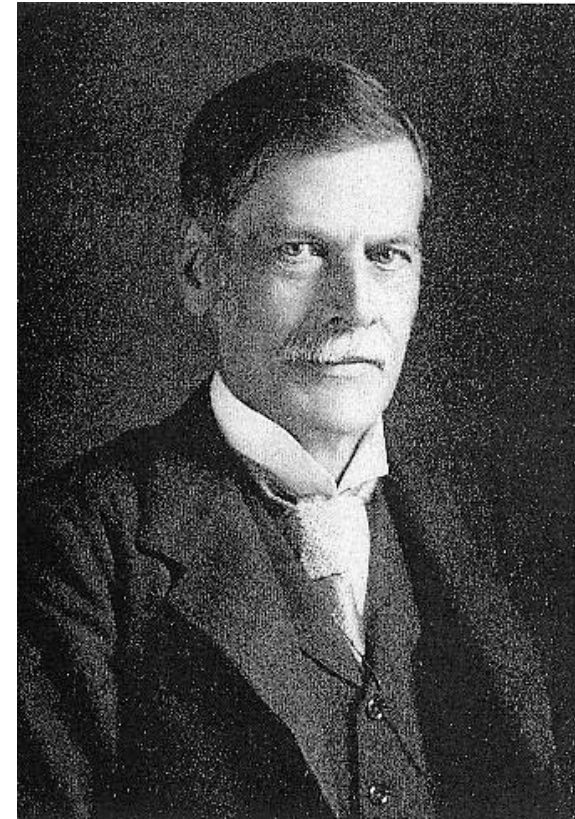
Kyushu Institute of Technology

ruxton@dhs.kyutech.ac.jp

<http://www.dhs.kyutech.ac.jp/~ruxton>

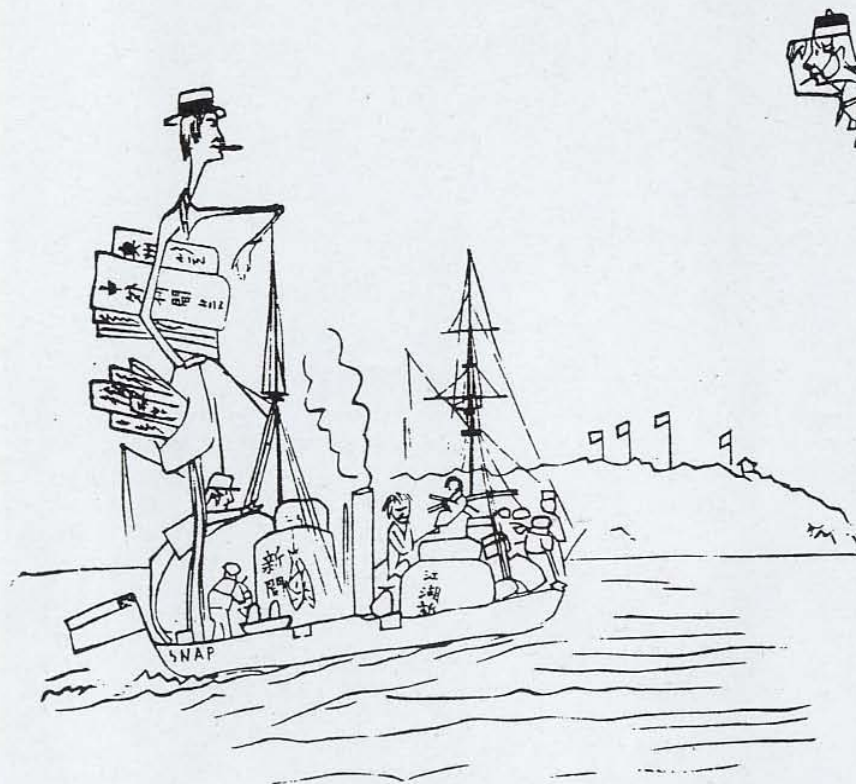
Satow's *A Diplomat in Japan*

- ▶ Satow is best known in Japan for his book *A Diplomat in Japan* which describes the period 1862–9, the final years of the Tokugawa Shogunate (*Bakumatsu*).
- ▶ Translated into Japanese. Frequently quoted and used in academic and non-academic works.
- ▶ Based on his 'journals' (diaries) and his memory. Tremendous detail and perceptive insights into the unstable and fluctuating political situation from a uniquely placed insider working as Student Interpreter and Interpreter at the British legation.
- ▶ Started the book in Bangkok (1884–7), completed in retirement at Ottery St Mary, Devon, England at the urging of younger relations. First published in 1921, reprinted many times as an evergreen bestseller.
- ▶ The journals ('Urtext') are in the National Archives of the UK, deposited there at Satow's request, and I am transcribing and annotating them with Professor Robert Morton of Chuo University for publication in due course. It is interesting to compare the original diaries and *A Diplomat in Japan* which is in some ways a sanitized version with extra commentary added and some parts omitted.

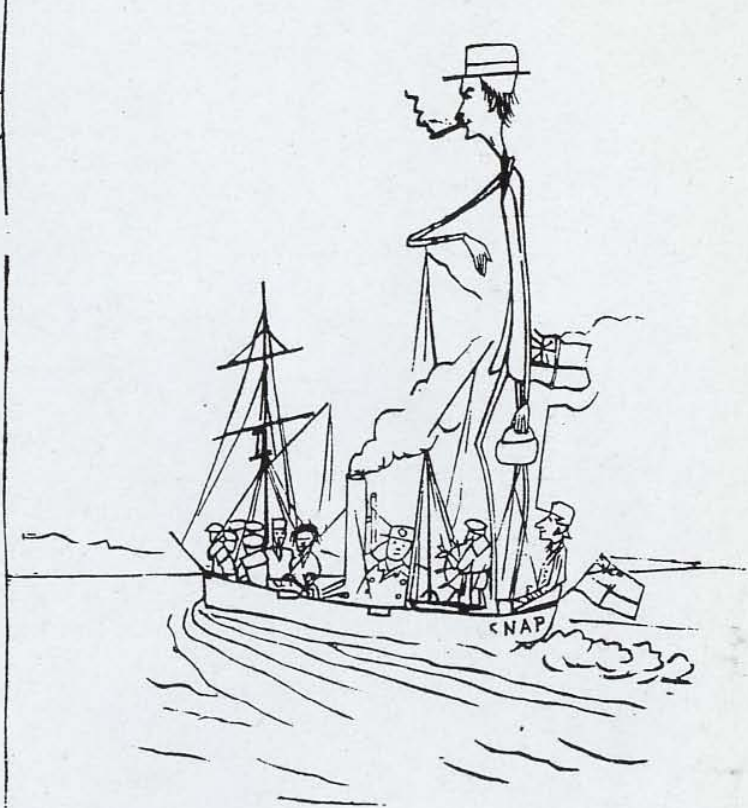


The centre of our policy in Japan

Returns from Yedo



Goes to Yedo.



Satow drawn by Wirgman, *Japan Punch*, June 1868



Satow in Japan, 1870–1882

- ▶ Satow was promoted from Student Interpreter to Interpreter on April 1, 1865 and to Japanese Secretary on January 1, 1868. He was given the local rank of Second Secretary at Yedo (Tokyo) on July 30, 1876. (Source: F.O. Lists)
- ▶ Satow returned to Japan from England in November 1870.
- ▶ Satow was on Home Leave from February 1875 to January 1877. Enjoyed time in England with family and friends, and touring Europe.
- ▶ In 1875 he enrolled at Lincoln's Inn to qualify as a barrister, helped Robert Kennaway Douglas to catalogue Japanese books at the British Museum and spent three months in Switzerland and Italy (July–November). He visited San Remo with his sister Augusta Tozer (December 13 – January 6, 1876.)
- ▶ In 1876 Satow's leave was extended for health reasons. Visited Paris April 13–24th. Attended lectures in Roman law at Marburg University in Germany, May–August. Two more weeks in Paris (September). Left London for Japan via Italy in November.

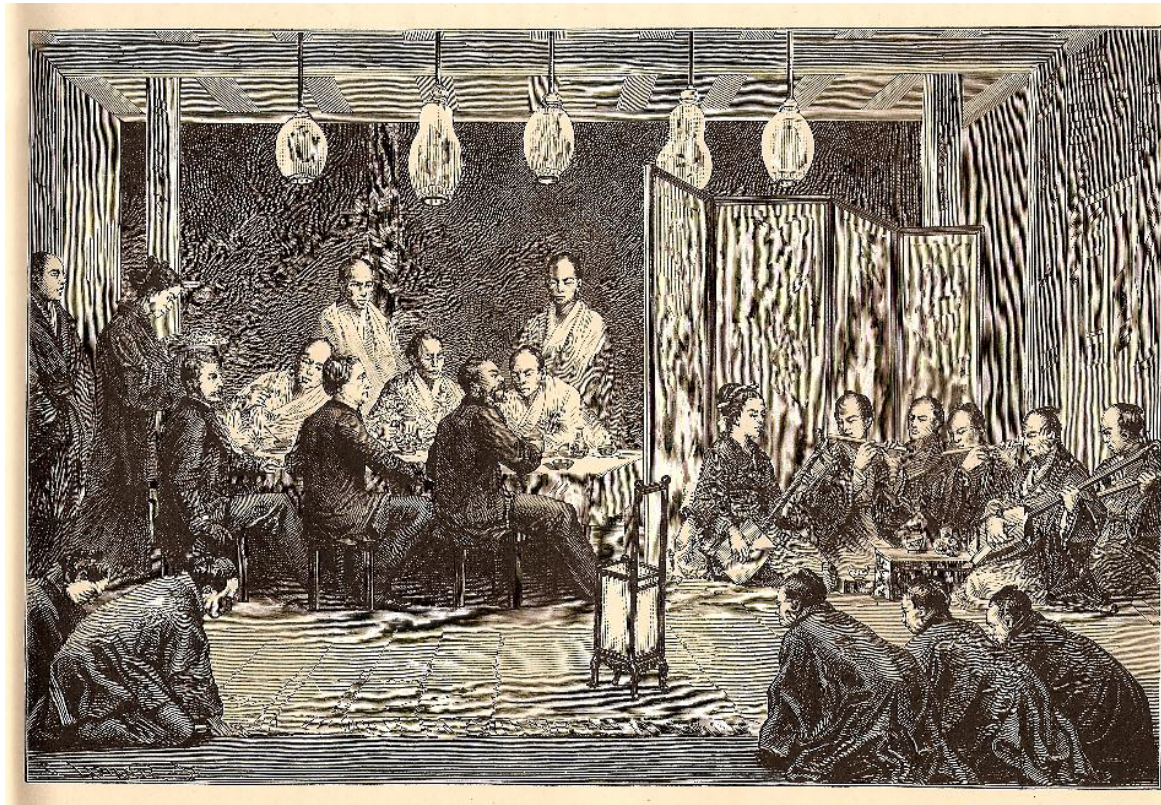


Whom did Satow meet in Japan in the 1870s and early 1880s?

- ▶ During his second period in Japan Satow met various important Japanese including Saigō Takamori, Iwakura Tomomi, Katsu Kaishū, Itō Hirobumi, Ōkubo Toshimichi, Kidō Takayoshi, Terashima Munenori, Prince and Princess Higashi-Fushimi and others. These contacts are recorded in his diaries, which I have transcribed and annotated from the Satow papers held at the UK National Archives as A Diplomat in Japan Part II, The Diaries of Ernest Satow, 1870–1883 (Lulu.com, 2009).

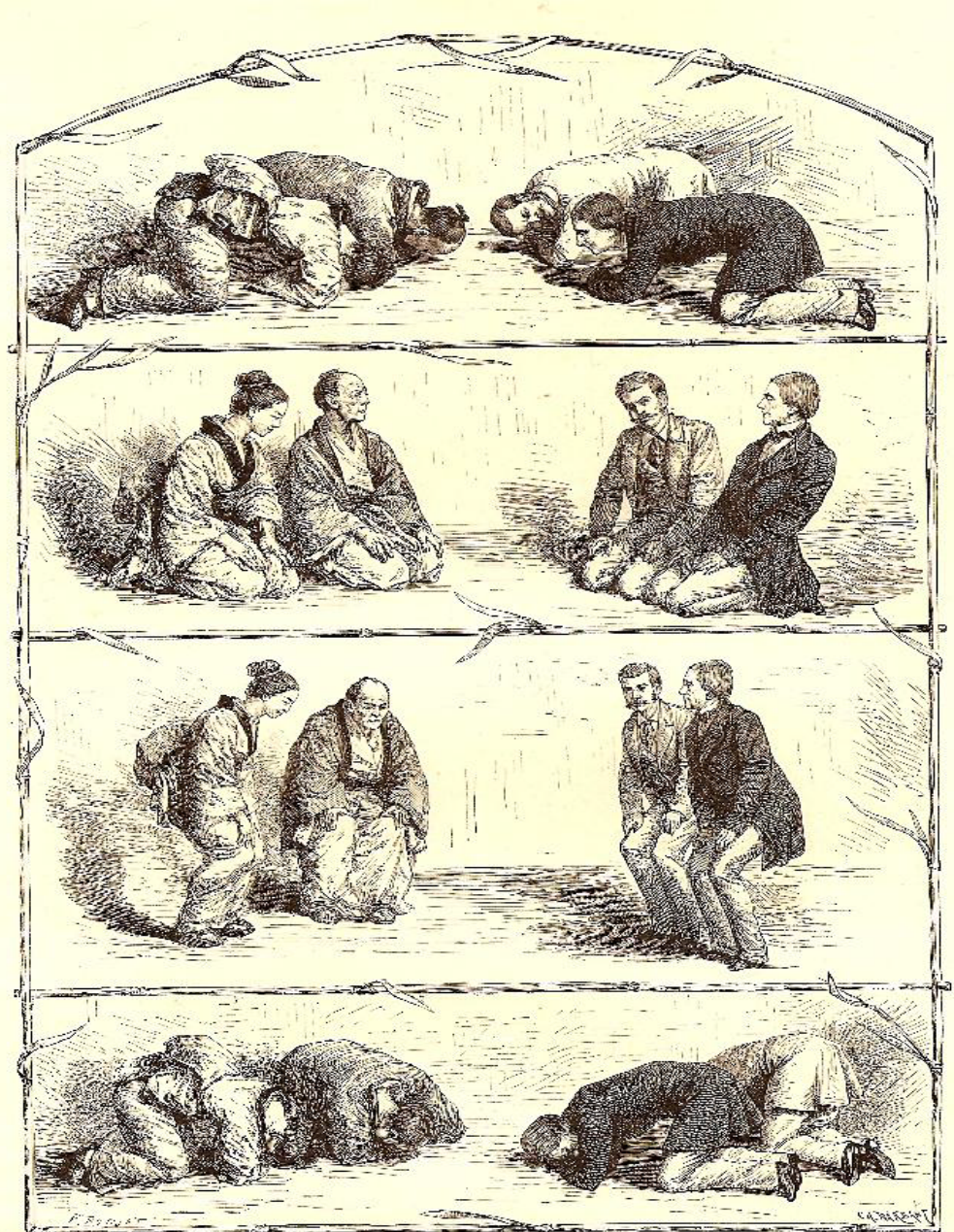
1871-74 Travels and Travails in Japan

- ▶ 1871 – August. Satow guides former Austrian diplomat Baron Huebner to Hakone, Atami and Enoshima. In October and November he meets Iwakura Tomomi. The Iwakura Mission leaves Japan for the US and Europe on December 23rd.



- ▶ Feast at the house of Foreign Minister Sawa Nobuyoshi recorded in Satow's diary on 9 September 1871. Satow, Huebner, F.O. Adams (left to right).

Baron Huebner and Satow visit a Japanese home, drawn by Huebner, published in *Ein Spaziergang um die Welt*, 1882





F.O. Adams

1872 – In late January Satow travels with Acting Chargé d’Affaires Francis Ottiwell Adams on the Kōshū Kaidō to the base of Mt. Fuji. In late March he goes to Nikkō with Adams and Charles Wirgman of *Japan Punch*. At end of November he accompanies Ōkuma Shigenobu and Yamao Yōzō by boat from Yokohama to Nagasaki via Inland Sea to inspect lighthouses. Returns to Tokyo from Kyoto via Nakasendō.

- ▶ 1873 – In mid–April Satow goes with Judge & Mrs. Nicholas John Hannen via Chichibu Kaidō to Ōme and Ogawa. Returns via Kōshū Kaidō. In late October he travels to Ōyama.
- ▶ 1874 – Satow’s father dies in Sidmouth on April 2nd. He applies for home leave. From September to October he visits Nikkō. He leaves Japan for his second home leave at the beginning of February 1875.

Back in Japan after home leave, 1877–1882



Dr. William Willis



Sir Harry Parkes

- ▶ 1877 – Satow reaches Nagasaki on January 28th. Observes situation in Kagoshima just before the Satsuma rebellion. Saigō visits Willis's house on February 11th. Satow reaches Yokohama on March 7th. He visits Katsu Kaishū on March 31st. In late July he climbs Mt. Fuji with F.V. Dickins. September–October he visits mountains in North Kantō with Dickins.
- ▶ 1878 – February 10th, Satow visits Yokosuka and Uraga with Dickins. March 4–17th they visit the island of Hachijō. July–August Satow and Lt. A.G.S. Hawes visit mountains in Ecchū (Toyama) and Hida (North Gifu). In November Satow is sent to Cheju island and Pusan by Sir Harry Parkes to reconnoitre. This is the only time Satow visited Korea.

1877–1882 continued

- ▶ 1879 – May–June Satow travels from Yamato area (Nara, Yoshino, Kumano, Koya-san) via the Tōkaidō back to Tokyo. In October he goes to Shimofusa and Kazusa (Chiba). From mid–November he travels in Kansai, returning to Tokyo via Nagano and Yamanashi in the New Year.
- ▶ 1880 – Satow's first son Eitarō is born. Various travels: to Omuro in Maebashi to inspect tumuli (kofun 古墳); Kamakura, Odawara, Hakone in March; Nagano, Niigata in June; Nikkō in September–October; Bōsō peninsula in Chiba (December). Meets Asano (Lee Tong-in) who becomes British agent in Korea.

1877–1882 continued

- ▶ 1881 – In January Satow travels to Kisarazu (Chiba). In March Satow and Hawes *A Handbook for Travellers in Central and Northern Japan* is published. From July to August he travels in Akaishi mountains (Southern Alps) returning via Hakone to Tokyo (see travel diary). In November he escorts British princes Albert and George to Kansai, buys books at Zeni-ya in Kyoto (Nov 12th).
- ▶ 1882 – Satow is a member of Secretariat for Treaty Revision conference at Japanese F.O. (January – July). Satow travels to Atami and Izu peninsula (Feb – March, see travel diary). Chichibu, Kōfu, Hakone (May). Ise, Nagoya, Hakone, Fuji (August–September). Northwest Kantō, Kusatsu, Mt. Shirone (November). John H. Gubbins arrives to relieve Satow in December. On December 31st he sails from Yokohama via Kobe and Nagasaki for home after 20 years in Japan, excluding home leaves.
- ▶ Honours: Made CMG in August 1883; KCMG May 25, 1895; GCMG June 26, 1902. (See Order of St Michael and St George.) [Source F.O. Lists]



British Legation, Tokyo (from Baroness D'Anethan, *Fourteen Years of Diplomatic Life in Japan*, London: Stanley Paul & Co., 1912)

Satow returns to Japan, 1895–1900

(abstracted from Satow's published diaries)

1895 (Meiji 28) – Satow in Tangier learns that Japanese Govt. has accepted his appointment as Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary (特命全権公使) and is ordered home by telegram (17 May). Satow reaches London (27 May). Satow at FO, discusses Far East with Permanent Under-Secretary Sir Thomas Sanderson, Foreign Secretary Lord Kimberley (28–31 May). Satow speaks with Japanese Minister Katō Takaaki and his secretary Ijūin (1 June). With Lord Kimberley again (28 June).

- ▶ Satow sails from Liverpool for New York (29 June). He sails from Vancouver in the 'Empress of China' (15 July). Arrives in Yokohama, welcomed by many British Subjects (28 July). Calls on Saionji Kinmochi, acting Foreign Secretary who speaks French (29 July). Calls on U.S. Minister, Edwin Dun (30 July).
- ▶ Calls on Prime Minister Itō Hirobumi (1 August). Calls on German Minister Felix von Gutschmid and Belgian Minister Albert d'Anethan (8 Aug). Audience with Emperor and Empress Meiji (9 Aug). August 7th and 12th in Yokohama. In August he is also visited by Vice President of the Privy Council Higashikuze Michitomi and Minister of the Imperial Household Hijikata Hisamoto (August 10th), Yamagata Aritomo (13th), Fukuba Bisei (14th) et al. Goes to Miyanoshita (16–18th). At Nikkō (20–29th).
- ▶ December 26th to Atami by train. December 28th climbs Mt. Higane. With 'the boys' (his sons Eitarō and Hisayoshi) at Numazu, December 30–31st.

Ministers in Japan, 1895

Centre: Mikhail A. Hitrovo
(Russia)

Clockwise from top left:

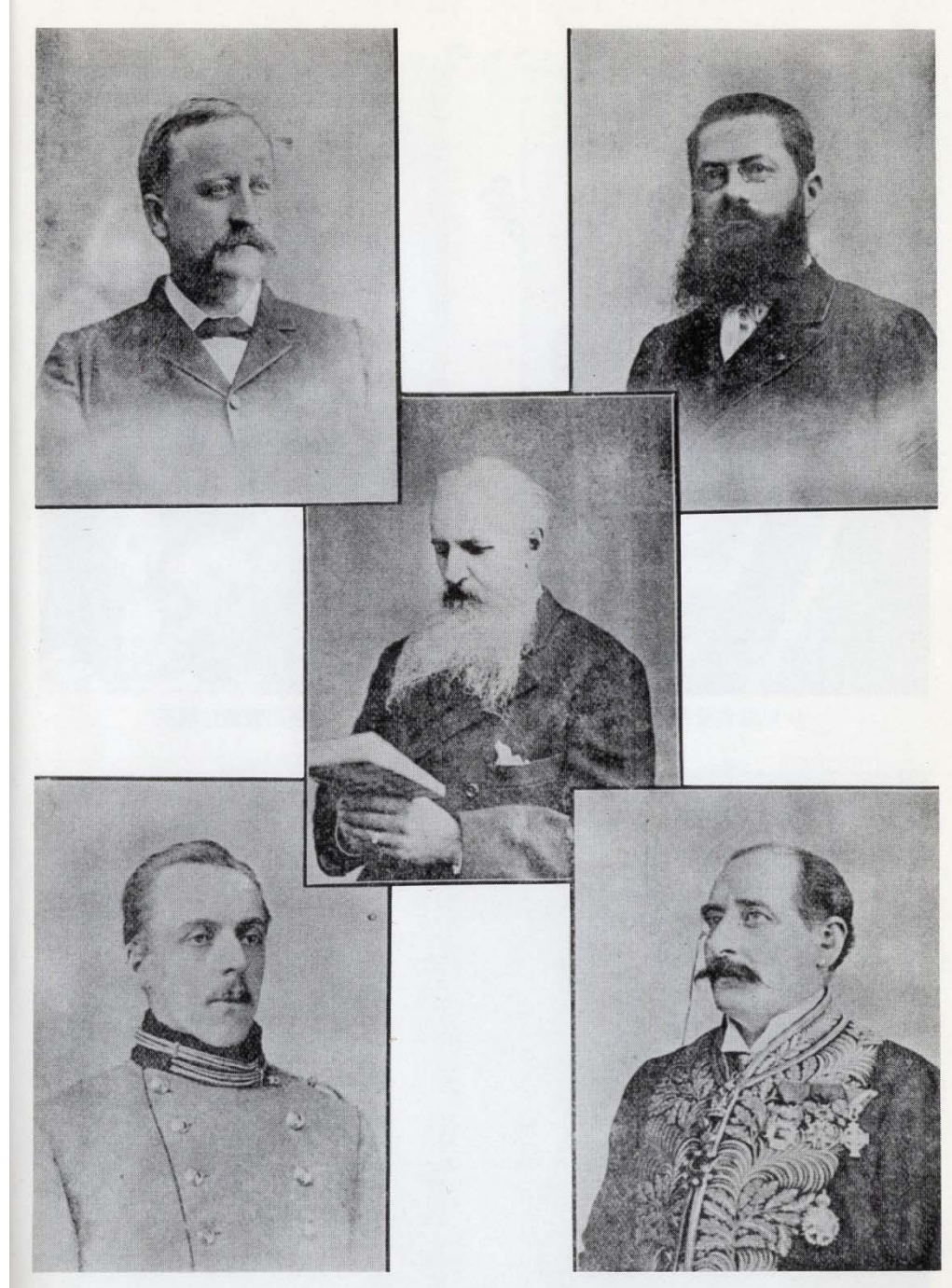
Edwin Dun (USA),

Jules Harmand (France),

Albert D'Anethan (Belgium),

Heinrich Coudenhove-Kalergie
(Austria)

From 太陽 (*Taiyō*, Meiji 28,
Vol. 1, No. 2)



Baron Albert and Baroness Eleanora Mary d'Anethan
(née Haggard)



ダヌタン男爵夫人



ベルギー公使ダヌタン男爵

Baron and Baroness
Sannomiya Yoshitane
Master of Ceremonies of the
Imperial Household. The
Baroness Alatheia was British.

(from Baroness D'Anethan,
*Fourteen Years of Diplomatic
Life in Japan*, London:
Stanley Paul & Co., 1912)



三宮男爵夫人 (三宮系子氏蔵)



式部長男爵三宮義胤

1896 (Meiji 29)

- ▶ 1896 – Audience with Emperor & Empress (Jan 1st); to Atami (Jan 2–5th); with Harold Parlett to Ushibuse (Jan 10–11th). Dinner with Navy Minister Saigō Tsugumichi (Jan 16th). Calls on B.H. Chamberlain, dines with Cambridge graduates: Kuroda Nagashige, Suematsu Kenchō, Kikuchi Dairoku et al. (Jan 24th). FO approves J.C. Hall and Joseph H. Longford as consuls for Formosa by telegram (Jan 29th).
- ▶ To Foreign Minister Saionji (Feb 3rd). To Itō (Feb 8th). Call from Korean Kwon Yong-chin, Korean King in Russian legation (Feb 13th). Asaina (paid informant) tells Satow 400 troops secretly sent to Korea. Satow says it would be disastrous for Japan to go to war because navy is not strong enough (Feb 19th). Satow discusses Formosa, adhesion of colonies to 1894 Treaty of Commerce and Navigation etc. with Itō (March 2nd). Former First Lord of Admiralty Lord Spencer visits (April 10–17th). Satow in Kansai (April 29 – May 2nd).
- ▶ Satow calls on Foreign Minister Mutsu Munemitsu. They talk about Korea (May 4th). Mutsu ill, so Satow calls on P.M. Itō and they discuss cables, Formosa (Taiwan), Korea and Russia, Mutsu's illness etc. Admiral Buller after lunch. (May 16th). Satow sees Mutsu about Korea (May 21st). Sir Andrew Noble of Armstrong's selling warships to Japan (May 23rd). Viscount Fukuba Bisei calls with fruit, discusses Japanese adoption of Chinese civilization in Nara period, and Japanese failure to get Korea to adopt European civilization now. Satow says Koreans intelligent enough, but Inoue Kaoru in too great a hurry. (June 4th).



Earl Spencer at [Hamarikyū](#), 13 April 1896.
Satow is 4th from left in the middle row. Saigo is
on his left, then Earl Spencer. Sannomiya is behind
Spencer in the back row on his left. (From *Taiyō*,
1896, Vol. 2, No. 9)

Second Matsukata cabinet
(18 September 1896 – 12 January 1898)

Top row from left: Saigō
Tsugumichi (Navy), Matsukata
Masayoshi (PM & Finance), Okuma
Shigenobu (Foreign).

Middle row: Nomura Yasushi
(Communications), Kabayama
Sukenori (Home), Takashima
Tomonosuke (Army & Colonies).

Bottom row: Kiyoura Keigo
(Justice), Hachisuka Tochiaki
(Education), Enomoto Takeaki
(Agriculture & Commerce)

From 太陽 (*Taiyō*, Meiji 29, Vol. 2,
No. 21)



第二次松方内閣各大臣

- ▶ 1896 (contd.) Satow sails in HMS 'Centurion' to Kure and Moji coal depot. Returns to Yokohama. (June 6 – 16th). Satow goes to Lake Chuzenji by train (July 1st, returning to Tokyo on 4th). Satow calls on Itō, discusses Formosa and Yamagata's visit to Moscow, Li Hung-chang (July 13th). Satow at Chuzenji (15–25 July and 31 July – 14 August).
- ▶ Satow calls on Foreign Minister Saionji, discusses Japanese immigration to Australia and treaty adhesion, Formosa and Yamagata's mission to Moscow (17 August). Komura Jutarō calls to concede point about 'artizans' because they want adhesion of main Australian colonies. (August 20th). Satow and Albert d'Anethan go to Nikko, floods on the way (Sept 11 –21). Satow gives Komura a memo about Formosan camphor (23 September).
- ▶ Satow calls on new pro-British Foreign Minister Okuma Shigenobu and discusses McCalmont's yacht, adhesion of colonies to Treaty, secrecy of Japanese army towards British military attaché Colonel Sartorius, Formosa, Jardine & Co's lot in Yokohama, harbour improvements at Yokohama and Kobe, Li Hung-chang and Korea (2 October). Satow calls on new Prime Minister Matsukata Masayoshi (7 Oct). Okuma complains strongly to Satow about Canadian and Australian attitudes to Japanese immigrants (15 Oct). Meiji Emperor visits races in Yokohama (29 Oct). Satow visits Okuma to discuss colonies' adhesion, Formosa, treaty ratification, Yokohama port dredging (Nov 2); military and naval preparations (Nov 5); coming into operation of new Treaty, patents, railways, colonies (Nov 14).
- ▶ Matsukata talked about army and navy expenditure, gold, military and financial weakness of China, following British example of India in governing Formosa (19 Nov). Okuma talks about Korean history, murder of Queen Min (24 Nov). Satow calls on Okuma and they discuss trademarks, consular convention, Siam, Manila (3 Dec). Ignatius Valentine Chirol of the *Times* visits Satow and reports about situation in Korea (9 Dec) and they discuss FO attitudes to China over lunch (16 Dec). Satow goes to Nikko with d'Anethans and others (26–28 Dec). Funeral of Choshu prince Mōri Motonori (30 Dec).

1897 (Meiji 30)

- ▶ 1897 (Jan–May). “Usual reception at 2 pm.” (Jan 1). Satow calls on Okuma to discuss Carew trial begun on October 24, 1896; Barrie case (torture of accused); extradition and Siam–Japan treaty (7 Jan). Again to Okuma to discuss Barrie, Japan’s treaty with Turkey, Siam (14 Jan). Judge H.S. Wilkinson calls to discuss Carew case (2 Feb). To Okuma to discuss Barrie case, Japanese Govt. finances, Korea. (9 Feb). To Okuma again, talk about Korea, opium in Formosa, colonies (18 Feb). Japan–Honolulu cable and subsidy discussed with businessman T. Smith of London (19 Feb). To Okuma to discuss colonies and gold standard (4 Mar), silk direct export bounty, Formosa Chinese, sending a Japanese representative to Diamond Jubilee (18 Mar), consular convention, Jubilee, Formosa, Currency (1 Apr) convention, Jubilee (7 April). Military attache at Petersburg Lt. Col. Waters calls & says Siberian railway will be completed in 1901 (13 Apr). Satow leaves Yokohama by ‘Empress of India’ for England via Canada (7 May).
- ▶ Diamond Jubilee. Satow reaches England (4 June), calls on Katō (5 June), to FO (8 June), attends Diamond Jubilee celebrations (22 June), sees Prince Arisugawa Takehito off at Victoria station (30 June), to FO (1 July), to Osborne, Isle of Wight to see Queen Victoria (11 Aug), to FO to see Lord Salisbury (6 Oct) and Sanderson and Sir Francis Villiers (12 Oct). Calls on Katō (14 Oct). Leaves England (20 Oct). In Canada, 29 Oct – 8 Nov. Returns to Japan (21 Nov).
- ▶ Nakada Takanori of FO calls. Satow sees Komura to discuss Korea, Hawaii, Nagasaki harbour question, “tough argument” on taxation of Sendai high school teacher W. Denning (25 Nov). To Chuzenji (3–6 Dec). Thomas Glover calls with banker John Stiven (9 Dec). Saigo Tsugumichi holds party at Kōyōkwan (10 Dec). Consul J. H. Longford calls (13 Dec). Satow calls on new Foreign Minister Nishi Tokujirō and they discuss sealing, German occupation of Kiaochow, Korea, Camphor and Hawaii (16 Dec), Port Arthur, Diet hostility to Cabinet (23 Dec) . Viscount Yamao Yōzō calls on behalf of Prince Arisugawa (25 Dec). Satow calls on Itō and tells him party government must come in soon. “He said Matsugata’s cabinet had made a great mess of things he had left in good order. He clearly does not like to undertake government. We talked about China.” (30 Dec).

Third Ito cabinet (12 January – 6 June 1898)

Itō Hirobumi (centre)

Clockwise from top left:

Saigō Tsugumichi (Navy),

Inoue Kaoru (Finance),

Yoshikawa Akimasa (Home),

Nishi Tokujirō (Foreign),

Sone Arasuke (Justice), Itō Miyoji

(Agriculture and Commerce),

Suematsu Kenchō

(Communications), Katsura Tarō

(Army),

Saionji Kinmochi (Education)

From 太陽 (*Taiyō*, Meiji 31,
No. 3)



1898 (Meiji 31)

- ▶ 1898 – Family dinner at Totsuka mura (Jan 3). Satow discusses mourning for Empress Dowager with Master of Court Ceremonies Sannomiya Yoshitane and Nishi (6 Jan). Mining engineer Russell Dunn calls to talk about Vladivostok coal (8 Jan). Satow calls on Itō to congratulate him on forming his 3rd cabinet (13 Jan). At dinner Hijikata mentions talk of Anglo–Japanese alliance, but Satow speaks only of a ‘close understanding’ being a good thing to publicise (14 Jan). Satow speaks to Foreign Minister Nishi (20 and 27 Jan).
- ▶ Sannomiya calls to say Empress pleased that court mourning will be worn in England for sovereign of Japan (1 Feb). Satow calls on Itō, discusses Russian troops at Kirin, Korea, Kiaochou, Kobe hill lots, Australia and Treaty, Canada, Li Hung–chang (7 Feb). Satow sees Nishi, discusses Kobe hill–lots, Formosa and legal codes, Chinese indemnity to Japan (17 Feb).
- ▶ Satow goes to Itō to discuss indemnity, partition of China (18 Feb), coolie violence in Kobe, codes in Formosa (24 Feb). To Nishi about limits on Kobe hill lots leases, Chinese indemnity loan, rudeness of lower classes (3 March). To Itō and Nishi to ask if Japan is willing for Britain to succeed her at Weiheiwei. Told Japan will go when China pays indemnity. (16 Mar) Satow thanks Itō for favourable answer received through Nishi (19 Mar); he makes and takes note verbale to Itō, then Komura, about Weiheiwei (1 April).
- ▶ Satow calls on Finance Minister Inoue Kaoru who says Japan doesn’t want to support Britain taking Weiheiwei openly for fear of upsetting three powers (F, G, R). Predicts ‘a great struggle’ in five years (5 April). To Itō to discuss Kobe hill lots, and Weiheiwei (19 April). Satow gets Komura to promise to let him know the exact date of evacuation of Weiheiwei (4 May). Komura calls to announce indemnity fully paid and evacuation by end of month, Satow delighted, congratulates him and Itō on Nishi–Rosen protocol and says British interests in Korea ‘only commercial and secondary’ to those of Japan and Russia, as he always tells Koreans who visit him (10 May).

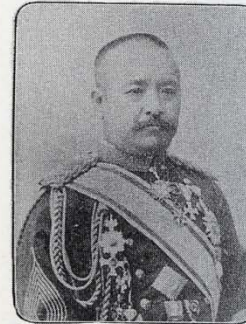
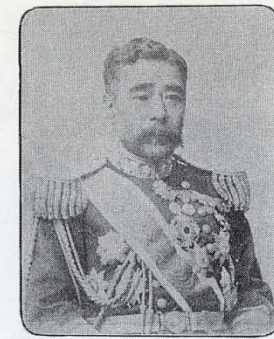
- ▶ 1898 (contd.) Satow takes his German cousin Lisinka to Nikkō (13–16 May). Vice Minister for FA Komura says evacuation of Weihaiwei will end 23 May (17 May) and Japan has no objection to British warship going there (18 May). Talks with Itō about treatment of foreigners after new treaties in operation, and Lord Salisbury's speech on 20th or 21st mentioning Japan as "a country with which we have so many grounds of sympathy and co-operation" (25 May). Asks reticent Nishi about Salisbury's speech (26 May).
- ▶ Satow calls on Komura and discusses income tax law, prisons and bail (8 June). He discusses Manila, Austrian treaty ratification, Nagasaki harbour with Nishi (23 June). Calls on Itō who talks of Cabinet reshuffles, retirement, making his own party and resigning ranks and decorations (27 June). Calls on new Prime Minister Okuma who is cheerful about future of constitutional government and mentions Austrian treaty ratification (2 July), discusses violent coolies in Kobe, treaties, Formosa and prisons (9 July) and China (27 July).
- ▶ Satow at Chuzenji (29 July – 4 Aug). Calls on Okuma by appointment to discuss Philippines, taxation, Diet, coolie violence, tariff (17 Aug). At Chuzenji (20 Aug – 2 Sept). To Okuma to discuss Russian Hague peace conference proposal, tariffs in Formosa, Itō's visit to China, prisons, Kobe hill lots (22 Sept), and Okuma "talked a great deal" about China, Philippines and Korea (6 Oct). Satow at Atami (9 Oct – 29 Oct). Calls on Vice Minister for FA Hatoyama Kazuo and discusses Japanese going to Queensland, berthing ships at Yokohama, Kobe hill lots, warehouses at Kobe (2 Nov).
- ▶ Satow attends Aoki Shuzō's first reception as Foreign Minister (10 Nov) and calls on Aoki who is pro-British and "anxious to work with England" (17 Nov). They discuss consular jurisdiction, consular convention, Anglo-Russian relations at Peking, railway construction in China (7 Dec). Satow at unveiling of Saigō Takamori's statue in Ueno (18 Dec).

**Second Yamagata cabinet (8
November 1898 – 19 October
1900) Yamagata Aritomo
(centre).**

Clockwise from top left:
Matsukata Masayoshi
(Finance), Saigō Tsugumichi
(Navy), Kabayama Sukenori
(Education), Yoshikawa
Akimasa (Communications),
Sone Arasuke (Agriculture &
Commerce), Yamamoto
Gonbei (Navy), Kiyoura Keigō
(Justice), Aoki Shūzō
(Foreign), Katsura Tarō
(Army)

From 太陽 (*Taiyō*, Meiji 31,
No. 23)

第二次山県内閣各大臣 (明治31年11月8日～明治33年10月19日)



1899 (Meiji 32)

- ▶ 1899 Asaina calls to talk about changes in Government (4 Jan). Satow speaks at dinner with Aoki about docking HMS 'Victorious' at Kure, coal for Royal Navy ships at Nagasaki, Pacific Cable (8 Jan). He speaks to Yamagata about treatment of prisoners and Aoki who is concerned about encouraging foreign investors (12 Jan). Lord Charles Beresford arrives (17 Jan), presented by Satow to Emperor Meiji (23 Jan).
- ▶ Satow goes to Aoki, they discuss Nagasaki coal, pending cases, consular convention, duties on colonial products, trademarks, certificates of origin, Indian adherence to treaty, deserters, Chinese army etc. (19 Jan). Asaina says no hope of foreigners being allowed to hold land (2 Feb). Satow dines with Army Minister Katsura Tarō, they discuss Chinese army and training for officers. Katsura says Britain and Japan have parallel interests (6 Feb). Satow discusses Chinese army training with Aoki (14 Feb).
- ▶ Satow speaks to Itō about China and Russian designs on Manchuria, and keeping China intact with which Itō agrees. Satow says he is pleased with various bills to facilitate transfer of jurisdiction. (15 Feb). Satow offers Aoki the Yokohama consular prison for foreigners (16 Feb). Satow gives Aoki 'note verbale' about consular income tax, and they discuss India, Chinese army, Amoy concession, Italian actions in Sanmun (16 Mar), operation of Treaties, foreigners owning land, counsel at preliminary exam of arrested foreigners (23 Mar), Russia in Korea, tenders for railways, revised treaty with India (30 Mar).
- ▶ Aoki gives Satow a 'note verbale' about income tax on HM consuls and they discuss India, pending cases at transfer of jurisdiction, Russia and China (6 April), Indian adherence, Japan joining Madrid agreement of 1891 on industrial patents, pending cases, China (20 April). They speak on various matters on May 1st, 18th.

- ▶ 1899 contd. Satow calls on Aoki to discuss date of operation of Treaty i.e. 17 July or 4 August, execution of criminal and civil judgements, land registration in settlements, Yokohama consular prison, Queensland immigration, Indian adhesion to consular convention (1 June), Hiogo hotel lot, consular convention, British Columbia, Queensland, date of operation of Treaty, Japanese prostitutes abroad (8 June), date of operation of Treaty in Kobe settlement, Queensland and Canada welcoming Japanese merchants and travellers but not labourers (22 June), consular jail, Chinese confidential mission, taxes on diplomats, registration fees on land transfers, passports of foreigners, pending cases, land registers etc. (20, 24 and 31 July).
- ▶ Satow calls on Vice Minister for Foreign Affairs Takahira Kogorō and asks if foreign warships can visit the 22 newly opened ports (1 Sept). Calls on Aoki and talks about registration fees, British jurisdiction disputed in Reynell's case, discrimination against Europeans in Formosa re leasing land and opening ports, Chinese treaty negotiations (7 Sept).

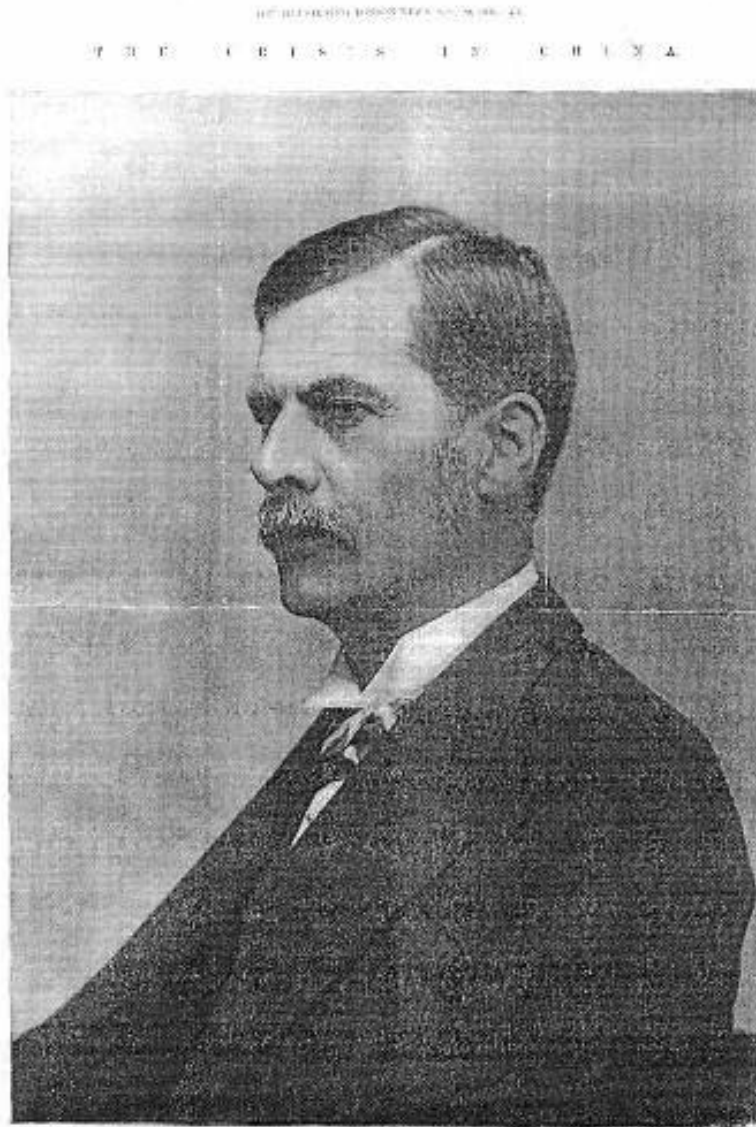
- ▶ 1899 contd. Aoki calls on Satow to show Hongkong Bank proposal for Chinese Mint, discuss draft consular convention, Indian adhesion, settlement land (13 Sept). Satow receives telegram that his mother died on 10th (13 Sept). He boards Admiral Seymour's flagship HMS 'Centurion' for Kobe, Shikoku, Miyajima, Moji and back (15–25 Sept).
- ▶ With Aoki Satow discusses Chinese Mint proposal, railway tenders, ginseng smuggling by Japanese in Korea, land leases in settlements, Japanese officer to Indian manoeuvres etc. (28 Sept), 'haute politique', settlement land (5 Oct), Nishi's appointment as Minister to Peking, Russians at Masanpho etc. (12 Oct), Kojedo and Russians, Yokohama consular jail not accepted by Japanese Govt. to Satow's regret, Indian, Consular convention, settlement land, tea duty (26 Oct), settlement land (8 Nov), India, Formosan leases, Yokohama land, Russia and Japan (30 Nov), cables, settlement land, ambassadors to London, Washington, Berlin, Paris, Petersburg (6 Dec).
- ▶ Satow tells Itō he was pleased to read his speeches on theory of the Emperor and treating foreigners liberally. Satow writes in diary that Itō is clearly "the power behind the throne". (28 Dec).

1900 (Meiji 33)

- ▶ 1900 Satow sees Aoki and they discuss Formosan land, title deeds, Masanpho, Petersburg (11 Jan), Hiogo Hotel land claim (Bardens), Russian navy and Kojedo (18 Jan). Discusses likelihood of war between Japan & Russia with military attache Churchill (24 Jan). Discusses China, Masanpho, Rosen's recall and land question with Itō at Atami (30 Jan). Satow and Aoki discuss Hayashi's appointment as Minister to London, Pacific cable, title deeds, consular convention, consular marriages, Indian protocol and exchange of notes (9 Feb), Indian adhesion still with Cabinet who dislike the terms (22 Feb), build-up of Russian troops in Far East (1 Mar), Madrid agreement of 1891 and Japan's refusal to adhere, Russian ships at Masanpho, Pacific cables (22 Mar), Russian demand of land at Masanpho, consular convention and Japanese Court recognising Longford at Nagasaki, India (29 Mar). Satow receives telegram from Lord Salisbury offering him Peking. W.H. Stone talks about cables. (29 Mar).

- ▶ 1900 contd. Okuma calls, says no trouble about Masanpho, but Japanese people, army and navy would not allow Government to let Korea fall into Russian hands (4 April).
- ▶ Satow and Aoki talk about allowing HMS 'Barfleur' (Admiral Bruce) inside the Yokohama breakwater, Masanpho (5 April), refusal of breakwater access to 'Barfleur', consular convention, India (continued objections of *Hōseikyoku*), Mansanpho (12 and 25 April). Satow goes to say goodbye to Itō who says he hopes Satow is coming back (2 May). Sannomiya also hopes Satow coming back, but Satow says he can't say for certain (May 3). Satow sails from Yokohama in the 'Empress of India' (May 4).

Portrait of Satow in the *Illustrated London News*, 29 September 1900, with heading 'The Crisis in China'



While Minister in China, 1900–06, Satow observed events in Japan and especially the Russo–Japanese War, 1904–5 which was fought on Chinese soil and the Treaty of Portsmouth, New Hampshire. He wrote to his friend F.V. Dickins that Japan could not expect an indemnity at Portsmouth because no Russian territory had been occupied. This was the general opinion in Peking. (Letter to Dickins, 6 December 1905. PRO 30/33 11/6)

1906 (Meiji 39)

- ▶ Satow returned briefly to Japan (16 May – 9 June) on his way home to retire in England in 1906 to see his family and old friends and acquaintances.
- ▶ He went to Kyoto (19–21 May); called on Okuma (22 May); had an audience with Emperor Meiji (26 May); visited O-Kane at Fujimi-cho (28 May); dined with Cambridge Club (30 May); went to Lake Chuzenji (1–5 June); dined at Arisugawas (7 June) and spoke there over cigars with Claude MacDonald, newly made Ambassador who said the F.O. had treated Satow badly.

Conclusions

- ▶ Satow's life in the 1870s was much freer and less work-oriented than during the *Bakumatsu* period or his later time as Minister, and he did much travelling in Japan and Europe at a time when railway networks were barely developed.
- ▶ The 1895–1900 diary indicates that he was very busy with many appointments each day, though he did keep a separate diary for his trips to Lake Chuzenji for rest and recuperation.
- ▶ <http://www.dhs.kyutech.ac.jp/~ruxton/satow.html>
- ▶ Thank you for listening!