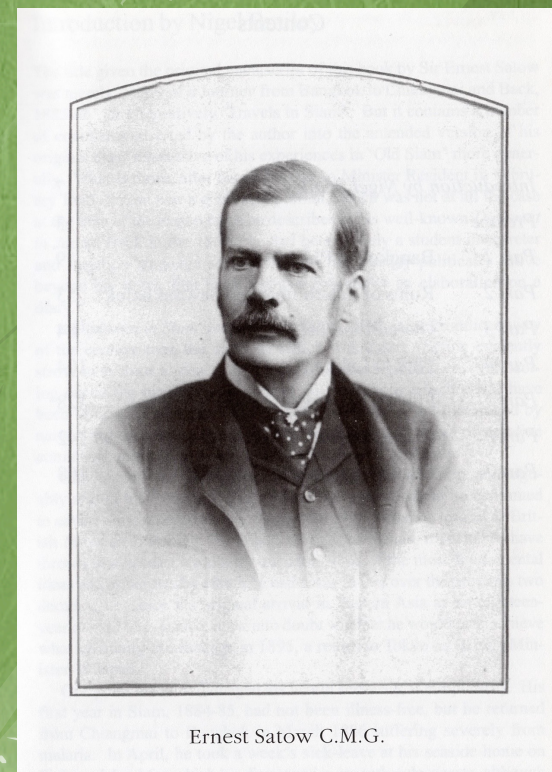


Ernest Satow's Visits to Japan from Siam (in 1884 and 1886)

Ian Ruxton
Kyushu Institute of
Technology
EAJS Kobe
24 September 2016



DOI: 10.13140/RG.2.2.14680.08964

Contents

1. Satow's career – an overview
2. Satow's Visit to Japan in 1884 (October 1st – November 22nd)
Includes a
Paper - Notes on the Intercourse between Japan and Siam in the 17th Century, read to the Asiatic Society of Japan in Tokyo on 19 November 1884
3. Satow's Visit to Japan in 1886 (June 23rd – September 1st)
4. Concluding Remarks

1. Ernest Mason Satow's career - I

- ❑ Born in London in 1843
- ❑ Promising scholar at University College London, 1859-61
- ❑ Student Interpreter in China (Shanghai and Peking), 1861-62
- ❑ Early years in Japan, 1862-69
(*Bakumatsu*, start of Meiji era)
- ❑ First Home Leave, 1869-70
- ❑ Japan 1870-83 with home leaves 1875-76 and 1883-84

Satow's career - II

- ❑ Siam 1884-87 includes two visits to Japan [this presentation] and promotion from Consular to Diplomatic Service
- ❑ Italy, Spain, Portugal, Oxford 1887-88
- ❑ Uruguay 1889-93
- ❑ Morocco 1893-95 (awarded K.C.M.G.)
- ❑ Japan 1895-1900. Minister with home leave in May-October 1897 (Diamond Jubilee) and between posts, May-August 1900

Satow's career - III

- ❑ China 1900-06. British High Commissioner, September 1900 – January 1902. Then Minister.
- ❑ Home leave January-June 1903.
- ❑ Last visit to Japan, May-June 1906. Retires from Diplomatic Service, October 1906.
- ❑ Second British delegate at the Second Hague Peace Conference, June-October 1907.
- ❑ Scholar of International history and diplomacy in retirement. *A Guide to Diplomatic Practice*, Longmans, Green & Co., 1917 (sixth edition, ed. Sir Ivor Roberts in 2011, with a seventh edition forthcoming)

2. Satow's Visit to Japan in 1884 - I

- At end of 1883 in England Satow applied for post of Agent and Consul-General in Bangkok. Promoted to Minister-Resident early in 1885. Left London for Bangkok on 25 January 1884. Travelled via Aden, Penang, Singapore. Reached Bangkok on March 6th.
- On March 20th Satow writes privately to F.V. Dickins about Japan “I never think of that country without the liveliest feelings of regret. One was so happy there, in spite of the distance from England, and the travelling in the interior was delightful. Sometimes I think I was a great fool to leave it simply for promotion.”
- Similar regret in letter dated March 21st to William G. Aston: “This is not such a bad place, though there is much that makes me regret Japan.”

Satow's Visit to Japan in 1884 - II

- ❑ Satow leaves Bangkok on September 17th. Reaches Nagasaki on October 1st, via Hong Kong.
- ❑ Oct. 2. “Went ashore & bought a few pieces of Hirado & Kameyama [porcelain] at the shop of Sato Yukichi in Funadaiku Machi.”
- ❑ Reaches Kobe October 4th. Arranges \$5 per month pension for Noguchi Tomizo's widow, to maximum of \$120 (see also October 8th).
- ❑ Oct. 6. Reaches Yokohama, train to Tokyo to see sons Eitaro 英太郎 and [Hisakichi/Hisayoshi 久吉](#).

Satow's Visit to Japan in 1884 - III

- Oct. 6. diary – Entry in romanized Japanese (romaji)
“Hirugo kodomo wo mi ni ittara.. Futari tomo soken de otonashikute medzurashii. Eitarō wa issakunen yori kakubetsu sei ga nobinai, chieye ga tsuita. Hisakichi irō shiroku waga otōto Theodore ni yoku nitari.”

Translation: “Went to see the children in the afternoon: both are healthy, gentle and charming. Eitaro hasn't grown much since the year before last, but is more sensible. Hisakichi is of fair complexion and looks much like my younger brother Theodore.”

- These are apparently Satow's first diary references to his sons, born in 1881 and 1883. A daughter was born in 1872 but she only lived one year and five months.

Ernest Satow's Japanese family

Anti-Clockwise from top
centre:

Ernest Satow (1843-1929),
Takeda Kane (1853-1932),
daughter (1872-1873),
Eitaro (1880-1926),
Hisayoshi (1883-1972)

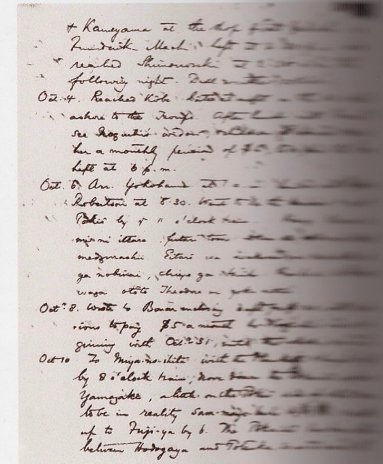
(*The Ernest Satow Album*,
Yokohama Archives of
History, pub. Yurindo, Heisei
13, 2001)



1



2



3



4



5



6

Satow's Visit to Japan in 1884 - IV

- ❑ October 10th. “To Miya-no-shita with the [Minister Francis Richard] Plunketts & [Raymond de B.M.] Layard. Left by 8 o'clock train, drove down the Tōkaidō as far as Yamazaki, a little on the Tokiō side of what seems to be in reality sam-maye-bashi 山前橋, & walked up to Fuji-ya by 6.” Returns to Tokyo on October 14th. Next day Satow calls on Corps Diplomatique colleagues and Japanese ministers.
- ❑ October 16th – Dinner at Inoue Kaoru's house for Sir George Bowen, Governor of Hong Kong. “Plunkett has clearly improved our relations [from the way they had been with Parkes].”
- ❑ November 2nd. “Dined with [Basil Hall] Chamberlain to meet [Lt. Albert George Sidney] Hawes, who returned from England a few days ago. Have nearly concluded purchase of a house [for his family] in Fujimi-chō, Shi chōme.”
- ❑ The house was between Yasukuni shrine and Hosei University.

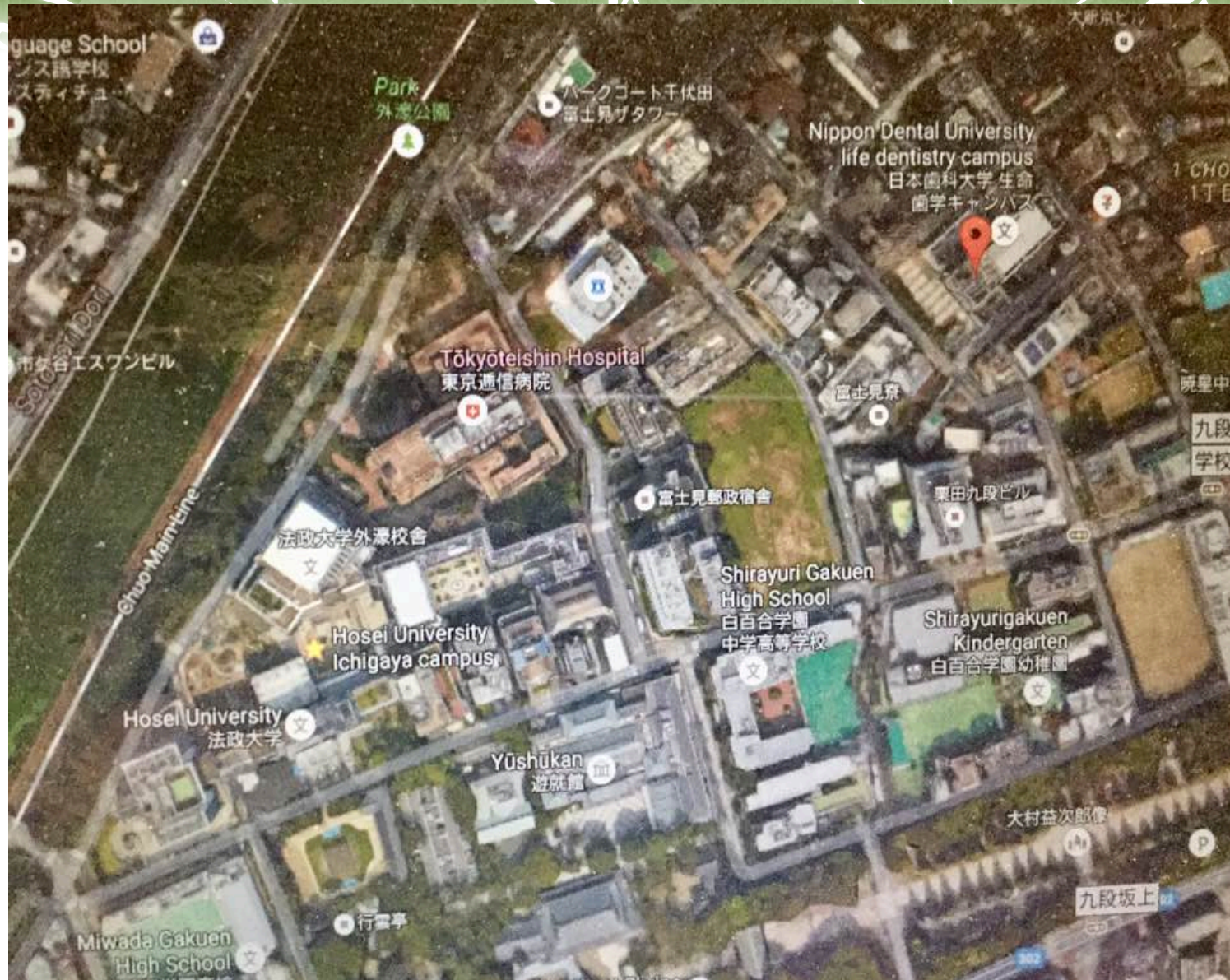


Francis Plunkett



A.G.S. Hawes

Satellite photo of Fujimi-cho showing the site of Satow's Iida-machi house bought in 1873, and the smaller Fujimi-cho house bought in 1884.

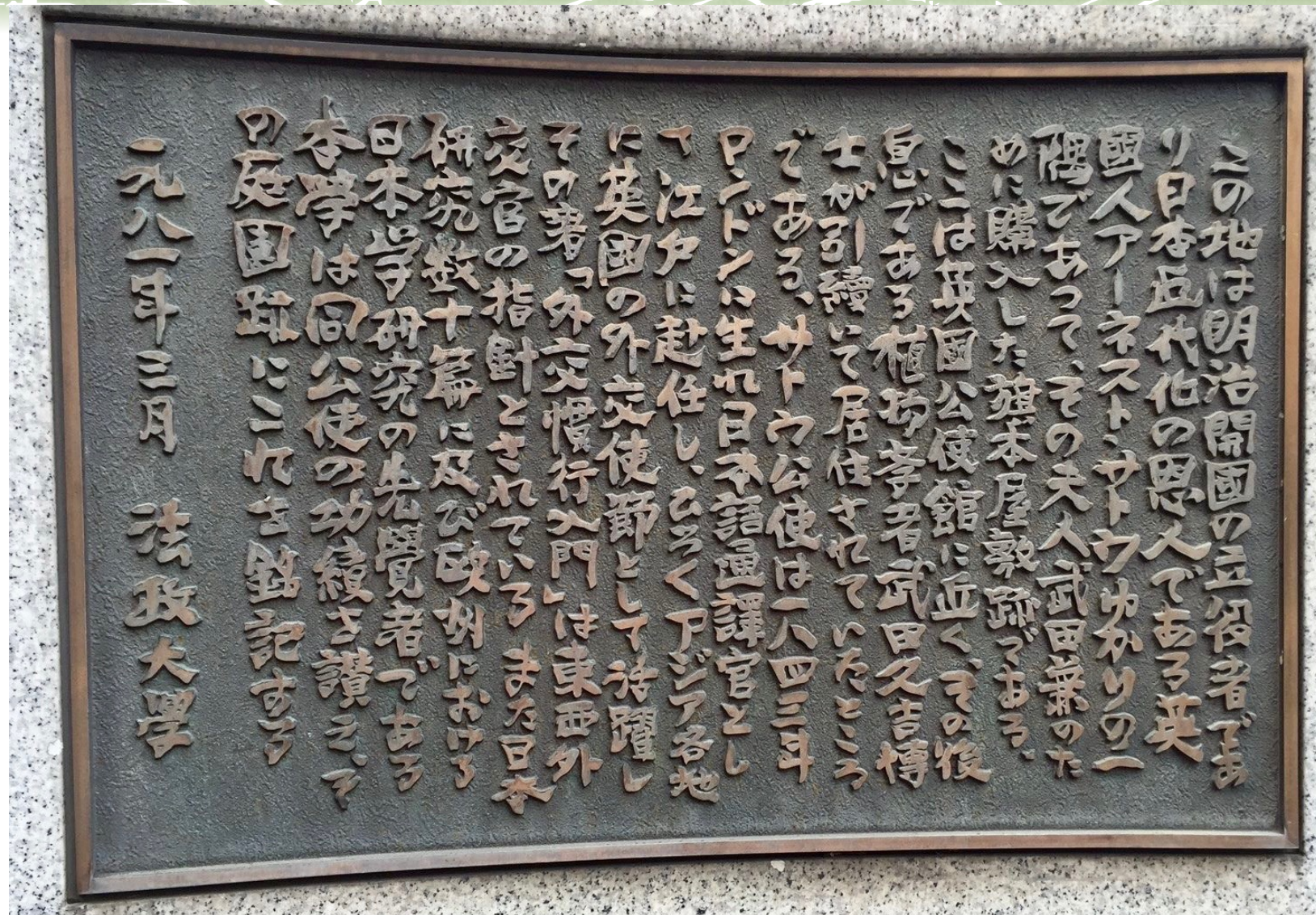


Fujimi-cho house – with Takeda Kane and Hisayoshi



Yokohama Archives of History photograph

Plaque marking spot where the Fujimi-cho house stood, on what is now Hosei University land near Yasukuni shrine



Photograph courtesy Greg Johnson

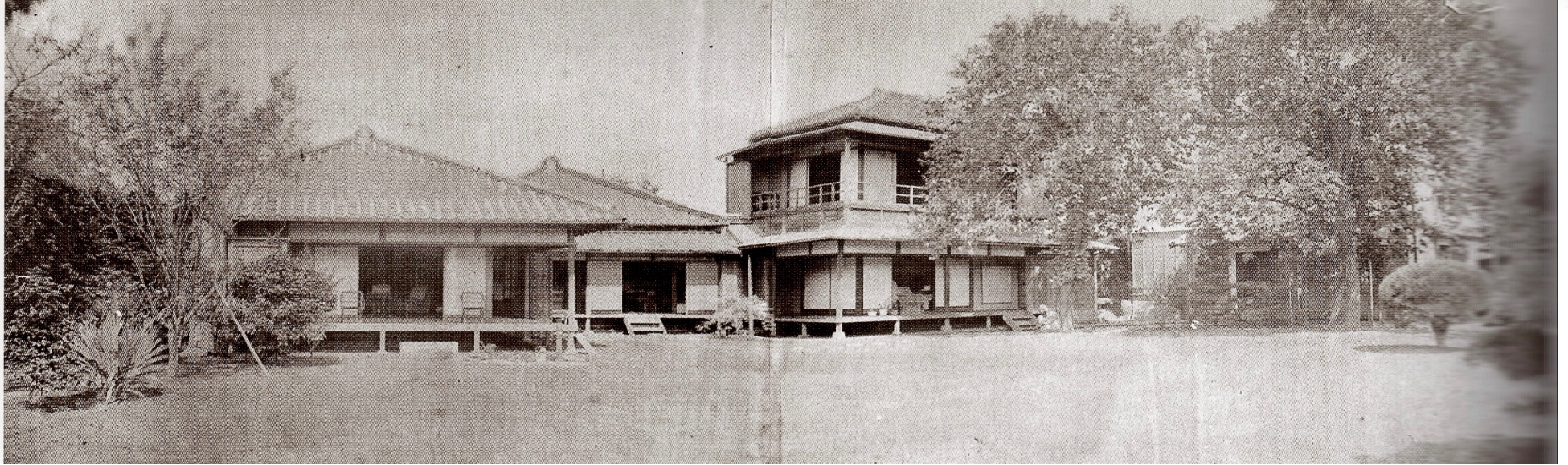
Satow's Visit to Japan in 1884 - V

- ❑ November 3rd. Ball at Rokumeikan for Mikado's birthday.
- ❑ November 6th. "Dinner given to me at the Kō-yō-kwan by old Date [Munenari of Uwajima], Yoshida Kiyonari, Shiwoda Saburo."
- ❑ Nov. 7. "Garden Party at the Palace. The Mikado looked more idiotic than ever, & c[ou]ld. only mumble some inarticulate words w[hi]ch. meant nothing; he is horribly ugly. Little Takehito looked nice. Dined with [seismologist John] Milne, met Dr. Henderson & a lawyer named Latham from Shanghai. The [Fujimi-cho] house bought & paid for today."
- ❑ The description of the Emperor in May 1868 in *A Diplomat in Japan* (p. 371) is less negative.
- ❑ Prince Arisugawa Takehito 有栖川宮威仁親王 (1862-1913). Career officer in the Imperial Japanese Navy.

Satow's Visit to Japan in 1884 - VI

- ❑ November 8 - 15. Trip to Nikko.
- ❑ November 15. "Started at 8.15. The view of the Nikkō mountains from the ferry was magnificent, including also Shirane & Akagi: much more snow than 3 days ago when I went up Nio-hô-zan. As soon as we got on to the dyke saw [Mount] Fuji, Asama, Haruna & just the tops of Yatsu-ga-take peering over the Chichibu hills, quite white c. [with] snow."
- ❑ Nov. 18. Lunched with [Le Poer] Trench. Brinkley and Gubbins there. Dined with Hawes at Roku-mei-kwan. Saw Brinkley there. Told him I w[ou]ld. not attempt to disturb his possession of the Iida machi house, and that if it were not sold, Okane would be glad to have him as a tenant as long as he chose to remain."
- ❑ Apparently this is the first diary reference to Kane Takeda.

Iida-machi house (now Nihon Shika Daigaku, Fujimi 1-chome, 9-20)



This was a large house bought for 600 yen by Satow in Meiji 6 (1873). The land was leased for 30 years from January 1, 1874 at 5 rio per annum. After the Takeda family moved to what is now Fujimi-cho 4-chome, it was rented to Basil Hall Chamberlain for two years from 1886 at 40 yen per month. See pp.94,-95 *The Ernest Satow Album* (Yokohama Archives of History, pub. Yurindo, 2001).

Satow on Siam and Japan

- ❑ Satow apparently read this paper on November 19, 1884 to the Asiatic Society of Japan – but it is 74 pages long! Did he read a summary?
- ❑ The paper is mainly an introduction of several series of letters between Japan and Siam. Starts in 1606. Finishes about 1670.
- ❑ (For the full paper see Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan, 13, pt. 2, November 1884, pp. 139-210)

NOTES ON THE INTERCOURSE BETWEEN JAPAN AND SIAM IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY.

By E. M. SATOW.

[Read Nov. 19th, 1884.]

During the century which elapsed from the discovery of Japan by Fernam Mendez Pinto and the almost complete closure of the country to foreign intercourse in 1636, its people abandoned their old habits of seclusion, and a spirit of enterprise arose which prompted them to undertake long voyages, extending even to the remote coasts of Western Europe. The Embassy despatched in 1582 under the auspices of the Jesuit missionaries to Philip II and the Pope was a conspicuous sign of the times, and thirty years later the mission of Hashikura Rokuyemon was equally celebrated. The merchants of Ōzaka, Hirado and Nagasaki eagerly embarked in the trade to Annam, Tonquin, Cambodia and Siam, to Formosa, the Philippine Islands and the Malay peninsula. Japanese mariners engaged themselves on board the vessels of all the nations that frequented the open ports, and a small number even made a voyage to England and back. Others found employment as soldiers in the service of the Dutch in Macassar and Amboyna, or displayed their audacity and talent for stratagem in the capture of the Dutch Governor of Taiwan. Vessels suitable for navigating the open seas replaced the small junks in which they had formerly ventured timidly down the Yellow Sea, or crossed the straits of Krusenstern and Broughton by passing from island to island, and entered a spirited competition with the sailing ships of their European rivals for the trade of the Far East.

It is also probable that, imitating the proceedings of the Dutch, English and Portuguese, they made prize of unoffending Chinese junks,

Japan-Siam paper – opening paragraph

“During the century which elapsed from the discovery of Japan by Fernam Mendez Pinto [1509-83] and the almost complete closure of the country to foreign intercourse in 1636, its people abandoned their old habits of seclusion, and a spirit of enterprise arose which prompted them to undertake long voyages, extending even to the remote coasts of Western Europe. The Embassy despatched in 1582 under the auspices of the Jesuit missionaries to Philip II and the Pope was a conspicuous sign of the times, and thirty years later the mission of Hashikura Rokuyemon [1571-1622] was equally celebrated. The merchants of Ōzaka, Hirado and Nagasaki eagerly embarked in the trade to Annam, Tonquin, Cambodia and Siam, to Formosa, the Philippine Islands and the Malay peninsula. Japanese mariners engaged themselves on board the vessels of all the nations that frequented the open ports, and a small number even made a voyage to England and back. Others found employment as soldiers in the service of the Dutch in Macassar and Amboyna, or displayed their audacity and talent for stratagem in the capture of the Dutch Governor of Taiwan. Vessels suitable for navigating the open seas replaced the small junks in which they had formerly ventured timidly down the Yellow Sea, or crossed the straits of Krusenstern and Broughton by passing from island to island, and entered a spirited competition with the sailing ships of their European rivals for the trade of the Far East.”

3. Satow's Visit to Japan in 1886 (June 23rd – September 1st) - I

- ▣ 23 June. Satow reaches Nagasaki.
- ▣ “Violent rain came on about ten and prevented our going ashore. [Lt. Col. Fairfax] Ellis of R.A. [Royal Artillery] and [Lt. Col. G.] Barker of R.E. [Royal Engineers] going round the world to examine & report on coast defences. Also the Rev. [Hugh] Waddell, wife & family missionaries of Tokyo. [Consul James Joseph] Enslie came off to see me, and the rain having ceased, went on shore, and drank tea with him & young [student interpreter Arthur Morrison] Chalmers at the office. Left just before dark.”

Satow's Visit to Japan in 1886 - II

- ▣ 25 [June] Kōbe. “Ellis, Barker & I with the doctor went to the [Nunobiki] waterfall in the forenoon, and climbed thence up to the halfway ridge towards Mayasan [Mt. Maya]. I felt very fatigued, and had no difficulty in inducing the others to turn back. Afterwards [Consul James] Troup came off to see me, and I went to drink tea with him and his wife. We took Gen[era]l. Cameron, wife & 3 dau[ughter]s. on board here, & left at 10 p.m.”
- ▣ General Sir William Gordon Cameron (1827-1913) was a British soldier and colonial administrator. Commander of British Troops in China, Hong Kong and the Straits Settlements, 1885-89.
- ▣ On June 27th Satow reaches Yokohama. Attack of fever.

Nunobiki waterfall (Kobe)



Satow's Visit to Japan in 1886 - III

- 28 June. “Came up to the Legation [in Tokyo] to lunch & was kept by [Dr. Erwin] Baelz and Lady Plunkett, so sent down for my traps [personal belongings]. Was very much scolded for not coming up yesterday at once, or at least directly after fever fit was over. [Margin: Siebold came to see me & told outline of the Conference's final determination.]”
- 29 June. “Began to read Treaty revision papers. See that [Sir Francis] Plunkett has got F.O. permission to work independently of other Powers if necessary. [Henry Spencer] Palmer's... letters to the “Times” by a coincidence harped a good deal on the same idea. I see it all now. I never believed the F.O. w[ou]ld. do it. Conference has gone back to Inouye [Kaoru]'s propositions of 1882. Plunkett & [German Minister Theodor von] Holleben proposed this, after it had been discovered that the other scheme put forward in May last was unworkable. Frenchman much disgusted at the turn things have taken. ”

Satow's Visit to Japan in 1886 - IV

- 29 June contd. "Rest of the cabinet are supposed not to be very friendly. Conference is now adjourned till October, in order that the home Gov[ernmen]ts. may have their say. Suppose they all agree, (& the Fr[ench]. man is prob[ably]. the only adverse one) then the Japanese have to complete their codes and present them in an authorized English version to the Powers within 2 years of the ratification. If that is done, the Jap[ane]se. will throw open the country with jurisdiction over foreigners outside Treaty limits, & after 3 years more they will have jurisdiction in the [foreign] settlements. So it all turns on their being ready with their codes. The conference may also go to shipwreck on the details in October & that is more than probable. Plunkett & Holleben working together. Itō [Hirobumi]'s leanings are German, Inouye's American. Violent rivalry between the American & German advisers of the F.O."

Satow's Visit to Japan in 1886 - V

- July 2. “Called on Itō [Hirobumi] by app[oin]tm[en]t. He was very gracious. Talked a great deal ab[ou]t. Siam, & a little about Treaty Revision & R[ai]lw[a]ys. Looks somewhat old & worn. He is now Minister President of the Council & has immense power; the others are dwarfs. I do not quite understand how he sh[ou]ld. have so much preponderance.”
- July 3. “Called on Gotō [Shōjirō] with Plunkett.” Gotō Shōjirō 後藤象二郎 (1838-97) was a leader of the Freedom and People's Rights Movement (*Jiyū Kenmin Undō*) with Itagaki Taisuke. They founded the Liberal Party in 1881.
- “It w[ou]ld. take him several interviews to explain all his views. The F.R.R. [Foreign Representatives] were kept in ignorance of the real state of things by the Gov[ernmen]t. The balls & social entertainments, Ladies' Bazaar & so on were dust thrown in the eyes of Foreign Powers.”

Satow's Visit to Japan in 1886 - VI

- ▣ 7 July. “Called on Mutsu [Munemitsu], who said much the same things as Gotō, but more moderately. It is quite 12 yrs. since I have seen him, but he became friendly & open almost at once... He knows the chief points of Treaty revision, but is troubled ab[ou]t. the apptmt. of judges. Professes himself very English in tendency. Does not think there will be any great influx of foreigners or foreign capital. Does not wish the transition period to be too long. Thinks it necessary to diminish the landtax by 10 millions, to impose income tax, & death duties. Much illicit tobacco dealing.”

Satow's Visit to Japan in 1886 - VII

- ▣ 9 July. “Called on Ōkuma [Shigenobu]. School is not quite so flourishing as might be, owing to competition of state-supported schools w[hi]ch. give greater advantages. Country very poor, owing to contraction of the currency; no opening for investment in commerce, so people put it into gov[ernmen]t. bonds &c. Hollowness of gov[ernmen]t. credit. But worst of all the police system; must be changed fr[om]. top to bottom. Brutality of police officers, chosen fr[om]. Shizoku [士族], who treat lower classes as being of another race.”
- ▣ Tokyo Senmon Gakko was founded by Okuma in 1882. It was formally renamed Waseda Daigaku (Waseda University) on acquiring university status in 1902.

Satow's Visit to Japan in 1886 - VIII

- ▣ July 12. "Called on Mori [Arinori], who is now Min[iste]r. of education; he talked nothing else. Is friendly to the Romaji kai, but believes the result aimed at by them will be reached thro' the wider knowledge of English w[hi]ch. the teaching of that language in all the middle schools will bring about".
- ▣ July 16. "Returned Yamao [Yozo]'s call. He talked a good deal about Ōye Taku & his associates, & did not seem to think much of Mutsu or any of them. Then to a Japanese dinner at Count Inouye's house on Torii-zaka, where Brinkley lived and after him Anderson. Yamagata, Yoshikawa (originally a doctor of Awa ni Shikoku) young Sameshima, Asada, a sec[retar]y of Inouye's who almost talked my head off after dinner, & several other Jap[ane]se. Kirkwood, Stevens, Denison, Palmer & Brinkley."
- ▣ July 17 - 23. Hakone. July 24 - August 15. Nikko.

Satow's Visit to Japan in 1886 - IX

- Aug. 24. “Spent this time at Hakone; it rained mostly every day, & the only 2 walks I had were to Gongen of Moto Hakone, & once on the hills towards Mishima, where the view was fine along the coast and over Idzu [Izu 伊豆], tho’ the lake and m[oun]t[ai]ns. round were enveloped in cloud-rack [groups of drifting clouds]. Thus had time to write several quires of Chiengmai journal.”
- This is the account of Satow's trip to Chiengmai from 1 December 1885 to 4 March 1886.
- 26 Aug. “Went to call on Gotō Shōjirō by app[oin]tm[en]t. After a good deal of desultory talk in w[hi]ch. his wife took part, the convers[atio]n turned upon Kim Okkyun. Gotō thought the latter had been very hardly [harshly] treated.”
- Kim Ok-gyun 金玉均 (1851-94). Reformist activist who participated to advance Western ideas and science in Korea.

Satow's Visit to Japan in 1886 - X

- ▣ 29 Aug - 30. "Getting down to Kôbe in "Thibet". Old Rev. Forbes Capel on board. Glad to find he has no intention of coming to Bangkok. Gowland came down fr[om]. Ōzaka, & after tiffining [lunching] with him at the Troups where also were the Pownalls of the R[ai]lw[a]y. dept. returned with him to Ōzaka to look over his collection of finds fr[om]. dolmens, w[hi]ch. are very good. Spent the afternoon with him & returned by 6.25 train. Extremely good man to give up a whole day, & come all that way for me. Got away at 11 p.m."
- ▣ William Gowland (1842-1922). English mining engineer famous for his archaeological work at Stonehenge and in Japan. Called the "Father of Japanese Archaeology". In Japan 1872-88.

Satow's Visit to Japan in 1886 - XI

- ▣ 1 Sept. “Reached Nagasaki about 9 and left a little before six. Went ashore to [J.J.] Enslie, & then to the curio dealer Satō where I bought 5 pieces Satsuma, 1 ōkawachi, 2 Kameyama and 4 pieces of old Hirado; also a suzuri bako [writing box 硯箱] of gold lacquer with irises on inside of lid, & a fubako [box for letters 文箱], decorated with quail and flowers: 26 yen for the whole lot of porcelain, 33 yen for the two pieces of lacquer. Also at Furuya's two pieces of sepulchral pottery for 2½ yen.”
- ▣ 5 September – reached Hong Kong.

4. Concluding Remarks

■ 1. Siam was a Good Career Move

For Ernest Satow, posting to Siam (confirmed to him by letter when he was on leave in London on 13 January 1884) opened up the very rare chance of promotion from the Consular to the Diplomatic Service. He did not dislike Siam at first (though later the climate, lack of good friends and maybe ignorance of the language wore him down), but he very soon missed Japan and – one presumes, though he does not write this in his diaries – his family.

■ 2. He maintained his scholarly activities and read a paper on Japan-Siam relations to the Asiatic Society of Japan in 1884.

Concluding Remarks - II

- ▣ 3. Returning to Japan for vacations (R & R) allowed him to reconnect with Japanese and foreign friends, acquaintances and family. He was able to gauge the situation regarding Treaty Revision and general political and economic conditions of Japan. Ultimately he hoped to be reposted there as Minister, and he was - from 1895 to 1900.
- ▣ 4. He was able to buy the Fujimi-cho house in 1884 for the Takeda family: Okane, Eitaro and Hisayoshi.

Lastly...

- Thank you for Listening!
- ご清聴ありがとうございました。

