

Sir Ernest Satow (1843-1929) in Tokyo, 1895-1900 -Notes

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often accusing those involved in the negotiations of not standing up for the 'rights' of foreigners in Japan.

Background on the Treaties and on some of the other personalities involved can be found in Ian Nish's biographical portraits of Aoki Shuzo and J. H. Gubbins in *Biographical Portraits*, Vols II and III (Japan Library for the Japan Society, 1997 and 1999). See also essays by James Hoare 'The Era of the Unequal Treaties 1858–99' and by Inouye Yuichi 'From Unequal Treaty to the Anglo-Japanese Alliance, 1867–1902' in Volume I of *The Political-Diplomatic Dimension, 1600–1930*, edited by Ian Nish and Yoichi Kibata, 2000.

10. Despatch No 97.

11. See Dr Carmen Blacker's essay 'Two Piggotts ...' in *Britain and Japan, 1859–1991, Themes and Personalities*, edited by Hugh Cortazzi and Gordon Daniels and published for the Japan Society in 1991.

12. *Biographical Portraits*, Volume II.

13. No 140.

14. No 144.

15. See biographical portrait of 'Josiah Conder (1852–1920) and Meiji Architecture' by Dallas Finn in *Britain and Japan, 1859–1991, Themes and Personalities*, edited by Hugh Cortazzi and Gordon Daniels, London 1991.

Chapter 5 IAN RUXTON *Sir Ernest Satow (1843–1929) in Tokyo, 1895–1900*

1. It will be assumed that readers know something of Satow's previous posting in Japan, having read *A Diplomat in Japan* (Seeley, Service & Co. London, 1921) about the years 1862–69. See also Peter F. Kornicki's chapter on Satow in Cortazzi and Daniels (eds), *Britain and Japan, 1859–1991* (London and New York: Routledge, 1991) and Ian C. Ruxton (ed) *The Diaries and Letters of Sir Ernest Mason Satow* (Lampeter: Edwin Mellen Press, 1998).

2. Diary, 17 May 1895. Satow's private diaries are in the Satow papers beginning at PRO 30/33 15/1–17 (1861–96), continuing in PRO30/33 16/1–12 (1896–1912) and ending at PRO 30/33 17/1–16 (1912–26 and various travel diaries 1879–1906).

3. See Brailey, N. (ed.) *The Satow Siam Papers*, vol. 1, The Historical Society, Bangkok, 1997.

4. In a letter to his former Japan colleague and friend W. G. Aston, provisionally appointed Consul-General in Korea, dated 27 June 1884 Satow wrote enviously: 'The work must be very interesting, and you have a teachable people to deal with.' Satow Papers, PRO 30/33/11/3

5. The long leave was the low point in Satow's diplomatic career, but he made good use of his time, visiting family and friends (A. B. Mitford, William Willis), reading in libraries (in Oxford, Rome, Madrid and Lisbon) and getting confirmed in the Anglican faith on 29 October 1888.

6. See Dr H. Temperley's entry on Satow in *Dictionary of National Biography, 1922–30* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1963).
7. Ian Nish, *The Anglo-Japanese Alliance* (London: The Athlone Press, 1966) p. 11. In Japan there had been growing pressure for repudiation of the old treaties, so that the process of renegotiation may have been an attempt by the Western Powers to keep Japan within the 'comity of nations' and prevent her sliding back into 'sakoku' isolation (see N. Brailey, 'Ernest Satow and Japanese Revised Treaty Implementation', a paper delivered at STICERD on 9 July 1999).
8. For more detail, see Mutsu Munemitsu, *Kenkenroku: A Diplomatic Record of the Sino-Japanese War, 1894–1895*. (trans. Gordon M. Berger. Tokyo: University of Tokyo, 1982.) See also Beasley, W., *Japanese Imperialism 1894–1945* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991); Lone, S., *Japan's First Modern War: Army and Society in the Conflict with China, 1894–95* (London: Macmillan, 1994).
9. From Lensen, G. A. (Translated and ed.) *The d'Anethan Dispatches from Japan, 1894–1910*. (Tallahassee, Florida: The Diplomatic Press, 1967) p. 53. For more excerpts from Satow's diary see also Lensen, G. A. (ed.) *Korea and Manchuria Between Russia and Japan, 1895–1904, The Observations of Sir Ernest Satow* (Tallahassee, Florida: The Diplomatic Press, 1966). Henceforth this latter work is cited as 'Lensen'.
10. It was quite common for Japan to be described as Britain's 'natural ally' by shrewd observers on both sides in the 1890s. (Nish, p. 11, quoting S. Gwynn (ed.), *The letters and friendships of Sir Cecil Spring Rice*, 2 vols, London, 1929, volume i, pp. 145–6, Rice to Ferguson, 28 May 1893: 'In England we regard [Japan] as a practical joker...The general feeling in Japan is that England is her natural ally.')
11. Satow Papers, PRO 30/33/5/2
12. Satow to O'Connor (private), 3 September 1895, Satow Papers, PRO 30/33/14/8
13. Diary, 20 September 1895, PRO 30/33/15/17.
14. Satow had expressed the same view in a letter dated 18 April to his friend F. V. Dickins before leaving Morocco, when he had likened it to cutting through a mouldy cheese. Satow to Dickins, 18 April 1895, PRO 30/33/11/6.
15. PRO 30/33 14/11
16. See 'Aoki Shūzō (1844–1914)' by I. Nish, Ch. 12, *Britain and Japan: Biographical Portraits* vol. 3 (ed. J. Hoare, Richmond: Japan Library, 1999).
17. PRO 30/33 14/11
18. Fukuba Bisei (1831–1907). After the Meiji Restoration he entered the Office of Shintō Worship (Jingikan) and worked to promote Shintō. Appointed to the Genrōin in 1881 and later served in the Kunaishō and the House of Peers. Elsewhere Satow calls him the 'dwarf Shintoist' Diary, 14 August 1895.
19. PRO 30/33 16/1
20. Diary. PRO 30/33 16/2
21. Diary. PRO 30/33 16/3
22. PRO 30/33 5/5.
23. Diary. 2 February 1897. See also *Shades of the Past* by H. S. Williams (Tokyo: Tuttle, 1984) for a journalistic piece on the Carew case which was controversial.
24. Gembei mura was where Satow rented a house for use at weekends to see his family, and research and cultivate plants and bamboos. It is also called Totsuka or Takata or just 'the suburbs' in Satow's diary. (S. Nagaoka, *A-nesto Satō Kōshi Nikki*, vol. 1, p. 165; Tokyo: Shinjinbutsu Ōraisha, 1989).
25. He frequently walked up from Arai's Hotel at Nikkō to the lake at Chuzenji, and also enjoyed the walks in the area. On 19 September 1895 he 'saw Mrs Bishop at Kanaya's.' This was the married name of Isabella Bird (1831–1904) the intrepid lady traveller.
26. Diary. 3 February 1899.
27. Diary. 1 August 1895.
28. Diary. 23 October 1896.
29. Diary. 12 January 1897.
30. Lensen, pp. 21–24.
31. Published in the Transactions of the ASJ Vol. 27, Part 2, 1899.
32. Published in the TASJ Vol. 27, Part 3, 1899.
33. William Kirkwood was appointed legal adviser to the Japanese Ministry of Justice in 1885, and when a Foreign Ministry judicial review committee headed by Inoue Kaoru was set up on 6 August 1886 he was appointed to it with G. E. Boissonade. Kirkwood offered opinions on Boissonade's proposed legal codes and translated a large part of Japanese law into English. His employment terminated on 31 July 1901 and he returned to England, having been awarded the Order of the Rising Sun, 2nd class, in recognition of his services to Japan. (source: *Rainichi Seiyōjin Jiten*, edited by Hiroshi Takeuchi, Tokyo: Nichigai Associates, Inc. 1995)
34. See 'Thomas Wright Blakiston (1832–91)' by Sir H. Cortazzi, Ch. 5, *Britain and Japan: Biographical Portraits* vol. 3 (ed. J. Hoare, Richmond: Japan Library, 1999).
35. Yet when Satow discussed the possibility that he might be transferred to Peking with H. S. Wilkinson he said 'that nothing in the world would induce me to ask for a post of such difficulty, but we agreed that if it were offered I could hardly decline'. (Diary, 25 July 1899).
36. He would have to leave his Japanese family, but had shared actively in the formative teenage years of his sons. He saw O-Kane and Hisayoshi again on his last visit to Japan in 1906, and on his way home visited Eitarō who was farming in Denver for health reasons. Hisayoshi, later Dr Takeda shared his interest in botany and studied in England from 1910–16. There is no indication that Satow ever fell out of love with O-Kane, and on 26 January

1916 he noted in his diary that Hisayoshi should return because his mother was lonely and he could no longer afford to pay him an allowance of £200 a year.

Chapter 6 PETER LOWE *Sir William Conyngham Greene, 1854–1934: British Minister to Japan, 1912–19*

1. For a lucid analysis of the situation during the 1890s, see I.R. Smith, *The Origins of the South African War* (London, 1996).
2. *Ibid.*, pp. 136–7.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 367.
4. *Ibid.*, p. 351. For further evidence of the discussions between Greene and Smuts, see Keith Hancock and J. van der Poel (eds), *Selections from the Smuts Papers* vol. I (Cambridge, 1966), pp. 201–4, 266–8, 283–305.
5. Smith, pp. 379–80.
6. See Ian Nish, *The Anglo-Japanese Alliance: the Diplomacy of Two Island Empires, 1894–1907* (London, 1966) and *Alliance in Decline: a Study in Anglo-Japanese Relations, 1908–23* (London, 1972) for an authoritative survey of the alliance from its origins to its demise. See also Peter Lowe, *Great Britain and Japan, 1911–15: a Study of British Far Eastern Policy* (London, 1969).
7. See M. B. Jansen, *The Japanese and Sun Yat-sen* (Cambridge, Mass., 1954).
8. See Ian Nish, 'Sir Claude and Lady Ethel MacDonald', in Ian Nish (ed.), *Britain and Japan: Biographical Portraits* (Folkestone, 1994), pp. 133–45.
9. Greene to Grey, 12 September 1913, FO 405/212, pp. 130–2, Public Record Office, Kew.
10. Lowe, p. 113.
11. *Ibid.*, p. 120.
12. Greene to Grey, 14 December 1913, FO 371/1621.
13. Letter from Greene to Sir Walter Langley, Assistant Under-Secretary of State, Foreign Office, Langley papers, FO 800/31.
14. Lowe, pp. 161–2.
15. Enclosure in Greene to Grey, 3 March 1914, FO 371/1941.
16. Greene to Grey, 10 and 12 June 1914, FO 371/1942.
17. Letter from Greene to Langley, 22 February 1914, Langley papers, FO 800/31.
18. Greene to Grey, 10 August 1914 (two telegrams), FO 371/2016. For a stimulating assessment of Japan's response to participation in the First World War, see F.R. Dickinson, *War and National Reinvention: Japan in the Great War, 1914–1919* (Cambridge, Mass., 1999). Dickinson provides a favourable assessment of Kato Takaaki, arguing that Kato was pursuing a policy of traditional imperialism, analogous to that reinforced by the Occidental powers in China during the nineteenth century. He portrays Kato as wishing to assess the control of foreign policy by the political parties with the exclusion of the influence of the *genro*.
19. *Ibid.*