

# Sir Ernest Satow in Japan, Britain and Europe, 1870-1883, as seen through his diaries: A chance to deepen his knowledge of Japanese culture and other matters

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Ian Ruxton

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Sir Hugh Cortazzi, the notable Japanologist and former British ambassador to Japan (1980-84), in his Foreword to Ian Ruxton (ed.) *The Diaries of Sir Ernest Mason Satow, 1870-1883* (Kyoto: Eureka Press, 2015) states that “in the distinguished career of Sir Ernest Satow (1843-1929) the years 1870-1883 were an interlude during which he sometimes must have felt that he was marking time and making no progress in life.” The 1860s had been a very exciting time, described in his diaries and memoir *A Diplomat in Japan* (London: Seeley Service, 1921),<sup>1</sup> and in 1884 Satow was promoted to Agent and Consul-General in Bangkok, and then Minister to Siam early in 1885, thus achieving promotion from the Consular to the Diplomatic service, a rare achievement.

This paper will introduce some highlights from the diaries for the period 1870-1883, in which he served as Japanese Secretary, with the local rank of second secretary from 1876.<sup>2</sup> While there is less about political matters than in the tumultuous 1860s when the Tokugawa shogunate was crumbling away to be replaced by the new Meiji government, there still are many points of interest: the Iwakura Mission leaving Japan, and the abolition of clans and establishment of prefectures (*haihanchiken* 廃藩置県) in 1871; a trip westwards from Tokyo to inspect newly built western style lighthouses in 1872; Satow’s many journeys in the interior; his firsthand witnessing of the start of the Satsuma Rebellion at Kagoshima in 1877; his only trip to Korea in the *Egeria* in 1878; his escorting the British Princes Albert and George to the Kansai area in 1881; his participation in the secretariat of the Treaty Revision conference of 1882, and so on.

There are also the periods which Satow spent in England, including work at the Foreign Office and cataloguing at the British Museum, and enjoying

the company of family and friends. In addition there is a significant European dimension, including the time Satow spent studying Roman law at Marburg University in the summer of 1876, visits to Paris, and the very detailed descriptions of German and Italian palaces, art museums and works of art. These trips, minutely and conscientiously recorded, gave him many points of reference with which to compare what he saw in Japan.

Thus while Satow may have been less busy with work in this period, and the office hours in the Edo/Tokyo legation were for the most part leisurely, his time was certainly not wasted. It was an opportunity for him to consolidate through travel his already considerable knowledge of Japan, and as a bonus it allowed him to publish a guidebook also.

## Political Matters

### 1) Clan domains replaced by Prefectures

On 31 August 1871, Satow got back from a ten-day trip with F.O. Adams and Baron Huebner to Fujisawa, Odawara and Atami, arriving in Yedo at 6 p.m. to discover:

‘Great changes have taken place in our absence. All the han [clan domains] have been turned into ken [prefectures]. Sawa [Nobuyoshi] has been replaced at the F[oreign]. O[ffice]. by Iwakura. Okuma has been reappointed Sangi and Itagaki of Tosa<sup>3</sup> added to the number. Inouyé Bunda [Kaoru] made Mimbu Taiyu. [民部大輔]<sup>4</sup> Other changes are in prospect no doubt. The whole of the daimios dismissed from the office of Chiji [governors] of han; the daisangi [vice-governors] and others remain as they were, for the present.’

On 11 September Adams, Huebner and Satow dined at Iwakura’s, and Adams expressed surprise at the change from *han* to *ken*.

On 24 October Satow was invited to breakfast with Iwakura Tomomi:

'He spoke about affairs a little. The Change of Han into Ken had not at first seemed possible for 5 or 6 years at least, but events had worked in such a way that the Gov[ernment]t. thought they had better take advantage of the tide at the flood. They had expected bloodshed, of course, but had been agreeably disappointed. There had been a little disturbance in Geishiu [Western Hiroshima], but he believed it was over. Kurumé of course was discontented, and there was also some dissatisfaction in Satsuma. Ôsumi no K[ami]. [Shimazu Hisamitsu] & Saigo [Takamori] were however unanimous as to the necessity of concentrating the power in one place & Ijichi Shôji [of Satsuma] is working well.'

## 2) Iwakura Mission

On 16 November 1871 Satow got some news of the mission:

'Iwakura dined; the embassy [mission] to Europe is to start Dec[embe]r. American mail. Himself, Kido and Okubô as Principal & Secondary envoys; we advised that the two latter should be denominated Councillors of Embassy. Yamaguchi, Itô & several others also going.'

On 26 November: 'Adams and I dined with Iwakura. Discussed the Embassy. They are going to send Itô and Yamaguchi as Vice Ambassadors besides Kido and Okubô, but Iwakura is to be chief.'

On 16 December there was a farewell dinner to the Mission, presumably at the British legation, at which the health of the Mission was drunk. There was a return dinner from the Mission to the Diplomatic Body on December 22<sup>nd</sup>.

## Travels in the Interior of Japan

### 1) Lighthouse inspection tour (1872)

Richard Henry Brunton was employed by the Japanese Government to build Western style lighthouses in Japan. In total he designed and built 26 lighthouses. On 29 November 1872 Satow joined Okuma Shigenobu and Yamao Yozo on an inspection tour heading west:

'Left Yokohama in the "Thabor" with Ôkuma [Shigenobu], Yamao [Yôzô] etc. at 4 a.m. anchored at Tsurugisaki lighthouse<sup>5</sup> a little before seven o'clock. Violent gusts of wind and rain. Landed at lighthouse. Weather too bad to proceed.'

On December 3<sup>rd</sup> the ship left Toba and 'called at a lighthouse which is being constructed,<sup>6</sup> and then to Matoya where there is another light, in the hands of Japanese lightkeepers. Left about noon.'

On December 5<sup>th</sup> the ship called at Tomagashima lighthouse, a fixed light of third order with one European lightkeeper. Later that day 'landed at the lighthouse on the point opposite Akashi.'

On December 6<sup>th</sup> the ship arrived at Nabeshima in Sakaide on Shikoku island, first lit in November 1872. Satow noted:

'The island is small and the whole top is devoted to the lighthouse. Scotch mechanic and wife full of violent prejudices against the Japanese whom she cannot [illegible word: abide?]. The idea of her little boy learning the language seemed to shock her violently. Grey granite pillars composed of single solid blocks.'

On December 9<sup>th</sup> the inspection continued at Tsurushima lighthouse in Matsuyama, and on December 10<sup>th</sup> at Isaki (Hesaki, now in Moji ward, Kitakyushu). The next day they saw Shirasu lighthouse on Ainoshima under construction. It was another Brunton design, first lit on 1 September 1873.

After travelling to Nagasaki, the ship returned and on December 16<sup>th</sup> it was at Isaki again, which was 'a model of neatness. Stationary dioptric [refractive] apparatus, red light with white ray.'

Satow left the ship at Kobe and returned to Tokyo overland, arriving on January 14<sup>th</sup>.

### 2) Kyoto

Satow visited Kyoto (not for the first time) from December 23<sup>rd</sup>, leaving on 1 January 1873. He walked into the city.

'Walked along the Nishi no Kaidô (14 miles fr[om]. Yamazaki to Kiôto) by Yemmiôji, Chôshi (where of three roads take that to the right) Kôdara, Obatagawa bridge, Mukômachî, Katsuragawa. At Tôji by 3.15 up Ômiya dôri &

Sanjô dôri to the Sanjô no Ôhashi by four, tried Echigoya without success & settled down in Chakiu, delicious hotel with view of Atago & Nishiyama over the town.'

The next day he visited

'Rokkakudo, Mabayakushi (not yet rebuilt), temporary, Higashi Honguanji, Nishihonguanji, Kôshôji, fine carvings on gate, the garden at Nishi Honguanji containing the Hiunkaku from Hideyoshi's palace of Jinrakutei, the exhibition in the house formerly occupied by the chief priest of Nishi honguanji & lunched close to the Gojô Bridge.'

He visited Sennyûji 泉涌寺 temple in Higashiyama, Kiyomizudera and

'Then to Chionin<sup>7</sup> where the great bell, bigger than that at Daibutsu (which has lately been taken down & offered for sale) is still hanging. It is 9.4 Jap[anese] inches thick at the bottom. From there to the inn I went with the guide (old fellow named Kichigoro 63 years old) to Shijô dôri for certain books, but could not get what I wanted. Found a good bookseller in Nishiki dôri Sanjô sagaru tokoro named [blank].'

On December 25<sup>th</sup> he walked round the Imperial Palace, and visited the Governor (Makimura) and Vice-Governor of Kyoto at Nijo castle:

'Both were shockingly dressed in bad European clothes and Makimura had an untidy black beard. The apartment in which I was received was the old Shoin, with the jôdan (dais) lowered to the level of the rest of the floor. Very dark. Gilt panelling dull & scratched heavy roof. Slides at the left of the tokonoma [alcove] & chigai dana [shelves built into a wall] with tassels, the entry of the Shôgun, with heavy frames. Castle built by Nobunaga, but no doubt several times restored by the Tokugawa family, whose crest is everywhere visible. Guide says it has twice been burnt.'

Satow also visited Nishijin, Shimokamo shrine, Ginkakuji, Honenji, Gokurakuji, Kurodani and Nanzenji, all on the same day! For each place he wrote detailed descriptions and comments. For Nanzenji he wrote:

'In the upper story of the Sammon [gate 三門],<sup>8</sup> Ishikawa Gôyemon, a famous robber who tried once to carry off one of the mikado's

concubines, lived with 30 companions. They used to issue forth at night to rob. Large stone lantern on the right hand side of sammon in front. Pretty view inside of a garden, full of pines. Next to shop of Tanzan, maker of Awata earthenware. Taste degenerating by intercourse with foreigners.'

### 3) Nikkô

There are many descriptions in Satow's diaries of travelling, either on foot, on horseback, in boats, in a palanquin (*kago*), or a wheeled *jinrikisha* or *kuruma*. Here is a typical account, from the entry for 26 September 1874:

'To Nikkô walking & kago. Tiffined at Ôsawa. Coolies 6 sen per ri. Lost a pocket book (Hayllar's) with money a little before reaching Ôsawa. The municipal officer took great interest in the matter & promised to investigate.'

On September 29<sup>th</sup> the party (Satow and the Hayllars) visited Lake Chuzenji:

'By another path thro' the wood to Chiuzenji [中禪寺]. Sat down & lunched at a large smoky chaya [teahouse 茶屋] near entrance of village. All the pilgrims' huts closed, three teahouses open in all. About 2 started for Yumoto [Yumoto onsen 湯元温泉]. The Chiuzenji lake seems much finer than in March/72, hills covered to their tops with deciduous trees all round it. Nantaizan [Mount Nantai 男体山] rising into the sky close fr[om]. 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.'

It was not always comfortable travelling. Palanquins were small and cramped, roads were narrow and mostly unpaved, and on one memorable night it was so cold that Satow noted (on 22 January 1872) that the ink froze in Adams's inkpot!

'It was so cold during the night in our room that the ink froze in Adams' pot, and the water spilt on the verandah in the morning washing congealed immediately. Adams picked a bit of solid ink out of the mass, melted it on the pentip over the brazier, and wrote therewith.'

## Trips in Europe: Italy, Paris and Germany

Satow left Cannon Street by the mail train and crossed over to Ostend on 23 July 1875. The next day he was in Brussels, and on 25 July he was in Trier, where he admired the Cathedral, Basilika and Porta Nigra (Black Gate) built in Roman times. This was

'one of the most interesting buildings in the town. It is not difficult to distinguish between the Roman part, and what was added when it was converted into a church. The keeper, a polite old man, showed me over it. Of the uppermost story only the part belonging to one wing remains.'

On 30 July he was in Mainz and Strassburg. On 31 July he was in Basel, and by September 1<sup>st</sup> he had reached Chiavenna in Lombardy, North Italy, and he stayed in Bologna, noting on 19 September that he had done little sightseeing. Yet the same entry contains a good deal of sightseeing, and by October 10<sup>th</sup> he had reached Pisa:

'The Duomo [Cathedral] Campanile [Belltower], Baptistry & Campo santo lie close together in an open grassy space in the north west corner of the city close to the wall, and the coup d'oeil as one arrives by the V. Santa Maria is most imposing. The facade of the Duomo, lately restored, is very beautiful; covered with fine mosaics, and has the extraordinary merit of belonging to the building instead of being merely stuck on as is the case with a good many more elaborate works of the kind, such as that of the Duomo at Siena and that of Santa Croce at Florence. The old bronze door on the east side of the south transept is most curious and interesting, far more so that [sic. than?] the three fine bronze doors in the facade. The interior is truly magnificent, and the cicerone [guide] is probably right in saying that it is the most splendid church interior in Italy.'

He spent most of October in Florence, leaving on October 25<sup>th</sup>. By the end of the month he was in Paris, where he met up with Adams and Huebner again. On November 2<sup>nd</sup> he wrote:

'To the Gaîté [theatre] with Adams & B[aron]. Hübner to see *Le Voyage dans la*

*Lune*, an extremely stupid *féerie*<sup>9</sup> of Offenbach, but one very pretty ballet in which the dancers were dressed in white with flocons de neige [snow flakes], & four in blue like birds who shivered with cold.'

The next day he was in the Louvre Art Museum:

'To the Louvre in the afternoon. There are some very interesting specimens of the early Italian schools, among them a very fine Madonna enthroned by Filippo Lippi, a holy family by Botticelli in which the faces are more natural than at Florence, a very stiff picture of S. Thomas Aquinas, between Plato & Aristotle (Kugler 207) by Benozzo Gozzoli, a curious picture by Niccolo Alunno containing scenes fr[om]. the life of Christ; a picture (213) marked Ecole de Giotto, representing the death of S. Francis, the composition being similar to Ghirlandajo's in Trinità at Florence, several small pictures by Gentile da Fabriano, a Holy Family by Giovanni Bellini (59 bis) in a style that reminds me of H. Rosso, a beautiful holy family by L. di Credi (177). Of the famous pictures in the Salon Carré the large Paolo Veronese is the most wonderful. La Joconde [Mona Lisa] is beautiful, but la belle Ferrovière does not merit her name. I went to look at my favourite la Cruche Cassée,<sup>10</sup> which is a lovely face; the engraving I have of it is very fair, but does not do justice to the expression; & the tint of the complexion is so delicate.'

From November 4<sup>th</sup> until December 12<sup>th</sup> Satow was back in England. He attended concerts at St James' Hall and the Albert Hall, and went skating, apparently a form of roller-skating in this case:

'Nov. 6. Went down to Richmond, and tried skating on the rink in the old Deer Park. The skates have four wheels, and do not seem at first to obey the foot; it is a mistake to commence striking out as one does upon ice; but after a little practice one finds it very easy to go ahead. Figures and various tricks can be performed by the more expert as easily upon ice. The motions of the skaters do not seem quite so graceful as those of real ice skaters, but this impression is possibly owing to the facts that the rink has only been open three weeks, and that most of the performers were novices.'

On December 9<sup>th</sup> he attended a concert:

‘Lob Gesang & 12<sup>th</sup> Mass at Albert Hall. Mme Patey, Wynne. E. Lloyd (tenor) and a man named Miles Bennett for bass, of whose voice one heard very little. The chorale “Let all men praise the Lord” is quite an old friend, though I never knew before where it comes from. After hearing the Mass with orchestra & chorus, one sees how wretched any attempt to give an idea of it with the piano must necessarily be; certainly any one who cares about musical education sh[ou]ld. not allow learners to hear orchestral music arranged for piano until the original has been heard. Then the piano becomes useful as a sort of shorthand notes.’

On December 13<sup>th</sup> Satow met his sister Augusta Tozer at Paddington station and travelled by train to Folkestone from Charing Cross, bound for San Remo via Paris. Two days later he was at the Louvre again, looking at paintings of the Italian school, and on December 16<sup>th</sup> he travelled to Cannes via Lyon. The next day he wrote:

‘Cannes appears to have originally consisted of a small fishing village w[hi]ch. nestled round the foot of a mountain spur close by the sea, on the top of w[hi]ch. stood a castle and a convent. Since it has become fashionable the mercantile quarter has extended eastwards, with a row of hotels and a promenade between it and the sea, and westwards it has also increased by the addition of hotels and villas. The building mania has not yet subsided. The hills behind, which curve round to the west, and stand out into the sea are of considerable height, of rugged limestone and fairly covered with pines; they are called the Estrelle Mts.’

On December 18<sup>th</sup> Satow reached the French-Italian frontier town of Ventimiglia, and the next day was in San Remo:

‘Went to San Remo by the midday train, companions in the carriage a Russian lady & a man Italian. The most noteworthy things along this section are lemon-groves on the seashore which look as if they were ready to be washed away at any moment. San Remo is increasing fast; there are at least half a dozen big hotels, and some large shops, chiefly for the sale of sweetmeats and preserves. The Café Garibaldi is kept by an Italian, but every one in the place

affected to speak French only.’

Three days later Augusta Tozer was visited by Edward Lear (1812-88), the well-known writer of nonsense verse.

On December 26<sup>th</sup> Satow saw Corsica while walking.

‘Turning round to look back at San Remo, I suddenly saw the island of Corsica, with dark precipitous peaks dappled with snow, and lying upon the bosom of what appeared like a sea of snow in violent agitation, but w[hi]ch. was in reality the upper side of the clouds on the horizon lit up by the sun (time 2.45 p.m.); and this bank of clouds seemed to extend far away east & west of the island, until it merged into real mountains of snow, succeeded by a dark blue range, which must be the Apennines of Tuscany. This prospect of sea, cloud, mountains & sky, with a brilliant sun formed one of the most beautiful pictures I have ever seen.’

On 2 January 1876 Satow and his sister left San Remo for Marseilles, reaching Paris in the evening. On January 6<sup>th</sup> they were back in England.

On April 13<sup>th</sup> Satow went again to Paris to stay with F.O. Adams. On April 19<sup>th</sup> he dined with Nakano and Suzuki of the Japanese legation. He also noted that ‘Fred[er]ic[k]. Marshall has been made 2nd Sec[re]t[ar]y. He is an enthusiastic person, but understands little of Japan & Japanese politics.’

On April 23<sup>rd</sup> Satow visited the French Japanologist Leon Pagès, ‘who received me very kindly & gave me a copy of his Bibliographie Jap[on]aise. His collection of letters from Japan beginning with 1542 is complete. When he dies it will go to some French missionary society, who will of course keep it intact, & there is no chance therefore of it ever coming into my hands. He looks over fifty.’ The next day he left Paris on the night mail train, ‘having enjoyed a most pleasant stay.’ Marshall had talked about Treaty Revision, and Satow commented:

‘Marshal[l] has another notion, namely to bring plenipotentiaries of the Powers & of Japan together at the Hague to revise the Treaty about 2 years hence. But as A[dams]. said to him at once, the F.O. would of course send for Sir H[arry]. P[arkes]. immediately, & the Jap[ane]se. would be no better off. My own opinion is that ima no kōshi zaiyaku chiu wa jōyaku kaitei sono hoka wa utchatte oku hō ga Nihonjin no tame ni ichiban riōsaku d’arō. But

I took care not to say this to Marshal[l].’

Satow discretely wrote his private views in romaji. They may be translated thus: ‘While the present Minister [i.e. Parkes] is in the post, it would probably be wisest for the Japanese to do nothing about treaty revision or other matters.’

On 11 May 1876 Satow left London for Marburg via Cologne. As a typical Victorian traveller, he was armed with a copy of George Bradshaw’s guide. Of Cologne Cathedral he wrote: ‘The guide says that the Dom [Cathedral] is to be completed in three years & that 400 workmen are daily employed on it. Without blindly trusting to his estimate of the time required to complete the towers & their spires, one must admit that a great deal of progress has been made.’ In fact the cathedral was begun in 1248 and completed in 1880 and for four years (1880-84) was the tallest structure in the world.

Satow crossed the bridge over the River Rhein and noted:

‘It is quite worth while paying 2 pfennigs to cross the bridge & see Cologne from the other side, it is magnificently placed. One cannot help recalling Ed[ward]. Lear’s sketches of Benares, because both of them are cities mainly built on one bank, while most great cities built on rivers seem to occupy both sides at once.’

Benares is a famous Hindu holy city on the banks of the River Ganges in Uttar Pradesh, India.

### Marburg (May – August 1876)

Satow reached Marburg on 13 May 1876. He found it an attractive town, ‘prettily situated on the River Lahn.’ The next day he

‘[c]alled on Dr. Ranke (one of the theological professors) who was very kind, and after conversation in mixed German & English, in the course of wch. I explained my projets and resolved to attend some of the lectures on Roman law, we set out together to call on Dr. Enneccerus, a professor of Roman law.’

Why was Satow interested in studying Roman Law? He probably felt it would give him a good grounding in the law, and he later was called to the bar in Lincoln’s Inn. He took the bar entrance examination in October 1883, presented a petition for call on 11 November 1887, and was called to the bar six days later.

### The Satsuma Rebellion (1877)

Satow returned to Japan in 1877, sailing by way of Singapore, Hong Kong and Shanghai. His ship, the Mitsubishi steamer *Hiroshima Maru*, reached Nagasaki on January 28<sup>th</sup>. After an excursion to the potteries at Tsuboya [壺屋] he reached Dr. William Willis’s house at Kagoshima on February 2<sup>nd</sup>. Willis was away, but returned on February 8<sup>th</sup>. The Satsuma Rebellion was just beginning:

‘We had a young doctor, Mitamura Toshiyuki to dinner, who talked pretty freely about current events & confirmed much of what had previously been reported. Saigō & Kirino (alias Nakamura Hanjirō) had written a letter to Ōyama to say that they were going to Yedo with the former troops, to put some questions to the Gov[ernmen]t. and requesting him to inform the authorities of the various prefectures thro’ w[hi]ch. they might pass, so that the population might be tranquil. That a plot had been discovered to murder Saigō, instigated fr[om]. Yedo; three intending assassins had been arrested & many spies. That 15,000 men are to march to Yedo.’

On February 11<sup>th</sup> Saigo came to see Willis at his house.

‘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. Saigō 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 left Kagoshima on February 17<sup>th</sup>. Satow noted:

‘Saigō and his bodyguard, with the artillery, embarked in boats, and were towed up to Kajiki by the little steamer Kagoshima Maru. Willis, who went to see him start, says he wore his full dress uniform of a general in the Jap[ane]se army & was smoking a foreign cigar. Ōyama

gave a dinner this afternoon in honour of the successful departure of the troops and the New Year, to w[hi]ch. I was unable to go on account of a severe cold. Wrote a long letter to the chief [Parkes], to be dated Feb. 18, giving a succinct account of the events of the last fortnight, and enclosing documents.'

Satow got to Edo/Tokyo on March 7<sup>th</sup>, and two days later was dining with Parkes and Iwakura Tomomi.

'The chief [Parkes] and I dined with Iwakura [Tomomi], who was intensely curious to know all that I could tell about Kagoshima. I enlarged on the orderly conduct of the rebels both in the town & on the march, which seemed to surprise him much. Sameshima [Naonobu] was also there. They told us an absurd story that the belief that Saigō was to be assassinated arose from the men arrested as gov[ernmen]t. emissaries stating that they had come to Kagoshima for the purpose of 視察 [read as *shisatsu*] inspecting, which the Satsuma men interpreted as 刺殺 [also read *shisatsu*] assassinate!'

When Satow went with Parkes to see the foreign minister Terashima Munenori on March 19<sup>th</sup>, they discussed the Rebellion.

'In reply to questions from the chief, he seemed to imply that the gov[ernmen]t. would not be in a hurry to offer an amnesty, and when Sir Harry said he hoped it would not be necessary to cut off Saigō's head, he preserved a dignified silence.'

### Hachijō island (1878)

In March 1878 Satow and Frederick Victor Dickins visited the island of Hachijō, the volcanic island in the Philippine Sea. They later recorded their impressions in the *Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan*.<sup>11</sup> They arrived on March 5<sup>th</sup>:

'March 5. Early in the morning we were close along Hachijō and having steamed round a part of it, landed about eight o'clock inside a little cove, where the water is 20 ft. deep close in shore, and had to clamber up over rugged rocks with hands and feet. I had originally intended to go on to Bonin, but finding myself still very sick, I gave up the plan, and decided to remain on the island, and Dickins also

elected to remain.'

The next day he wrote about "saltburners constantly employed all year round" and the women of the island. They

'do not shave their eyebrows, use white powder nor rouge the lips; they wear no false hair nor puffs; hence their heads appear of the natural size. The hair is drawn off the face and temples, and tied in a large bow at the top of the head with a broad band of white paper. Head ornaments nothing but a wooden comb stuck in the hair over the temples. Narrow girdle, loose gown thrown over. Men wear rather a long queue.'

On March 8<sup>th</sup> Satow climbed the volcano called Fuji at the North West end of the island in a very high wind.

'The top ab[ou]t. 2400 feet; a perfectly circular crater about a mile in circumference. From the point where the path reaches the edge, it looks as if a cone had risen in the centre, and had been cut off nearly flat. I walked round some distance to the left and reached the highest point, w[hi]ch. looks towards the fertile valley between Fuji and the southern mass of mountain. There is a deep ravine between the outer crater and the central plateau. Returned and descended into the crater, and visited the shrine of Fuji, behind which yawns a later crater of great depth, a perfect bowl; this lies between the plateau, out of w[hi]ch. it is carved, and the outer crater.'

On March 13<sup>th</sup> Satow and Dickins left the island and boarded the steamer. Satow was back in Edo ('Yedo') four days later.

### Visit to Korea (1878)

Satow only visited Korea once in his long diplomatic career. On 13 November 1878 he left Yokohama in the *Hiroshima maru* and reached Nagasaki on the 17<sup>th</sup>. On the 18<sup>th</sup> he called on the prefect:

'Informed him that my instructions were to proceed to Quelpart, to hand letters to the Taionshiu (大元師) and then visit Fusan kai, to report to the Gov[ernor]. of Torai Fu (3 町 fr. the Japanese settlement at Fusan) the reason which has brought us to Quelpart (Saijiu in Japanese).'

The visit to Quelpart (Cheju island) in the *Egeria* was to thank the authorities for their kind treatment of the shipwrecked Captain and crew of the *Barbara Taylor*. Satow met the local Korean official (Puonshiu) on November 21<sup>st</sup>, but was told on the 24<sup>th</sup> that the higher Korean official (Taionshu) could not speak to him without authorization. After a visit to the Japanese Agent at Pusan, the ship returned to Nagasaki on November 28<sup>th</sup>.

### Tour of Yamato (May 1879)

On 7 May 1879 Satow boarded the *Nagoya maru* for his long-planned tour of Yamato (Nara prefecture). He landed at Kobe on May 9<sup>th</sup> and went to Osaka where he spoke to William Gowland, the expert on Japanese burial mounds (*kofun*) and “got some valuable hints from him about the journey.” After two days in Kyoto he headed for Nara and Todaiji temple:

‘The Big Buddha’s head is comparatively new, and very ugly; the plates<sup>12</sup> of the reversed lotus are also very new in appearance, while the petals of the upturned flower on w[hi]ch. he sits are partly original, and partly old botched, the original ones being engraved with pictures of Buddhist gods and *Shiyumiseñ*.<sup>13</sup> Constructed almost entirely of plates 10 in. by 12 soldered together, except the modern parts, which are large castings; the head especially seems a single piece. Huge gilt wooden ‘reredos’<sup>14</sup> carrying sitting images behind the Buddha r. and l. Kokuuzan Bosatsu and Kuwañon, in the four corners Tamonteñ, Jikokuteñ, Zouchiyauteñ and Kuwaumokuteñ.’

On May 16<sup>th</sup> Satow was at Kōya-san in Wakayama prefecture:

‘After walking about an hour we got to the back of Kauyasañ [Mount Koya] and descended through the cryptomeria wood, w[hi]ch. is being rapidly cut down by the people who have purchased the timber fr[om]. the gov[ernmen]t. At the ‘Kitchen’ turned into the holy domain. The first thing that strikes the eye is a row of bronze images, and then over a bridge up to the Oku no Wiñ, where a hundred lamps are always kept burning in honour of Koubofu Daishi [Kōbō Daishi, also known as Kūkai, 774-835], whose tomb is behind, in a dark impenetrable

grove. A young priest in charge gave us explanations, and showed us Koubofu’s last year’s robes.’

By June 8<sup>th</sup> Satow had reached Shizuoka, and he was back at his house in Edo/Tokyo on June 10<sup>th</sup> where he:

‘[f]ound a large budget of letters from home, including the news of my election to the St. James’ Club as a diplomatist, thro’ the exertions of Adams and Mitford, who induced the R.R. [Representatives] of the F.O. [Foreign Office] to concede this. Spencer Chapman had also been good enough to write to four members of the committee on my behalf.’

### Escorting the Royal Princes to Kansai (1881)

The British royal princes, Albert and George, arrived in Japan on 24 October 1881 on a world cruise in the *Bacchante*.

‘Oct. 24. The Detached squadron<sup>15</sup> arrived on the 21 and today the two princes came up with most of the captains by a train in the forenoon, & we met them at the terminus. It was a rainy, inclement day. After presentation of various people, Japanese & foreign, we all adjourned to the En-rio-kwan [Enryokan guest house 遠慮館], to a huge lunch, after w[hi]ch. the Japanese ministers were presented and Hiraoka of the Imp[eria]l. Household, came to bid the princes welcome in the Mikado’s name.’

They had an audience with Emperor Meiji on the next day, which Satow attended. The Emperor visited the ship on October 31<sup>st</sup>. The next day Satow embarked on the *Bacchante*, which with other ships reached Kobe on November 3<sup>rd</sup>. Two days later the party ‘consisting of the two princes, [their tutor] Dalton, three midshipmen, Dr. Turnbull & myself, with Nagasaki [Michinori] and Sannomiya [Yoshitane], started at 8 from Kōbe by ordinary train and got to Kiyauto at eleven.’ They stayed at the Honganji temple. On November 6<sup>th</sup> they visited the Imperial palace and Kinkakuji, and the next day went down the Hozugawa rapids from Kameoka, still a popular tourist attraction today. On the 10<sup>th</sup> they left Nara. The next day they reached Osaka:

‘Got up early and raced all the way to Ohozaka [Osaka 大阪] in an hour & a half, and after rushing hastily thro’ the castle, went to



breakfast at the Mint, in the house called the Sem-pu-kwan.'

The next day Satow was able to escape from his escort duties and join W.G. Aston in a trip to the booksellers in Kyoto. After spending a few more days mostly sightseeing in Kobe, Satow returned to Edo on November 17<sup>th</sup>.

### Treaty Revision conference (1882)

The preliminary conference on Treaty Revision began in January and lasted until July 1882. Satow attended as a secretary:

'[Jan.] 25. The first serious meeting of the Preliminary Conference<sup>16</sup> 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, [Guillaume de] Roquette and [Karl von] Eisendecker the former, with a few hints from Hoffer, and while Roquette dictated the Fr[ench]. to Eisendecker, I made an English version.'

On February 1<sup>st</sup> there was a 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[ould] all be recognized, and each delegate sign the version which he chose to be bound by.'

On the next day the third meeting took place:

'I made the draft protocol, w[hi]ch. was afterwards translated into French and Japanese. But Roquette says the next must be made in French in the first place. That is a matter, I think, for the secretariat itself to decide. It was arranged that the R.R. [Representatives] should take Monday afternoons to decide upon the final text of the protocol, and so they will no doubt undo a great deal of what we have done in the way of drafting.'

Thereafter there is almost no mention of the conference until the final entry covering the whole of December 1882:

'Dec. [John Harington] Gubbins arrived at last, and my leave was secured. Spent the first part of the month, after my return from a trip into Zhiyau-shiu,<sup>17</sup> in drawing up a report on

the French versions of the Penal Code and Code of Criminal Procedure presented to the Conference in the earlier part of the year, and in preparing for publication the Manual of Korean Transliteration of Names; this was only finished about the 29<sup>th</sup>. Also there was a good deal to do to the Handbook, the lion's share of which entirely fell to me. It was altogether a very busy time. Then at the last there came the farewell dinners and calls. Dec[ember]. 30 Buchanan & I dined at [Russell Brooke] Robertson's in Yokohama before going on board, and we sailed early in the morning of the 31<sup>st</sup>, just after midnight.'

Sailing via Kobe and Nagasaki, Satow left Japanese waters on 5 January 1883. He reached Hong Kong on January 8<sup>th</sup>, Penang on January 18<sup>th</sup>, and Aden on February 1<sup>st</sup>. On February 19<sup>th</sup> he sighted Venice, on the 24<sup>th</sup> Milan and the next day Berne. On February 27, 1883 he arrived at Charing Cross station in London. He would not serve again in Japan until he became minister in 1895-1900, though he did visit the country twice on leave from Siam in 1884 and 1886.

### Concluding remarks

This paper has attempted to give an impression of the breadth and depth of Satow's experiences during the 'interlude' years of 1870-1883. Of necessity a great deal has been omitted. For those who would like to know more the diaries have been published in full, see I. Ruxton (ed.), *The Diaries of Sir Ernest Mason Satow, 1870-1883* (Kyoto: Eureka Press, 2015). An earlier version is also available at lulu.com by the same editor under the title *A Diplomat in Japan Part II: The Diaries of Ernest Satow, 1870-1883*.

### Notes

- <sup>1</sup> See Volume One of the IAJS Journal (2015) for my paper comparing Satow's diary and memoir.
- <sup>2</sup> UK Foreign Office List, 1877.
- <sup>3</sup> Itagaki Taisuke 板垣退助 (1837-1919) of Tosa,
- <sup>4</sup> Senior Assistant Minister of Popular Affairs. The Minbusho was abolished in September 1871.
- <sup>5</sup> Located on Cape Tsurugi, Miura peninsula, Kanagawa. The seventh of 26 lighthouses built by Richard Henry Brunton, first lit in March 1871.
- <sup>6</sup> Probably Sugashima lighthouse, first lit on 1 July 1873.

- <sup>7</sup> Chion-in 知恩院 in Higashiyama is the headquarters of the Jōdo shū (Pure Land sect). It was built in 1234. The British Minister Parkes and his delegation, including Satow and Mitford, had stayed there before being attacked on the way to visit the Emperor in 1868.
- <sup>8</sup> A *sanmon* 三門 is the most important gate of a Zen Buddhist temple, and often a building in its own right.
- <sup>9</sup> A 'féerie' was a 19<sup>th</sup> century French theatrical genre known for fantasy plots and lavish scenery, blending music, dancing, pantomime and acrobatics to tell stories with melodrama-like morality and supernatural elements.
- <sup>10</sup> A painting by Jean-Baptiste Greuze (1725-1805).
- <sup>11</sup> See F.V. Dickins and Ernest Satow, 'Notes of a Visit to Hachijō in 1878', T.A.S.J. (Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan), Vol. 6, part 3, 1878, pp. 435-477. They noted on p. 460 that "The floral glory of the island lay undoubtedly in the profusion and variety of ferns."
- <sup>12</sup> The word 'petals' is written above 'plates'.
- <sup>13</sup> 須弥山 Mount Sumeru.
- <sup>14</sup> Above 'reredos' is written: "glory (reredos will hardly do)"
- <sup>15</sup> Economies made by Gladstone's 1868 cabinet led to a reduction of navy ships on foreign stations, and the formation of "Detached Squadrons" of unarmoured screw ships which undertook extensive worldwide cruises for training (and flag-waving) under the command of a Rear Admiral.
- <sup>16</sup> The Preliminary Conference on Treaty Revision at which Foreign Minister Inoue Kaoru was President lasted until July 1882. There were no fundamental differences over the tariff question, but Inoue's proposal to abolish extraterritoriality was opposed by Sir Harry Parkes because the new penal code was only just in operation, and neither civil nor commercial codes existed yet. (Sir Hugh Cortazzi, 'Sir Harry Parkes, 1822-1885' in *Britain & Japan: Biographical Portraits*, Volume 1, Chapter 1. Japan Library, 1994.)
- <sup>17</sup> Probably Kōzuke province (上野国 Kōzuke no Kuni) which is often called Jōshū (上州), in modern-day Gunma prefecture. The other possibility is Yamashiro Province in southern Kyoto prefecture, since one alias of Yamashiro is Jōshū (城州).