

The Correspondence of Sir Ernest Satow  
while he was British Minister in Japan (1895-1900)  
from the Satow Papers

held at The National Archives, Kew, London

Published in Full for Researchers with Notes  
by Ian Ruxton, Kyushu Institute of Technology

Volume Four

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## Preface

The following represents as closely as possible what a researcher would see in the mostly handwritten files of the Satow Papers on a visit to the National Archives (formerly the Public Record Office) in Kew, West London. The Satow Papers were left to the nation in the last will and testament of Sir Ernest Satow (1843-1929). This substantial book is just a small part of the available papers, and contains a great deal of minutiae which may be of limited interest to those without a specific and related research topic in mind. Nevertheless, an accurate impression of the preoccupations and language of Victorian diplomacy and consular work in late 19<sup>th</sup> century Japan may be gained by all readers. Annotations have been added to assist the reader's comprehension.

Volume One comprises chiefly official letters addressed and sent to Satow from the Foreign Office in far-off London, the Tokyo legation and consular staff at Kobe, Nagasaki and Hakodate. Satow Papers reference PRO 30/33 5/1 through 5/10.

The letters in Volume Two are from the Yokohama consulate, the Court for Japan and the Chamber of Commerce based in Yokohama. They are almost all addressed to Satow, though Gerard Augustus Lowther was Legation Secretary and acting Minister (Chargé d'affaires) in 1897 when Satow went home on leave. They are mainly from the Consul or Acting Consul but also some are from consular officials. These included – in order of appearance in this volume – John C. Hall, Raymond de B.M. Layard, Arthur Hyde Lay, James Troup, Ralph G. E. Forster, Henry A.C. Bonar and Ernest M. Hobart-Hampden. The Judges were R.A. Mowat and H.S. Wilkinson. Satow Papers reference PRO 30/33 6/1 through 6/7, 6/13, 6/16 and 6/17.

Volume Three contains letters from diplomatic representatives elsewhere (6/8), colonial and India authorities (6/9), naval authorities (6/10), Japanese authorities (6/11), Foreign representatives in Tokyo (6/12), miscellaneous (6/14, 6/15).

Volume Four consists of letters from Consular staff in Formosa, newly transferred from the British China Consular Service to the Japan Service after the Treaty of Shimonoseki ceded Formosa to Japan. This volume concludes the Japan correspondence.

All and any errors in transcription are apologised for in advance. Illegible or uncertain parts are marked [?]. Paragraphing may differ from the original letters to some degree for readability, and images of original documents have been included where deemed appropriate.

Ian Ruxton  
September 2014

### **Relevant Books by the Same Author**

Ian Ruxton (ed.), *The Diaries and Letters of Sir Ernest Mason Satow (1843-1929): A Scholar-Diplomat in East Asia*, Edwin Mellen Press, 1998 (A general introduction to Satow's life and letters.)

Ian Ruxton (ed.), *The Diaries of Sir Ernest Satow, British Minister in Tokyo (1895-1900): A Diplomat Returns to Japan*, Tokyo: Edition Synapse, 2003, with an introduction by Dr. Nigel J. Brailey (republished as a paperback in 2010 through Lulu Press)

Ian Ruxton (ed.), *The Correspondence of Sir Ernest Satow, British Minister in Japan, 1895-1900, Volume One*, Lulu Press Inc., 2005

Ian Ruxton (ed.), *The Diaries of Sir Ernest Satow, British Envoy in Peking (1900-06)*, Lulu Press Inc., 2006 (Two volumes. Volume 1 – 1900-03; Volume 2 – 1904-06) with an introduction by Dr. James E. Hoare

Ian Ruxton (ed.), *The Semi-Official Letters of British Envoy Sir Ernest Satow from Japan and China (1895-1906)*, Lulu Press Inc. 2007, with an introduction by Dr. James E. Hoare

Ian Ruxton (ed.), *Sir Ernest Satow's Private Letters to W. G. Aston and F. V. Dickins: The Correspondence of a Pioneer Japanologist from 1870 to 1918*, Lulu Press Inc. 2008, with an introduction by Professor Peter F. Kornicki

Ian Ruxton (ed.), *The Correspondence of Sir Ernest Satow, British Minister in Japan, 1895-1900, Volume Two*, Lulu Press, Inc., 2011

Ian Ruxton (ed.), *The Correspondence of Sir Ernest Satow, British Minister in Japan, 1895-1900, Volume Three*, Lulu Press, Inc., 2014

For these and other books, including translations from Japanese to English, see <http://www.lulu.com/ianruxton> and the amazon websites.

Correspondence and Papers (private). Japanese Mission. Consular Staff. Anping, Takao, Formosa (Taiwan).

(Satow Papers: PRO 30/33 5/11. January – December 1896)

**Satow Papers: PRO 30/33 5/11**

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All letters are handwritten unless otherwise stated.

After the First Sino-Japanese War of 1894-5 by the Treaty of Shimonoseki signed on April 17, 1895 Japan received Formosa as its first colony. Hitherto Formosa had been under the China service, but it was to be transferred to the Japan service.

1. Richard Willett Hurst<sup>1</sup> to Satow [p. 2 in file]

[Recd. January 26. See private letter to him]

Takow [sometimes spelt Takao; also called Kaohsiung]

9 January 1896

Dear Sir Ernest Satow,

On the 15 November last I addressed to you a despatch applying for home leave which I hope has reached you in due course.

My five years service in the East expires on the 4 February next [i.e. 1896], and independently of the claims of urgent family affairs, on the grounds of health also it is very desirable that I should get my leave then.

I am suffering a good deal from indigestion which has latterly become aggravated: and I do not think that I am physically able to stand another summer in South Formosa without a change. I have been here 2 years continuously without once leaving the place during a trying and eventful time. I should recommend that a Consular officer be sent from Japan to take my place. I sent my first application to the Legation at Peking as long ago as last July. Trusting that you will see your way to grant my application, I remain

Yours very truly

R.W. Hurst

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<sup>1</sup> Richard W. Hurst, B.A. (London University) was appointed a student interpreter in China, September 7, 1872. H.M. Vice-Consul in charge of shipping business in Shanghai, June 15, 1893. Consul at Tainan, December 1, 1893. Transferred to Pakhoi (Beihai, near Hainan Island) on February 4, 1896. Acting Consul-General at Hankow in 1899. Retired 1900. [from F.O. List, 1925]]

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2. Hurst to Satow [p. 4 in file]

Private

Anping

21 January 1896

Dear Sir Ernest Satow,

I am much obliged for your kind note relative to the position in future of myself and Mr. Perkins.<sup>2</sup> I notice in the newspapers received to day a paragraph taken from the 'London and China Express' from which it appears that our wish to remain in the China Service is likely to be gratified.

The need of an interpreter at this Consulate able to speak Japanese is very apparent; on the occasions of making calls on the Japanese officials, I am always under the necessity of being indebted to them for the loan of an interpreter.

I am sending by this opportunity copy of a despatch I am addressing to the Governor, asking that Tonnage dues may be levied according to Japanese rates. Should they be unwilling to agree to this, perhaps they might accept an alternative proposal that our Tonnage dues certificate should cover all the Steamers of the same company for a period of 4 months, which privilege is conceded by the Chinese at Shanghai to the Mail Steamers belonging to the "P & O" Company, the Messageries Maritimes [French Mail] and I believe the Norddeutsches Lloyd.

Yours very faithfully

R.W. Hurst

[P.S.] Permit me to mention that though Despatches Nos 2, 3 and 4 from the [Tokyo] Legation have been received Despatch No. 1 is not yet to hand, so it seems probable that it has miscarried.

3. Hurst to Satow [p. 6 in file]

[telegd. to him at Peking 4 March before receipt of this.]

Takow

26 February 1896

Dear Sir Ernest Satow,

Although I have heard privately that Mr. [Joseph H.] Longford is coming to relieve me I am still without any official despatch granting me my home leave, which I hope to get on or about 31<sup>st</sup> March.

Will you therefore excuse my troubling you once more on the subject in the hope that you may see your way to sending me an official despatch granting my leave on Mr. Longford's arrival. Owing to the length of time despatches take in reaching me, perhaps you would be kind enough to send me a telegram

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<sup>2</sup> On Perkins see Ensle to Satow, Kobe no. 14, March 12, 1896 (Volume One).

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on the subject, so that I may have a little time to make necessary preparations, and that I may be able to inform my people at home: if so your kindness would be much appreciated by

Yours truly

R.W. Hurst

4. Hurst to Satow [p.8 in file]

Anping

3 March 1896

Dear Sir Ernest Satow,

I telegraphed to you this morning asking you if you could give me any information about my leave, and I have this afternoon by the ss “Wenchow” [?] received a note from you that you feared that you would not be able to relieve me till the 30<sup>th</sup> April, when Mr. Perkins would probably also be relieved. I sincerely hope that you will relieve me at the earliest possible moment as I have just received bad news from my family at home, where my presence at the present time is of the utmost importance: and I have repeatedly received urgent letters on the subject.

As regards the relative importance of Anping and Takow, the former is where most of the trade is carried on; but I reside whenever business permits at Takow, as I do not consider the Anping Consulate healthy, being built close to a creek the water from which percolates under the house with the rise and fall of the tide. I think the foundation of the house ought to be filled in and a layer of Portland cement spread to prevent the damp from rising. I have found an assistant necessary, as Steamers in the sugar season touch at Takow also: and I cannot well see how the work of the Consulates can be carried on single handed.

Hoping you will permit me to leave at the earliest possible moment owing to the urgency of my private affairs and thanking you for your note.

Yours very truly

R.W. Hurst

5. Hurst to Satow [p.11 in file]

Anping

18 April 1896

Dear Sir Ernest Satow,

I am hoping that Mr. Longford may arrive in time to permit of my proceeding by the s s “Federation” to Yokohama to catch the homeward bound steamer “Victoria” belonging to the Northern Pacific



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Steamship Company on the 11<sup>th</sup> May. Should my stay in Yokohama leave me sufficient time I propose to do myself the honour to call upon you at Tokio, as you may possibly have some questions to ask me about the state of affairs in South Formosa.<sup>3</sup>

Yours sincerely

R.W. Hurst

6. Joseph Henry Longford<sup>4</sup> to Satow [p.13 in file]

[Recd. May 13]

April 20, '96 [incorrectly dated – should be April 30<sup>th</sup> ?]<sup>5</sup>

Dear Sir Ernest,

I resume my letter to you.

The Immortalite incident as to the salute is settled, as the Governor<sup>6</sup> has written a most courteous letter about it, and in fact endeavored to call on the ship himself while she was still here.<sup>7</sup> So far nothing could have been pleasanter than my experience of the Japanese officials and I have not found one little trace of obstructiveness or antagonism. As to the sugar and camphor questions, I can of course as yet say nothing. Bain & Co. telegraphed me today to say their books are still being detained by the Japanese authorities at ? but on the general merits of the question, I can't yet pronounce any opinion. The new tax on sugar will amount to about 8% but it has not yet been levied. It will be a heavy one on the trade, and a most foolish one on the part of the Japanese, as it will handicap the entry of their sugar into China.

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<sup>3</sup> Hurst called on Satow on May 13, 1896. (Satow's diary, Ruxton, 2003, p. 91)

<sup>4</sup> Longford was promoted to be Consul at Tainan (Formosa) on February 4, 1896. He was transferred to Nagasaki on December 28, 1896. (F.O. List, 1897).

<sup>5</sup> The contents of this letter suggest that it was in fact written after the next two, and may be incorrectly dated, causing it to be misfiled. It seems to have been written from Takow, Formosa after Longford's arrival there from Hong Kong. Letters 6, 8 and 9 were all received together by Satow in Tokyo on May 13<sup>th</sup>.

<sup>6</sup> Probably General Katsura Tarō who was the second Governor-General of Formosa briefly in 1896.

<sup>7</sup> Japan gained control of Taiwan (Formosa) at the close of the Sino-Japanese War of 1894-95 as part of China's terms of surrender agreed at the Treaty of Shimonoseki, 17 April 1895. Taiwan remained a colony of Japan for the next 51 years, and was Japan's first colony.

“Under the Japanese colonial system, modeled closely after Western colonial empires in Asia and elsewhere, Taiwan was administered by a Japanese governor-general, and the island's economy was subordinated to the needs of Japan. The Japanese exerted tight control over Taiwanese internal affairs and gave preferential treatment to the resident Japanese population... The Taiwanese resisted the Japanese military takeover in 1895 [from 17 June]. Thereafter, colonial police and the military occasionally took action against restive local elements including native tribal peoples. Nevertheless, relative peace and stability, as well as economic growth, were brought about in Taiwan after the fourth governor-general, Kodama Gentarō and his chief of civil administration, Gotō Shimpei, assumed office in 1898 [until 1906].” (Kodansha's *Illustrated Encyclopedia of Japan*, p. 1504.)

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I send you an old Consular Report with very interesting particulars both on the sugar and camphor questions – written by Dr. [Wykeham] Myers. The H’Kong Daily Express and S’hai N.C. [Shanghai North China] Herald have lately published interesting contributions on the sugar trade in Formosa from “Our Formosa Correspondent” i.e. [J.W.] Davidson, now in Tokio. You will probably have seen the one in the N.C. Herald. Anyway, if you will take the trouble to look for it, you will find it is a verbatim reprint of Dr. Myers’ report published in enclosed – reprinted as original matter without a word of acknowledgement to the real author. A plagiarism like this is worthy of Rider Haggard.<sup>8</sup> No one else would attempt it. I have seen the last claim sent up by Bain & Co. re refund of sugar duties. I think the merchants here are, in business, rather a grasping lot. Bain is the friend I have spoken of with whom I am going to stay and a good fellow, but Hurst tells me his keenness, to use a mild word, in business is very marked and for myself, he is charging me a great deal more for forwarding my baggage from Anping to Takao (24 miles) than I paid the P. and O. [Peninsula & Oriental] for it from Yokohama to Hong Kong. Everything here has to be obtained from Hong Kong via Anping, and the through freight charges are ruinous. The passage fare to H Kong also is almost as much as the fare by any mail steamer from H’Kong to Yokohama.

I hope to send you Dr. Myers’ claim tomorrow. Please address your telegrams to Takow, as this one I had to have repeated at additional cost from Tainan. The returns of trade you ask for in No. 11 it will be entirely impossible to obtain in any way. I shall however look into the matter and reply officially.

I have found a good carpenter, but otherwise the place does not improve on further acquaintance and my earnest desire will always be to get out of it on any terms at the earliest possible date. I find the heat terribly trying, the want of water, ice, decent food are hard to a man accustomed to abundance of all three, expenses are very high owing to the demand for everything by the Japanese, and the loneliness will be terrible. The condition of the house is shocking, and I do trust you will say something to [R.J.] Marshall [Office of Works, Shanghai] about it. The rains might come on any day now with the change of the monsoon and Hurst, though at first he declined to speak of the state of the roof, there having been no rain for over six months, now predicts a repetition of his own experiences. For a man who could live on splendid sunsets, the place would be very attractive, but there can not be much attraction in it for those of less aesthetic tastes. I am going to Anping tomorrow for a few days to call on the Governor and other officials at Tainan, after which I hope there will be nothing to take me out of this [place] for some time at least. The heat at Anping is said to be less than here, and the conflicting opinions that one hears of it, as compared with Takow and generally, are distracting though amusing. The Dr. here insists that it is a

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<sup>8</sup> The wife of the then Belgian Minister in Tokyo, Baroness Eleanora Mary d’Anethan, was a sister of the novelist Sir Henry Rider Haggard. The d’Anethans were close friends of Satow. What would Satow have thought of Longford’s comment here ?

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hot bed of malarial poison. A merchant, who has been here some ten years, tells me that is nonsense and that he has never had a day's illness in his life, and that it is only inside the walls of the city of Tainan that one need fear severe fever. There again there is a large colony of Scotch [Scottish] Missionaries – men, women and children. The Dr. tells me the mortality among them (by death and permanent invaliding) has been quite 50% and I see by the [Consular] Register that several young members of the mission have died, but I suppose they again will tell me, when I see them, that it is perfectly healthy. They, however, go away a great deal. If you see Ito [Hirobumi] or Inouye [Kaoru] you might perhaps tell them that the present season is about the most unsuited that could be selected for an exhaustive [?] visit to the Island. The North is practicable but the heat will be terribly severe, while the South will soon be rendered impossible for travelling by the rains which might commence any day. Unless it is most urgent, Inouye should put off his visit till October, but there is plenty to be done here, and I have no doubt some very serious decisions have to be taken. All Japanese opinion seems to be that Takow will be the place of the future, in the South.

Yours very sincerely,

Joseph H. Longford

7. Longford to Satow [p.20 in file]

Hong Kong Club

April 21, 1896

Dear Sir Ernest,

I arrived here last night after a very fine passage and found that the [H.M.S.] Immortalite is to take me on. I have arranged with the Captain to start on Thursday morning at daylight so that we should arrive at Anping during Friday afternoon. After I had made this arrangement I received a telegram from Hurst – sent a few days ago but only delivered to me this afternoon – asking me to go by a merchant steamer leaving this [place] today for Yokohama via Anping so that he might go on at once by the same steamer. I had previously telegraphed to him the time of my own intended arrival, and I don't think it is likely that I shall get there early enough to enable him to carry out his wishes. But I have no wish to do so. I think he should remain for some days at least to induct me into affairs, and I should have very strong objection to him clearing out in a hurry without properly handing over everything and allowing me to find out things for myself afterwards. He has also put me in rather a fix, as he originally wrote that his servants would remain with me. Now he writes to me here that they won't, and I have to endeavor to get others here all in a hurry. I am staying with [David ?] Jackson (Chief Manager of the Hong Kong Bank). Mrs. Jackson is at home but his two daughters are here, both extremely nice girls. They are going for a trip to

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Japan by the next Empress, along with a daughter of the Commodore and Mrs. Conon [Conor ?] a very old resident here.

I forgot to mention to you that Ito [Hirobumi, 1841-1909] told me when he called on me [in Tokyo where Longford was Vice-Consul] just before I left that he is “going to send Inouye to Formosa” next month to make a thorough investigation of the place. He said he was not satisfied with matters there, that Inouye was the only really practical man of business in the Government. The others were very good on paper, but when it came to action Inouye (Count)<sup>9</sup> was the only man really available. It seems to be generally thought in Hong Kong that all English business with Formosa is coming to an end. I have had long talks with several of the foremost business men here, and they take a very gloomy view not only of the Formosa business but of Japanese competition with the sugar industry of the colony, and the cheaper classes of English manufactured goods. The latter are being rapidly driven out by Japanese imitations, and any single novelty that finds a sale here is at once sent up by Chinese to their agents in Japan who have no difficulty in getting it imitated. The cotton flannels (mollets appear to be the trade term for them) are rapidly ousting the common English cotton goods. I knew all this was taking place to some extent but I had not at all thought to the one I am told of here.

It is very hot, and I am writing under a punkah,<sup>10</sup> which distracts me somewhat, so excuse a rather rambling letter.

Yours very sincerely,

Joseph H. Longford

P.S. Curious to say in one item the Chinese show tendencies to go back to English goods. After using nothing but Japanese made umbrellas for many years, some orders have lately been given for English ones.

#### 8. Longford to Satow [p.25 in file]

[Recd. May 13]

Takao, [Takow]

April 27, 1896

Dear Sir Ernest,

I had a very pleasant passage in the “Immortalite” from Hong Kong to Anping, arriving at the latter on Friday evening. [Edward] Chichester, the captain, was flag lieutenant to Sir H. Kepleth [Admiral Sir Henry Keppel] when I knew him well and travelled with him in the “Salamis”, so he was everything that

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<sup>9</sup> Inoue Kaoru (1835-1915) of Choshu. Influential politician and elder statesman (*genrō*) from 1901.

<sup>10</sup> punkah: a large swinging cloth fan on a frame worked by a cord or electrically (Concise Oxford Dictionary) (from Hindi *pankhā*, fan)

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could be in the way of kindness, and his officers are, without any exception, the nicest set I have ever seen gathered in one ship. One of the commanders was special tutor for two years to Prince Arisugawa,<sup>11</sup> when serving on board the “Audacious”, and he would like to see him again. I suggested that if he wrote to you, when the ship arrives in Yokohama, you would no doubt manage it for him. There is a fine band on board, and there are several first class whist players among the officers.

We landed on Saturday morning, and in the afternoon I came up here by steam launch, leaving [Ernest Alfred] Griffiths at Anping, very low in spirits.<sup>12</sup> It is a rough hot journey here, the twenty four miles taking over four hours, and the single fare is \$5.00.

Anping is the most horrible hole I have ever seen. One can easily fancy it reeking with malaria, there is a plague of flies, and all its surroundings are cheerless in the extreme. The consulate is as inspiring as a jail, paved floors, stone staircase, and not a comfort of any kind anywhere about it. It has not even a jail’s advantages. It is close to a foul, evil smelling creek, the water from which percolates under the building, and adds to its general sanitation. I had tiffin [lunch] there but the smells nearly made me sick, and nothing would induce me to sleep a night in it. Fortunately I have a friend there [Bain], whose house was not built by the Office of Works, and he will, I have no doubt, put me up whenever I go there. The Consulate, I was told, cost more than three times as much as any other house in the place. I intend to try and get Griffiths up here to stay with me from Friday to Monday whenever practicable, and I hope, in that way, with the change, to keep him up to the mark. The Dr. [Myers] here tells me that continuous residence in Anping might leave effects that would remain for his whole life.

Takow is very picturesque, as Aden is. It is almost all bare rock, covered with short stunted shrubs, some of them poisonous. The consulate is a very fine house with large lofty rooms, but in a shocking state of disrepair and unsightly, in consequence, in the inside, in the extreme. The heat is intense even now, as bad as Tokio in August, but every afternoon there is a pleasant sea breeze, which tempers it considerably. Both in the mornings and evenings, however, I already find it trying and exhausting, and I don’t like to anticipate the next few months, although the Dr. tells me this is about the worst I shall see. There is no well at all on the compound. All water has to be carried from more than half a mile off and then up the steep hill, and baths must therefore be indulged in with moderation. No ice is procurable – drinks are more than lukewarm, and the food is, to say the mildest, unattractive. I must not abuse it yet, however, as I have been partaking of Hurst’s and you will see him. He seems to care nothing as to what

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<sup>11</sup> Prince Arisugawa Takehito (1862-1913) studied at the Royal Naval College at Greenwich in 1881. (*Britain & Japan: Biographical Portraits*, Vol. II, p. 85, hereafter cited as BP). He was head of the Japanese delegation sent to Queen Victoria’s Diamond Jubilee in 1897, and the first prince of the imperial family to study abroad. (BP, Vol. IV, p. 19).

<sup>12</sup> Griffiths had been unhappy about being transferred to Anping. See Satow to Enslie, 16 March 1896 in PRO 30/33 5/8, Kobe correspondence.

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he eats and has quite [Ralph Spencer] Paget's fondness and capacity for bearing heat. The house is fully 400 feet above the offices, the way between the two being a long toilsome flight of steps over hot rocks. It is healthier than Anping. The house is really a good one, and not a jail, but in other respects I shall be just as badly off as Griffiths, while in one I shall be much worse. At Anping, he can always have some society, while I find that merchants only reside here during the sugar season, which comes to an end in July. I doubt if I can contemplate at all ever having the family [wife and four children] here and in every way the outlook is very disconsolate.

Things seem to be settling down into a much quieter state and the Japanese methods to be becoming more intelligible to both foreigners and natives, and I doubt that there will be much more trouble. There are very few Japanese settlers here, which adds to inconvenience, as all the Chinese workmen (artisans) have left and there are as yet no skilled Japanese to take their places. Several new officials have just arrived, some of whom I have known at ports in Japan. The postal service will be very shortly taken over. Up to the present it has continued to be worked by the Hong Kong Post Office. There are three Prefectures Taiho (Taipeh), Taichiu and Tainan. The prefect of the latter lives in the city, three miles from Anping, but there is a sub prefect at Peitow, a few miles to the South of this. The latter told me that they believe Takow will in a few years be the chief seat of trade and the most favorite place of residence for Japanese settlers. I have not yet sent the Prefect, but Hurst does not give an encouraging account of his civility, and the other day the Immortalite's salute was not returned nor has any expression of regret as yet been sent, though a hint has been given that it is expected. The other subordinate officials are all as civil as can be to me, and with the aid of Ito's letter I shall, I have no doubt, get on well with the Prefect.

An official letter goes to you on the state of the house. I hope you will forward it to [R.J.] Marshall [Office of Works, Shanghai] with a request that it may be attended to. I don't care very much myself just now, although the broken plaster and discolored ceilings and walls do not enhance the attractions of the house, but it will get worse if left unattended, and the frame work of all the windows appears so insecure that a typhoon might play havoc with them. If the roof is unsound, as I think it must be from the discolored and broken ceilings, heavy damage may be done in the rains. It is all for Marshall however. There are so many discomforts and sources of unhappiness all round that I can view broken plaster etc. with equanimity. I am only going to attempt to furnish two rooms in the house for the present and get on in them as best I may.

Hurst goes up by this steamer direct to Yokohama, on his way home by America. He is not prepossessing in appearance nor attractive generally, but improves very considerably on acquaintance. Hoping you are all well.

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Yours very sincerely  
Joseph H. Longford

9. Longford to Satow [p.31 in file]

[Recd. May 13]

Anping,

May 3, 1896

Dear Sir Ernest,

This is the last occasion on which I shall rely on a tramp steamer as a mail carrier. The first of the enclosed letters was written in the idea that it would leave at latest on Tuesday last. Repeated postponements have brought it now till to Morrow [tomorrow] (Monday) night. In future I shall avail myself entirely of the Japanese post which now seems to be running with fair frequency and punctuality. I came down here last night in order to call on the Governor etc. to morrow. I came in a steamer but she has to anchor two miles at least off the shore. Thence I was floated on shore, jammed in a large tub, with the Dr. [Myers], who is as big as myself, and we were together thus for an hour and a half in pitch darkness. The tub is supported on a dozen huge bamboos lashed together, on which the sendoes [boatmen, 船頭] stand and row, the bamboos being often under rather than on top of the water. It is a curious structure but is said to be absolutely safe if very uncomfortable.<sup>13</sup>

Anping looks much better today than it did on my first visit. Perhaps having had a good bath, dinner and breakfast I am inclined to take a better view of it. Griffiths has established himself very comfortably and made this dreary consulate as bright looking as possible. He is quite contented now, and I think may have a fairly good time. There is a small club, with billiard table, and the community, though very limited in number, is sociable and pleasant. The stone floors of the house here have the advantage that they do not encourage fleas and cockroaches, both of which are very plenty [abundant] in the Takow Residence. I hope, however, to drive a good many out with sulphur. [R.W.] Hurst does not seem to have cared much about neatness or cleanliness in the house, just as little as he did about food or heat, and I am sure now I can make a good many improvements all round. But until the house is thoroughly renovated, neither prettiness nor comfort can be hoped for. Its condition grows worse instead of better, and I look to the coming of the rains with many qualms. Hurst's last despatch to Marshall, a copy of which he sends you, produced a visit from Collins [of the Office of Works] who spent \$120 in patching the roof, rather less than the amount of his travelling expenses here. That is the way the O. of Works does its business.

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<sup>13</sup> There is a small ink sketch by Longford of the raft, three boatmen and a European figure sitting rather uncomfortably in the drum and wearing a hat included in this letter.

Correspondence and Papers (private). Japanese Mission. Consular Staff. Anping, Takao, Formosa (Taiwan).

(Satow Papers: PRO 30/33 5/11. January – December 1896)

Two of the new rooms, for which I asked, could be added very easily, and the servants' quarters are very bad: no Japanese would enter them. If Marshall writes to you on the subject would you let me know what he says. I am ready to make a memo. of what I think the house requires, and looking at the changed conditions of the port and its prospects under Japanese sway, I think it deserves some consideration. On the prospects I'll write a little later on.

With kind regards,

Yours very sincerely

Joseph H. Longford

10. Longford to Satow [p. 35 in file]

[Recd. May 20]

Anping,

May 7, 1896 [written on British Legation, Tokio notepaper]

My dear Sir Ernest,

I had intended returning to Takow yesterday, but am still here and likely to be for one or two days more. A heavy gale is blowing which cuts off launch communication between the two places. This frequently happens through the summer, and sometimes, when it is fine enough here to justify the launch starting, she is unable to enter Takow on arriving off the harbour, and has to return here, without landing a passenger or a package. My visits here shall be very few, and it will require something serious to make me readily undertake what are not only the discomforts but even risks of the journey.

You would not think that Col. North's death would have created a ferment in such a remote place as Anping, but so it is.<sup>14</sup> The telegram announcing it came last night just as we were sitting down to dinner and quite spoiled Bain's appetite.

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<sup>14</sup> Colonel North is mentioned in Satow's diary for July 10, 1896. "Mr. H. Sanders of Sanders Rohder & Co. a German formerly in Hongkong, came on behalf of the late Col. North's syndicate to say that he wanted to corner [the market in] camphor though the Japanese Government has been specially met here by an agent of Butler & Co. who had made out that B & Co. were the principal persons interested in the trade. Advised him to go to Kōbe to see the Japanese dealers there, but counselled caution. He told me that some years ago his agents in Kōbe had bought 600 tons of antimony from Japanese with the object of forcing up the price: as soon as the effect was produced, the Japanese went and sold the same lot to Illies & Co. and there was a dispute. Finally [J. J.] Ensle acted as arbitrator, and awarded them something about £4,000 of which they got £2,800; out of this his people had to pay £2,000 for non delivery to their London purchasers and £500 law expenses, leaving the speculators with £300 for two years work. Then told him that there are 4 British firms and Mannich in S. Formosa. He should arrange with them. His object is to prevent syndicate being obliged to put their camphor on the market, in which they have invested £250,000. It would force the price down from 95/- to 30/-, and even then it would be difficult to find purchasers. So his idea is to get hold of the Japanese and Chinese camphor and keep the market up." (Ruxton, 2003, p.109)



Correspondence and Papers (private). Japanese Mission. Consular Staff. Anping, Takao, Formosa (Taiwan).

(Satow Papers: PRO 30/33 5/11. January – December 1896)

Last summer a syndicate with Col. North at its head was formed in England to create a ‘corner’ [monopoly] in camphor [J: shōnō, 樟腦].<sup>15</sup> The inducement probably was the anticipation that the disturbances in Formosa would seriously check supplies for some time to come. As a matter of fact no appreciable effect whatsoever was exercised on the production in S[outh] Formosa at any rate, the figures of the export from Anping, during the last four years, having been:

In 1892	4315	piculs <sup>16</sup>
93	6691	“
94	12157	“
95	10145	“

These figures will show you how enormously the trade has grown in recent years, and if demand continues it can easily be kept at the last quoted amounts. Two German firms are engaged in it, but 8/10ths of it probably are in the hands of five British firms.

The camphor is all sold in H’Kong and the cost of one picul laid down there from Anping is about \$40. This amount would just cover all charges of every description.

On the formation of Col. North’s syndicate, the price realized in H’Kong steadily rose until it actually touched \$96.00 about four months ago. Supplies, however, continuing from Formosa, it fell again, but two days ago it was steady at \$66 – a very good price. On the news of Col. North’s death it fell at once to \$50, with no buyers at that price.

The syndicate holds in England about 50,000 piculs which has probably cost them about 3½ million dollars. If it is strong enough to go on holding, notwithstanding Col. North’s death, the trade from here may still continue, but if not, if it is forced to throw the 50,000 piculs in the market. “all the bottom” of the camphor trade is knocked out for some time to come, as the syndicate’s stock will probably be more than sufficient to satisfy all industrial requirements in England. The present price of \$50, of course, still leaves a very handsome profit, but it cannot be hoped that it will be maintained in the above event.

There has been an unpleasant incident, a man, who appears to be one of the Railway surveying staff just arrived in the Island, having been guilty of an outrageous piece of ruffianism on Bain’s premises in the camphor district. I have referred it to the Governor and as details are rather long I forebear giving

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<sup>15</sup> camphor: an organic compound of penetrating, somewhat musty aroma, used for many centuries as a component of incense and as a medicinal. It occurs in the camphor laurel, *Cinnamomum camphora*, common in China, Taiwan and Japan. It is isolated by passing steam through the pulverized wood and condensing the vapours; camphor crystallizes from the oily portion of the distillate and is purified by pressing and sublimation. Camphor belongs to a group of organic compounds defined as terpenoid ketones. (abstracted from *Encyclopedia Britannica*)

<sup>16</sup> picul: a unit of weight used in southeast Asia and China, equal to 100 catties or 133 pounds or 60 kilogrammes. Originally from Malayan *pikul*, meaning the heaviest load a man can carry.

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them to you, till I get his reply, when I will do so officially.

Two or three suspected cases of plague have occurred, and pending formal enforcement of Inspection Regulations from Tokio, a very moderate form of inspection is being instituted by the Japanese. But they have no machinery at all for disinfection or cremation (and the latter would be impossible with Chinese – in lieu of it marine burial is suggested by Dr. Myers) and they will, I fear, have great difficulty in carrying out any effective measures.

I think I have a good deal to tell you of what I have picked up from the Governor and other officials but I will defer writing it till I get back to Takow. I am sending this letter for experiment by the [British steamer] Thales which will leave on Saturday afternoon via Amoy [on the Chinese mainland] and would like you to compare the time taken by it en route with that of the letters I shall in future send by the Japanese post. Will you please give directions that everything, telegrams especially, are to be addressed to me at Takow. If to Tainan, they are sent to the city with the result of delay in the case of letters and charges for retransmission in addition in the case of telegrams.

My wife tells me you are going to Kyoto. I hope you will have had a pleasant trip and returned ever so much the better for it.

Yours very sincerely

Joseph H. Longford

11. Longford to Satow [p.39 in file]

[Recd. 26 (May)]

Takow

May 18, 1896

Dear Sir Ernest,

I am delaying my reply to your telegram of the 13<sup>th</sup> instant until I have made myself acquainted with the whole question, which I find rather a difficult task. It is an involved one. Hurst's drafts are a perfect torture to spell through, and I find several points in them with which I cannot agree. I hope to have an independent report of my own ready by the end of this week.

Meanwhile I am glad to say there is a chance of the matter being settled (temporarily at any rate) to the satisfaction of the merchants interested.<sup>17</sup> In the case of a German firm, registration in the Chinese

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<sup>17</sup> By Anglo-Chinese camphor regulations established in 1867 foreigners were permitted to enter Formosa, buy camphor and transport it to ports. But they were forbidden to live in Formosa and be involved in camphor manufacture. In spite of this, the Chinese permitted five or six British and German firms to monopolise the camphor trade. After Formosa became Japanese territory in October 1895 a regulation was issued prohibiting manufacture and sale of camphor except by persons officially permitted by the Chinese government. Several Chinese acting for the foreign firms were imprisoned,

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Hong name of the firm, with the German's name as proprietor added, has been granted, and a signboard has been issued by the Regn. Office, to be placed outside the hong at Chip Chip, stating the name of the Compradore<sup>18</sup> who is licensed to purchase camphor.

Messrs. Mannich and Bain (the latter of whom will I presume get the same concession) seem to be satisfied with this, and if they are the whole question – which is more one affecting the individual interests of three or four British firms than British trade generally – need vex us no more. But I strongly suspect myself the concession will be found an illusory one, leaving matters almost precisely as they were. The whole point is “does purchase in this case mean or include manufacture. By the Japanese rules it seems not to, and if not, the business of foreigners will have to be stopped again. As soon as Bain has obtained his registration, I will telegraph the fact to you and leave all the rest for my written report.

My despatch No. 42 was, as I doubted [feared] when writing it, incorrect in stating that stores in the camphor district were held in the names of Chinese employees. I was misled both by one of Hurst's despatches and by what Bain told me himself. What I should have said was that the stores were held in the recognised Chinese title of the British Firm. Every foreign firm, throughout the whole of China, has a Chinese title, by which it is universally recognised and spoken of not only by Chinese but by the foreign residents and merchants, e.g. Jardine M[atheson] & Co. “Iwo”. This is a very different thing to my first suggestion and very much alters the case. I think, on the whole, a good case can be made out in favor of a continuation of the right of manufacture on the part of foreigners, if only four or five years uninterrupted and recognised pursuit of it can be held to constitute a “vested interest”. On this point I can give no opinion, having neither dictionary nor law book to refer to.

There is a steamer that will leave direct for Ujina<sup>19</sup> the moment the weather admits of communication with her, so I am writing this very hurriedly to have it ready for her, as it will thus reach you much more speedily. A typhoon was threatening all day yesterday, but it has passed, leaving us untouched but a tremendous sea rolling in.

I see by the Chiugai that Marquis Ito [Hirobumi] was supposed to be coming here himself. I can hardly credit it, as when I saw him, the day before I left, he had not the remotest idea of it. As I said before, it would be advisable in the extreme for him to put off any visit either on his own part or that of

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camphor was confiscated and fines were imposed. The British and German ministers protested. Finally the Japanese permitted a relaxation of the new regulation on October 28, 1896 for one year. But this still did not satisfy the ministers, so in the end the camphor trade by foreigners was permitted until the new treaties with Japan came into effect in 1899, as explained in a notice to both ministers dated October 2, 1897. (Nagaoka, vol. 1, pp. 126-27, based on Japanese F.O. archive material).

<sup>18</sup> Comprador(e): a Chinese business agent of a foreign company.

<sup>19</sup> 宇品. Ujina harbour, in the south part of the city of Hiroshima, was completed in 1899. It was used as a departure point for Japanese troops in the Sino-Japanese War, 1894-95.

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Count Inouye till October if possible. The moment the rains break the whole South would become impassable to him, and the whole of the West coast, exposed to the full force of the monsoon, to say the least, disagreeable. In October, he can go everywhere.

May I remind you once more to address everything and particularly telegrams to Takow, not using Tainan at all. Yours very truly,

Joseph H. Longford

P.S. The German Minister will probably be in possession of much fuller information than you on this last stage of the camphor question. It was referred to his Consul at Taipeh earlier than to me, and the Consul again is much nearer his Minister than I am. Again, he probably already had the whole subject at his finger ends [fingertips], whereas I was practically ignorant of it.

P.P.S. There has been no spread of the plague at Anping, but one case has occurred in Takow, a man who escaped from the cordon at Anping and came up here. He has died but there are no signs of further cases, and all possible measures have been taken by the Japanese to stamp it out at once. Unfortunately the case in Takow was that of a relative of the Chinese clerk in the Consulate. The latter nursed him, came straight from him to his work here without saying a word. The police however promptly found this out and with my fullest consent have isolated him for a week. His absence is a very great inconvenience to me, as he is the only one of all my Chinese surroundings who understands a word of English.

I am not reporting these plague cases officially (I) as the native authorities have not officially notified them to me (II) they are very isolated cases and are possibly the only ones that may occur.

12. Longford to Satow [p.47 in file]

[Recd. July 10]

Takow, June 22, 1896

My dear Sir Ernest,

If I had had any idea that poor Enslie's end was so near at hand I certainly should not have troubled you with those long despatches about the house, as I presume whatever arrangements you may make in consequence of the vacancy they will necessitate my moving from this. Temporarily, a couple of rooms made watertight would have satisfied me, no matter how hideous or dilapidated internally, and I should very gladly have left all the rest to [R.J.] Marshall to deal with as he pleased. Nothing is more distasteful to me than this squabbling with the Office of Works, but if you could have seen the condition or still see it during heavy rain, which is of daily occurrence, you would condone very much stronger complaints than I have made. The dampness here at this time of year is difficult enough to fight against, but when to its normal state is added a house saturated from end to end, constantly newly drenched, the discomfort

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and unhealthiness become intolerable. The last fortnight has played havoc with myself, my clothes, and my books, and both physically and mentally been as trying as it could well be. The house is a splendid house if sound and if its interior were colored (to use Marshall's term) otherwise than as a prison or barrack. It must have cost a great deal to build and it is pitiful that, to make it all a family residence should be, a very trifling extra expenditure should have been grudged.

I shan't be sorry to leave this place, for no matter where you may send me to, I can't be worse off than I am here, and if you can use me in Japan, I shall be ever so much better. I find much that is not attractive in the mercantile community and can have very little in common with them, while the climate, though free from fever, is so terribly relaxing, that I am daily getting more and more run down. I have never had such a spell of tropical heat before, and for the last six years have had practically no experience of continued heat at all. It was trying enough, therefore, to come here at my age, but it becomes doubly so when I come at the very worst season of the whole year, when both heat and damp are at their worst. Night brings no relief as, in the house, it is as hot as midday, and though all the work I do is done between 5 am and 10 am, I get up every morning languid and heavy, while in the afternoon I can do nothing at all but lie on a long chair with a paper or trying to sleep, as far as the plague of flies and other insects permits one.

Even had the prospects of the immediate future not so suddenly changed as they have done, I had in any case intended to write to you about the proposed addition to the house. The addition would have been necessary for me, but after I had written my despatch it occurred to me that there is not one of my possible successors here for whom the house in its present size would not be amply sufficient for ten years to come. [H.A.C.] Bonar and [Arthur Morison] Chalmers have no children, [Raymond de Burgh Money] Layard only one, and none of the others is yet married. The comparatively large expense that the addition would entail upon the Government would therefore be for myself alone, and it could be saved by my being employed elsewhere. I hoped that, if things got a little straight here, you would have given me the vacancy either at Kobe (where I have been before and where there are such important industrial and commercial questions to be dealt with) or at Nagasaki to officiate when, as I then thought, [J.J.] Enslie and [J.J.] Quin would go on leave. If I remained here I intended to have brought my family in the winter, but the expense of doing so would have been as great as, with the aid of the Government allowance, sending them to England. They could not have remained here in the summer, so the expense would have to be again incurred in sending them back to Japan. The very last thing I desire just now is to take leave in England, but I doubted [wondered] whether it would not have been more prudent for me to do so, rather than remain here with this continually recurring expense, and if crowding and discomfort while in this house were to be added to it, it certainly would have been. It is by my giving up my claim

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to home leave that Quin is able to get it, and I trust you will consider that in making the new arrangements. Any post in Japan would be a blessing to us in every way, and I doubt my capacity to render efficient service in Formosa for a long continued period. I enclose a memo. on the climate of this place which may interest you. A younger man with energy and his spurs to win, so to say, would be far more suitable for service here, than one like myself whose career is pretty well in the past and who is thoroughly soured with disappointment and failure.

The present consular arrangements in Formosa might be most advantageously altered, and if you would care to know my views on this point I should be very glad to send you a brief memo. It takes almost a full month before answers to my letters to Tokio reach here, sometimes indeed longer. If, therefore, you would like to have this memo sooner than say six weeks hence, you might telegraph to me the single code word Metathesis, and I shall understand and send it to you. The circumstances of the Island have greatly altered since the Chinese left, and the North has acquired an importance much beyond what it possessed before. I look forward to a considerable development in the South, and especially to the port of Takow becoming one of very primary importance, from both commercial and political aspects, but several years will be required to bring about this change. At present organization is entirely absent, and the Japanese are proceeding very slowly.

Yours very sincerely

Joseph H. Longford

13. Longford to Satow [p.50 in file]

Very Confidential

H.M. Consulate, Tainan

Takow, June 25, 1896

My dear Sir Ernest,

Before I left Tokio both Marquis Ito and [foreign minister 1892-96] Count Mutsu [Munemitsu, 1844-97]<sup>20</sup> expressed their desires to me, as I informed you at the time, that I should freely communicate to them in private letters any suggestions which might occur to me in regard to affairs in Formosa. [Margin note – by Satow ? – 1. Memorandum, 2. List of cases 3. From Rev. Dr. Ferguson 4. Steam Communication]

Marquis Ito had then no intention whatsoever of visiting Formosa himself, but he informed me that he was not satisfied with the reports that came to him and that he thought of sending Count Inouye to

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<sup>20</sup> See *Mutsu Munemitsu and Identity Formation of the Individual and the State in Modern Japan*, ed. Louis G. Perez, Edwin Mellen Press, 2001.

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directly investigate affairs, Count Inouye being the one and only member of the Cabinet who could be called a practical administrator and who is possessed of a thorough business capacity.

I had not yet, as you would know from my not having told you of it, written to either Minister when Marquis Ito's recent visit took place but I sent a short note to meet His Excellency at Taipeh referring to our conversation in Tokio and informing him that I would, with his permission, communicate to him while here the result of my own observations so far and of the information I had received from others. When he visited me in my own residence he soon made an opportunity for a private conversation in part of which Viscount Katsura [Tarō] shared.<sup>21</sup> I told His Excellency, having his permission to speak freely and unreservedly, that the chief point which had struck me was the severity of Japanese administration and the absolutely unchecked license which appeared to be permitted to Japanese soldiers and coolies in their treatment of the natives. It is unnecessary for me to give you minute details as I told His Excellency that I had prepared a memorandum on the subject which I hoped to have given him while here. There had not been time, however, to have it copied and it was so roughly written that it would, in its draft form, be illegible to him. I said that I would send a copy to you privately, and that you would no doubt hand it to him after his return to Tokio. I have now the honor to send you the copy herewith with appended to it a list containing details of a few of the cases on which I base the charges (I suppose this is the only term for them) which the best well-wisher to Japan cannot but make [cannot help making] against their administration in this Island so far. Some further details as to police and civil methods will be found in the despatches which I am forwarding to you by this opportunity.

I also enclose a very short memorandum, a copy of which I gave His Excellency, suggesting that the Japanese Government should avail itself of the Peninsular and Oriental Steamship Company's line between HongKong and Yokohama to establish regular mail communication with the Island and to afford to passengers and shippers some relief from the extortionate terms levied by the HongKong Company which now possesses a monopoly of the service.

Our conversation was interrupted more than once but resumed by His Excellency. He told me that he would be very glad to receive the memorandum from you and that even in his short stay he had already observed the excessive roughness of his countrymen to the natives. He also appeared most favorably struck with the suggestion as to the Peninsular and Oriental Company, said he would consider it and thought an arrangement might be arrived at.

I may here state that I had already written myself on this subject to the Chief Agent of the Peninsular

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<sup>21</sup> Viscount Katsura Tarō (1847-1913), army general and politician from Chōshū. General of the Third Division in the Sino-Japanese War. He was appointed second Governor-General of Taiwan in 1896 (after Admiral Kabayama Sukenori; before General Nogi Maresuke and General Kodama Gentarō). Army minister, 1898-1900. Prime Minister, 1901-06; 1908-11; 1912-13.

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and Oriental Company at HongKong and I enclose for your information copy of an extract from his letter in reply which I have received since Marquis Ito left.

His Excellency further admitted the advisability, which I suggested to him, of employing foreign assistance for a few years until the Japanese themselves acquired a knowledge of the local language and of the industrial and other conditions of the Island. In this regard I ventured to mention to him the case of Dr. Myers.

Dr. [Wykeham] Myers came here over sixteen years ago as Surgeon in the Chinese Customs Service and has since resided continuously in the district of the Tainan Prefecture. He receives, as you know, a salary of £100 per annum from Her Majesty's Government as Medical Adviser to the Consulate.

He is a person of very high scientific attainments, of most wonderful energy, and of marked integrity, and could, I feel sure, be relied upon for the most efficient and honest service. He is a recognised authority on all matters relating to Southern Formosa, is thoroughly acquainted with all its commercial and industrial conditions and with the customs of the people and his knowledge and abilities have already been recognised by several local officials.

The withdrawal of the Chinese Customs Service from Tainan involved a very heavy loss in his income and reduced it to a standard which would not justify him remaining here and losing the employment which he would only require to ask for to obtain from [Inspector General of the Chinese Customs] Sir Robert Hart [1835-1911] at some port in China.

But he is naturally unwilling to throw away all the experience and knowledge that he has acquired in Southern Formosa and he is quite ready to place both at the disposal of the Japanese Government. Local officials have already freely availed themselves of both and have held out to him prospects of employment. But though he has now been inclined by these prospects to remain here for nine months, diminishing his claims on Sir Robert Hart daily as the time increases, no definite proposal has as yet been made to him. He is naturally becoming impatient himself and, from my own experience of Japanese methods, I should feel bound to advise him not to rely on these prospects if their realization continues to be deferred.

He is willing to agree to remain in the Japanese service for five years at a salary of five hundred dollars per month and to give them his best assistance and advice in all matters relating to the administration and development of Southern Formosa. He has a fair knowledge of the language but is not competent to act as Interpreter, and for the latter services the Japanese must, I think, have recourse to Missionaries. Two English merchants here (one of whom is a son of Dr. Macgowan, the famous Chinese Missionary and authority on the Amoy dialect) possess a thorough knowledge of the language but neither could, I fancy, be induced to enter the Japanese service. I am sure that in Dr. Myers the local



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government would find a most valuable servant, and that in the five years the cost of his employment would be recouped a hundred fold. Without such assistance the officials will continue to be groping in the dark for years yet and they can find it nowhere else.

I trust I may not be considered presumptuous in hoping that you will be able to speak of these matters with Marquis Ito and Viscount Katsura before the latter leaves Tokio.

The present condition of the Island, as far as it can be judged from an experience of the Southern half only, is a disgrace to the good name of Japan. It is one of almost absolute anarchy, police, military and lower civil officials apparently devoting all their energies only to the practice of tyranny and cruelty and in their methods and conduct almost inducing one to the belief that they are endeavouring to emulate those of the Sultan's servants in Armenia.<sup>22</sup> During the rebellion [1895 ?] some excellent roads were made. Beyond that I cannot see that anything has been achieved or that the condition of the people has been improved in one little iota.

Brigandage is still rampant, and the people in the country districts, deprived of their arms by the Japanese, are unable to provide protection for themselves while they find that of the Japanese police almost a greater source of terror than the worst acts of the brigands. Slaughter and burnings down of whole villages are steps very hastily adopted by the former and the innocent suffer in these even more than the guilty.<sup>23</sup>

I cannot see what remedy can be found for all this. A commission of strongmen sent from Tokio to investigate matters on the spot throughout the whole length of the Island, with the assistance of competent Foreign Interpreters, with ample authority to inflict the severest punishment for outrage of any kind on either soldiers, police, civil officials or coolies would be the natural one. But I doubt if the whole Empire of Japan would supply one able man who would come here with the honest intention of exposing the truth in all its bareness and not with that of hiding or whitewashing the misdeeds of his countrymen. And to such a degree of terror have the people been reduced that I further doubt if any

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<sup>22</sup> Armenian massacres. A series of brutal campaigns conducted against the Armenian subjects of the Ottoman Empire by Sultan Abdülhamid in 1894-96. When the Armenians in Sasum refused to pay oppressive taxes, Turkish troops and Kurdish tribesmen killed thousands of them and burned their villages (1894). When Armenian revolutionaries seized the Ottoman Bank in Istanbul two years later, more than 50,000 Armenians were killed by mobs of Muslim Turks, apparently coordinated by government troops. (*Encyclopedia Britannica*)

<sup>23</sup> On 13 July 1896 Satow went to Ito Hirobumi. "Talked about Formosa, and the complaints Longford had made of the gend'armes. Itō said that the gend'armes [police] were mostly new and inexperienced, so were guilty of faults, but he and Katsura [Tarō] had given the heads a talking to and he felt certain that there would be no more of it. He had never worked with Katsura before, but could see that he would make a capital administrator. Promised to introduce me to him next time I am in Tokio." (Diary, Ruxton, 2003, p.110)

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Chinese could be induced to give evidence against even the worst of their prosecutors. They might perhaps by one expedient, the association with the commission of one or two foreign consuls and a British consul especially but the adoption of that by the Japanese is about as likely as the rising of the moon in midday.

But if some strong remedy is not only taken but soon taken all the natives will be hopelessly alienated from Japan and perhaps, driven to the madness of desperation by tyranny and cruelty, they even may burst out into rebellions, the suppression of which will involve further hideous stories of carnage and outrage.

Believe me, dear Sir Ernest,

Very sincerely yours,

Joseph H. Longford

Enclosures (3):

1. Letter [to Joseph H. Longford] from the Reverend Duncan Ferguson of the Presbyterian Mission in Tainan, respecting the desecration of Chinese graves by the Japanese [p. 62 in file]

Copy

Pithau

27 June 1896

Dear Sir,

Your letter of 24<sup>th</sup> instant to Mr. Barclay has just been handed to me here. Please excuse this paper and pencil. I have no other here.

You ask about desecration of graves by the Japanese. I have seen lots of it between Chianghoan and Tangkang. I need go no further back than yesterday afternoon (Friday 26 inst.) and report what I myself saw and what can be seen still at this moment. About fifty yards west of our chapel at Lamakke (20 Chinese li North from here) there is a large graveyard. The Japanese drove their new road right through it. In some cases the road went right through the middle of graves cutting them transversely. Thus half of the coffin was left sticking in the bank at side of road. Several halves of coffins are still sticking there and can be seen by anyone. When the coffins were broken open the bones were in no way taken care of or buried.

\_\_\_\_\_ (our evangelist at Lamakke) was with me yesterday when I saw the desecrated graves. In the ditch by [the] side of [the] road I saw something white half covered and said to the evangelist "What is that ?" He replied "It is a man's skull." I stooped down and examined it. It was as the man had said. I covered it with soil.

I am etc. (sd.) Duncan Ferguson

Correspondence and Papers (private). Japanese Mission. Consular Staff. Anping, Takao, Formosa (Taiwan).  
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2. Copy of Private Memorandum by J.H. Longford [p.63 in file]

Steam Communication between Hong Kong and Japan and Ports in the Island of Formosa

One of the greatest drawbacks to Takow is the infrequency of steam communication with China and Japan and the very high charges levied by the company conducting what is, at present, the only regular service. This company is the Douglas Steamship Company of Hong Kong, which runs a steamer between Hong Kong and Takow every ten days or so.

The charges made by this Company are exorbitant in the extreme. The distance between Hong Kong and Anping is only 340 miles direct, perhaps 500 via Amoy. For this voyage their freight charges vary from \$8 to \$10 or more per ton. The distance between Yokohama and Hong Kong is over 1800 miles, and yet freight by first class mail steamer of any line is only \$5 per ton. The fare by the Douglas Steamship Company from Anping to Amoy, about 250 miles, is \$25. That by all first class mail steamers from Yokohama to Kobe – 340 miles – is \$10.00.

And charges by a small steamer from Anping to Takow – 24 miles – are even more exorbitant, so that to get a parcel from Takow to Hong Kong costs more than it would to get it from England to Yokohama. Such a state of affairs must form a serious obstacle to trade and it certainly does to the comfort and convenience of residents.

The Japanese Government might very easily at no great cost remedy this state of affairs and establish a very excellent service with Japan until there are sufficient steamers under the Japanese flag to undertake it.

The Peninsular and Oriental Company run a line of steamers between Yokohama and Hong Kong, calling at Kōbe and Nagasaki. This line, though it runs at fixed dates with the regularity of contract mail steamers, is not bound by any contract with the British Government, and the steamers on it could, therefore, be diverted at the Company's will.

It is possible that very little in the way of subsidy would induce them to call on their way at both Keelung and Takow, during those seasons of the year in which the weather admitted of it. Doing so would not be very much out of their present course, and the only difficulty would be the S.W. Monsoon in summer at Takow.

The tea trade alone from Keelung [Chilung] should be very remunerative. At present all the tea, about 20 million pounds every year, goes from Tamsui [Danshui] to Amoy [on the Chinese mainland] to be repacked and trans-shipped there for the United States. It should all go henceforth from Keelung [in North Formosa] to a Japanese port bringing considerable profit to whatever port it may go to. But it

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cannot commence to do so of course until there are reliable shipping facilities, and even when the Ôsaka Shosen Kaisha start their new steamers it will be some time before they acquire the full confidence of foreign shippers and insurance offices. Unlike the Nippon Yûsen Kaisha, the Ôsaka Company has as yet no experience whatever in Foreign Trade.

It is possible, of course, that the P. and O. Co. might not be willing to undertake this service on any reas[on]able terms, but there can be no doubt that if they could be induced to do so until such time as communication by the Japanese steamship companies is perfected, it would tend greatly to the advantage and prosperity, not only specially of the district of Takow, but of the whole island of Formosa.

All the other Foreign lines of mail steamships plying between Yokohama and Hong Kong run under contract and could not, therefore, undertake this service, and the trans-Pacific steamers are all too large to enter the port of Keelung at present.

(signed) Joseph H. Longford

Takow,

June 15, 1896

3. Copy. Extract from letter from the Agent of the Peninsular and Oriental Steamship Company Hong Kong to Mr. Longford H.M. Consul Tainan [p.65 in file]

Hong Kong June 19, 1896

The organization of our Japan Line is likely to undergo considerable alteration in the near future and I think it quite likely that it might suit us to take one or more of the Formosan Ports in our itinerary, but under existing circumstances, with the “Ancosa” and “Verona” on the Line only, it would hardly be practicable, as on the downward voyage [from Japan] they only have time enough to catch the English Mail here. If there is any chance of obtaining a subsidy, I have no doubt we would be prepared to put one of our older Steamers on the run temporarily, and she could make about a three weekly run from Hong Kong to Japan via Formosa calling, say, at two Ports on the Island each way, but of course, without knowing what kind of service would be required, it would be very difficult to go into figures.

14. Longford to Satow [p.66 in file]

Anping, July 3, 1896 [Recd. July 10]

My dear Sir Ernest,

All my despatches dated down to June 26 were written and copied before I heard a word of the outbreak at Hoonlin[?] which would convey any idea of its seriousness. I have kept everything to send by the S.S. Exe which leaves this morning, both because I preferred they should not pass through

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Japanese hands at all and also because the post is utterly unreliable as to time. The anarchy that prevails in everything in the Island has not missed the post. Letters and papers come at all sorts of irregular times or never come at all. At least a dozen letters for me must be wandering about some where while papers posted on say the 15<sup>th</sup> will often arrive long before those posted 7 or 8 days earlier.

My telegram yesterday must have puzzled you. My object was, if possible, in the cause of common humanity, to induce you to speak seriously to the Japanese as to the risks to their reputation which they are running in allowing the present system of slaughterings and burnings to continue unchecked. The soldiers will be wild at their late defeats and losses in Hoon Lin, and I anticipate a wholesale devastation of the entire district if the Govt, in Tokio does not put its foot down firmly in time. The Japanese think they can do these things in secret, but they may be most disagreeably surprised. Our F.O. might publish a blue book [official report] on Formosa but there is another far more likely source of exposure. The Presbyterian Mission here is a powerful, influential and wealthy corporation in England. Any member of the mission here, and all of them are full of indignation against the Japanese though they are very guarded and moderate in their utterances, may send home a long letter any day describing what is going on here. Not only would it be published in the Reports of the Society but it (the Society) has quite influence enough to procure access for it to the Times or to have attention called to it in Parliament. I don't know whether you will think what I have written worth sending home, but I think their career in Formosa is the most disgraceful chapter in Japanese history – there can be no excuse of any kind, no denial, such as in the Port Arthur atrocities<sup>24</sup> - and it is likely to continue unless very strong steps are taken at once. Please note that I say nothing whatsoever as to the North of the Island. I know nothing of what goes on there and everything may be perfect, but the condition which I have described prevails southwards from Chang Hoa. I do not think I have exaggerated anywhere, in fact I think I've done rather the reverse. I have told several foreigners here my opinions and they are endorsed by all. You need not hesitate, I think, speaking strongly to Ito. He saw something himself even in the North, but his visit was altogether a disappointment as I hoped he would have made an exhaustive survey of the Island instead of just giving a hasty and superficial glance at the ports. The new Prefect here seems as good a man as could be got but I don't believe he knows or can know much and he is powerless in the way of exercising any check on the soldiers. The sub prefect at Hozan is also a very first class man. I believe if his honest opinions could be elicited they would be found not less strong than my own. Everything gives a nice omen of what foreigners may expect when Treaty Revision comes into force. Gensd'armes swaggering into a sick man's room and attempting to drag him out of bed, sentries knocking off hats

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<sup>24</sup> See Donald Keene, *Emperor of Japan: Meiji and His World, 1852-1912*, pp. 491-95. Foreign reporters included Thomas Cowen of the *Times* of London (see *Times* of December 3, 1895).

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when not saluted, Customs authorities lecturing a merchant like a naughty schoolboy etc. Only the other day a sentry knocked off an Englishman's hat at the gate of Hozan, and the very next day another sentry at the same gate nearly broke the thigh of a Chinese servant of the same foreigner with a blow from the butt end of his rifle because the man didn't lower his umbrella sufficiently quickly when passing. These two incidents are however not to be mentioned to the Japanese. An apology was made for both at the time and they were only told to me on condition that I would do nothing about them. The foreigner was Dr. Myers, so you can understand his reasons.

I am waiting with much anxiety for your answer about the Spanish Consulate especially. If something is not done by the Spanish Minister [Don Jose de la Rica y Calvo] very soon I shall have to telegraph to you disclaiming further responsibility. There are the new passport rules out, making very great changes and shutting the missionaries out from stations to which they have been accustomed to go. I have sent the rules in English to them but I doubt if they understand them in the least and I fear some serious trouble. Nothing would please some of them better than martyrdom. They are not ready to submit to restraint and I entirely fail to make them understand. Then there is their land in the country about which they are bothering me. The [Spanish] Minister's staff in Tokio is large enough to spare [the legation secretary Jose] Caro or someone else from it, and it is insupportable that this responsibility that [for ?] their affairs, with which, even if willing and with abundant time on my hands, and neither condition exists, I should be entirely incompetent to deal should be thrust on me without hope of reward or remuneration of any kind, while the staff of the Legation are enjoying themselves in Japan. I can't bear to be disagreeable to them (the missionaries) but I shall have to tell them, if I can make them understand, that I cannot act for them.

It is impossible to say what the present month will produce. When I wrote my application for leave everything seemed settled. Now the fire is again full of fat. The loss of foreign property in Huon Liu will be very large and I suppose claims will be made on account of it. [Margin note: I have just heard that it was by the Japanese soldiers that the town was set on fire.] I may stay here of course but it will end in my breaking down completely if I don't get a change sooner or later, and I want to get it while the family are at Hakone. Night and day the thermometer has lately hovered about 90° - a damp enervating 90° [Fahrenheit] – and I am entirely worn out by it. Today it is 92° here, and to the heat is added a perfectly maddening plague of flies, and Anping is cooler than Takow. If you could bring me up to act at Kobe or even Nagasaki for a few months, it would, if you can't give me leave, do me just as much good. Any place in Japan would be a change from this, and if brought up to act Govt. [the British Government] would pay for my passage. No matter how much I require the change I can't afford passage to Japan and back via Hong Kong or Amoy. The Japanese transports in which I have only to ask to get a passage are

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very irregular, and besides only absolute necessity will induce me to be under the obligation to them for it. Their rules, I should say, provide that Consular and Diplomatic Officers of Foreign Powers are to receive passages when required.

I think [Ernest A.] Griffiths can be left in charge unless more serious matters occur, and if they do I have given him enough precedents for guidance. I hope you will telegraph your answer to me and please tell my wife what it is. Of course Griffiths will require an acting appointment.

[Byron] Brennan will be here in the course of his mission in the middle of October.<sup>25</sup> I have received copies of my Trade Report from the F.O. and a very complimentary letter in regard to it from the Association of the Chambers of Commerce, by which it has been specially circulated through the Chambers of the U.K., to 80 of them in fact. But what good does it do myself? All three of my last reports might have been left entirely unwritten as far as any reward from the F.O. goes, and I may remain indefinitely rotting in a horrible place like this just as much as I had been the most ignorant or indolent member of the service. I remember you once telling us of how you felt after some time in Siam.<sup>26</sup> Well what you said then applies word for word to myself now: languor, sleeplessness, loss of appetite, thorough exhaustion with heat. I am living almost on whisky and soda. It is the only thing that I find puts me up at all.

Have you noticed a very interesting article in this year's Whittaker on Japan? It runs a good deal on the lines of my Trade Report but is very funny. The compiler has taken all dollars at 4/- [shillings] I think and makes the trade forty six millions sterling instead of (I think) twenty eight. There was a long and very complimentary article on my report in the Times, but to show the reward of writing it to myself I see another paper urges "What is the use of talking of commercial attaches when we get such reports from Consuls."

Please treat this discursive letter with all indulgence. If you saw the condition of heat in which I write it you would excuse anything, and I am sick at heart and worn out in body. Since I last wrote to you (I think my letter though written long ago goes with this) I am more than ever convinced of the utter absurdity of the present consular arrangements here. In fact for efficient conduct of business they approach in some points the burlesque. Their alteration would however require my removal from this post, and if you have no intention of that, they will have to remain as they are. I had a little approach to a difference with the prefect as to routine, but I was firm and he gave way. However he showed what his ideas were and any day he may spring them again. I am going to see him at Tainan on Monday and then

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<sup>25</sup> Byron Brennan (1847-1927) was instructed to visit officially the principal Treaty Ports of China, Japan and Korea, to report on British trade, November 22, 1895. (Kuwata, 1996, p. 57)

<sup>26</sup> Satow was in Siam 1884-87. He was promoted to be Agent and Consul-General at Bangkok, January 16, 1884; and to be Minister-Resident and Consul-General, February 17, 1885. (Kuwata, 1996, p.110)

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I hope to get some more particulars from him if he knows any himself, which I more than doubt – I mean about the outbreak. Many thanks for your telegram about the house. I didn't quite understand it as I can find no copy of the Office of Works Regulations here and I suppose your mention of Regn. 23 referred to them. The roof is being made temporarily watertight. Marshall has telegraphed approval of the contract, and as for the rest, I have grown entirely indifferent and the house may remain in its disgracefully dilapidated condition as long as Marshall likes to leave it. It is a scandal that while the Govt. disburses most liberally H.M. Consul should be infinitely worse housed than the humblest missionary or merchant in the place. Griffiths is however very comfortable.

Yours very sincerely

Joseph H. Longford

P.S. I don't think you need fear that I shall trouble you again with such a mail as the present. I'll try and keep you informed of progress in Hoonlin, but as for all the rest I think I have said all I have to say. I have tried to do my little best to give a clear account of the condition of affairs here to you, the Foreign Office and the Japanese and my task is, I consider, done.

P.S. I don't ask and hope you won't say anything too severe about Watanabe, the Commissioner of Customs. They could not get a better man here. He is the very pink [?] of courtesy, and though he is trying to brave this matter out and say he only did what is usual, he is I am sure thoroughly frightened and sorry for what he has done. J.H.L.

15. Longford to Satow [p.73 in file]

Private

Anping, July 13, 1896

Dear Sir Ernest,

Your notes of June 26 and 27, and despp. Nos 21 and 22 arrived late last night, having come wonderfully quickly. Simultaneously I received papers of June 10 and 11 and a letter dated June 7, papers of 20, 21 etc. having arrived two days previously, and all intervening ones, with several letters, still missing. The post by Amoy will be slow and uncertain as to date, but it will be sure to arrive some time, and the Jap. post cannot be depended on for that, so that I think it much better that, for the present at least, everything should come by Amoy.

My hands are very full today and will be tomorrow when the 'Thales' goes. I hope you will excuse therefore a very hastily written answer to your notes with all consequent imperfections.

I have no hesitation at all in answering your kind question. I should infinitely prefer Nagasaki, with even £800 a year, to either Tamsui or Tainan with £900, and equally infinitely, Tamsui to Tainan.



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Between the two latter posts no comparison can be made in any way, in importance or comfort to the holder.

Commercially Tamsui [Danshui] is far ahead of Tainan and likely to become more so.

Politically it is at the seat of the Government General, and therefore very much more influential, and I should be near Governor General whom I know well.

Socially there is a much larger foreign community including Consuls.

Domestically it affords all the comforts considered necessary in hot climates in which this place is so entirely lacking.

At the best there is regular communication between Tainan and the outer world once in ten days, and in summer it is sometimes altogether cut off for three weeks continuously or longer. Two steamers weekly run to Tamsui all the year round, more in the summer months, and the service is never interrupted.

Tamsui is from 8 to 10 days nearer Japan than Tainan, a very important consideration, especially when leave of absence is taken.

Climatically, Tamsui cannot possibly be worse than Tainan. Physically it is infinitely prettier and no doubt in a very short time residence (at least temporary) will be quite possible in the hills near at hand. This can never be hoped for in Tainan, where there is no possibility whatever of getting a cool breath of air even for a single night.

The peculiar circumstances of this post render it most advisable that it should be held by a younger rather than an older man. Twice during the past week I consider I have risked my life – once in crossing the bar in a heavy sea to go down to Takow [Margin note: Two days later the terrible accident occurred.] , and on Friday, in returning here overland – 13 hours journey in a scorching sun – I was utterly exhausted by it and nothing would induce me to undertake it again. A change in the circumstances may, however, remedy this and there will probably be railway communication in another year or so.

It is possible it may be found necessary to appoint an Assistant at Tamsui and dispense with the one here. The latter point is referred to in enclosed memo. Now, the presence of an assistant, living 26 [16 ?] miles away by land and 24 by sea, adds neither to the dignity nor comfort of the consul, and he can be of a very little help, however willing.

All the help Griffiths has been able to give me you have seen in the Legation. It has to be purchased by a long daily letter of instructions, to which he has to give an equally long reply. While the present absurd arrangement is maintained his presence is, however, indispensable. If change in the occupant of the post admits of present arrangement being altered, it will be no longer so.

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I think I have given you sufficient reason now for preferring Tamsui to Tainan, though I gather from your note that I have only to express the wish to go to the former to have it entertained by you. I could not dislike Tamsui more than I do this place. It cannot be more trying to me; it may be infinitely more comfortable, and it will afford far higher opportunities for work, if that is desired.

But while, if work has to be done or there is scope for it, I don't think my nature would ever let me neglect it, I should prefer a post of mere routine work, such as you say Nagasaki is. Nothing could be more disheartening than work – which is said to be good – being utterly unnoticed and disregarded. I have tried everything for the Foreign Office, Japanese law, trade, politics, mercantile marine. In the first three and last the public and press have given ample evidence of what is thought of my work. It has never obtained a pin's head of reward from the F.O., except letters of approval, and I can see no hope that it ever will.

There will be no safe opportunity for me to write to you again or to hear from you for at least 10 days, it may be 20 perhaps, so I am jotting down roughly my ideas as to what ought to be done at the present opportunity in regard to the consular arrangements in Formosa. I do so with less hesitation as I should like you to believe that, even if a Consulate General with £1000 a year pay were established, though I should take it if offered to me, that I have not a particle of expectation of getting it, and should still prefer Nagasaki with its £800. You won't, I hope, mind my saying at the same time that I think your proposed reduction in the latter is a pity. A reduction of £50 will go a very short way towards inducing the Treasury to grant an increase of £200. Nagasaki is one of the greatest naval stations in the East, and the £50 over and above the regular pay of minor Consulates in China, hardly pays for the sherry and whisky and soda that has to be provided by the Consul for naval men. I am sure it did not in Quin's case, but I don't anticipate incurring it, as with a family dependent on me, my hospitality must be very limited, and the little I can exercise will take a different form.

I may probably ask the Consul at Amoy to telegraph to you my wishes as to Nagasaki and Tamsui if I can put them briefly in code. Communication with you will now be so uncertain that it is perhaps [best ?] you should have my answer as speedily as possible.

Yours very sincerely

Joseph H. Longford

Private Memorandum Enclosed in Mr. Longford's letter of July 13, 1896 [p.77 in file]

Consular Arrangements in Formosa

When I came here, knowing nothing about the place, I naturally followed the custom already existing and took up my residence at Takow [Kaohsiung], leaving the Assistant at Anping.

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I find that nothing could be more impracticable, even absurd. There is some trade at Takow during the winter and the foreign merchants then pass some portion of their time there, while all maintain 'hongs' [here: branch offices] and occasionally visit the port, but hardly ever in summer.

At Anping are all the head establishments of all firms, their permanent residences, and  $\frac{3}{4}$ ths of their business. Close to Anping are also the Prefecture and the large British Missionary Establishment.

From all of these, while residing in Takow, the Consul is practically cut off. In the summer it may be entirely impossible for him to get to them at all in any contingency. Either directly or through the Assistant he has a daily correspondence, often lengthy and troublesome, with them and matters that could be settled in 5 m[inutes]. conversation have to be sometimes referred backwards and forwards by letters and telegrams for days in succession.

At Takow, the permanent foreign residents consist of the local doctor and a pilot (a German) and their families. [Margin: The Spanish Mission is about 5 miles from Takow.] The doctor spends the greater part of his time in Anping, and generally in summer, or for say 8 months of the year, the British subjects in Takow consist of the Dr's wife and two daughters and myself.

The Consulate archives, principal office, gaol etc. are all at Takow.

I am strongly of opinion that they should be removed to Anping and that the Consul's residence should also be there. [Margin: No necessity for a gaol in Anping.]

If so, and he is provided with a good copying clerk, the Assistant may be dispensed with.

The offices now at Takow might be entirely closed. I should not recommend the sale of the grounds etc., as we don't know what Takow may be ten years hence, and the ground is now rapidly increasing in value. But the offices, as at present, could be let at once for a term of years, to the Japanese Government for a very handsome rental.

In lieu of them, one room might be added to the present residence to be used as an office whenever it was necessary for the Consul to visit Takow, as it would sometimes be, especially in winter, when the foreign merchants moved there for the sugar business.

The present residence at Takow should be maintained, notwithstanding that the greater part of the consul's time must be spent in Anping.

Apart from business, it will, for sanitary reasons, be most advisable that he, as every merchant here has, (as the missionaries also have but not in Takow) a place of change. The climate conditions of the two posts, Takow and Anping, differ in the most extraordinary way, though they are so close together.

Anping is fever stricken, but fresh and comparatively bracing. Takow is free from fever but depressing and exhausting. A change from one place to the other invariably does the greatest good, and in the opinion of the local doctor it is only by changes to Takow, when they cannot be obtained to the

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mainland, that preventive and curative results of the Anping fever are obtained, and also that those residents of Anping, who have escaped fever, have done so entirely by frequent changes to Takow. As it would be a heavy burden for the Consul to furnish two houses, Government might fairly contribute some plain necessities to the Takow Residence or of a better quality to the Anping, if that seemed more advisable.

If this plan were adopted, public business and efficiency would be immensely promoted, and any additional work thrown on the Consul by want of an Assistant would be more than compensated by being saved present very large local semi official correspondence.

Since the Japanese entry, all prices, wages etc. in Formosa have increased from 25 to 50 per cent. Foreign opinion here is unanimous on this point. [Margin: There is another point to be observed. No social relations whatsoever were maintained with Chinese officials, with Japanese they are fairly constant and expensive.] An addition of £100 to the pay of the Consul would not therefore be extravagant, as at present.

But I think advantage should be taken of the present opportunity to make a very radical change.

I find that I can procure or do little through the local Prefect. I have to refer nearly everything to the Government General, though to do so I had to cause some irritation to the Prefect, who wished me to deal with him alone. I was, however, able to produce cases to him showing the futility of that course.

The Consul in the North can deal directly with the Government General and should have his right to do so clearly acknowledged. On the spot he can do so far more efficiently and speedily than when 15 days off by post as is the case with Tainan.

Formerly, the Consular staff in Formosa consisted of one Consul for Taiwan, i.e. for Formosa – and a Vice Consul under him at Tamsui. [Margin: Vid. my previous despatch on the Chinese Treaty in May.]

I think that this arrangement should now be reverted to and that the officer in the North, who will be in direct communication with the Government General, should be styled, not for the small local district of Tamsui (which be it noted excludes Keelung) but for the island of Formosa – that the officer in the South should be under his instructions and communicate with him, he bringing all matters to the notice of the Govt General.

If this plan were adopted, either the officer in the South would have to be only a Vice Consul or that in the North a Consul General. The latter course would be far preferable. No people in the world are more susceptible to rank than the Japanese, a Consul General could always command access to the Governor General, and if an officer of experience could thus exercise very great influence.

The expenses of living in the Northern capital will be much higher than in the South. In latter, there is only one Prefect and one Sub prefect to maintain equality with.

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In the North, there will be the Governor General, the heads of the five (I think) governing departments, all of equal rank with a Prefect, the General in command of the troops etc. With all these, the Consul or Consul General should be able to live on equal terms and entertain them occasionally. His pay should therefore be £1000 per annum, while that of the subordinate Consul or Vice Consul at Tainan might remain, as at present, £800. [Margin: Compare the possible importance of such a post with Foochow, Amoy or even Tientsin.]

As the Consul in the North would have a heavy and often very confidential correspondence, he should be provided with an Assistant.

Both politically and commercially the importance of Formosa is likely to be very great, and it is well worth some attentive consideration on the part of H.M. Govt.

Note. No matter who gets this Northern appointment – in the wild supposition of its being made, he is likely to be 11 or 12 years senior at least to the officer in the South and personal considerations might therefore influence in some degree the relative rates of pay. But suppose it were given to either [J.C.] Hall or myself, compare our respective positions with [H.A.C.] Bonar, a man with very large private means and no family, as compared with men, neither of whom has a cent and both have large families.

J.H.L.

Anping,

July 13, 1896

16. Longford to Satow [p.81 in file]

Anping, July 14, 1896

Dear Sir Ernest,

I don't think there is anything about the disturbances that I can add to what I have detailed in my despatches. I hope they are over now, as far as they threatened the Japanese, but the anxiety as to the reprisals and their immediate and remote consequences is still very great, and I think justifiably so. If anything is to be done from Tokio it must be at once, as no doubt the troops, advancing also from the North, will be all over the district in a very few days, and their previous experiences at Hoon Lin and Chip Chip – also at Polisia – not to mention Towlak [?], the sympathy which they knew the inhabitants had with the insurgents will not lend them much inducement to modify their previous methods. The camphor stored ready for shipment may be said to be worth \$30,000. Besides this there are all the stills, advances to contractors etc., and the destruction and loss of the whole is quite possible. My requests to have British property protected are of course listened to, but I am sure the Prefect here has not a particle of influence over the soldiery.

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I have reason to believe that the fullest accounts of everything, with strong criticisms on Japanese methods heretofore, are going to the papers. The German Mannich & Co. are especially bitter about it all and they are sending full reports to the Minister in Tokio [Gutschmid] through the Consul at Amoy, there being no communication with Taipeh.

Rev. T. Barclay<sup>27</sup> wrote to me that their mission would probably send you a memorial asking you to use your influence to practice mercy, but he has not done so (has not sent it to me at least) and I think it must be too late for this mail now. The general anxiety that existed is shown by the fact that, even with latest news there is a great exodus of passengers by present 'Thales'. I have heard nothing from the Spaniards. One of their missionaries (Father Giner) was in Towlak, living next door to the barracks, and lodging in his house the colonel (?) in command of the garrison. Another, who has just arrived and can't speak a word of Chinese, was a little to the North. From the first I have much anxiety, as if he had escaped some word should have come from him by this time, several Chinese having made their way down by the coast.

I have just received a letter from Ollia, son of the killed Parsee, of which I send copy of an extract.<sup>28</sup> There is nothing to be done about him. The poor fellow is dead and buried, killed by the insurgents in mistake for a Japanese, and even under the Chinese rules foreigners went to these districts at their own risk.

The future will depend entirely on the line General Katsura [the present Governor General] will take. Outbreaks such as this may be always expected unless a most radical change takes place in Japanese methods and conduct towards natives. I don't think the whole story of the past could be told in worse terms than I am assured from many different quarters, it deserves, and, as I have said, I believe from what I have seen myself.

Yours very sincerely

Jospeh H. Longford

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<sup>27</sup> Thomas Barclay (1849-1935) was a British missionary to Formosa from 1875 until his death. A graduate of Glasgow University. In 1895 when the Qing Dynasty ceded Taiwan to Japan, a resistance movement arose and a 'Republic of Formosa' loyal to the Qing was declared at Tainan. Barclay mediated with the Japanese and his services were recognised by the award of a medal.

<sup>28</sup> In July 1896 the Japanese army in Taichun, Formosa killed several hundred people and burnt down more than a thousand dwellings in an effort to suppress rebellious natives. This provoked 40-50,000 to revolt. At that time Mr D.D. Ollia of Dinshaw & Co. was mistaken for a Japanese and killed. Mr. Patel of Mehta & Co. escaped unharmed. (Japanese F.O. documents; Nagaoka, vol. 1, p. 167) Satow spoke to foreign minister Saionji Kinmochi on July 29, 1896: "Formosa He said he had sent my note to the Colonization Department. Had also heard of Patel's hat case. He mentioned that report of cruelties had been published. I said it was greatly to be desired that such orders might be given as would prevent such conduct on the part of the gendarmes and especially as Japan was engaged for the first time in an experiment in colonization." (Ruxton, 2003, p. 113)

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[P.S.] To give you an illustration of the sentiments of Chinese, Rev. T. Barclay gave me a few days ago a copy of an old Black Flag proclamation. He told me he had the greatest difficulty in getting any of their writers or teachers to copy it, and that the one, who at last consented, did it in a disguised hand, almost illegibly in some places in fact. And to show you the Prefects' influence over the military I complained, 10 days ago to him of soldiers walking in the streets of the settlement at Anping absolutely naked. He promised to stop it at once. It still goes on, though yesterday I received another assurance about it.

17. Longford to Satow [p.83 in file]

[Ans. 10/9]

Takow, July 28, 1896

Dear Sir Ernest,

I am anxiously awaiting a favorable answer to my despatch no. 90. I am steadily running down here, and Dr. Myers strongly advises me, under the circumstances described in my first despatch, that I should take a complete change from Formosa. I can hold on till the end of August, but am most anxious to leave then in order that I may get some time in the hills with the family. Later on, when I could not go to the hills, unless alone, the change would not be ¼th as beneficial.

Why I trouble you again is in my want of confidence in the post. I cannot get a written answer to this for a full month at least by Amoy, for much longer overland. It is on these grounds that I asked to be furnished with an acting appointment for Griffiths, to be held in case of emergency even if you continue in your refusal of leave.

But I trust you will find no grounds for the latter. The rebellion is entirely over. There will be nothing left to be done but keep you informed of the progress of subjugation and tranquillization and that Griffiths can do as well as I. In fact he is practically doing it now, so much so that I am forwarding to you his Memo. today, kept open to the last moment in order that you may have the very latest information, without having seen it myself.

Griffiths' varied experience in Kobe has made him perfectly competent to do all ordinary work, and I hope his discretion will at any time prevent excess of zeal. If claims occur for the destruction of camphor and other property by the soldiers, they can only be settled in Tokio. I should not make even an attempt in that direction here.

Leave granted, and all possible restrictions removed, the physical difficulty of getting away remains. Fares by Amoy are outrageously high, entirely beyond me, and the service is irregular. And to show you its delights, the sampan men sometimes demand \$25 or \$30 for conveyance of a passenger to the

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steamer.

The Japanese service by Keelung [Chilung] is also irregular, uncomfortable and circuitous. I could never rely on being within 10 days of any opportunity.

There will be one chance this month of a direct steamer to Yokohama, the last for the season. But if weather admits of it she will be too early to give any hope of my being able to go by her. She should have gone, in fact, several weeks ago but long continuance of rough weather has shut her off from the coast.

Will you kindly telegraph a word to me again in answer to this if you have not in the meantime sent written reply to my No. 90. I can make no arrangements till I know authority for Griffiths to act has been sent, and I trust I may receive that soon, in case I should be obliged to go away under any circumstances, a contingency that I hope will not occur.

Yours very truly

Joseph H. Longford

Extract from Decennial Report of the Chinese Customs (1892) on Trade etc. of Tainan [p.85 in file]

Of the two places - Takow and Anping, Anping must be credited with the more salubrious climate; not only does the thermometer register lower readings, but there is at Anping a freshness and a vigour in the atmosphere from which Takow is entirely free. One reason is, no doubt, the presence, immediately to the North of Takow, of Ape Hill, whereby the fresh Northerly breezes, which blow so freely across Anping, bringing health and carrying off disease on its wings, are cut off from Takow.

[Margin note by Longford: Dr Myers, with 16 years experience, considers Anping a “hotbed of malarial fever of a peculiarly malignant type.” These very Northerly breezes come straight across alluvial plains stretching far to the North and are laden with the fever virus, so much so that the crews of ships in the roads, two miles off the shore suffer from the fever at these periods just as much as residents inland.]

Another source of the extreme depression of spirits and languor experienced in Takow by the healthy and naturally strong person is probably the effect on the atmosphere of numerous sulphur springs in the immediate neighbourhood of the settlement, whereby the air becomes impregnated with nauseating sulphuretted hydrogen. This fact has been drawn attention to by the medical faculty, and it has been claimed that, in consequence, the Takow climate is beneficial to people with a tendency to consumption. Be this as it may, the fact remains that for a healthy person the great drawback to residence at Takow is its enervating climate. A change to Anping for a few days has a wonderful effect – improvement in spirits, appetite and general health at once sets in; whereas the common remark of an Anping resident on



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arrival at Takow is, “As soon as I cross the bar I feel good for nothing”. On the other hand, in fairness to Takow it must be admitted that the scenery is of a pretty and cheerful description. [Margin note by Longford: By contrast with Anping which in its surroundings is one of the most horrible places on the face of the earth.] The green bluffs of Ape Hill and the blue water of the lagoon are a pleasant change and rest to the eye after a sojourn on the dull, flat, muddy, brown Anping plain. The resident at Anping has, besides, the advantage of fresh butcher’s meat throughout the year. The community is chiefly dependent on Amoy for butcher’s meat, which can be brought by steamer as far as Anping in a fit state for good, but in summer it cannot last the extra day required to reach Takow, where chickens and potted meats form the principal part of the Foreigner’s diet during many months of the year. [Margin note by Longford: Excellent fish is generally procurable, but in summer it cannot be depended upon, the heavy seas preventing the fishermen going out often for a fortnight continuously.] Of the former the taste soon wearies, and too much of the latter is by no means wholesome. On the whole, the climate of South Formosa may be described as fairly healthy; so far as Foreigners are concerned, especially for those who are housed well. Cases of malaria occur from time to time, more often in a mild form, and invaliding is rare. [Margin note by Longford: Invaliding and death among the members of the Presbyterian Mission have in 20 years amounted to 54% of the total. Once the fever enters the system it cannot be shaken off again and the sufferer, when he has returned to England, is liable to periodical recurrences of it.] Epidemics of cholera are unknown. The summer is trying to foreigners, not so much on account of great heat, as the thermometer seldom rises above 90° Fahrenheit, but owing to the continuous wet and stormy weather. Out-door amusements are then impossible and communication with the mainland by steamer being often interrupted for the best part of a month, the want of news from the outer world is sorely felt. With the setting in of the North-east monsoon in October comes fine weather and cooler nights; and, from December till May there is nothing, so far as the elements are concerned, to make life a burden.

18. Longford to Satow [p.87 in file]

[Ans. 10/9]

Takow, July 28, 1896

Dear Sir Ernest,

I have heard since I last wrote to you that Hall has elected to take the Nagasaki appointment,<sup>29</sup> so I presume that I may now definitely look upon Tamsui as my own destination. This makes it a little more

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<sup>29</sup> J.C. Hall was transferred to Tamsui (Formosa) on February 4, 1896 (did not proceed) and to Hiogo as Consul for Hiogo and Osaka on August 21, 1896 (F.O. List of 1897). Longford seems to have been misinformed here. He was himself transferred to Tamsui on August 21, 1896 but did not proceed and thence to Nagasaki on December 28, 1896. (Kuwata, 1996, p. 89)

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difficult for me to urge the points which I ventured to submit to you in my previous letter, but further thought convinces me, even more strongly, that some of them are solely in the public interest, worthy of the most serious consideration.

First, that the Consul in the North should hold the appointment of Consul for Formosa, instead of as at present for what is one of 12 Sub Prefectures in the Island. If “consul for Formosa” he will always have access, as of right, to the highest authorities. Under his present title he may be remitted any day to the subordinate local authorities, and there is already a marked tendency on the part of the Prefect here to prevent me corresponding with the Government General except through him. I have declined to assent to his wish, but I doubt if I could, in view of the practice in Japan, maintain that attitude if he insisted on his. And through him I could do little or nothing. Though the head of a great Prefecture, the largest and perhaps the most promising on the Island, he seems to have little influence and much less power. He does not take the simplest step without reference to Taipeh, he can initiate neither legal nor administrative improvements, only make recommendations and these, the Chief Secretary told me, are seldom attended to, can make no contract for over \$500 etc. Tamsui is only a Sub Prefecture (it does not even include the open Port of Keelung), and the central prefecture of Taichiu, the seat of the whole of the Southern camphor trade, is now entirely excluded from Consular right to intervene. Under no circumstances should the title of Consul for Tamsui be retained. If my suggestion as to Formosa does not meet with favor, then the title should be Taihoku, the Northern Prefecture, which includes both Tamsui and Keelung, and then later on you might some time have a Consul for Taichiu to reside at Lokkang, which will become the seat of the camphor trade when the Island is fully opened. But the adoption of “Formosa” would remove all difficulty. It is only reverting to our first system here, when the Consul was for Taiwan and this was so much recognised to be Formosa that the official seal bore the inscription “Consul for Formosa”. The German consul is Consul for Formosa, so I believe is the French, so will be the American. Is the English [consul], who has four times the interests of all [the others] put together, alone to have an insignificant local title ?

As to the pay and rank of the post I shall say little. It will be a difficult and arduous post for some years to come, involving very grave responsibility. It would be most advantageous that the holder should have direct right of access to the Governor General and be able to associate with him in an approach to equality. There are, in addition in Taipeh seven (not five as I told you before, forgetting the naval and military) heads of departments, all of Chokunin [i.e. directly appointed by Cabinet ?] rank. Here there is only one, the Prefect. Under the Chinese Government, Tainan was undoubtedly the most important post. Then the Viceroy lived in the North, but with him the Consuls had little direct relation. Business was carried on by both Consuls with the one Taotai who lived in Tainan. Now the conditions are entirely

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reversed. Nothing can be effected except through the Government General in the North. And it is much easier to effect anything by direct interviews rather than by correspondence. E.G. The passport question that I have reported to you. In five minutes conversation I could have shown Mr. Midzuno<sup>30</sup> the absurdity of his comparison of Kanagawa with this island under the conditions that are likely to obtain for several years yet. Correspondence on it might be indefinitely prolonged for months and months.

As to the future conditions of the Southern Port, I am afraid I have been a little too hasty in my suggestions, influenced too much by inconvenience immediately present and the recollections of my dangerous and uncomfortable journeys, backwards and forwards, between the two ports. [Margin note: It may seem ridiculous to call the land journey dangerous. A very little experience of the water buffalo would show the contrary. A Japanese soldier was killed by one a few days ago.]

Since writing, I have told Dr. [Wykeham] Myers of my suggestions and beliefs. Dr. Myers is, as you know, by far the most competent and intelligent authority on all matters connected with Southern Formosa. He has besides been connected with the consular service for about 20 years, and has a knowledge of all its conditions and regulations that very few Consuls have. His opinions therefore merit every consideration.

He entirely disagreed with my views, and, in compliance with my request to put his own in writing, has furnished me with the enclosed confidential letter. Its length has rather taken me aback, but if you will read it you will, I am sure, find it most interesting and be amply repaid.

Dr. Myers is, you will see, sanguine as to the future of Takow. I entirely differ with him, judging from my own experience, as to its salubrity, but as to its future, as a political and commercial basis, I am very much in accord with him [Margin note in pencil - by Satow? "healthiness disagrees; importance of in future agrees, with Myers"]. The firm he alludes to as about to open here is Jardine Matheson, who no doubt see the prospects of the sugar, indigo, turmeric and coal industries, also that Takow will be the landing place for large quantities of machinery and railway material, the contracts for which will however be made either in Tokio or Taipeh. Butterfield and Swire are sure to follow quickly on Jardine's footsteps, and once the blighting influence and monopoly of the Douglas S.S. Co. is at an end

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<sup>30</sup> Mizuno Jun 水野 遵 (1851-1900) The first Head of the *Minseikyoku* 民生局 Civilian Authority in Taiwan. Retired in July 1897. Born in Nagoya, Mizuno studied English and Chinese in China in 1871. He accompanied **Kabayama Sukenori** on an inspection tour of Taiwan in 1873, as an interpreter, and was involved in the **Japanese punitive military expedition to Taiwan the following year**. In May 1895, he was appointed the first Chief of Home Affairs of Taiwan, landing at Keelung on July 6 that year along with Kabayama, who had been appointed the first **Governor-General of Taiwan**. Mizuno resigned from his position in Taiwan shortly afterwards, returning to Japan in 1897 and becoming a representative in the House of Peers. Following Mizuno's death in July 1900, a bronze statue of him was erected in Taipei's Maruyama Park. ([http://wiki.samurai-archives.com/index.php?title=Mizuno\\_Jun](http://wiki.samurai-archives.com/index.php?title=Mizuno_Jun) accessed July 8, 2014.)

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[see Longford's private memo attached to letter 13 above] and cheap and regular steamship communication is available, there is every prospect of a big trade here.

To give you one single instance of the recent change in the circumstances of the Port. There is a vacant lot of land next and on the seaward side of the consulate offices. It belongs to a firm that has years since entirely withdrawn from Formosa, and the lot has been empty and unused for 20 years. Two years ago it might have been had for \$1800. An offer of \$500 would have been considered. Now \$20,000 is asked for it and will be obtained. I strongly recommend, therefore, that even if the consul takes up his residence temporarily at Anping, both offices and residences at Takow be retained as at present.

The one point on which I cannot, and no one else does, agree with Dr. Myers is his exaggerated estimate of the climate of Takow. Winter here is agreeable I am told. The summer is certainly as exhausting and relaxing [tiring] as any place could be. To its physical drawbacks are added those of isolation and an absolute want of every comfort that is considered necessary to alleviate tropical residence for Europeans. It is free from the terrible malarial fever that is rampant in both Anping and Tamsui. That is all, in my opinion, that can be said in its favor. The Japanese suffer greatly from dysentery and kakke [beriberi], and are not absolutely free from fever, though it is of a mild type. The consulate writer has just gone to hospital, poor fellow, with bad dysentery.

I have ventured to underline some portions of Dr. Myers' letter on this subject, to which I venture to ask your most considerate attention. Everything he says as to Anping applies with equal, if not greater, force to Tamsui. In the latter, a Japanese high official told me the other day, not nearly 10% of the Japanese have escaped fever, and the Chinese Customs and medical returns contain full statistics and information supporting that statement.

The Foreign Office are, I know, very ready to give consideration to unhealthy posts in the matter of leave of absence, to place those posts on a much more favorable footing than others not so. Mr. Clarke Jarvoise spoke to myself, when I was at home seven years ago about it, and told me that they were ready to grant much more favorable terms to Siam and Southern China, which then included Formosa and the fact that nothing has been done since is, I believe, entirely owing to the absence of representations from here.

It seems most inequitable that the officers in Formosa should be left on the same terms in this respect as those more fortunate in holding posts in Japan from any one of which they can, in one day, obtain a complete change of climate, from Nagasaki to Onsen [Unzen ?], from Hakodate to the lakes or Sapporo, from Kobe to Arima [spa on the North side of the Rokko range], from Yokohama to Nikko, [Lake] Chiusenji or Hakone. Here we are completely cut off from change of any kind, except to Japan, which

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involves days of most expensive travelling.

Would this not be a good time to suggest to the F.O. that all officers in Formosa should be entitled as of right to two months local leave from the Island every year ? It will in the long run be economical for the Government as saving invaliding, and it should be remembered that members of the Japan service will not come here “salted horses” (to use a S. African term) as those of China have done, generally after some experience of residence in S. China and always of a prolonged hot summer. Change “for frequent and lengthy intervals as a matter of regular routine” , Dr. Myers recommends in his letter Page 10, and I can most conscientiously say that, if the F.O. have any consideration for their officers they should endorse that view and provide for its being carried out. I leave out of consideration individual cases, such as my own, where families have to be left in Japan and painful separation is added to other causes of depression and discomfort.

I have ventured to put my views before you at some length. I have since writing to you before very carefully thought over the whole subject, and hesitation in writing to you again is to a large extent removed by the knowledge that there is no one else competent to acquaint you with local conditions. I only beg you will believe that personal considerations have not exercised a large share in influencing my opinions. I am perfectly content, or I should rather say resigned, to go to Tamsui as Consul for Tamsui with the salary you have so kindly recommended. In the public interest I consider the post should be Consul, or Consul General, for Formosa with £1000 a year, and if there is another member of the service to whom, on the grounds of seniority or competency, you should prefer to give that post, if created, I shall joyously and gladly take his vacancy in Japan, at any one of the three Southern Ports.

I don't know what to say about the Mails. The Japanese overland post is now restored, but letters take a full month frequently. They come most irregularly, those of later frequently long before those of earlier date, and some do not come at all. On the other hand the Thales arrived here (at Anping) 7 days ago. Till this morning she has not been able to land as much as a single letter, and what she has landed will not reach Takow till tomorrow. On the whole I am inclined to adhere to my previous recommendation, to send everything to the care of the consul at Amoy. Whatever is sent thus is sure to reach some time and chance breaks in the sea may bring it within 10 days from Tokio. This and despatches will go by the Thales tomorrow. Yours very sincerely,

Joseph H. Longford

P.S. I do not retain copies of any of this series of letters to you, and hope you will therefore excuse the repetitions that, I fear, must sometimes occur.

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Enclosure: Typed letter from Dr. Wykeham Myers to Longford marked “Confidential” [p.93 in file]<sup>31</sup>

Takow, July 23<sup>rd</sup>, 1896

My dear Longford,

In accordance with your request that I should give you such, and any, general information as I may be possessed of bearing on the location of the Consular Head-Quarters in S. Formosa (“Tainan”) I beg to offer the following:

This question has often been brought forward by certain People during the past ten or eleven years, the period in which, by direct and ARTIFICIAL coercion, the Head-Quarters of Trade, such as it is, have been, to great extent, transferred from Takow to Anping. In order properly to understand the situation I must ask you to bear with an Historical Resumé of the events, and causes which have led to this condition of affairs.

As you are aware Mr. SWINHOE,<sup>32</sup> when he came to Formosa, with powers to open all, and/or any Ports he thought desirable, Inter alia, decided that Takow should be opened, and INCLUDED IN THE TREATY PORT OF Taiwan-FOO (as the Capital City was then called), Anping being, at that time, a Mud-Flat submerged in great part by each flood-Tide. This Mr. Swinhoe avowedly did on the grounds of health, as, even at that day, the City, and its surrounding Districts, had the insanitary Notoriety which further experience has most fully confirmed.

The Merchants accordingly all fixed their abodes at Takow, keeping only offices at Taiwan-foo, to which latter place they paid flying visits as the occasion required. The Steamer that then, as now, visited the Island at ten days interval, used to make Takow the port of call, and this port was therefore the distributing one for all her imports. This arrangement, in the best tradal [sic] days S. Formosa ever knew, was found most convenient, and satisfactory. Trade soon became comparatively brisk, Immigration was being encouraged, and the demand for Takow-Sugar seemed to be more universal than in later times. I must here remind you that Takow is geographically the most favourable Port for supplying the rich Southern Districts which extend from the sea coast to the mountains.

Exclusive of the demands of Tainanfu itself, but little expansion of trade from thence, as a distributing centre, could be looked for, as beyond such as the fortnightly steamer could supply, it was found, and is still found, almost impossible to improve the freightage for the North, in view of the great competition which native junks, able to call at all the intermediary small-ports, and thus land cargo at its final destination, up as far as LOK-KANG, in the centre of the Island, are able to set up !

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<sup>31</sup> Satow forwarded this letter to H.A.C. Bonar who commented on it in a letter to Satow, No. 21, 8 October 1896, PRO 30/33 5/7. (Volume One, Ruxton, 2005).

<sup>32</sup> Robert Swinhoe opened the Chinese treaty port in Formosa in 1861. (See *No Dogs and Not Many Chinese: Treaty Port Life in China, 1843-1943* by Frances Wood, pub. John Murray, 1998, pp. 97-98.)

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A personal disagreement with the Customs towards the end of the Seventies [1870s] caused the then Agents, who, at that time, were part-owners of the regular steamer, to “boycott” Takow, an avowed reprisal, making Anping the port of call !

So long as trade was progressing in its then hopeful way, this step only resulted in giving more freight to the small, local steamer which ran between Anping and Takow, and the greater bulk of the Imports continued to be brought to Takow for distribution, only those intended for City consumption remaining at the port-of-call.

The Freightage of Opium, which has always been, so far as Formosa is concerned, almost a Foreign Monopoly, constituted the most valuable portion of the cargo carried by the regular Liner, and as its sale and manipulation was practically also in Foreign hands, the interested Methods and Transactions by which Tainanfu was coerced into greater temporary prominence, and which I will describe further on, were more easily carried out !

Up to 1884 however, i.e. so long as matters were allowed to follow their natural course, there was no apparent diminution in the importance of Takow as a Receiving, and distributing Port.

At this date the Franco-Chinese Imbroglio occurred, and was immediately followed by the equally disastrous constitution of Formosa into an independent Province, and the appointment of the notorious LIU-MING-CHUAN as Governor ! This official, under pretext of carrying out “improvements”, such as Railways, Roads, Ports etc, which were never more than imperfectly commenced, established a means whereby, though he and his followers were immensely enriched, he, in reality (through his system of unorganised and heavy taxation, coupled too with harassing regulations that in every way crippled public energy and enterprise) only brought about a condition of tradal terrorism and stagnation with which the effects of even the French operations could be favourably compared !

Foreign firms, one after another, retired until at last it looked as though the whole trade of the place would devolve into the hands of a single firm, and that one the Agent of the solitary bi-monthly steamer ! This firm (which was the successor of the one that originally made the move to Anping for steamers) seeing the opportunity for concentrating the little trade that remained, both in regard to tonnage and general commerce, made well sustained efforts to avail themselves of it.

It was evident that, utilising the depressing influences set up by the new Régime, if the trade could be so restricted as merely to amount to a well-paying business for the single steamer, and the solitary Firm, risk of attracting competition, or other interference, with this, personally, favourable state of matters, was reduced to a minimum, if not entirely obviated.

As a fact this ‘Coup’ may be said to have been entirely successful for a period of at least two years, and would have been, no doubt, much longer so, but for the enterprise and pertinacity of another Firm

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who, although for a time almost entirely abstaining from active operations, declined to hand over their interests and desert the place.

At the same time, the Leading Chinese Merchants, or such of them as elected to stay on, simultaneously seeing their opportunity, so far fell in with the Scheme as to agree among themselves to control the Imports, both as to time of arrival, and quantity, to such limits as would facilitate their exclusive handling of same. They too thought it advisable that every thing should be first brought to Tainanfu, and distributed thence.

To the Student of Political Economy, who has had no experience of the restrictions that a Despotic and totally irresponsible Yamên-Rule, (always ready to adapt itself in the direction desired by those able and willing to pay for the gratification of their wishes), can impose on what would under normal circumstances be equably arranged by the natural law of Supply and Demand, such an artificial aspect of affairs as I have described, and will further indicate, could scarcely be imagined, but nevertheless, investigation would prove that I have not exaggerated, indeed perhaps rather understated, matters as they existed from the time of the French Émeute up to the arrival of the Japanese last year.

To continue:- The fact that Opium constituted so large a proportion of the Trade Material, and was necessarily at first, at the exclusive disposal of a few persons, whether Foreign Importers, or Native Brokers, and therefore offering facilities for those who alone had the handling of it, was naturally largely utilised in furthering the aims and objects of the “Corner” which has been established.

As a result, so powerful was this “Ring”, that Opium and other goods intended for consumption in the large and rich Southern Districts, for which Takow is the Natural centre, were forced to be laboriously carried overland, on Men’s shoulders, to their various destinations!

The enhanced cost, thus incurred, acted as a further deterrent to the increase of general Trade, beyond the comparatively narrow limits the Directing Operators decreed.

Cotemporaneously [sic.], the Sugar-Producers in the Southern, or Takow Districts, had been gradually getting more and more in the hands of one or two Usurious-Money-Lenders.

External circumstances, connected with the Home and Colonial Sugar-Markets, reduced the list of final destinations for the Takow Product to Japan alone, then the death, or withdrawal of many of the other Money-Lenders put the power in the hands of one large Chinese Capitalist who had also opened a Hong in Yokohama.

This Person, although himself residing in Takow, and directing his business therefrom, had, under one or more Aliases, joined the Tainanfu “Ring”, and he now devoted his energies to so spreading his net as to include a good majority of the Cane-Growers in the Takow Districts.

By a judicious use of his wealth he was able to secure very efficient aid and support from the



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#### Native Officials.

He very soon was able to establish such a dominant position over those who now had become little else than his Serfs, that he could each year decree how much cane should be planted, and thus so regulate the supply as seemed best suited to his interests as a Local Buyer, or Vendor on the Japan-Market!

The extent of his success in this direction may be gauged by comparing the annual Crops from Takow since 84 [1884] with those of the preceding Decade. Thus, the maximum out-turn in the last ten years has not been allowed to exceed 200/300,000 Piculs instead of the 800,000 or even 1,000,000 Pcls of the previous Period!

The people in the south, as the principle [sic.] Victims of the aforesaid machinations, undoubtedly groaned under their grievances, but, with characteristic Chinese apathy, seemed to have accepted, with the best grace they could, what appeared to them to be inevitable!

As the Takow Sugar-Crops were kept under those of the Northern Districts, (Mid-Formosa) freer as they are of the drawbacks peculiar to the Southern ones, though they have, to some extent, increased, still this is by no means as much as might, Prima Facie, be assumed if their relative proportion to the Takow Products of later years, as contrasted with those of the Period prior to 84, be taken as the standard.

Foreign Tradal Interests, from a general point of view, of course, suffered proportionately, and at last Foreigners came to have little more to do than was concerned with the import and sale of Opium; for the Northern Sugars, though no doubt supplying freight for Foreign Bottoms, are, practically, almost all in the hands of Native Dealers, both in N. Formosa, and, or the final Markets on the Mainland of China.

The comparatively recent, and somewhat sudden rise of the Camphor Trade has no doubt considerably benefitted Foreigners, and might be said to have itself imparted a substantial importance to Tainanfu as a port of shipment, but when we remember the long, expensive, and risky transport the drug must undergo before reaching Tainanfu, and contrast it with that to its natural Outlet, LOK-KANG, there is no doubt that as soon as this latter place assumes the importance its position gives it, and which must be brought into play as soon as it is made a port of call for Steamers; [an event we have good reason to believe, will be very shortly accomplished,] those who are able to ship thence will be so favourably placed, vis-a-vis their Competitors at Tainan, that it seems only natural all, or most of the Drug, will go out that way.

Supposing Trade to be untrammelled by any of the restrictions I have described and, together with the development of the Island, allowed to follow what appears to be its natural course, let us try to discover what are the advantages that might be legitimately expected if Takow again comes to be the

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main Southern Port.

Of course, we must assume the Harbour deepened, an operation which several Engineers, at various times, specially engaged to make the Survey, have asserted could be rapidly and easily effected.

I understand that the Japanese Surveyors are also of the same opinion, and that this work, in whole, or in part, is to be commenced very shortly. This accomplished, we have at once one of the most splendid Landlocked Harbours, well capable of accommodating all the Vessels, of either War or Commerce, that would ever be likely to need such. Again, that great Desideratum, a Harbour of refuge during the Typhoon Season, on the Eastern side of the Formosa-Channel, and more quickly accessible from the South than the PESCADORES are, would at once be supplied, and no doubt freely availed of.

From this source alone a, not inconsiderable, stimulus to Local Enterprise and Energy might be looked for.

Here then, at the offset, we have a good and safe Harbour to which Vessels can come to, or go from, at any time; their loading, and discharging being carried out with certainty and ease.

Contrast this with the open Roadstead at Anping, where, although there may not be any great amount of risk to the Hulls of the Steamers, still the loss of time, whether from detention consequent on the delay loading and discharging must always be subjected to when, necessarily carried out over a Creek, and Bar, the Maximum depth of which seldom exceeds Four feet, while the Minimum may fall as low as 18 Inches, to say nothing of the risks to life and Property which the slightest Blow may set up; and I think the comparison will speak for itself!

By far the richest and most Fertile Districts in the Southern Two-thirds of Formosa, and those where probably the majority of the Well-to-do Consumers, and Producers of Foreign-born Cargo coming to, or going from S. Formosa reside, are those to which, both from its central position, and ready accessibility, Takow forms the natural point of contact.

Against this TAINANFU offers the Demands, and Products of a Population of about 75,000 People, for, practically speaking, those of the Inhabitants of Mid-Formosa are at present, in great part, attended to by Junks, but these will, no doubt, be very soon superseded by a regular Line of Foreign-built Ships that will, for that portion of the Island, probably utilise the land-locked harbour of QUANG-WA, lying a few miles south of LOK-KANG, and within easy reach of that place, or the Central City of CHANG-WHA. About four miles from the Takow-Lagoon is situated the important District-city of PITHAÛ, or, as the Japanese call it KOZAN, which, even under the late anomalous Tradal-Route, arbitrarily prescribed for Cargo coming in, and going out by Foreign Bottoms, acted as a second Centre of distribution whither goods going, even to Places to the N.E., had first to come, prior to retracing their steps, in order to reach their destination!

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PITHAÛ, it would appear, up to comparatively recent times, used to be connected with the Lagoon by a broad and deep Canal which is even now, though considerably choked up with rubbish, and other accumulations of years, distinctly discernible. It has been estimated that with a “PRIESTMAN’S EXCAVATOR” it could be readily cleared out, and made fit for use at a small cost, in the course of a month or six weeks.

I hear that the Japanese Authorities are seriously devoting their attention to this matter and should they, or when they, decide to reopen it PITHAÛ will once more become practically a Sea-Port.

The Points at which it is proposed to open the Southern Coal-Mines are within 15 or 20 Miles of Takow.

That the Japanese themselves seem fully aware of the future in store for Takow and Pithaû seems borne out by eagerness with which they are buying up, or negotiating for every bit of available land, both here and in the District City. The projected Roads, which are to radiate from Takow, and, or Pithaû, to say nothing of the Railway, which I hear is soon to be begun between this and Tainanfu, will surely so reduce time, and effects of distance, that even the requirements of the present Metropolis will naturally be supplied through Takow.

From 1878, various CONSULS, and Commissioners of Customs have been urging on the Chinese Authorities the advisability of making these improvements, and at times it really seemed as if their exertions were going to be productive of results.

Hence it has come about that although those whose personal interests made them zealous in trying to bring about some definite step favouring Anping, such as the removal of the Head-Quarters of the CONSULATE and Customs from Takow would imply, your Predecessors, who have, with one or two exceptions, resided at Takow, and also The Inspector General of Customs, have strenuously opposed any such step, always holding, I have been told, that as soon as circumstances were allowed to follow a normal course, Takow must naturally become the chief Place both for the Trade itself, and the general Tradal Interests of South Formosa.

This policy has been carried out by Generations of successive Officials, and, as you know, through various periods of more or less stirring events during the past 25 or 50 years, and, as far as their emphatic declarations go, I believe, without the slightest inconvenience, or difficulty, arising either in the discharge of their duties, or with regard to the requirements of those whose interests were being watched over by them.

Of course these were only individual opinions based on the circumstances at the time. To make any suggestion as to what may be advisable now would be presumptuous on my part in view of your sole right, and ability to judge of these. I therefore merely confine myself to what I understand you have

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asked from me, - a narration of facts and occurrences of a past with which you were not connected, abstaining from all comments, and conclusions, with the reticence becoming my natural incompetency to do otherwise.

It is true that the last Acting-Commissioner of Customs, after great and persistent importunity, got the Inspector-General of Customs to allow him to take his Office to Anping, but I believe the chief grounds on which the leave was granted were the personal discomforts which the then Incumbent experienced while making the monthly sea-Trip to and from Anping! The Inspector General positively refused to make any change in the Quarters, refusing to either build any others, or make rent allowances, beyond those granted for the Takow Office, or in fact to help in the transfer more than his permission granted conditionals, implied. I happen to have the best reason for knowing that the I.G. held the very strongest views about making Takow the Head-Port, and always asserted that it was a mere matter of time for the practical verification of his opinions to become immediately obvious.

You must have observed how rapidly the Shops, even in Takow, are increasing, and perhaps know that a similar progress is to be seen at Pithau. Doubtless too, you have noticed how, trip after trip, the amount of Cargo brought by the Inter-Port Launch is increasing.

If this goes on, at the same rate, I fancy you will find that, before long, the “THALES”, and, or some other steamers will have to include Takow in their Ports of call. As soon as this happens, then you will assuredly find that, without waiting for the Improvements of Dredging &c., the present apparent superiority of Anping’s interests will very quickly fade, and that even those Foreign Mercha[n]ts, who reside there permanently, will have to divide more of their time and energies between the two Places. As you know, one of the largest Firms in the East, after an absence of close on 50 years, speak definitely of reopening here, and they have been negotiating for setting up what, would certainly seem to be, their Head-Quarters in Takow.

Do you not also think that present indications seem to point to the Extinction of Tainanfu as a Trade Centre[?] by Takow in the South, and Lok-kang, (Quang-Wa,) in the North?

Again, a Large Foreign Firm that has been established from early days, and was the one that refused to join in the Exodus of 84/5, has, as you may have heard, (although already considerable Land-holders in Takow,) been making inquiries for more land to build a residence here, their present Property only affording sufficient room for the anticipated Godown-requirements.

Some years ago, I remember that the Office of Works proposed selling the Consular Offices at Takow, but this was strenuously opposed by Mr WARREN, and, I beleive [sic.], at PEKING, on the grounds that the conditions at Anping, were so unstable, it would be unwise to make any change which might, at any time, have to be again altered.

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Whether these views, held in the face of what almost appeared a Forlorn Hope, should now be abandoned, when what was so desired, and prepared for appears to be on the Eve, if not actually in the process of realization, is a question which lies outside my province to discuss.

It only now remains to notice the consideration with which I am most interested, and which has hitherto undoubtedly strengthened the hold on to Takow as Consular Head-Quarters; I mean the Question of HEALTH.

At the outset I must state that I have never disguised my opinion as to the great risk to health, and even life continued residence in Anping involves. I have been here over 16 years, and have had ample opportunities of contrasting the Sick>Returns from the Port during the time the Community resided at Takow with those after the greater number of them went to live in Anping.

One significant fact, which I may record, is that the first Burial, consequent on Climatic Disease, in our Cemetery, since it was opened early in the Sixties, was that of an Anping-Resident who was brought here almost moribund, suffering from Malignant Malarial Fever, a type of disease quite unknown in Takow. Not long after this, another Foreigner, who had resided for many years in Takow in the enjoyment of perfect health, after living a comparatively short time in Anping, contracted Malignant Malarial Fever there which speedily assumed one of its worst and most insidious Form, killing the Patient soon after his arrival at Home, whither he had been invalided.

Taking the Record of those Consular Officers (chiefly Assistants) who have through force of circumstances, or election, resided in the Northern Division of the "Port" since I have been here, (with the exception of one, who, however, was careful to spend Ten days or a Fortnight of each Month in Takow, together with another whose removal on sick-certificate had been recommended, but who was eventually transferred in compliance with other exigencies, ALL have been invalided! One of these was a year or two afterwards retired from the Service in consequence of the injury to his health, sustained while at Tainanfu, and another lost his life from the same cause within a year or 18 Months of leaving the Port, having been more or less ill all the time! Two others I had to peremptorily invalide [sic.] on "Preservation of Life" Certificate!

With Ladies and Children the risk appears to be more immediately palpable. Within somewhat recent times I have had two Lady-Patients, who, while resident in Takow, enjoyed perfect health, but soon after going to Anping contracted the local disease, and very nearly lost their lives! One poor Lady, since her arrival at Home, had a recurrence of the complication, induced at Anping, which again placed her life in danger! Both of them were, as far as I could see, (and every one supposed;) strong, and possessed of the full average ability to withstand the ordinary vicissitudes of climate, where such, of course, did not involve specific risks. I have had other cases with Ladies and Children in Anping, which seemed to me

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to fully justify the warning I have always given Married People going to reside there, or who might think of taking their Families thither, that, by doing so, they would be subjecting the Ladies and Children to an almost certain risk of contracting a form of disease, which, if not immediately disastrous, would in all probability, sooner or later, even after leaving the Island, compromise their comfort and welfare. The cause of this difference in the Sanitary condition of the two Places solely depends on the existence of that most virulent Type of Malarial Fever, known as “Malaria PERNICIOSA”, and which is met with in its greatest vigour on the Alluvial Plain, on the West side of Formosa, extending from the North of the Island down to a point, say, 8 or 10 Miles South of Tainanfu. From this line, down to the South-Cape, the Type seems to change almost entirely, and we meet with the Simple, or Intermittent Form, which, as one goes further back in the Plain, towards the Mountains on the East, often assumes annoying proportions; but is never likely to be fraught with those ominous anticipations which are inseparable from the Northern Variety.

Within the part of Takow occupied by Foreigners, even this kind is rarely met with, and then only in its mildest form, while one great advantage which Takaow has repeatedly shown itself possessed of, is, what I may term, its Antagonistic Influences to the Virus of the Malignant-Malaria.

By a well known Law governing residence on, and precautions for Malarial Areas, serious infection may often be avoided by frequent removal beyond its limits to another Area free of such Taint. By working under this Law, perhaps you are aware, how even the previously deadly West-Coast Station, (in AFRICA), has been deprived of such of its former terrors, and so also here, though the condition of affairs is certainly not so extreme, still I have always found that the Rule holds good, and would say that a partial Residence in Anping might be carried out, with comparatively less risk, provided resort were had to Takow, or some other Non-Infected Area, at frequent, and for lengthy intervals. One must not however, wait until actual attack has given the signal for the move, for such may come on suddenly, and with indefinite severity, but the change should be made a matter of regular Routine; whether the necessity be either objectively or subjectively apparent or not.

I think you would find that some such case accounts for those few, apparently exceptional, Residents in Anping, who, though not really possessed of the immunity from attack they are apt to assert, still, by constantly going about, either to the Mainland, Takow, or even Europe, and being in possession, in many cases, of Youth, and originally sound Constitutions are able, for the time, at least, to profess less injurious effects than might otherwise be expected.

This precaution, available for MEN, must in no way be taken as modifying my earnest warning against subjecting Women and Children to the almost certain risks of the Disasters I believe inseparable, for them, from any contact with the Place.

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Of course, as different individuals differ in strength of constitution and Physique, so do they in the[i]r powers of withstanding, for longer or shorter periods, Noxious Influences, and thus, it may be, that if, at any moment, a Group of Individuals, not as yet exhibiting the extreme consequences of residence, be put forward as apparent contradictions to my suggestions, I think it will be found on closer inquiry, that, while they themselves are by no means in a satisfactory condition, they are so to speak, “Survivals of the Fittest”, for the time being liable, and likely themselves to succumb, sooner or later, to that which had overcome so many of their Predecessors, and Cotemporaries.

I cannot do better, in illustration of this remark, than refer to the case of the E.P. Mission Tainanfu, who, within the last ten or eleven years have lost 55% of their total strength by Invaliding and Death.

No doubt, the Vacancies have been filled, but I fear, only to afford scope, for sustaining the regular Rate of “Waste” above stated.

I do not think that even their best, and most sympathetic Friends, (amongst whom I hope I may fairly class myself,) could say either of the Survivors, or the ‘Reliefs’, that the general condition was such as to enable one to speak of it, even in the most qualified terms, as being satisfactory from a health, and therefore, effective point of view.

Of course, I am aware that of the Exigencies of Service call for it, whatever Duty demands must be carried out, and all risk to health, or even Life, must be faced, therefore, if after consideration of all the facts of the case you are of opinion that circumstances have arisen which constrain you to ignore all personal questions affecting the future of the Individuals now, or hereafter deputed to carry out the Service at this “Port”, and that the conservancy of even greater Interests intervenes, then of course, there is nothing further to be said.

In such a case I can only plead for the Ladies and Children, who, at least, I hope, may be kept from incurring the risks that Service Exigencies unavoidably impose on their Male Protectors.

After 16 years residence in Takow, and having brought up a Family from infancy (all but one of whom were born in Northern latitudes); and having also had many opportunities in these years of observing the condition of many ladies and children resident here, I have no hesitation in asserting my most conscientious belief that life in Takow, in so far as mere health is concerned, may be enjoyed by men, women and children with as much comfort and average freedom from all kinds, as can be met with at any other place in China at least, and far more so than obtains at most of the places where Foreigners reside in that Empire.

I have availed myself of your consent to treat this Communication as being strictly confidential between you and myself, or The MINISTER [Satow] should you desire to submit it to him, and have therefore written with a frankness that might not have been convenient under other circumstances.

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To further assist you, under these conditions, I beg to offer a Facsimile-Copy of this letter.

Believe me,

Yours Sincerely,

W. Wykeham Myers

19. Longford to Satow [p.105 in file]

Takow, August 2, 96

Dear Sir Ernest,

It has occurred to me, at the very last moment, that the foreigner referred to in Mr. Midzuno's letter as "spreading false reports, stirring up ignorant people etc." (in my last despatch) is Father Giner, the Spanish priest. I had utterly forgotten that he was in the camphor district. The charge is in his case only too likely to be true. He was repeatedly accused of the same under the Chinese.

Yours very truly,

Joseph H. Longford

20. Longford to Satow [p. 106 in file]

Private

Takow, August 20, 1896

[Answered 10/9]

Dear Sir Ernest,

The Post here grows worse and is utterly hopeless, and even my Amoy plan is a failure. Last Thales brought not a word to me from Japan, all letters having, I suppose, just missed her at H[ong]' Kong. She is due again next week, but might be unable to land a letter for a week or 10 days after her arrival, so I don't know when I can hope to hear from you again. By the Japanese post, papers and letters take any time from 20 to 60 days, and papers 10 to 15 days apart in date of posting at Yokohama are often delivered simultaneously with all the intervening ones missing. This being the state of the service, the Japanese have announced that they take charge of foreign mails also from the 1<sup>st</sup> instant and the H'Kong post, without referring to me at all, assented at once. I telegraphed and wrote, however, a strong protest, and they (H' Kong) have now withdrawn their assent and will continue for the present to send the mails to the Consulate as heretofore. When the Japanese discover this they may make a fuss but I can give them an answer, and in the meantime silence is perhaps the best course. I am sending this by a transport to Keelung. I daresay it goes much more speedily to Tokio, than its answer is likely to be carried here. I may mention that your official covers and telegrams still frequently come addressed 'Tainan'. In the



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case of letters, this involves an additional delay of from 2 to 4 days in reaching me, and for your two last telegrams, I had to pay charges of \$2.70 and ¢ 95 for retransmission.

I've not heard another word about Okamoto since I last wrote. Watanabe has never expressed a single word of regret but a modified use of the flagstaff has been permitted. The Patel case was, I fear, exaggerated, but I defer reporting to you till I have seen Mr. Patel which I shall do early next week, as if the sea admits it I shall go to Anping on Saturday. There is now scarcely an average of one day per week sufficiently smooth to admit of the steamer running. A very heavy sea is almost perpetually rolling in.

I have three cases now on hand of assaults by police gendarmes and soldiers on Chinese in British employ but I think I can settle all and shall not trouble you with them. The gens d'arme affair was a most scandalous one, but the Japanese are now waking up somewhat to the consequences of their action, and even the Gens d'arme officers appear to be ashamed of this affair. There are also two civil cases, but both of these I fear will have ultimately to go to you.

I shall also have to send you some proposed camphor regulation – to which my telegram related and on which I have had a long interchange of telegrams & letters with the German Consul – by Thales. Enclosures are at Anping so I cannot send them now.

Midzuno has written to say money for claims will be paid “when he gets it”. His letter was not polite considering the claimants include H.M. Govt. & H.M. Consul, but not so bad as what he appears to have sent the German Consul, in which he said the money was paid in compassion for the indigence of the claimants. The German consul returned his. I shall send mine to you by Thales. It is also now at Anping.

The money for tonnage dues has not been paid yet either. They said the calculations required some time.

I hear and can hear nothing as to what is going on in the centre. The Japanese won't tell a word, and all the Chinese, who are reliable, have left. Mannich's Japanese clerk, whose life was saved by his Chinese fellow employees, may reach Anping next week and perhaps some truth may be got from him. I have formally asked for permission for Bain, Petersen (of Mannich's) Wright & the Parrees[?] (if they want) to go to the district to look after their property, requesting that steps if necessary be taken to ensure their safety. But if I asked the Prefect in a letter whether the sun would rise tomorrow he would not answer it without first referring to Taipeh and it will be two or three weeks (from the date of sending – about 10 days) before I can hope for an answer to this.

Japanese justice is curiously administered here. Police burst into houses at all hours without warrant or anything, the criminal code is severe, and prisoners are kept in jail for a month, six weeks or longer, on the most trivial charge – mere contraventions – entirely untried. The soldiers still exercise their sweet will at pleasure. A couple of miles east[?] of this, there is a guard at a river, at a point which everything

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coming from inland to Takow must pass. This guard, thinking the Chinese well accustomed to *likin*,<sup>33</sup> have revived a system of it of their own, and levy toll of fruit, poultry, eggs, everything in fact and, failing anything tempting, of cash on every boat, or coolie that passes. Not a rustic now keeps a chicken within 5 miles of Takow, as all are appropriated by the soldiers, who constantly go out on independent foraging excursions and then force importunate coolies to carry the plunder home for them. There is no pretence of discipline among them. They are slouching all over the place, and even the few sentries may often be seen sprawling at full length, with their rifles flung on the ground beside them. A few years of their present license will send them all back to Japan much as Kirkes' lambs<sup>34</sup> returned to England. Sometimes I can hardly believe they or the coolies are Japanese at all, their conduct and manners are so brutal and offensive.

Cruelty and lust for blood are inherent factors in the Japanese character and here they get full play. Anything more ghastly than capital punishment could not be conceived. The unfortunate wretch, perhaps beaten and terrorised into confession, is brought before the court, sentenced in a language he cannot understand and which, if interpreted at all is badly done, and then hurried straight off through the streets to the execution ground half a mile distant, the court officials sometimes hastily following to see the show, and the *gensdarmes* fighting among themselves as to which shall have the treat of acting as executioner. Such are Japanese progress and civilization, and so much for all the grand constitution, splendid code, and admirable judicial system, which have been so much written of.

[The letter continues on August 21.]

Aug. 21. Friday. Since writing the above I have received your telegram of yesterday evening and replied at once to the effect that I have not yet received the compensation but that the Governor General wrote to me that it w[oul]d. be handed to me as soon as he received it from “sono suji” [その筋 the responsible authorities] and that the terms in which he wrote were not very polite. His letter is at Anping, but I think I can remember its terms. After saying that the Government, after examining the claim made by you on behalf of the British subjects had rejected it, it went on

“Toji no jijo wo shakuryo shite ippan kiūjutsu (救恤) toshite 8000 yen ki riyoji ni kôfu subeki takushoku no dajiu yori tsuchi kore ari soro.” [当時の事情を酌量して一般救恤として8000円貴領事に交付すべき拓殖の太中[?]より通知これあり候。 Taking into consideration the situation at the time, we give notice that as a general compensation 8,000 yen will be paid to your consul by the colonial authorities.]<sup>35</sup>

<sup>33</sup> *likin*: a Chinese provincial duty imposed on articles of trade in transit.

<sup>34</sup> Lieutenant General Percy Kirke (c. 1646-1691) commanded a regiment known as Kirke's lambs (from their badge) in Tangier. On return to England they behaved with great indiscipline and roughness.

<sup>35</sup> See Satow's diary for May 27, 1896. “Formosa looting claims. Departments deny the accusation, but

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I am almost certain these were the exact words and I do not consider them very polite, for the reason before stated, though not open to the very strong construction put in them by the German Consul. In any case, I could not take the step he did without referring to you. The Despatch will go by the 'Thales'.

Our situation here is much like the old days when the Legation was at Yokohama and the Chancery at Tokio, and documents wanted at the one place are so often at the other.

As to the camphor. There has been some confusion between the German consul and myself, he having evidently received proposed Regulations, one set of which I have not received at all, and the other I only received long after he did. I cannot explain the matter till I have seen the Chief Secretary again, but hope to do so by Thales. The German Consul pressed me very much to agree to a modification as to payment of tax and as he said it was urgent for the sake of his people in the North I at length did so, always however reserving, in its minutest iota, the status quo ante. The modification was only a temporary one, but I must confess that from his letters I do not quite understand what he wants. He seems not to have grasped the all important point that 'manufacture' must, if the trade is to be carried on as before, be implied in 'purchase'. Here the trade is now entirely dormant on account of the disturbances and season of the year, but in the North where only Germans are interested in it, it is probably very active.

It is almost impossible to prevent writing being blotted, everything being damp and the wind blowing all about the moment one's hand is taken from the paper. Please excuse apparent slovenliness on this account.

Yours very truly,

Joseph H. Longford

P.S. I answered you in cypher N today, but the expense is ruinous, as they charge two words for all over three figures. I think the office is wrong but they persisted when I remonstrated.

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Japanese Government willing to pay something less than what is claimed by way of a 'consideration', using term employed by China when it paid compensation to Japan for expenses [of sending troops] in Formosa in 1874. Would I accept that. Said I could not accept it, if coupled with language disputing the truth of Hurst and [Dr. Wykeham] Myers' statements. But I would leave it to the Japanese F.O. to put it properly, and as it was quite possible slight exaggerations might have been made in one or two cases; I would accept a round sum, if without casting any slur on them."

In 1895 the Japanese army occupied Anping, Takow and other parts of Formosa. Firms such as Dinshaw & Co. suffered damage in the foreign settlements from looting. Detailed reports were sent to the British minister Satow by the consuls. Satow prepared notes on 28 January and 6 May 1896 claiming 9,928 yen 15 sen based on these reports. The Governor General's office investigated the claims and found some foundation for them. Eventually on 25 June Satow was informed that 8,000 yen would be paid as an allowance for the claims. (Nagaoka, vol. 1, p. 149, based on Japanese F.O. archive sources).

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(Satow Papers: PRO 30/33 5/11. January – December 1896)

21. Longford to Satow [p. 110 in file]

Private. 1 Inclosure

Takow, August 21, 1896

[Answered 10/9]

Dear Sir Ernest,

Mr. Marshall [of the Office of Works] has sent me a copy of his despatch to you of the 21<sup>st</sup> ultimo. Unless asked by you, I don't think it incumbent on me to make any remarks on it, but the post here is absolutely hopeless, and six weeks or two months would probably elapse from the date of your writing to me before you could rely on receiving my reply. Lest you should care to have my opinion on Mr. Marshall's proposal, I therefore now send you the enclosed memo.<sup>36</sup> It may assist you and if not, as I send it privately, no harm is done. It is unfortunately rather long, but the whole of the first portion re Hurst may be cut out.

I don't think a more ill-advised proposal could possibly have been made. The Chief Secretary of the Prefecture has recently spent a couple of days with me and told me of projects now actually under consideration for the improvement of Takow which will make it a great and important port, but he said they were endeavoring to keep all plans in absolute secrecy in order to prevent large transactions on the part of speculators in Tokio, a large number of whom have representatives here on the look out for first chances. The Sub-Prefect here is a most energetic capable and enlightened official, and he has the fullest confidence in the commercial future of the port. The junk trade with China is enormous here. It only requires the starting of a line of freight steamers, not conducted on the 60% principles of Lapraiks, to take it all away from the junks. There is abundance of heavy freight in rice and sugar, and the promise of valuable freight in indigo and turmeric. Butterfield & Swire are sure to follow straight on the footsteps of Jardine M[atheson]. & Co., and there is already a keen inquiry for land here. Climactically this place will, of all in Formosa, best suit the Japanese, and five or ten years hence, when it has got well known, there will be a very large colony.

There is no future on the other hand for Anping. The camphor export is sure to be diverted to Lokkang – sugar for China may or may not continue to go from it, more likely not when the harbour is made at Takow, opium is over, and there is nothing else. It is a malarious fever stricken spot, perfectly hideous in its natural surroundings, and the only Japanese now in it are the Customs officials and a few soldiers, gensd'armes and police. If now you were to fall in with Marshall's fit of temper and sanction the sale of the property, 5 or 10 years hence another infinitely inferior site would have to be acquired, on a 25 years lease, probably at high annual rental and at a large immediate outlay. The present site is far and far

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<sup>36</sup> The memorandum is not in the file.

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the finest in Takow – or on the whole West coast – and is now so envied by the Japanese that I believe they would give any price for it.

I adhere to the opinion I have previously expressed to you that the head quarters of the office should be just at the present at Anping, but the Consul should for health's sake live at Takow going backwards & forwards between the two ports, and the Assistant should have, according to Dr Myers, and I entirely agree with him, at least 10 days every month in Takow. In this way alone can health be preserved.

I had not observed the blunders in the construction of the Anping house till they were pointed out to me. Its terrible dreariness, from its stone flooring & staircase, iron ceilings and framework, all covered with the thinnest of washes, and its proximity on two sides to a filthy creek were the points about it which had struck me, but I have never yet slept a night in it. Now I see the glaring defects in its construction. It is not only in Anping but perhaps the very unhealthiest part of Anping. Not another European house in the port has a single living room at a less elevation than 15 feet or 20 from the ground – the consulate rooms (dining drawing offices) are not so high as in our house at Tokio. The verandah only goes round two sides of the house. It is all a horrible bungle, a shameful waste of money, proceeding entirely from an obstinate disregard of local conditions and the advice of those who knew them. The result of \$30,000 expenditure is to provide three habitable rooms.

It may seem quite superfluous my attempting to defend Hurst, and he certainly merits very little consideration from me. He made my “taking over” a most disagreeable task, left many things in the office in a horrible mess for me, and the house not only in its dilapidation but in a filthy state of dirt. But Marshall's attack on him is unjust and ungenerous, and I don't think it would be to my credit to see an absent man attacked in such way without saying a word in his defence. For the interior of the house, to which your Circular refers, Hurst can scarcely be blamed too much. Even where he was not responsible for the damages he should have reported them, not leaving all that to his successor, but he seemed to me to be a man who would have lived contentedly in a pigstye, so long as he was warm and dry. For the roof I don't think any blame can be cast on him. Its present condition is owing solely to procrastination and neglect on the part of the O[ffice]. of Works. Collins spent \$170 when here. His travelling expenses & salary for the time away from S'hai probably amounted to 6, 7, or 800. Such is the O. of W. system.

I am not replying in any way to Marshall but in another despatch to him I have managed to introduce the two paragraphs in the memo. marked with a red line.

I fervently hope it is the last time I may ever have to trouble you with this nauseating business. As my stay here will, I presume, be very short, and as, during it, no improvement can be made on my own discomfort, it has no personal interest for me now, but I think I should grossly fail in my duty both towards the Government and my successor did I not place the matter before you in the light I have tried

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to do. It is solely in that spirit I have written, and that being so you will, I hope, excuse the inordinate length with which I have done so.

Yours very truly,

Joseph H. Longford

P.S. It may interest you to know that in 1881 Boyce made a similar proposal as regards Hakodate to that which Marshall has now done re Takow. Sir Harry's reply was short 'The discussion of these matters does not come within the province of the Office of Works.' You will find the despatch probably in 'From F.O. Consular 1881 or 1882'. Sir Harry [Parkes] was in England when he wrote above.

22. Longford to Satow [p. 113 in file]

Anping, August 25, 1896

[Recd. Sept. 8.

Answered 10/9]

Dear Sir Ernest,

Please accept my very best thanks for your telegram of Saturday and also for having so kindly assented to my wish to be transferred to Tamsui. If my health stands it, it will be a better post in every way than this, and I hope I may succeed in pleasing you there, which I fear I've not altogether done here. I have, however, tried to do my best, I think I have done some good here on the spot, and in some small way made things easier for my successor. The tone of your telegram makes me think I shall be removed sooner than later, and I shall at once begin to get ready so as to be able to go at very short notice.

I shall have to send you a troublesome claim by next mail, but when that is done, there appears to be absolutely nothing more. We can hear almost nothing of what is going on in the interior. All the Chinese have fled, the two camphor towns of Hoon Liu (Rinkipoh) and Chip Chip are utterly deserted by all their former inhabitants and occupied only by soldiers. Skirmishes with bandits are still said to be going on, and in Hoon Liu especially the Japanese have a long and arduous struggle before them. The famous bandit's (I forget his name just now) unapproachable stronghold is within a couple of days' striking distance, and he can sally down any time, whenever a little Japanese carelessness may give him an opening, while he cannot be attacked except at risk of tremendous loss.

The foreigners' camphor is now reported to be all safe, though a great part of Chip Chip has been burnt. But the authorities won't as yet allow any foreigner to go up and see for himself, and unless accompanied by a foreigner none of the Chinese will venture up for the purpose of bringing it down here. I enclose copy of a despatch which I sent to the Governor on the 11<sup>th</sup>. Please retain it as enclosure to a despatch which I may possibly write to you later on. I have received no reply as yet, but yesterday I

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asked for permission for Mr. Petersen (of Mannichs) to go, and it was refused, being still too dangerous at Hoon Liu, and nothing definite being known in the Kencho here as to the state of Chip Chip. I may possibly have to telegraph to you about this, so that in order that you may understand the matter I think it best to send enclosure alone. All the foreign owners are of course still very anxious and the Japanese might really be called upon to relieve their anxiety in some way. The camphor already manufactured is safe but steadily deteriorating, they know nothing of their stills and advances of cash, nor of the fate of employees. The latter are all hiding in mountains and, as I've said, nothing but the immediate protection of a foreigner will induce them down to face the Japanese soldiers.

Meanwhile, as if the Japanese hadn't enough on their hands to induce them not to seek fresh troubles or go in search of grievances, they are vexing me about the Spaniards. The latter own churches in the country and won't give them up. One priest is up there now without a passport, and I had the greatest trouble to induce the Japanese to telegraph up to the police to let him alone for the present, until a passport can be sent to him. It was not his fault that he had not one now but even in view of that, the Japanese could, with only the greatest difficulty, be induced not to have him brought back here in custody. I can't get Father Clemente to understand either what I say or what I write, and I should not be surprised any day at some serious difficulty. The Spanish Minister is running a great risk in leaving things as they are. It is urgently necessary to have a competent representative here, if only for a year or two, to teach the priests the new order of affairs, which now they can neither understand nor learn. Both sides are now embittered against each other, and I see reports have got into the papers of Father Giner's active sympathy with and encouragement of rebels. It is impossible to say what these may lead to. Father Giner is, however, I am glad to say, safe in Takow just now, where he can't do much harm, but all of them want new passports. I have had to tell them they can get them by direct application to the Kenrei and they will soon be all over the country with possible disturbances everywhere.

The opium smugglers have now got so bold that a few days ago 90 balls were seized being landed in broad daylight in Takow, quite close to the Custom House. The trade has never been so good in Amoy, no sales so brisk, all to be smuggled in here. The Customs confess their incompetency to deal with it. Junks are hovering all round the coast ready to run in anywhere, and not only opium, but ammunition and rifles have been safely landed. Stocks in foreigners' hands are still entirely unsaleable and the holders have a strong moral claim against the Jap[ane]se. for their Customs inefficiency. Every bale that comes ashore from the Thales is rigorously searched, while the junk smuggling is scarcely attempted to be checked. But, in addition to that, the Govt. has just imported for itself 60 chests through Mannich & Co. If the present holders have now to contend not only with smuggling but with Govt. competition they might just as well return their stocks to Amoy where they could sell them at least to smugglers for they

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will never sell them bona fide here. Surely the Government might at least purchase present stocks – seeing that their own action has rendered them unsaleable – before importing fresh ones. A reply to the representation which I sent you is anxiously awaited.

It is curious that the Govr. General is unable to pay the \$8000 (bombardment) compensation, seeing that they have, I am told, just paid an old claim of Mannich of \$16,000. It has been paid at Taipeh. I don't know what for.

If it can be managed at all it would be well to have an interregnum of a couple of months between Bonar (if he is to succeed me) and myself and to get Marshall to rebuild the Takow house during it. There can be nothing here which Griffiths can't attend to, and it would be something to him to have a couple of months acting. It is rather hard for him that there have been so many acting appointments going, and he in the worst and, except perhaps Kobe, the hardest worked post, have nothing. But there is another reason – I have at last experienced living in this house, and can confirm what Dr. Myers says as to the insanitation of the lower floor. The office is just like a vault, a damp, musty ill smelling vault. And the whole is not fit for a lady to live in. The Bonars ought to be acclimatized during part of the winter, and they then won't find the summer too severe and trying as they would if they came straight here from Hakodate or even South Japan at its beginning. But suppose they come a couple of months hence, settle in the ruinous Takow House, and then shortly afterwards are swept down upon by Marshall and ordered to clear out, what on earth is to become of them or where are they to go to? Marshall's proposal to transfer the whole establishment here appears more insane every time I look at it, even from his own point of view. The offices here consist of one room which I have described. He would have to add on to it, and besides provide a whole range of new servants quicker. The latter here are most limited, and as Anping consists only of a dirty, unsavoury fishing village all servants would have to be provided with accommodation in the compound. They are all discontented as it is; calm with the promised increase of wages, but I shall now leave that matter to Bonar. Prices have grown outrageous and are getting worse.

Troubles with the ruffianly coolies also threaten to get worse. A large number have been lately paid off. They have drunk, gambled etc. all their money away, refuse to or can't leave the Island and are now loafing more or less destitute and can only live on plunder and terrorization of the natives. A more stupid blunder on the part of the officials could not be imagined, but it is the military who are responsible for it, and they don't care. These coolies scarcely seem human, and may commit any brutal ruffianism with, they believe themselves from experience hitherto, impunity. A special code of laws – and such a code – has been made for natives. It is still more required for Japanese who are now altogether exempted from its provisions, and who can only be punished for any serious offence here by being sent back in custody to Japan and tried there. Chinese only know that criminals are sent back to



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Japan. If ultimate punishment is inflicted they cannot hear of it so they get a pretty idea of Japanese justice.

[Acting Consul at Tamsui Raymond de B.] Layard tells me the Taipeh Government complain that they can get nothing done from Tokio. Here they complain they can get nothing done in Taipeh, that proposals and representations are unattended to, and that while fully recognising the state of affairs they (here) have no power to remedy it.

The Sub Prefect of Hozan, Mr. Shibahara,<sup>37</sup> is being temporarily invalided to Tokio. I shall give him a letter of introduction to you...He is one of the best officials in the Island, and knows and admits all the disorganization and anarchy that are rampant and the evils attendant on the undisguised contempt of the military for the civil element in the Government.

Dr. Myers engagement [by the Japanese Government General] is on a fair course to settlement, and he has recently gone to Taipeh to conclude it. The last note I have had from you is dated July 21. The Thales has since come twice but I have received nothing by her.

Yours very truly

Joseph H. Longford

I am afraid I forgot to mark the two paragraphs in my memo. about Marshall. They were those relating to the rise of prices and value of land here (in Takow).

23. Longford to Satow [p. 118 in file]

Takow, September 1[?] 1896

[Recd. 23/9. Ansd. 26/9]

My dear Sir Ernest,

Shibahara, the official (Sub-Prefect of Hozan) whom I have mentioned to you so often, is just about to go to Tokio and I have given him a letter of introduction to you. You will find him a most intelligent and nice fellow, and he is not only one of the best officials here, but knows more about S. Formosa than any other Japanese. He is a Cambridge man, and I have given him also a letter to Bishop Bickersteth.

The \$8000 – compensation – will be paid to me tomorrow. Shibahara was instructed to take a receipt from me for ‘Kiuujutsu no Kin’ but of his own accord, without having mentioned the subject to me, he telegraphed to Taipeh that I would probably object to this. He was then instructed to take an English receipt for ‘relief money’, but I told him this morning that I would only give a receipt for \$8,000, without specifying the object at all. He assented readily enough, not sympathizing at all with the Taipeh ideas, and I shall therefore take the money but hold it for a little pending some answer from you to my

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<sup>37</sup> Satow met Shibahara Kameji briefly on October 21, 1896. (Diary, Ruxton, 2003, p. 129).

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despatch and letter in regard to it. I shall of course telegraph to you as soon as I get it.

The Japanese have sent a formal refusal to issue passports as yet to the camphor merchants for Hunlin etc. They say it is not safe, that there are constant skirmishes going on around Hun lin, and no Japanese at all are at Chip Chip. The troops appear just to have entered the latter place, set fire to part of the town, and then without waiting to see even if the fire got real hold of the place, made off as quickly as they could go. Most contradictory stories come as to the fate of foreign property there, but I think it may be fairly hoped that the principal part of that owned by B.S.S. [British Subjects] has escaped. Nothing definite is however known, the employees are all in hiding in the mountains too terror stricken to venture down. The workers, who had received large advances, have scattered goodness knows where or even if they are alive, and the stills may or may not be all destroyed.

I have told the Japanese that, for their own sakes, they ought to make arrangements to let the owners go up as soon as possible. There will be enormous claims preferred against them for the losses suffered through this business, and the sooner the extent of these losses are ascertained the better. But it is perhaps just as well that foreigners should keep away for another month or so. The district is more unhealthy at this season, and it would be very difficult to get men together even for the purpose of transporting the camphor already manufactured, so that much practical benefit would not be gained. A clean sweep has been made of the population and though the presence of foreigners would go a great way to restoring confidence among some, it will be very long before any considerable part of the survivors[?] can be got to return. Taulak (Unrin) is said to be a ruin and entirely deserted. Hoon Liu (Rinkipoh) is entirely deserted by Chinese but is occupied by about 600 Japanese soldiers, who are kept on the alert by constant attacks from the bandits in the Hills.

Three Spaniards have been with me this morning, including Father Giner, who was all through the first stages of the rebellion. He says the main roads are perfectly safe now, and that it is only in their desire to hide their proceedings from Foreigners that the Japanese won't allow the latter to go up into the country. Bitterness is no word for his feelings. In a few words of broken English and Japanese, accompanied by very energetic pantomime, he described what he saw – shootings, bayonettings, and burnings, and all of innocent people – the real robbers were scarcely ever touched. I told him to write an account direct to his Minister in Tokio. He said that for many li all round Taulak everything was burnt.

It was a most populous, flourishing and orderly district, and the number of villages destroyed is over 50. Rev. Barclay told me he could give the names of over 30, but the number is greater – not of scattered farmhouses but of actual villages. I see the Japan Mail throws doubt on the numbers but, in the 34 miles of high road between this and Tainan, there are fully 20 villages, without counting the numbers a little distance off on the coast. I fancy it would not be a very great exaggeration to say there are well over 60

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in all within the circuit between this and Tainan, and the Tanlak district was just as populous.

There has been some fighting going on to the south of this, in the course of a vain pursuit after a well known robber. Many wounded Japanese soldiers have passed through here.

I have tried to dissuade the Spaniards from going into the country just now, but I doubt if I have succeeded. As they wear Chinese dress (a kind of) one might easily be shot from a little distance, and they won't keep out of danger. If the Minister won't send anyone from his own Legation here, he might put charge in De Hendip's hands[?]. He is not only a Roman Catholic but speaks Spanish fluently, and he could do a great deal for them at Taipeh. Anything more heart breaking than my own conversations you couldn't imagine. Broken English, Japanese, Latin and Spanish all enter into it. And I like them (the priests) all personally, would gladly help them if I could, and there is abundance of interest to be learned from them if there was only a tongue to communicate it.

I enclose translation of the reply I received to my letter in regard to passports for Unrin etc. This and the copy of my letter which I previously sent you will form the two enclosures to a despatch to be written. It will be a very short one and I hope the enclosures will give you all the information that is necessary. I only heard late last night of this opportunity of writing. Shibahara and the Spaniards took up my whole forenoon, and I am anything but bright or fit to write much this afternoon. The weather is terribly oppressive and I am in torture with prickly heat.

The enclosed letter sent to me by the writer, while I was at Anping, will give you an idea of the condition of this house after more than two months work and an expenditure of \$200 on the roof. The same thing happened again last midnight.

I came back from Anping on Saturday and it was touch and go that I was not carried to the Pescadores [islands between Formosa and the Chinese mainland]. A heavy sea got up and it was doubtful whether we should have been able to cross the bar at Takow, in which case there would have been nothing left but to run for the Pescadores in a 48 ton steamer. As it was we got in with a couple of heavy seas.

Yours very truly

Joseph H. Longford

P.S. I have yet another letter from the Gov[ernor]. Gen[eral]. about camphor – extending the time for application for licenses under Ordinance 14 for the districts of Unrin etc. until Oct. 31 – “Although the camphor manufacture concerns only Japanese and natives of Formosa and has no direct relation to foreigners, it is of interest to foreign trade etc.” I shall send you a copy of it and in reply to the Gov[ernor]. Gen[eral]. merely refer to my previous letter. If you can induce Shibahara to talk freely you will find him in perfect accord with all I have said on military license and the deficiencies of steamship communication. All Japanese officials in this Island get 60 days annual leave to Japan which may be

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extended to 80.

24. Longford to Satow [p. 122 in file]

Takow, September 6, 1896.

[Recd. 20 Sept. Ans. 26/9]

My dear Sir Ernest,

I have now, since writing to you this morning – a couple of hours ago – read your letters of the 15<sup>th</sup> and 21<sup>st</sup> ulto. both of which reached me together just as I was writing. As to the first, I think the only point on which I need to trouble you is as to the sources from which I derived my information in regard to the Japanese misgovernment in the Tanlak (Unrin) district especially. I may refer you to my despatch reporting my interview with General Hishijima. The original sources were mainly Chinese. But they were Chinese of entirely different classes, with no connection or association with each other, no possible opportunity of combining to make a story – Scotch Presbyterians, Spanish Roman Catholics and merchants – three more unsympathetic classes you could not imagine – and all their descriptions absolutely agreed even in details. Then some of were tested by Rev. Barclay – a profound mathematician and therefore exact – a liberal-minded man – intimately acquainted with Chinese and their language, and absolutely honest. In addition to this, he was well disposed to welcome the Japanese here and had the best hopes of their Government. He believes implicitly in the truth of everything that has been stated – what he regards as open to doubt I have not told you – and his own letter, I think, bears on it every mark of conviction. I should not wish to have a better or more reliable informant. But apart from Chinese there are two European witnesses to some things. Petersen (German) saw villages burning over a considerable extent of country. Father Giner (Spanish) saw both villages burning and wholesale murder of innocent people imploring for mercy. If you could have seen his pantomimic description the other day of what he witnessed, and his intense earnestness, you could not have doubted what he told. And lastly, what I have witnessed, over and over again, with my own eyes, here in Takow, what I have seen of arrogance, brutality, tyranny, theft, wanton killing of pigs (a trifle you may say but not so to the Chinese), what I know of the impotence of the well-meaning civil authorities here to punish such acts on the part of soldiers or coolies, makes me very ready to believe the ghastly stories that come from the interior. If Japanese behave as they do in full view of foreigners in the open ports, what can you expect of them in the interior? And then, there is the ludicrous burlesque of justice here. Not a single Japanese has, I believe, ever been punished in Formosa for any outrage on Chinese, while to the latter a code so absurdly primitive has been specially applied that almost any offence can be punished by death. The Chinese are utterly bewildered by it. They sign so called confessions without having the least idea what

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they are doing – they are kept in custody for weeks or months without trial of any kind, women and men are locked in the same cells, and what that is to a Chinawoman, who is one of the most modest and retiring on earth, I needn't say, and merciless floggings are administered not only by the police but in open court. I will quote one specific instance. A thoroughly respectable cattle dealer, known to the English missionaries for over 20 years and though not a Christian highly respected by them, has just been released after six months imprisonment. Six months ago he had a quarrel with a Japanese commissarial butcher, alleging that he had delivered three bullocks while the Japanese only admitted having received two. It was a purely civil matter but the Chinaman was arrested and only released from prison two days ago. He once signed some paper during this period, the contents of which he did not understand, he does not know what he has been in custody for, does not know if he has been tried or sentenced, does not now know whether his release is final or temporary.

As to Griffiths' memos. mentioned in your second note and the similarity to the Gazette article, I think it is very easily explained. The information in the first he got from two foreigners (Arthur & Petersen) who had been in the country. I presume he copied their writings verbatim, and the same were sent to the Gazette. I have left the matter to him, only I made some alterations in the draft of his second memo. before it was copied. In the second memo. the similarity is, I fancy, in the paragraphs about the threatened attack on Anping. I have not compared the two, but the similarity is (I should think) the facts only and these facts were a matter of such notoriety and common talk in Anping, that two writers may very easily have described them in very similar words.

I have endeavoured to keep entirely clear of the newspaper correspondence and to know nothing of what was written until I saw it in print. But I think I may very safely say that the correspondent of the Gazette is an employee of Bain & Co. or rather that in fact the whole firm – Mr. Bain, the head, and two clerks, Mr. Arthur and Mr. Andrews – forms a joint correspondent. They are all exceptionally able men and write well. I knew, through Griffiths and Myers, that letters were going to the press, but, as I've said, I endeavored to keep clear of any more minute particulars and I believe Griffiths has done the same.

I'll find out the value of the camphor omitted from No. 108 and let you know, and I'll see if I can devise some inexpensive method of telegraphing receipt of despatches from the code. But the telegraph charges are terribly heavy, and I incur them with great reluctance.

I have kept myself to the last. I can't tell you what joy your intimation that I may go to Nagasaki gives me, accompanied with that that the pay remains as before. There can be no hope that I could ever bring the family to Formosa and I can never be happy without them. Of course if it proved practicable it would be a consideration to me to take up the Tamsui appointment as it would mean an extra outfit allowance of £120. That you may consider too much – three outfits in the course of 18 months or less –

Correspondence and Papers (private). Japanese Mission. Consular Staff. Anping, Takao, Formosa (Taiwan).

(Satow Papers: PRO 30/33 5/11. January – December 1896)

but then I had only one in 27 years. Russell Robertson once had three in about 18 months or less – and Troup had four in 25 years, and it is a regulation allowance to which the F.O. would never raise a particle of objection.

Myers has been urging me to apply for leave but as a precaution rather than as a necessity. I am considerably run down, languid, disinclined to work or take exercise etc. but there is nothing the matter that could be made the basis of a definite medical certificate. If there is any prospect of my going to Nagasaki or Kobe, say by Christmas, I can, I think, stay on till then, but if not there will be no choice but for me to ask for some leave before going to Tamsui. And even before Nagasaki I should ask you for a week or ten days in Tokio. But this is in the future. [Margin note: I should not care to go to Nagasaki as acting with the likelihood of having to return to Tamsui, but I understand from your letter that you think Quin is sure to retire.]

I'll try to bear the present as long as possible, though it is hard to look forward to two nearly full months more of this terribly trying and oppressive weather. There is no change either night or day. Layard is more fortunate as he has an accessible hill at hand which gives a complete change.

Yours very sincerely

Joseph H. Longford

It will be a little interesting to compare the date of arrival of this letter, which will leave Anping for Amoy tomorrow, with that I sent by "Omi Maru", via Keelung, an exceptionally fast chance today.

25. Longford to Satow [p. 126 in file]

[Recd. 26/9. Ans. 26/9.]

Takow, September 6, 1896

My dear Sir Ernest,

The enclosed has just come in from Midzuno. I have only had time to get it copied as quickly as possible and have hardly grasped its contents – more than that Midzuno himself has no instructions as regards the status quo ante.

Another troublesome matter has occurred. Bain's employees went to Hun Liu [?] on 21<sup>st</sup> ultimo to remove camphor. This was after it had been declared "within the limits of safety" i.e. to which travellers might go. They had passes from the Unrin Sub Prefecture authorising them, but on arrival at Hoon Liu, the military there refused to pay the least attention to these passes, or the representations as to their business and employment of the men themselves, arrested and locked up the whole of them, and there they are in custody. I have telegraphed and written strongly to Midzuno but defer formal report till I hear from him. The incident illustrates the relations between the civil and military authorities in the island.

Correspondence and Papers (private). Japanese Mission. Consular Staff. Anping, Takao, Formosa (Taiwan).  
(Satow Papers: PRO 30/33 5/11. January – December 1896)

Petersen (of Mannich & Co.) started for Hun Liu this morning. He is a most intelligent and straightforward fellow, and has promised to write and describe the state of affairs when he gets there. I am sending this by the “Omi Maru” which leaves in an hour for Keelung. This is the opportunity for which I wrote and posted a letter (private) some days ago, but it only comes off now. I have just received a mail by [the British steamer] Thales – just this moment – but have not had time to go through it. I will do so when this goes and write to you by her tonight – or rather today – as I must send letter to Anping before night.

Yours very truly,  
Joseph H. Longford

26. Longford to Satow [p. 130 in file]

[Recd. Oct 7]

Anping,

September 21, 1896

Dear Sir Ernest,

The price or value of camphor at Chip Chip left blank in my despatch No. 108 should have been “about \$40.” This is very approximate, as no accounts have been received for a long time. It includes the tax.

I don’t think I can add anything to the despatches. I am wholly at a loss to understand this question of the status quo ante and the refusal of the Japanese here to recognise it. Just as much so, their refusal to allow the tax to be paid here. Meanwhile Wright & Co. who have a large stock have been informed that it is rapidly diminishing. To get all here only requires a promise that the Chinamen should not be molested by the troops and not obliged to carry large sums of money up country with them. Every other risk they are willing to undertake.

I can’t recollect having seen before the expression (Inclosure No. 3 in No. 128) kujoka subeki kagiri ni arazaru etc. and I am quite unable to analyse it. The Anping writer is well nigh useless though willing, but the Takow man is most excellent and unfortunately when I should have liked to consult him he is 28 miles away from me.

The “Thales” arrived yesterday after a fortnight’s interval. I received from you two despatches Nos. 34 and 35, but nothing else. Despite all warning the Postmaster General at H’Kong has persisted in sending the bags to the Japanese Post Office instead of to us. The consequence is that, as I write, some 28 hours after the mails were landed, not an iota has been delivered. I have only got what was sent in private cover from consul in Amoy. There is an uproar in the community, as letters cannot now be answered by

Correspondence and Papers (private). Japanese Mission. Consular Staff. Anping, Takao, Formosa (Taiwan).

(Satow Papers: PRO 30/33 5/11. January – December 1896)

this opportunity [i.e. before the *Thales* sails] and all business is most seriously interfered with. I have, at the request of the community, telegraphed a protest to the Governor.

[Nippon] Yusen Kaisha steamers are now to run three times a month from Japan, but the Postal Service in the Island continues so inefficient and unreliable that no epithets would be too strong for it. A little while ago a letter, most legibly addressed to me in both Chinese and English, posted in Tang Kang, reached me in Takow, 20 miles distant, in 12 days. It had been sent to Tamsui overland, thence back by sea to Takow. This route would correspond to sending a letter from Tokio to Yokohama to Hakodate by rail, thence by sea, only here there is no rail. I have had a letter posted in Tamsui reach Takow, thence sent to Pescadores, lie there a fortnight, thence back to Keelung, thence at last back to and delivered in Takow, whole thing taking a full month. I could quote a dozen examples like this.

Dr. Myers' engagement with the Japanese is completed for five years. I hope you will telegraph to me as soon as you can fix my date of leaving even approximately. Believing it will be soon I am not moving from Takow, though as all the business is here I must come up frequently.

Yours very truly,

Joseph H. Longford

27. Longford to Satow [p.134 in file]

[Recd. Oct. 11, '96. Answered Oct. 13, '96.]

Takow,

September 28, 1896

Dear Sir Ernest,

I received a telegram from [acting German consul in Tamsui] Dr. Grunenwald on Saturday night telling me that Midzuno [Jun] has, in compliance with my despatch, telegraphed instructions to the local authorities to grant all the facilities for which I asked as a temporary solution of the camphor difficulty. I have sent down to Griffiths to make the necessary arrangements with the Kencho and inform the local merchants at once, and I hope therefore that all in store, not only at Hun Liu but at Chip Chip, will soon be brought to Anping. There should not be a particle of difficulty about it once Japanese obstruction and fear of the soldiers are removed. There is no dread on the part of any of the Chinese employees of the rebels, except in so far as being relieved of cash which they might be carrying, so little so that Bain & Co's Chinamen have already succeeded in getting their camphor out of Chip Chip, where the Japanese troops have not gone at all. They (the Chinamen) made their way there by bye paths at their own risk, and are bringing down all previously stored both there and at Hun Liu in one lot. There are however considerable deficiencies in their original stock, and this will be the case with all the rest.



Correspondence and Papers (private). Japanese Mission. Consular Staff. Anping, Takao, Formosa (Taiwan).  
(Satow Papers: PRO 30/33 5/11. January – December 1896)

I telegraphed to you this morning the fact of Midzuno's assent, as knowing of it may save you some further trouble. Grunenwald's success in obtaining from Midzuno in five minutes (metaphorically speaking) conversation, what I could not do in several interviews and by the interchange of several letters (for there were private letters and explanation as well as the despatches I sent you) from the Prefect or even by despatches to Midzuno himself, is a strong illustration of what can be done at head quarters and, I venture to submit, of the correctness of my view that it would be vastly to the public advantage to make this consulate subsidiary to that in the North. Present postal inefficiency and expensive telegraphic rates will not always continue, but communication with you from S. Formosa will always involve some considerable time, and many S. Formosan affairs can be settled by the consul in the North, if empowered to act in them, with which under present conditions you will have to be troubled.

I've told you of the failure to make the roof of my house here even an approach to temporarily watertight. It is much, very much, better than it was, but there is hardly one room in the house which could be considered properly habitable, not one which is free from large leaks in any heavy rain. The contractor has done his best, has done the work three times over, but he admits now that he undertook the impossible, and says he should never have done it and would not had it not been for my earnest request. I am most heartily sorry now that I did not leave the house at once. I have had nearly four months of the most extreme discomfort and (according to Myers) risk of health, and furniture, clothes, stores, books etc. have all been greatly injured by damp and constant movings. Every time there is a heavy rainfall everything has to be moved more or less.

Well a further complication has now occurred. While I was at Anping, the front beam of the roof gave way for half its length, the eave and a great quantity of the front tiles came smashing down, making a horrible wreck. Fortunately no one was under it. All the remainder of the front of the house is insecure and the contractor has advised me not to use the front verandah at all.

To show you the state of the roof under which I have been living I send you, by parcel post, some fragments of the beam which gave way typical of its condition. This is not a thing of yesterday, and the rot must have been already far advanced when Mr. Collins pronounced the house to be so eminently fit for habitation by a family.

There is a great pothole over the postal service with Hong Kong, but I hope it will not be necessary to trouble you with it. The last mail was delivered in Takow about 36 hours, in Anping 74 hours, and in Tainan 82 hours after it was landed at Anping, all business thrown into utter confusion and some firms obliged to incur considerable expense in telegraphing. As the Yusen Kaisha steamers are now running three times monthly to Keelung from Kobe, you might perhaps give the Japanese direct post here another trial. The Amoy advantage is ultimate certainty of delivery, but it takes nearly a month.

Correspondence and Papers (private). Japanese Mission. Consular Staff. Anping, Takao, Formosa (Taiwan).  
(Satow Papers: PRO 30/33 5/11. January – December 1896)

Yours very truly  
Joseph H. Longford

28. Dr. Wykeham Myers to Satow [p.140 in file]

Takow, S. Formosa

Oct. 18/96

Dear Sir,

I hope you will not think I am adopting an inconvenient course in addressing you privately, about a matter that might be brought before you in more official manner. I allude to the case of H.M. [?] Consul Longford. I have not, hitherto, felt justified in proceeding to the extreme length of giving such formal certificate as would possibly have led you to decide it should be acted on immediately, as I did not think his physical condition sufficiently affected to call for such.

Mr. Longford, however, has for some time been suffering from increasing mental depression, which, no doubt, led him to take a pessimistic view of circumstances, and environment ! Now, he has had a rather severe, and lowering attack of boils over the greater part of his body which, under the circumstances detailed above, I believe warrants my submitting to you the suggestion that he should have a change for six weeks or two months, as soon as it can be arranged, and he is sufficiently recovered to move with comfort.

I think he would, in his present debilitated state, run a risk of contracting more serious ailments if, for instance, he had to go into the area (Anping) where such liability is prevalent; and, altogether, although I cannot say he is in such a desperate state as would peremptorily necessitate immediate removal from the Island, still, I think the condition, as at date existing, renders it advisable he should be granted the short change I have ventured to indicate.

I have purposely abstained from consulting Mr. Longford as to the step I take the liberty of adopting, as it seems to me best to defer discussion about it until your decision has been declared. I sincerely trust this method of submitting my opinion as to the case may not meet with your disapproval. I am, Dear Sir,  
Yours very faithfully

W. Wykeham Myers, M. B.  
Surgeon, H.M.'s Consulate, 'Tainan'

29. E.A. Griffiths to Satow [p.142 in file]

[Recd. Nov 5]

Takow,

Correspondence and Papers (private). Japanese Mission. Consular Staff. Anping, Takao, Formosa (Taiwan).

(Satow Papers: PRO 30/33 5/11. January – December 1896)

Oct. 29, 1896

Dear Sir Ernest Satow,

Mr. Longford desires me to send you the enclosed letter and envelope from Mr. [Christopher T.] Gardner [British Consul] in Amoy. Mr. Longford would have written to you himself but is feeling too sick after a severe attack of boils and acute diarrhoea, the latter of which still continues, causing extreme weakness.

With reference to my interview with the Prefect, which is the subject of Mr. Longford's despatch No. 136, regarding the observance of the status quo ante [i.e. the situation under Chinese rule, before the Japanese occupation of Formosa] in the camphor industry, Mr. Isogari [?] distinctly stated to me that he knew nothing whatever about instructions having been sent from Tokio, that he had when on a visit to Taipeh last month conversed with Mr. Midzuno on the subject and the latter had assured him that there must be a serious mistake (a machigai) somewhere as he (Mr. Midzuno) had not only received no instructions but had been informed from Tokio that the Japse. Govt. had never said they recognised, or gave instructions for the observance of the status quo ante.

Mr. Longford hopes you will kindly not say anything to Mrs. Longford about his illness. A telegram has come today to say 'pest' has occurred at Taipeh.

Yours very truly,

Ernest A. Griffiths

Enclosure: Note from C. Gardner at Amoy to Longford dated 12<sup>th</sup> Oct 1896 re mail interception:

Amoy

12<sup>th</sup> Octr. 1896

Dear Longford,

The enclosed arrived yesterday under cover to me. My cover had evidently been tampered with: the seal was like your cover obliterated and there were gum marks as in your letter shewing the envelope had been reclosed.

I have wired Sir Ernest to let him know.

Yrs Truly

Chris Gardner

30. Satow to Myers [p.147 in file]

Copy

Tokio

3 Nov '96

Correspondence and Papers (private). Japanese Mission. Consular Staff. Anping, Takao, Formosa (Taiwan).

(Satow Papers: PRO 30/33 5/11. January – December 1896)

D[ea]r. Sir,

I am much obliged for your letter of 18 Oct. [no. 28 above] wch. reached me yesterday and I regret to learn from it that Mr. Longford's health is in your opinion in a debilitated state from an attack of boils. The mental depression you speak of I can well understand in the case of a man of warm family affections separated for the first time from his wife and children. I am telegraphing to him today to the effect that he will be relieved by his successor about the 20 December. It will be for him on receipt of the telegram to apply for leave of absence if he thinks it desirable.

I am very glad to hear that you have been appointed adviser to the Governor General of Formosa, and am convinced that you will be able to render him very valuable assistance. General Nogi [Maresuke] I am told is a very distinguished officer <sup>38</sup>, noted for a strong sense of the necessity of discipline, and I believe that the instructions with which he has been provided, when acted upon, will produce a marked amelioration in the condition of things in the island.

I am, Dear Sir, etc. E.S.

31. Longford to Satow [p.148 in file]

Takow,

November 11, 1896

Dear Sir Ernest,

I don't think there is anything I can add to my despatches, which I hope will reach you in unusually quick time, as they will all probably catch the "China" at Amoy. I couldn't attempt to write much in any case, as I can scarcely sit up and very little attempt at doing so tires me out completely. The despatches have been drafted either by Griffiths or by myself in pencil, which was the best I could do.

Two men from here are probably going up by the China. Mr. Arthur, of Bain & Co.,<sup>39</sup> and Mr.

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<sup>38</sup> "During the Sino-Japanese War of 1894-1895 Nogi, commanding the First Infantry Brigade, gained fame in the rapid conquest of the Liaodong (Liaotung) Peninsula and its major military base Port Arthur (Ch: Lüshun, now part of Lüda). His victorious campaign brought him a divisional command, promotion to lieutenant general, and the title of baron. Nogi took part in the final pacification of Taiwan and served as governor-general of the colony from 1896 to 1898." (Kodansha's Illustrated Dictionary of Japan, p. 1109).

<sup>39</sup> Arthur met Satow in Tokyo on December 7, 1896. "H. W. Arthur of Bain & Co. Formosa came to see me by appointment. Has been in hospital since July last at Hongkong and only knows of the state of things there by letters from Bain. He asserted that under Chinese the camphor tax was paid in the name of the firm, and said that they had plenty of the receipts, so I asked him to procure some, as Longford with great difficulty had been able to send me only one. The firms are under large advances to the Chinese Hakkas who contract with them to deliver camphor. He admitted that the business is carried on for the account partly of Chinese subjects. On opium he admitted that much of what they possess now was bought on the market from the Hongkong shippers, and cost \$1500 to \$1600 a chest, whereas it is now worth no more than \$800. I said I did not see my way to helping them with regard to this, but in any

Correspondence and Papers (private). Japanese Mission. Consular Staff. Anping, Takao, Formosa (Taiwan).  
(Satow Papers: PRO 30/33 5/11. January – December 1896)

MacGowan of Tait & Co. The former has been in hospital at Hong Kong for six months or so, and therefore knows nothing of recent events, but he is thoroughly acquainted with all the ins and outs of the camphor business and with the locality, and I've no doubt can give you a lot of information on the subject. Tait & Co. take no part in camphor, but Mr. MacGowan will tell you all about opium. They are all very sore over the claim paid to Mannich as compared with the terms offered to them, and they believe that the two German firms will also get favorable terms about camphor.

Myers tells me he wrote to you direct some little time ago about my health, and that the certificate he now sends is a very strong one. Be that as it may, I am utterly broken down now and unfit for almost any work. I have not yet shaken off the bowel disorder and have lived only on milk for three weeks. In all my life before I have had two boils. Here I had about 50 at once, all breaking out with apparently no reason at all. The difficulties and expense of getting away from here are almost heartbreaking. Myers forbids my going by Keelung, and I am afraid to risk military transport from here which would be terribly crowded and have no foreign food. I hope that I may just chance to get a foreign steamer from Amoy. It would save a week's time in the journey and some cost.

Things are still in a very disordered state south of Takow. Bands of robbers are wandering all over the place and the soldiers are entirely unable to cope with them. [French military attaché, Count] Pimodan has been here for the last two days. He called yesterday, but I was not able to see him. Griffiths will however call on him. General Kawakami [Sōroku] is expected here today.<sup>40</sup>

While writing I've received a telegram asking me to cancel Messrs Tait & Co's signature to the opium letter. No reason is given for the request, but as the Thales arrived this morning it must have been made under instructions from the head firm in Amoy. The telegram also states that Mr. MacGowan is not going to Tokyo by this trip. As regards the camphor business it is right that you should know that Chinese are interested in it in all British firms. In Bain & Co., the largest, to the extent of one half. The Chinese however won't continue in it without the protection of the British name. Mannich & Co, are, it is said, entirely on their own account.

Yours very sincerely

Joseph H. Longford

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case the firms should furnish all particulars of their purchases and holdings, so that I might be a position to discuss with the Japanese Government if I saw an opportunity." (Satow's Diary, Ruxton, 2003, pp. 143-44).

<sup>40</sup> 川上 操六 Kawakami Sōroku (1848-99). Army general born in the Satsuma domain. Helped to quell the Satsuma Rebellion of 1877. Studied military science in Europe. During the Sino-Japanese War of 1894-95 he served as the senior army staff officer at Imperial General Headquarters (Daihon'ei).

Correspondence and Papers (private). Japanese Mission. Consular Staff. Anping, Takao, Formosa (Taiwan).  
(Satow Papers: PRO 30/33 5/11. January – December 1896)

32. Longford to Satow [p.152 in file]<sup>41</sup>

Takow,

November 17, 1896

Dear Sir Ernest,

The Japanese post is coming now in so much better time that I am sending this note to you on the chance that it may reach you before I arrive at Tokio. I shall leave by the Thales for Amoy on either the 21<sup>st</sup> or 23<sup>rd</sup>. There I may just be fortunate enough to get either the Belgic or Empress, if either calls on this voyage. But if not, I shall have to go to Hong Kong and my delay there seems to be most indefinite, amounting possibly to a week. Unless either of the two steamers mentioned calls at Amoy, all seem to fit in as unfortunately as they could for his trip of the Thales. I don't fancy any part of the world can have worse communication than this. Myers (Dr) still absolutely forbids me to go by Keelung I think his ideas are very exaggerated but they must be obeyed in this case. And even if it was feasible, the journey, though easy enough from Keelung to Japan, is hence to Keelung as bad as can be. Only one small and ill found[?] steamer, which in her last trip north took 10 days – weather bound for four [days] at the Pescadores.

I am still very seedy and as weak as can be, but your news of [Nagasaki consul J.J.] Quin's retirement nearly did much to revivify me. I have assumed that I shall not now return to Formosa, and am sending my heavy baggage direct to Nagasaki.

I have asked Griffiths to write you an account of two occurrences here during the last week illustrating the disorder to which I referred in my last note. On Sunday night it almost seemed for a while as if we were going to have hostilities at the very doors. The mere name of General Nogi seems however to have had a good effect already.

General Kawakami asked me to remember him to you. I could not call on him, but Griffiths went instead, and he and [his aide de camp] Murata most kindly came to see me and stopped a considerable time. He said he thought Pimodan would not accompany him further than H Kong.

Yours very sincerely,

Joseph H. Longford

33. Ernest A. Griffiths to Satow [p.154 in file]

[Recd. 13/12]

H.M. Consulate

Anping, Nov. 25, 1896

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<sup>41</sup> This letter was written on both sides of very thin paper, which makes it hard to decipher.

Correspondence and Papers (private). Japanese Mission. Consular Staff. Anping, Takao, Formosa (Taiwan).

(Satow Papers: PRO 30/33 5/11. January – December 1896)

Dear Sir Ernest Satow,

Mr. Longford left on Sunday night last by the “Thales” for Amoy where he is to catch the “Empress of India”. He had been much depressed for a considerable time but seemed better on leaving and I have no doubt that a change to Japan will completely restore him to health.

Before leaving he asked me to give you an account of the raiding by robbers of a village near Takow and of a subsequent attempted attack on Takow itself. The village (Ling-a-lian [Chinese characters given]) situated about 3 miles from Takow up the lagoon, was attacked on the night of Friday the 13<sup>th</sup> inst. by a band of about 200 robbers. There is no Japanese garrison in the place, which has from 2000 to 3000 inhabitants, but a small detachment of soldiers (10 in number) is left there to guard a godown [storehouse] used by the military in Takow for storing their rice in. Of the soldiers three were in the street in front of the godown at the time of the attack but, after firing off their rifles without apparently doing any damage, they fled into the godown where they remained with the other soldiers throughout the whole time (about 2 or 3 hours) occupied by the robbers in raiding the village. The latter succeeded in securing about \$13,000, ten thousand of which they took from one firm alone – a wealthy Chinese hong [firm] known as Ho Hing. The names of the ringleaders are known to the Japanese but up to the present no important arrests have been made.

As regards the attempt on Takow it appears that on Sunday night the 15<sup>th</sup> inst. a body of robbers said to be from 400 to 600 strong landed some way down the spit on the south west side of the lagoon and marched along it in the direction of Kee-ow, the part of Takow opposite to the side on which the Consulate is situated. I was staying with Mr. Longford in Takow at the time and we were both surprised at about 9 o'clock by the Japanese writer and all the Chinese servants rushing up and excitedly announcing that the robbers were marching along the spit and intended to attack Kee-ow as soon as the moon went down. The military had been previously informed, however, and we presently saw half a dozen boats filled with soldiers put off and cross to the spit. We heard no firing during the night and could make out nothing of what was being done, but the next morning we learned that the robbers were met by the soldiers some 5 miles from Kee-ow, that the former had at once retreated and that in doing so they had burned two small fishing hamlets. They were not pursued by the soldiers.

On the following Wednesday night the robbers were reported to have again landed on the spit – this time to the number of 700. Soldiers were again sent over but the robbers retreated as before and as on the previous occasion they were not pursued nor was any attempt made to cut them off. The military authorities seem to be on the alert and will now doubtless take effective steps to prevent a repetition of these incursions.

The plague in Taipeh still continues – but there are no signs of it here or in Takow. The Reverend A. F.

Correspondence and Papers (private). Japanese Mission. Consular Staff. Anping, Takao, Formosa (Taiwan).

(Satow Papers: PRO 30/33 5/11. January – December 1896)

King called the day before yesterday<sup>42</sup> and stayed to tiffin with me. He intended leaving Tainan (where he was staying with Mr. Barclay) this morning overland for Tamsui. From what he said I concluded that he does not think either Anping or Takow large enough to justify his recommending the Bishop [Bickersteth]<sup>43</sup> to permanently station a Church of England missionary there at all events for the present. He was well received by all the [foreign] residents here and expressed himself as much pleased with his visit but he said he had no idea the place was so small or the foreign residents so few in number.

Yours very truly,

Ernest A. Griffiths

34. Griffiths to Satow [p.158 in file]

[Recd. Dec 19]

Anping,

December 3, 1896

Dear Sir Ernest Satow,

There is not much news of importance to send from here by this mail. Things seem to be very quiet here and in Tainan. In Takow, too, there has been no repetition of the robbers' attacks. The military appear to be active and permission has been given to some of the leading Chinese in the villages to arm themselves against future attacks, and I am informed by the Secretary of the Ken [Prefecture] that a reinforcement of 120 police is to come from Japan to this district.

In the camphor districts matters are still unsettled. Mr. Petersen of the German firm of Mannich & Co. who went up there about two weeks ago, writes that he was not allowed to do any camphor business in Hunlin, that the authorities told him they could not recognise him in any way, that he was a foreigner and consequently could not be permitted to transact any business in the interior. He has since then gone to Chip Chip, although he was warned that the roads were dangerous. This morning Mr. Mannich received a telegram from a Japanese in his employ at Hunlin to the effect that there is "a panic" in Hunlin and that it was dangerous for Mr. Mannich to send money to the district. It further stated that Mr. Petersen was in Chip Chip, where he had apparently arrived safely.

As regards the camphor trade, it appears to be at a standstill so far as foreigners are concerned, though

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<sup>42</sup> Rev. Armine Francis King (1856-1918). Anglican missionary. Member of Archdeacon Shaw's so-called Shiba Sect based in Shiba, Tokyo. See 'The Archdeacon and the Bishop: Alexander Croft Shaw, Edward Bickersteth, and Meiji Japan' by Hamish Ion, Ch. 10, *Britain and Japan: Biographical Portraits*, vol. 3, ed. J. E. Hoare (Japan Library, 1999).

<sup>43</sup> Bishop Edward Bickersteth (1850-97), sometime Fellow of Pembroke College, Cambridge and first Bishop of South Tokyo, came to Japan in 1886. Satow attended his funeral at Chisleton, England on August 9, 1897. (BP vol. 3, Ch. 10; diary, Ruxton, 2003, p. 197).



Correspondence and Papers (private). Japanese Mission. Consular Staff. Anping, Takao, Formosa (Taiwan).

(Satow Papers: PRO 30/33 5/11. January – December 1896)

I am informed by Mr. Bain and others that Chinese are buying camphor in considerable quantities from the producers, who are under obligation to sell only to the foreign merchants who have made advances to them, and are transporting it to Lokkhang the port of Changhwa, the prefectural city of Saichuken, without paying any taxes whatever, there being no tax-collecting offices in the district. The Governor of this Ken is still absent in Taipeh.

Yours very truly,  
Ernest A. Griffiths

35. Longford to Satow [p.155B in file]

41 Tsukiji<sup>44</sup>

December 4, 1896

Dear Sir Ernest,

I arrived here yesterday evening and hoped to have gone to see you today. But I am unfortunately not at all well yet. I can't shake off this diarrhoea to have any confidence in going out and I fear therefore to leave home for any time or distance, so I think it well to give myself at least a day's chance here. If I feel anyway fit tomorrow I shall come up if you will be at leisure.

Mr. H.W. Arthur of Bain & Co., about whom I think I wrote to you, came with me from Amoy, and as he wished to call on you, I suggested to him Monday forenoon for the purpose, when the mails will have gone. He is staying at the Club Hotel at Yokohama, and if that day will not suit you, I shall be glad to tell him any that will. [Satow met Arthur on December 7<sup>th</sup>. See footnote to letter 31 above.] He is an invalid and is anxious to get to Miyanoshita.<sup>45</sup> Perhaps a note by the Legation messenger would reach him more speedily than one from me by post, if you would be so kind as to let [Harold George] Parlett write to him.

Yours very sincerely,  
Joseph H. Longford

36. Griffiths to Satow [p.159A in file]

[Recd. Dec. 25]

Anping,

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<sup>44</sup> Tsukiji was the small foreign settlement in Tokyo, founded on January 1, 1869 when Tokyo was opened to foreigners. See the account in Japanese *Tsukiji Gaikokujin Kyoryūchi* by Kawasaki Seirō (Tokyo: Yushodo Shuppan, 2002). Also "Tokyo, which had only some sixty or seventy foreign residents in the first years of Meiji, had over eight hundred by the 1890s. Less than twenty of these lived on the Tsukiji settlement." (*Japan's Treaty Ports and Foreign Settlements*, p. 22).

<sup>45</sup> Miyanoshita was a hot spring in Kanagawa prefecture reserved for foreigners, opened in 1878.

Correspondence and Papers (private). Japanese Mission. Consular Staff. Anping, Takao, Formosa (Taiwan).

(Satow Papers: PRO 30/33 5/11. January – December 1896)

December 11, 1896

Dear Sir Ernest Satow,

A Mr. [J.W.] Davidson, who signs as U.S. consular agent for Formosa,<sup>46</sup> has sent me a letter, of which I enclose a copy, asking me to hand over to him any archives of the U.S. Govt. now in my possession in Takow. As I have received no instructions either as to the appointment of Mr. Davidson or as to the disposal of the U.S. Archives here I have written to him to say that in the absence of such instructions I am unable to comply with his request.

Charge of the U.S. Consular agency appears to have been assumed by H.M.'s Consul here in 1876 at the request of the U.S. Consul at Amoy. In a report, dated January 19, 1885 to Sir Harry Parkes,<sup>47</sup> Mr. Spence who was then acting Consul here says: "Before 1876 correspondence was occasionally carried on with the U.S. Consul in Amoy regarding American interests here. On 25 May 1876 Mr. Walters, then Acting Consul, reported to [then Minister at Peking] Sir T. Wade in Despatch No. 3 that, at the request of the U.S. Consul at Amoy, he had assumed temporary charge of the U.S. Consular Agency at Taiwan. No reply to this despatch appears to have been received from the Legation [at Peking], but the appointment has been held ever since by Mr. Walters' successors."

Since Mr. Spence's time each succeeding Consul seems to have taken over charge of the U.S. Consular agency here as a matter of course, but I cannot find in our Archives any approval of thus doing so by H.M.'s Minister at Peking. Since the liquidation of Messrs. Russell & Co. in 1890/91 there have, apparently, been no U.S. commercial interests in South Formosa and, with the exception of one or two employees of the Chinese Customs, no U.S. citizen resident here. From the time of Mr. Longford's arrival in Takow up to the present time there has been no U.S. Consular business of any kind whatever to transact.

The property of the U.S. Government now in charge of this Consulate consists of archives (correspondence, both English and Chinese), a box of American forms, a large seal and a framed picture of the arms of the Republic.

I have not written to you officially as Mr. Davidson's request does not appear to call for any official recognition but I should like to be instructed as to the position of the U.S. Consul at Kobe vis à vis of this Consular agency, more particularly as, during Chinese regime it appears to have been simply at the

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<sup>46</sup> Satow asked U.S. Minister in Tokyo Edwin Dun about Davidson on December 29<sup>th</sup>. "Called on Dun, and spoke about J.W. Davidson's statement that he had been appointed U.S. Consular agent at Tamsui, of which D[un] knew nothing." (Diary, Ruxton, 2003, p.149)

<sup>47</sup> Sir Harry S. Parkes (1828-85) was appointed Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary and Consul-General in Japan on March 28, 1865. He was appointed Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary to the Emperor of China on July 1, 1883, and also to the King of Korea on February 27, 1884. He died at his post on March 22, 1885. (F.O. List, 1886, quoted in Kuwata, 1996, p. 98.)

Correspondence and Papers (private). Japanese Mission. Consular Staff. Anping, Takao, Formosa (Taiwan).  
(Satow Papers: PRO 30/33 5/11. January – December 1896)

request of the U.S. Consul at Amoy that H.M.'s Consul assumed charge of American interests here.

Mr. Petersen (of Mannich & Co.) writes me from Chip Chip – his letter is dated November 28<sup>th</sup> – “After having been imprisoned or rather im-fortressed in Hunlin for five days I got special permission to go to Chip Chip.” He further says there are two hundred Chinese and thirty Japanese in the place which is all in ruins. Only six houses have been left, amongst them being that of Mannich & Co. He doesn't say whether any of the other foreign houses are standing but he states that the Chinese are living in mat sheds. The sub-prefect of Policia (Horioka) was there at the time Mr. Petersen wrote and was distributing money to those who had returned – about \$5 for each house burnt. There were also about ten policemen and ten gendarmes but he does not say whether these were included in the thirty Japanese previously mentioned. Among the gend'armes was one who was the only survivor of those stationed in Chip Chip when the place was taken by the rebels in July. He was shot in three places and was four days without food before he reached Potau. In another letter to a friend in Anping Mr. Petersen says there is great excitement in Hunlin and district, and the Chinese expect that another attack will be made on the place before long by the rebels or robbers.

There is a report that some disturbance took place a few days ago about 13 Japanese ri from Tainan on the road to Kagi and that several Japanese were killed. I have made enquiries at the Kencho and am informed that there had been some disturbance but that no details were to hand.

Ho-Hing, the Chinese merchant who was recently robbed at Ling-a-lian of \$10,000 has now been permitted by the Authorities to arm thirty men for his protection. This seems to be a move in the right direction as, without means of self-defence, the Chinese in the villages unprotected by the military or police, are entirely at the mercy of the armed bands of robbers who infest this southern district apparently in considerable numbers.

Decr. 14 [i.e. the letter continues from this date]. There is little or no further news since the above was written. Mr. Petersen writes again “Business very difficult but not on account of obstructions by the officials but on account of the Shôhuis [Thôhuis ?], robbers and savages who make travelling very dangerous.” He further states that Mr. Furuoka [?], the former Prefect of Tainan, who has gone to the disturbed districts as Commissioner to try and settle matters, recently invited Kungee the rebel chief to meet him. They met a short distance from Tanlak (Unrin), both parties accompanied by an armed escort. Mr. Petersen does not know the result of the interview but he says that at the end of it Mr. Furuoka presented the rebel chief with a Japanese sword !

The despatches referred to in your telegram viz. Nos. 145 and 146 were dated November 13<sup>th</sup> and were posted either on that date or shortly after by Japanese mail. So far as I recollect No. 145 was

Correspondence and Papers (private). Japanese Mission. Consular Staff. Anping, Takao, Formosa (Taiwan).  
(Satow Papers: PRO 30/33 5/11. January – December 1896)

acknowledging the receipt of Hepburn's Dictionary<sup>48</sup> and No. 146 referred to the compensation to be paid to British subjects for losses suffered during the attacks on Takow and Tainan and stated that a satisfactory letter had been received by Mr. Longford from Mr. Midzuno.

I enclose a photograph of this Consulate (Anping) which may be of some interest. Although not very handsome the building is strongly made of brick and iron.

Yours very truly,

Ernest A. Griffiths

Enclosure:

Copy: Taipehfu, Nov. 21, '96

Consul Longford

H.B.M. Consulate, Takow

Dear Sir,

I have this day received from the United States Consul at Kobe, Japan, a communication requesting me as U.S. Consular Agent for Formosa to write and ask if your predecessor Consul [R.W.] Hurst who was the former U.S. Consular Agent has archives the property of the service. If such are at the Consulate would you forward them here to me.

Also would you refer any future U.S. Consular affairs to me at Taipehfu and oblige

Yrs Truly

Jas. W. Davidson, U.S. Consular Agent

37. Griffiths to Satow [p.165 in file]

Anping,

December 24, 1896

Dear Sir Ernest Satow,

I regret extremely that I have given you cause for complaint by my stupid mistake in the translation of the regulations for the registration of land. I thank you for the kind way in which you have drawn my attention to it, and I shall certainly do my utmost to be as exact as possible in any future translations.

I have received your despatch No. 55 respecting the opium question and have made enquiries concerning the number of chests which have been purchased on the local market, but have not yet received complete and full information.

The Formosan Government have not as yet made any offer in this District to purchase the stocks on

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<sup>48</sup> James Curtis Hepburn (1815-1911). Physician. Popularizer of the Hepburn system of romanizing Japanese. First president of Meiji Gakuin University. He compiled *A Japanese and English Dictionary* (1867, Waei gorin shūsei), the first work of its kind. In Japan 1859-92.

Correspondence and Papers (private). Japanese Mission. Consular Staff. Anping, Takao, Formosa (Taiwan).

(Satow Papers: PRO 30/33 5/11. January – December 1896)

hand. Messrs. Samuel Samuel & Co.'s representative, Mr. Hughes, is now, I hear, in Tamsui but the foreign merchants here are at a loss to understand what he is doing there now that the firm have withdrawn from their offer to purchase the opium. As regards camphor there is little or nothing to be reported. The camphor districts are still disturbed and there are all kinds of rumours here as to attacks by robbers on Hunlin and Kagi.

I could not obtain any definite information from Mr. Sugimura [Fukashi],<sup>49</sup> who is on a visit to this Ken [prefecture], or from Mr. Isogai when I went to the Kencho [prefectural office 県庁] yesterday but Mr. Sugimura told me that the robbers were apparently amassing in considerable numbers near Kagi and that an attack might be made at any moment, but he had no fears for the safety of the place.

I am sending with this duplicate copies of Despatches Nos. 145 and 146 for which you telegraphed.

Yours truly

Ernest A. Griffiths

[End of file.]

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<sup>49</sup> Satow met Sugimura Fukushima on January 13, 1898 (Diary, Ruxton, 2003, pp. 229-30).

“Sugimura of the Formosan Administration. Talked to him about camphor in South Formosa and the use of the word ‘purchase’ in the letter to the [British] Consuls. He said that ‘purchase’ was all that could be officially recognized, but the Governor General recognized the real facts of foreign capital invested, and had explained this to all the Prefects. Unrin (Rinkihō) is in Taichiū prefecture, and other places [producing camphor] in Kagi. Did not see how it was possible for Consuls to correspond direct with any but prefect of Tainan. I also said Consuls had no power to agree to regulations which should be agreed to between Foreign Minister and Legation. The Taiwan Administration Bureau should therefore communicate them to F.O. I saw no objection to the regulations if amended as suggested by [German consul at Tamsui] Dr. Merz. But I was not sure about the confiscation clause. This he said was modelled on the Customs regulations. I said I would acquaint Consul at Anping with what he had said about ‘purchase’. (This [Sugimura] is a man who had to do with the murder of the Queen of Corea, [on October 8, 1895] and he looks a ruffian.)”

**Satow Papers: PRO 30/33 5/12**

**Correspondence and Papers (private). Japanese Mission. Consular Staff. Anping, Formosa (Taiwan).**

**(January 1897 – March 1900)**

1. Satow to Griffiths [draft, p.2 in file]

Jan. 2. 1897

Dear Mr, Griffiths,<sup>1</sup>

Many thanks for your letters of Nov. 25 & Dec. 3 & 11. [see previous file]

I showed Mr. Dun the copy of Mr. J.W. Davidson's letter to you of Nov. 21. He informs me that altho' Mr. D[avidson]. has been recommended to the Dep[artmen]t. of State for the app[oin]tm[en]t. in Formosa, the app[oin]tm[en]t. has not been made. Consequently he is not authorized to act as U.S. consular agent, nor to claim fr[om]. you the transfer of the Archives.

I said to him that it w[ou]ld. be necessary for him to ask me officially for my consent before H.M. Consul at Tainan c[ou]ld. take charge of U.S. interests, & that in no case c[ou]ld. he be in subordinate charge to a consular agent. He must be in direct communication with the Min[ister].

Your refusal to send Mr. D[avidson]. the Archives he claimed was perfectly correct.

Thanks for the photo of the Consulate at Anping. It looks a substantial building. Architectural beauty one cannot expect in Gov[ernmen]t. houses.

Mr. Longford will be succeeded by Mr. Kenny, whom I expect shortly. I shall instruct him to take up his residence at Anping, & if the Archives are still at Takow, I sh[ou]ld. advise your having them moved to the former place.

The Jap[ane]se. Gov[ernmen]t, have refused to give more than one year to foreigners engaged in the camphor business up country, & both the Germ[an]. Min[ister]. & I have

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<sup>1</sup> Griffiths, Ernest Alfred (1863-1913). Was a Lower Division Clerk in the Audit Office 1880-84. Passed a competitive examination and appointed a Student Interpreter in Japan, April 7, 1884. Acting Consul at Nagasaki in 1887 and 1888. Promoted to 2<sup>nd</sup> Class Assistant. Acting Vice-Consul at Tokio from October 1888 to April 1891. Acting Consul at Hiogo in 1893. Promoted to 1<sup>st</sup> Assistant, August 8, 1896. Pro-Consul at Tainan, 1896-1900. Acting Consul at Tainan from November 24, 1896 to January 27, 1897; and from July 10, 1897 to December 3, 1899. Acting Vice-Consul at Hiogo in 1900. Again Acting Consul at Tainan in 1902 and 1903. Promoted to H.M. Vice-Consul for Hiogo and Osaka, to reside at Kobe (May 21, 1903). Acting Consul at Kobe in 1903 and 1904. Promoted to be Consul at Shimonoseki, December 22, 1904. Retired on a pension, December 9, 1912. (from F. O. List, 1914, Kuwata, pp. 281-2).

referred home for instructions. In the meantime I think it will be well for Br[itish]. merchants to contract[?] their advances as much as possible, because one cannot with certainty predict what view the Law Officers may take of the rights claimed by Foreign Merchants, especially as they have not been able to prove that they manufactured in their own name. No tax receipts have been produced showing that the tax was paid on behalf of Europeans, i.e. in their name.

I do not yet send you any official instructions regarding the “Principal Articles” enclosed in your No. 150, but if foreigners are satisfied with 4. providing apparently for the pay[men]t. of the tax at so much per picul instead of so much per still per mensem, I sh[ou]ld. not make any opposition to the practice being adopted.

E.S.

## 2. Griffiths to Satow

Anping.

Jany. 4. 1897.

Dear Sir Ernest Satow,

Since writing my despatch No. 156 respecting opium stocks in the Bonded Warehouse I find that of the 50 chests withdrawn since Novr. 9<sup>th</sup> seven were taken out by Mehta & Co. leaving their stock on hand now at 32 chests. The balance of the 50 [i.e. 11 chests] were withdrawn by Chinese compradores, so that the stocks of the other British firms remain unchanged.

It being the New Year vacation now there is no special official business to report.

Mr. Sugimura the Chief of the Foreign Bureau at Taipei returned to that place on the 1<sup>st</sup>. instant from Takow where he had been staying with Dr. Myers for four days. The latter tells me that Mr. Sugimura was very much pleased with his visit to this District and was glad to have had the opportunity of meeting some of the foreign residents.

On the 1<sup>st</sup> of this month I paid official visits to all the leading officials both military and civil in Tainan and Anping and either on that or on the next day received visits from all of them.

By the same steamer in which Mr. Sugimura returned to Taipeh our Commissioner of Customs – Mr. Watanabe – left for Kelung on his way to Japan on two months leave. Mr. Watanabe has made himself extremely popular with the foreign community since he has been here and his departure is much regretted. It is hoped, however, that he will return to

Anping at the end of his leave of absence.

I have received a letter from the United States Consul at Amoy informing me that he has been notified by the State Department in Washington that by reason of the cession of Formosa to Japan the Consular relations have changed, the agencies on the Island no longer reporting to his office but to the Consulate at Nagasaki and requesting me to hand over the archives of this Agency to Mr. James W. Davidson, Consular Agent at Taipeh. As this Agency appears to have been originally taken charge of at the request of the U.S. Consul in Amoy and as he now requests me to hand over to Mr. Davidson I will send the archives to that gentleman at Taipeh. The archives are in Takow but I will take an early opportunity of going there and I will report officially to you when I have handed them over.

Trusting that this course will meet with your approval.

Yours truly

Ernest A. Griffiths

3. Griffiths to Satow [handwritten, p. 6 in file]

Anping

January 16. 1897

Dear Sir Ernest Satow

I have not written officially to Mr. Midzuno about the refusal of the local officials at Unrin to recognize the transaction of camphor business by foreigners as I hear that he is now on his way down to this district on a visit.

I will speak to him about the matter on his arrival here – and in the meantime I have written privately to Mr. Sugimura. No foreigners are now in the camphor districts and in consequence of the extreme danger of travelling there none are likely to go for some time. Business is practically at a standstill except for an occasional arrival of camphor sent down by the compradores. They, however, can apparently only do business in their own names.

Mr. Petersen, who is much pulled down after his unpleasant experiences in the country leaves Formosa today for Amoy & HongKong on his way home to Germany. He does not intend to return to Formosa.

Nothing has been heard here yet of any proposal on the part of the Formosan Authorities to purchase the stocks of opium on hand.

Mr. Dinshaw's claim for the death of Mr. Ollia has, I hear, been placed on the hands of Mr. Francis, the barrister of HongKong, who has evidently drafted the letter from Mr.



Dinshaw which I send by this mail.

Hozan, a walled city about 9 miles from Takow, the seat of the subprefecture of Hozan was attacked on the night of the 9<sup>th</sup> instant by about 500[600?] robbers who, however, retired after fifteen minutes firing. Great anxiety was felt at the time in Takow but this is now subsiding.

The robbers lost three or four men killed and one taken prisoner. I have not heard of any casualties among the Japanese garrison.

Everything is very quiet in this neighbourhood.

Yours truly,

Ernest A. Griffiths

4. Griffiths to Satow [handwritten, p. 8 in file]

Anping.

January 28. 1897

Dear Sir Ernest Satow

Mr. Kenny arrived yesterday and took over charge of the Consulate this morning.

I received your private letter of the 2<sup>nd</sup> instant on the 25<sup>th</sup> and had consequently no time to move the archives from Takow to this place before the arrival of Mr. Kenny. Most of the current archives however, I had already brought here and the rest will be removed in a day or two.

I had not yet sent the U.S. Consular Agency archives to Mr. Davidson and have now handed them over to Mr. Kenny at the same time informing him of what you say in your private letters to me.

Mr. Arthur of Messrs. Bain & Co. informs me that he has written to the Firm's compradore at Hunlin [Hunliu?] for camphor tax receipts.

With reference to the suggested redistribution of servants' wages (Despatch No. 8 of the 19<sup>th</sup> inst.) Mr. Longford left a memo. with me when he departed. Thinking that his successor, whether Mr. Bonar or Mr. Kenny, would arrive about the middle of last month, but as Mr. Bonar did not come & as I was uncertain when Mr. Kenny would arrive I thought it best to send you the memo without waiting any longer. Mr. Kenny has read the despatch and, without, of course, knowing anything from personal observation about the respective merits of the different servants, approves my sending it on to you.

Trusting that it will meet with your approval.

Yours truly,

Ernest A. Griffiths

5. W.J. Kenny to Satow [handwritten, p.10 in file]

British Consulate,

Anping.

January 29, 1897.

Dear Sir Ernest,

I was delayed five days at HongKong waiting for the mail steamer to Formosa – the “Thales” – which is the only ship running regularly to this Port. I called on the Governor, and saw the Admiral, who promised to send over a ship later on, if he could spare one.

Professor [William K.] Burton<sup>2</sup> of Tōkiō was in HongKong at the time inspecting the Sanitary arrangements there for the Japanese Government. (I went around with him one day.) He has also been to Shanghai and Singapore, and is drawing up a report for the guidance of the Government in dealing with Sanitary matters in Formosa – rather a difficult task where congested cities like Tainan are concerned.

I met nearly all the community here on arrival, and found Mr. Griffiths very well, and full of work. We are going to Tainan tomorrow (Saturday) to call on the Governor, and on Monday to Takow to see the place, and remove the archives to this Consulate. In the meantime I have taken over, and am making the acquaintance of the Japanese officials by degrees.

Yesterday evening (10 o'clock) the following telegram arrived: “Half-mast flag on Second Seventh and eighth.” I shall notify you officially in reply when this has been done.

There is nothing for me to write about this mail, as Mr. Griffiths has apparently kept everything up to date. The matter of the redistribution of the servants' wages I leave to the recommendations of my predecessors, as I know nothing yet as to the merits of the individuals on the Staff.

Anping is at first sight a melancholy place, but the residents here assure me that the longer one stays in it, the more one likes it. The Consulate doctor (Myers) prefers Takow, and recommends me to go there whenever I feel unwell, but I believe he only likes it

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<sup>2</sup> William Kinninmond Burton (1856-99) was a Scottish engineer who designed the Ryōunkaku, the first skyscraper in Japan, and founded the first Photographic Society in Japan. See Olive Checkland, ‘W.K. Burton, 1856-99: ‘Engineer Extraordinaire’ in Hugh Cortazzi (ed.), *Britain & Japan: Biographical Portraits*, Volume IV, Japan Library, 2002.

because he happens to be living there. The Consulate at Anping is sadly in need of internal repair, (and I hear the building in Takow is in a very bad condition indeed), but there is quite room enough here for two bachelors.

Yours very truly,

W. J. Kenny

P.S. On my way over from Amoy a Mr. Bruce, head of the firm of Tait & Co., who was on a visit to the Branch here, told me that an agreement had lately been entered into between Marquis Ito [Hirobumi] & Messrs. Samuel Samuel & Co. whereby the latter would obtain the monopoly of the Opium Imports made in Formosa, charging 1% (with no other profits) on the total value imported. I do not know how true this may be, nor when the agreement is supposed to take effect, but I merely give the statement for what it may be worth. W.J.K.

6. Kenny to Satow [handwritten, p. 12]

[opium merchants want \$1,000]

British Consulate,

Anping.

February 11, 1897.

Dear Sir Ernest,

The advices from the two firms in HongKong referred to in my despatch No. 15 were from Sassoon & Co. and Tata & Co. to Tait & Co. here, and were acknowledged by Mr. Mizuno this morning to be more or less correct. He seems to be very favourably disposed towards foreigners, but is hampered very much he says, by want of money. He said however, he could arrange, either through the Mitsui Bussan Kaisha, who with Messrs. Samuel Samuel & Co. appear to be financing the Monopoly at present, or directly to purchase the Stock here at current HongKong prices, but this would never do, as they are buying in HongKong, I am told, at \$600 a chest, and the Merchants want \$1000. Beyond this Mr. Mizuno could not be induced to commit himself, but he promised to do what he could for the merchants on his return to Taipeh. It was something that he seemed to recognize, a certain responsibility on the part of his Government for the opium remaining unsaleable, and I hope he will be able to find the money soon to buy it up without bargaining too much about the price.

As to Camphor, he said he had visited the Camphor districts around Chip Chip, Hoonun [Hunliu?] and Polisia on his way down, and was very much pleased to find the country

quite settled now, the stills all working, and the industry apparently in full swing. However, I told him no Camphor worth speaking of is coming into Anping, and that foreign merchants still complain that they are not allowed to carry on the business before in their own names. Nobody has been in the interior for months, and it is difficult to get any idea as to the actual condition of things. Mr. Bain (Bain & Co.) the leading merchant here asked me this morning whether I could not arrange a fortnight's trip with him to the Camphor districts, so that we could see and note everything for ourselves. We should have to start before the end of this month, so as to get back before the rainy season, after which travelling is not so pleasant. I said if you would approve of my leaving my post for that time for that purpose I should be very glad indeed to go. We would have to rough it somewhat, but the trip would be most interesting, and I am sure very useful. As there is not time for a letter to reach me so soon may I ask you to kindly telegraph your reply as to whether I may go or not. I could easily arrange to do the trip, almost between Mails, and would leave Mr. Griffiths in charge or acting as you direct.

The Chinese here are in a great state of consternation since Mr. Mizuno's proclamation (issued two days ago). They are to be made Japanese subjects after the 8<sup>th</sup> of May, with the option however of remaining as they are, in which latter case, Mr. Mizuno told me, they will not be allowed to own any real property. Many are preparing to leave the country as they are afraid the Jap[ane]se mean to cut their pigtails off after that date. I have been asked whether this is true and have had great difficulty in reassuring them to the contrary. I am getting the Proclamation which is in Chinese & has only just reached my hands, carefully translated, & will forward it to you, as it may have a bearing on the future position of Compradores of foreign firms who transact all the business of the merchants in the interior.

I omitted to include in my last note that the Governor and other officials expressed their very great appreciation of Mr. Griffiths in his intercourse with them.

Yours very truly,

W.J. Kenny

7. Kenny to Satow [handwritten, p. 14]

[Recd. 9 March]

British Consulate,  
Anping.

Feb 20, 1897.

Dear Sir Ernest,

The Government seem to be pursuing a strange course in the matter of opium. The Country is over-supplied with the drug already by smugglers (hence the unsaleability of the stocks in bond here) and yet on top of this the Government are importing all the opium they can buy at HongKong. There seem to be only two explanations of this in the face of the Prohibition of last year and Mr Mizuno's recent Proclamation – either the Tōkiō authorities are ignorant of the operations of their agents, who, I hear are simply advancing them the money to be repaid hereafter with interest & commission, or they intend to check smuggling into Formosa by underselling, at of course enormous loss to themselves. In either case the Merchant here finds himself in a worse position every day as regards the prospects of selling (now he is absolutely unable to sell at any price), but his case against the Government grows so much the stronger. Up to the present the Govt. has only imported into Tamsui, and it is to be hoped that when the new regulations come into force they will utilize the stocks here before attempting to import into Tainan. The sooner that happens, the better pleased will be the merchants, provided they do not lose by the transaction.

I hear that all sorts of rumours are current amongst the Chinese as to what will happen to them after the 8<sup>th</sup> of May. Their cues (they think) are to be cut off, and their children all sent to school in Japanese clothes and taught to speak only Japanese, that all the Chinamen in Formosa are to be prevented from leaving the Country for 10 years – and so on. Mr. Mizuno's proclamation might have been more explicit, but perhaps he will issue a fuller one later on.

I have just got the Trade Returns for last year made up at the Customs. They are not as full as they might be, but the officials did their best, and say they will be able to get out a printed Return next year.

We received news here yesterday of the death (suicide) of a Mr. Petersen who made a trip into the interior a few months ago, and who complained, as you may remember, of having been interfered with by the local officials in the Camphor districts. He was attacked by robbers at the time and it is supposed that the experience affected his mind.

The local offices here seem to be in a state of disorganization, especially the Post Office. Two letters came overland within the past week, one (private) torn open, and the other (a despatch from yourself about the rates for Trade Reports) apparently, I almost suspect from its appearance, tampered with. I took the envelopes around to the Post Master for an

explanation. He said, after a cursory look at them, that of course one had come open of itself through getting wet, and that the other had got torn open on the way through friction with the other letters in the mail box coming over land. I had to ask him kindly to make his investigations and give me an explanation afterwards.

Yours very truly,

W.J. Kenny

8. Kenny to Satow [handwritten, p. 18 in file]

British Consulate,

Anping.

March 4, 1897.

Dear Sir Ernest,

There is nothing special to report since my last private letter, except that the local officials have become very assiduous in the matter of measuring foreign lots and investigating title deeds. They have not, however, raised any questions as yet. The Customs' Returns for last year which I mentioned as having been sent in some time ago, did not include Takow, as I discovered on examination, and the Customs' officials have not yet been able to make out accurate and complete returns for the two ports. They complain of being shorthanded, although the Chinese Customs did the same work better with one fifth of the number of men (8 and 40).

Preparation for going up country here is quite a formidable matter compared with Japan. One has to bring everything with one, including a camp-bed and soda-water; the latter is substitute for water, which, I am told, is quite undrinkable and not even fit to bathe in, in most of the country we pass through.

It will take us three days to get to Hunlim, a day to Chip-Chip from there, and another day and a half to Polisia, which is in the hills about 20 miles north of Chip-Chip. There are houses owned by foreigners in the first two places, where we can stop unless they have been taken possession of, but we shall probably have to camp out at Polisia, which is a very wild place by all accounts.

As to the object of the trip, besides exploration, Mr. Bain may wish to transact business in camphor as before under the Chinese regime, in which case it would be interesting to note the attitude of the local officials towards him.

I cannot find the copy of the Naigai Shogyō Shimpō which contained the Opium

Ordinance. It has disappeared since I made the translation, and I regret not being able to enclose it in my despatch No. 19. The Official Gazette of Jan. 20, however, contains the original.

Mr. Mizuno, I hear, leaves for Tōkiō on the 6<sup>th</sup> instant, and will be absent about one month.

Yours very truly,

W.J. Kenny

9. Kenny to Satow [handwritten, p. 20 in file]

British Consulate,

Anping.

March 26, 1897.

[“ans. 14/4/97” – see below]

Dear Sir Ernest,

Mr. Arthur has asked me to explain to you – about camphor tax receipts – that he was under the impression, when he spoke to you, that they were made out in foreigners’ names, or in the name of the Hong [merchant house, company]. He finds since that this is not so, and regrets that, owing to not being able to read Chinese, he unintentionally misled you.

The impression amongst the Chinese about the 8<sup>th</sup> of May is, that the Japanese Government intend to confiscate their property unless they become Japanese subjects. Our office writer, Mr. Akow, who owns a house and a wife and family at Takow, asks my advice as to what he is to do with his house (He will send his wife and family to Amoy if they are not allowed to remain in Takow as Chinese). I cannot tell him. I can only advise him to wait, and, at the last moment, if necessary, he can save his house by putting it into the name of a naturalised Japanese.

The Prefect informed me yesterday that a disease similar to the Plague had broken out quite recently in Tainan. Out of 8 cases 7 died and 1 recovered. I hope it does not spread.

We received (Mr. Bain & I) our passports yesterday for the whole of Formosa, but Chip-Chip and Polisia, the very places we want to go to, were carefully excluded as being unsafe. As Mr. Mizuno assured me that they were quite safe I have written asking that they be included. The weather is very hot here just now, but we have always a cool breeze in the evening. Yours very truly, W.J. Kenny

10. E.A. Griffiths to Satow [handwritten, p. 22 in file]

[Recd. April 20.]

Anping

7 April 1897

Dear Sir Ernest Satow

Mr. Kenny and Mr. Bain left for the interior early on the 29<sup>th</sup> ulto. [last month] after visiting Kagi, Unrin (Tanlak), Hunlin & Chip Chip they arrived at Polisia (Horioku) on Monday the 5<sup>th</sup> after, according to a telegram received by Mr. Arthur from Mr. Bain, a very pleasant and in every way satisfactory journey. In a letter to Mr. Arthur dated from Rinkipo (Hunlin) on the 2<sup>nd</sup> instant Mr. Bain says that on arriving at kagi the Sub prefect and staff with Police Escort were awaiting them at the City Gate, a mounted escort of gendarmes having previously met them about 2 miles from the City. Referring to their visit to Tanlak Mr. Bain says: "Sub prefect most civil. Splendid quarters ready for us at the Prefecture."

With regard to the camphor business Mr. Bain says: "Gave ARee (the compradore) \$100 in notes to pay tax on 10 boxes. Got receipt back." This was at Tanlak. On reaching Hunlin [Hunliu?] "Went to Tax office with receipt and official came to the Hong and weighed the camphor. Everything in order and ARee much pleased." From Hunlin they were accompanied by a Military Escort as the roads are still infested with robbers.

H.M.S. "Grafton" called here last Saturday (the 3<sup>rd</sup>) but only stayed about two hours. Admiral Oxley kindly asked me to tiffin.

With regard to the tonnage dues Mr. Watanabe the Commissioner of Customs here has frequently expressed regret at being unable to make the refund owing to the Authorities at Taipeh not sending him the money. The claims for refund at Tamsui were paid some months ago.

Enclose a letter which I received two or three days ago from Mr. Watanabe on the subject of the refund.

The new Spanish Consul for this district is now in HongKong. He is expected here in about ten days time.

Yours very truly

Ernest A. Griffiths

Enclosed letter from Watanabe [handwritten with printed letterhead, p. 24 in file]



CUSTOM HOUSE,

TAINAN, 31 March 1897

Dear Mr. Griffiths

I am sorry that I cannot give you the exact rate of refund of Tonnage dues, and so far as I heard while in Tokio the refund was to be made out of a certain fund of War Department and the amount was to be forwarded for distribution to the Government at Taipeh as soon as the usual formalities were gone through.

Of course the refund will be made, but I cannot say when, though I think it shall not take a long time.

Yours truly,

N.[M?] Watanabe

11. Satow replies to Kenny [handwritten draft or copy, p. 26 in file]

Tokio

14 April 1897

My d[ea]r. Kenny

Mr. Arthur's explanation is quite satisfactory & makes it clear to me that the foreign firms were not recognized as the manufacturers of camphor. In fact, they did not own it until its delivery to them at the port of shipment.

I shall prob[ably]. write in a note about the fine of double duty sought to be imposed on Dinshaw's compradore, as reported in your no. 21.

I met Midzuno at dinner recently<sup>3</sup>, & said that I hoped the purchase of opium fr[om]. the foreigners w[ou]ld. be settled. He replied that he had promised you. If the holders can get \$1000, I should advise them to settle for that price.

It is difficult for me to interfere about the question of Chinese who elect to remain in Formosa & yet decline to become Japanese subjects. The Jap[ane]se. I think have an entire right to do what they like in the matter. But you should do all you can for Akow, on the ground that he is in the Br[itish]. Gov[ernmen]t. employ. Compradores of foreign firms who do not become Jap[ane]se. S[ubject]s. will have to submit to whatever conditions are imposed on them. Midzuno is coming to dine with me [at the Legation] on the 19<sup>th</sup>,<sup>4</sup> and I

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<sup>3</sup> On April 8<sup>th</sup> Satow dined with Yokoyama Magoichirō and others including "Midzuno of Formosa" at the Imperial Hotel. (Diary, Ruxton, 2003, p. 173)

<sup>4</sup> "19 April Dinner here. Sir A. Croft, Inagaki Manjirō, Midzuno, Shitagō, and Colonel Fukushima." (Diary, Ruxton, 2003, p. 175)

will see what I can do to induce him fr[om]. troubling these compradores, but Japan having conquered Taiwan fr[om]. the Chinese are by international law free to do as they like. They are not bound by the Treaty betw[een]. G.B. & China, & the F.O. inform me that I must not assume that anything other than what is contained in our Treaty is claimable as of right. Only, the property in land & houses acquired by foreigners before the cession the Jap[ane]se. have agreed not to touch.

I hope you have had an interesting trip into the interior.

y.v.t.

P.S. I sail for England on the 7<sup>th</sup> May.<sup>5</sup>

12. Griffiths to Satow [handwritten, p. 27]

Anping

April 17. 1897

Dear Sir Ernest Satow,

With reference to my telegram of the 10<sup>th</sup> instant concerning the outbreak of “pest” in Tainan, I have since received a despatch from the Prefect, dated the 15<sup>th</sup> instant informing me that the total number of cases up to that date was sixty four of which fifty resulted in death. The number of cases, considering the size and population of the city of Tainan does not appear to be very high (the disease having first appeared about the middle of last month) but the death rate is pretty considerable, and in view of the possible exodus of Chinese from this district, which may take place before the 8<sup>th</sup> of May, the date on which they have to choose their future nationality, I deemed it my duty to telegraph to you, so that should you consider it necessary, the HongKong Government might be advised in the matter. Of course the exodus, should it take place, will not be to HongKong but to the mainland, - Amoy and in some cases Swatow, but the germs of disease might possibly remain in the ship which takes over the passengers and be carried on to HongKong.

With regard to the 8<sup>th</sup> of May great uncertainty prevails among the Chinese in this District. They can apparently obtain no definite information from the authorities here as to what is exactly to happen. They cannot ascertain for certain whether they will be allowed to live in Tainan and retain their own nationality or whether all Chinese on the island, irrespective of place of residence, will have to become Japanese if they elect to remain in Formosa. In the latter event many Chinese will leave for the Mainland.

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<sup>5</sup> The *Empress of India* sailed at noon that day with Satow aboard. (Diary, Ruxton, 2003, p. 181)

Mr. Kenny is in Tamsui. I hear he is sick and in the hands of the doctor there.

Mr. Longford writes me that you are returning to England at the beginning of next month on leave of absence. May I take this opportunity of wishing you a pleasant trip.

Yours very truly

Ernest A. Griffiths

13. W.J. Kenny to Satow [handwritten, p. 29 in file]

[recd. Mar. 6]

Twatutia

April 25, 1897.

Dear Sir Ernest,

We arrived here on the 12<sup>th</sup> and I telegraphed to you on the 14<sup>th</sup> that I was resting here for a fortnight under doctor's orders. My arm is nearly well now, and I am leaving this afternoon for Anping via Amoy. During the interval I have negotiated the purchase of opium stocks by the Government at a price with which everybody seems to be satisfied. This encourages me to broach the camphor question to Mr. Sugimura, who is the authority on the subject to whom the Formosan authorities look for information, but, as the enclosed despatch will show, the results have not been quite so satisfactory. All the private instructions to the local officials seem to emanate from Mr. Sugimura, and he told me that the only instructions that he had sent and could send were that foreign compradores were to be interfered with as little as possible.

Talking about Count Okuma's proposal that foreigners were only to be allowed one year within which to wind up their camphor affairs in the interior, Mr. Sugimura made a (to me) curious statement. He said the proposal was originally the German Minister's, and Count Okuma merely adopted it, and on my expressing a doubt as to this he referred to a document which was apparently a translation of what the German Minister is supposed to have said, and read it aloud for me. What he read was a proposal which was the same in substance as Count Okuma's.

There seems to be nothing but misunderstandings and contradictions surrounding the camphor question. Dr. Merz is as much puzzled as I am myself to discover the real intentions of the Government as regards camphor. Mr. Sugimura denied most strenuously that the Government were aiming at a Camphor monopoly, but everything seems to point that way.

Dr. Merz and myself share the same views. He said he was anxious to cooperate with me, and was quite open with me in showing everything that has passed between his Minister himself and the Formosan Authorities. In return I wrote him a letter, of which I enclose a copy herewith, giving the result of my interview with Mr. Sugimura, and he sent me a reply, which I enclose in original showing that his information and mine are the same.

Mr. Bonar tells me that he sent you a letter from Dr. Merz some time ago (I think the end of February) which said that he had been informed that instructions as to the 'status quo' had been received here, but if this is so, the situation has entirely changed since.

I have just heard that a Mr. Ohly, partner in the firm of Butter[?] & Co, who is on his way out here now, has written to say that Dr. Grünwald told him just before leaving Berlin that the camphor question had been settled with the German Government. Mr. Schabert, another partner in the firm, who lives here, is responsible for this piece of information.

I am afraid it is rather irregular to write official despatches while away on leave, but I thought it right to report to you on pending matters before you left for home, which I could not do after my return to Anping. I have marked the despatches special so that they can take their place in the register without disturbing the continuity of the numbers.

The officials in the different places we passed through were most attentive and courteous. They took all arrangements about travelling and lodging completely out of our hands and seemed as if they thought they could not do enough for us. At every place we were met outside by all the local heads, including those of the gendarmes, soldiers and police, a body of the latter being often drawn up by the side of the road to salute as we passed. So much unexpected attention quite embarrassed us, and I exhausted my stock of polite Japanese phrases in acknowledging all this civility.

I afterwards heard that special instructions had been sent to all the places along our route from Taipeh. I called on the Governor-General, and all the heads of Departments here and myself and Mr. Bain were very well received. We dined at the Governor-General's one evening, and he sent me next morning a number of savage curios which he thought I admired.

Taipeh (or Taihoku as the Japanese call it) promises to become in the course of time the model city of Japan. It was laid out by the Chinese Governor in wide paved streets provided with several cut stone tracks for carts – and splendid yamen<sup>6</sup> which the Japanese utilize as

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<sup>6</sup> In the Chinese Empire, a 'yamen' 衙門 was the residence or office of a public official. Typically the bureaucrat and his immediate family lived in a residence attached to the *yamen*. The word first

offices and official residences. It is quite refreshing after a trip from the South to come to a place where the Japanese seem to have made themselves at home. The interior from Tainan to Taichu is all desolation and we did not meet with more than 100 Japanese (outside officials) in nearly twice that number of miles, and these were evidently of the lowest class.

I shall send a report of the trip after my return to Anping.

I propose with your sanction to draw my travelling expenses which amount to about \$200, as the trip was really undertaken on public service.

With best wishes for a good voyage home and a pleasant vacation, believe me,

Dear Sir Ernest,

Yours very truly,

W.J. Kenny

P.S. The celebration of the Golden Jubilee at the Consulate at Tamsui was a great success (on St. George's day April 23). W.J.K.

Copy of Kenny's letter to Dr. Merz [handwritten, p. 35]

Copy

Twatutia

April 21, 1897

Dear Dr. Merz,

I return herewith the document you so kindly lent me with many thanks.

I had a long interview with Mr. Sugimura this afternoon about the Camphor question. He has got no instructions from Tōkiō that the status quo ante is to be maintained pending the discussion and settlement of this question, and he moreover informed me that he had written to his government & received a reply that there was no understanding to that effect.

The Formosan Government and the local officials are now acting under the Camphor Regulations of June 20 last year which provide in effect that nobody who has not yet applied for and obtained a licence to work camphor before the 31<sup>st</sup> of March last, will be allowed to engage in the manufacture after that date. Only 3 Chinamen, I am informed, have obtained licences, and none of these so far as I have been able to ascertain, are compradores of foreigners. The Formosan Government, therefore, completely ignore or are left in ignorance of any understanding between our respective Ministers & the Japanese Foreign Minister, and the local officials have the power under the Regulations to stop at

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appeared in English during the Ching dynasty.

any moment all camphor manufacture at the stills (erected by foreigners' money) – the workers not being in possession of licences.

Mr. Sugimura, however, showed me instructions that had been sent to local officials that foreign compradores were to be interfered with as little as possible.

We talked about minor camphor matters but the above is the most serious feature of the situation. I shall write to my Minister [Ernest Satow] about the subject, and in the meantime place this information at your disposal.

Hoping etc.

s[igne]d W.J. Kenny

Reply to Kenny from Dr. Merz [handwritten, p. 37]

Kaiserlich Deutsches Konsulat für Formosa [printed letterhead]

Tamsui-Twatutia, 23<sup>rd</sup> April 1897

Dear Mr. Kenny,

Very many thanks for giving me the valuable information regarding the camphor trade. What you gathered from Mr. Mizuno agrees with what he told me at an interview the other day. I am glad that your Minister now will know too what we have to expect from the Japanese authorities in that matter, if our Governments will not insist in strict and explicit instructions being given to the Formosan authorities.

With kind regards from us all,

Yours sincerely,

C. Merz

14. Ernest A. Griifiths to Chargé d'affaires G.A. Lowther<sup>7</sup> (handwritten, p. 38 in file)

Anping,

October 22. 1897.

Dear Mr. Lowther

Mr. Kirkwood has not yet come South but on his arrival I will do everything I can to facilitate his obtaining the information he requires. Unfortunately, the oldest resident and perhaps the one best qualified to give him the information, Mr. Bain, is at present absent

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<sup>7</sup> Lowther was Chargé d'affaires at the Tokyo Legation while Satow was in England for Queen Victoria's Diamond Jubilee. She had come to the throne in 1837.

from Anping. He may however return before Mr. Kirkwood arrives.

The weather has been very warm and oppressive of late and unless Kenny is quite well I do not think it would be wise for him, in view of a possible relapse, to return just yet.

Complaints are being made here by the Chinese about the treatment of prisoners in the gaol and a few days ago a Petition was sent in to the authorities by the leading Chinese in the City concerning the length of time prisoners are kept in gaol before being brought to trial. An employ   of Bain & Co. was arrested on the 27<sup>th</sup> of August for a contravention of the Opium Regulations. He was left in gaol for seven weeks without trial and then died. On his body being removed for burial by his friends it was found that the cue had been cut off, that the body was so emaciated as to be almost unrecognisable and the legs were covered with ulcers, some full of maggots. He had previously, some three weeks before his death, told a friend who visited him in prison that he was constantly beaten and otherwise ill-treated.

At the request of Messrs. Bain & Co. I have written to the Prefect about the matter and hope some good may result from the enquiry which will doubtless be made.

Yours very truly

Ernest A. Griffiths

15. Griffiths to Lowther [handwritten, p. 40 in file]

[recd. & ansd. Nov. 20]

Anping.

November 5. 1897

Dear Mr. Lowther,

Your telegram which was dated 10 a.m. 30<sup>th</sup> ult. did not reach me until midnight on the 31<sup>st</sup>. I therefore telegraphed to ask if I should half-mast the flag on the 1<sup>st</sup>, 2<sup>nd</sup> or 4<sup>th</sup>, the 3<sup>rd</sup> being the Emperor's Birthday. As I received no reply I concluded there was no objection to my doing so and I therefore half-masted the flag on the first and second and again on the fourth. I had no procedures here to follow and trust that I did not do wrong. The British and foreign firms as well as the local branch of the Osaka Shosen Kwaisha here also half-masted their flags.

On the 3<sup>rd</sup> – the Emperor's Birthday – I called upon the Prefect, Mr. Isogai [磯谷?]. He had only that morning returned to Tainan from Taip  h where he had been staying for some time. He told me that Mr. Kirkwood and Dr. Myers (the local adviser of the Govt.) were

both in Taipeh when he left, that the former intended to remain there for some time longer and to come down South overland about the end of the month. Dr. Myers, he said, had recently delivered a very interesting address on the administration of the Island at a Conference of the Governor General and all the Prefects. Dr. Myers, whose lecture (translated into and read in Japanese by a Mr. Yasuda an ex-M.P. now an official of high rank (Jimu-kwan) in the Govt. Genl.) occupied about two hours, advocates as he himself wrote to me “a resumption of the old system of patriarchal Government as before the Japanese arrived.” Mr. Isogai told me all were much impressed with the lecture and that the Governor-General has given orders for experiments to commence at once in the Hozan Prefecture & Dr. Myers has been officially directed to assist the Prefect in carrying them out.

The weather has been very warm lately and if the heat continues I am afraid Mr. Kirkwood will not have a very pleasant journey overland.

Yours very truly,

Ernest A. Griffiths

16. Griffiths to Lowther [handwritten, p. 42 in file]

Anping.

December 2. 1897.

Dear Mr. Lowther,

I have not replied to Mr. Sone's despatch respecting the camphor industry carried on by foreigners in the interior beyond merely acknowledging its receipt and informing Mr. Sone<sup>8</sup> that I have referred the question to you, as I did not know how far I should be justified in combating the position taken up by the Govt. General as regards the manufacturer of camphor by foreigners, in view of the fact that Count Okuma in his despatch to you of the 2<sup>nd</sup> October does not refer either to the manufacture or purchase of camphor specifically but to the camphor trade generally.

Foreigners, it is true, cannot bring documentary evidence to prove that they have hitherto manufactured camphor in their own names, but I do not see how the Govt. General can assert that they do not recognise that the stills have been erected by foreigners, in the face of the fact that it has been entirely with foreigners' capital and that of their

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<sup>8</sup> Sone Shizuo 曾根静夫 (1845-1903). Head of the Public Welfare Bureau (*Minseikyoku*) in the Government General (*Sōtokufu*) of Taiwan, 1897-8.



compradores that the stills have been erected.

For instance in the case of Bain & Co. the capital invested is about \$40,000, half of which has been invested by Bain and half by his compradore. If, for the future, they are only permitted to purchase camphor, the capital they have sunk will, unless compensation is made to them, be entirely lost.

Under the circumstances I fail to understand how the status quo would be maintained if the Govt. General's proposals are accepted.

Admiral Buller arrived in the "Alacrity" from Amoy on the 27<sup>th</sup> ulto. and left for HongKong via Swatow on the 29<sup>th</sup>. I called upon him on the day of his arrival. He intended to come ashore the following day but owing to bad weather was obliged to leave the port without landing.

Mr. Kirkwood is now in Hozan and is expected here in a few days.

Yours very truly

Ernest A. Griffiths

17. Griffiths to Satow [handwritten, p. 44 in file]

[Ans. 25/1]

HM's Consulate

Anping. Decbr. 11. 1897

Dear Sir Ernest Satow,

I received your telegram of the 9<sup>th</sup> yesterday morning and at once replied to it that Consular Fees are collected here in Mexican Dollars.

The telegram said "Repeat to Tainan." This I took to mean Tamsui and so repeated it to the Consul there.

Mexican dollars, silver yen and paper notes are the only money at present in use in South Formosa.

The local agency of the HongKong and Shanghai Bank keep their accounts in Mexican Dollars. Amounts due to the Japanese Government Departments such as Post and Telegraph charges as well as Customs duties must be paid in satsu or clean (unchopped) silver yen. There is no gold in circulation here as yet, nor have I seen the specially stamped silver yen, which were reported to have been sent over to Formosa to replace the silver coins now in use.

Mr. Kirkwood is at present in Tainan where he arrived three days ago. I was present last

night at a Japanese dinner given to him by the Prefect. Besides Mr. Isogai (the Prefect) Mr. Kirkwood and myself General Hishijima<sup>9</sup> & his staff, and the two Secretaries of the Ken and Public Prosecutor were present this evening. Mr. Kirkwood comes to Anping and will stay with me two or three days before proceeding to the Pescadores.

Yours very truly

Ernest A. Griffiths

18. Griffiths to Satow [handwritten, p. 46 in file]

Anping

December 30, 1897.

Dear Sir Ernest Satow,

Mr. Kirkwood left here for Kagi and the North last Monday (27<sup>th</sup>). He had spent about three weeks in these parts, at first in Tainan, then a week with me in Anping and a week in the Pescadores. On his return to Anping he stayed only one night and early the following morning left for Tainan on his overland journey North. He intends visiting all the district offices (bemmusho [弁務処 or 弁務所]) on the way and is evidently making a very thorough investigation into the system of administration.

We have been having very rough weather of late on these coasts, and on the 24<sup>th</sup> a Japanese steamer – the “Nara maru” from Kobe was wrecked on the Pescadores near to the place where the “Bokhara” was lost in October 1892. Kirkwood brought over the news but, as no steamer has arrived since and as telegraphic communication between this and the Pescadores is interrupted, we have had no details of the disaster. Between eighty and a hundred lives are supposed to have been lost.

The interior of Formosa, particularly in the Hozan district and the districts between Tainan in the south and Kagi in the centre of the Island, is still much disturbed by the presence of armed robbers, and the transaction of any business between this and the interior is difficult and dangerous. Mr. Kirkwood is of course travelling with an escort of gensd’armes and police.

I am very glad to hear from Mr. Lowther that he intends paying a visit to Anping next month.

I am writing to him c/o the Consulate at Tamsui, advising him as to the movements of steamers between this port, Amoy and HongKong.

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<sup>9</sup> Lieutenant General Hishijima Yoshiteru 比志島義輝 (1848-1927)

Yours very truly

Ernest A. Griffiths

19. Griffiths to Satow [handwritten, p. 48 in file]

[Ans 25/1]

Anping.

January 8, 1898.

Dear Sir Ernest Satow,

Should you approve the Telegraph Expenses (statement of which I am sending by this post), may I ask you to kindly send your sanction direct to the Foreign Office so as to avoid the delay of nearly a month which would otherwise take place before it could reach London.

Your telegram of the 31<sup>st</sup> December "Is Kirkwood at Anping and well" reached me on the morning of the 1<sup>st</sup>. I replied the same morning and was much surprised to find from your subsequent telegram of the 3<sup>rd</sup> – which reached me at 7 p.m. on the 4<sup>th</sup> – that you had not received my answer. I am informed by the Telegraph office here that my telegram was sent off to Tokio immediat[e]ly, but that it was probably delayed en route owing to pressure of business at the New Year.

On the night of the 30<sup>th</sup> Decbr. a rather serious case of robbery took place in the village of Anping. About twenty armed robbers broke into the house of a native employé of the Customs and got away with about \$800 in money besides other booty, the occupant of the house being slightly wounded in the head.

The police were unable to effect any arrest at the time, but the Superintendent informs me that two men have since been arrested and a portion of the money and some of the things stolen have been recovered. The robbers come from a district about four or five miles to the north of Anping – a well-known nest of pirates and a constant source of trouble under the Chinese régime. In the early days before foreigners settled in Anping the Anping fishermen suffered constantly at their hands and towards the end of 1866 a party of the pirates raided Anping "plundered, ravished and rioted for three days and then returned unmolested to their own stronghold." (Mr. Wattson[?])

The recent robbery in Anping would seem to show that they have not got over their propensities for robbery and violence and I am afraid they will continue to provide a source of trouble to the authorities.

Yours very truly

Ernest A. Griffiths

20. Griffiths to Satow [handwritten, p. 50 in file]

Anping.

February 2. 1898.

Dear Sir Ernest Satow,

In looking over my despatch No. 4 respecting the falling off in the Export of camphor in South Formosa. I find that in comparing 1894 returns with those of 1895, I had overlooked the fact the withdrawal from the South of Messrs. Butler & Co. considerably affected the export of camphor in the latter year, and I have therefore added a marginal note to the despatch showing what the actual decrease is if Messrs. Butler's figures are omitted. Messrs. Mehta & Co. a wealthy Parsee firm of Bombay, HongKong, Canton, Foochow & Amoy did not consider it worth their while to continue business any longer in Formosa and closed their branch here in June last year.

The returns I enclose in my despatch refer, of course, to the export of camphor from South Formosa only. I have not been able to get any statistics as to the amount exported from the Northern Port during the past year but I see from Mr. Bonar's Trade Report for 1896 that, instead of a decline in the trade, there was a very considerable increase in the amount of camphor exported from Tamsui during that year as compared with the amount exported during 1895. The figures as given by Mr. Bonar being:-

1895 - cwts. 23,696 = £98,905

1896. cwts, 37,269 = £194,221.

Messrs. Butler & Co., I believe, carry on a large camphor business in the North but there are no British firms to my knowledge interested in the camphor trade in that district.

On the 28<sup>th</sup> ultimo I sent you a telegram asking for instructions as to the Dollar Rate for this quarter. I have only a few dollars in the Bank Agency here and do not know at what rate to draw upon the Treasury chest in HongKong.

Yours very truly

Ernest A. Griffiths

21. Griffiths to Satow [handwritten, p. 52 in file]

[ans 2/3/98]

Anping

February 9. 1998

Dear Sir Ernest Satow,

I have received your despatch enclosing copy of the new Minute about Examinations, also your kind note of the 25<sup>th</sup> January referring to the same subject.

I hope to be able to pass the interpreters' examination in the course of a few months after which I should like with your permission and if the exigencies of the Service will permit, to proceed to England on home leave of absence. I have not yet applied to you officially as I hear there is at present some difficulty in granting home leave and that Chalmers, who is due before me, has to wait a little longer before he can get his. I am quite well, too and in that respect have no need of any immediate change.

A few days ago I came across for the first time one of the silver yen specially "chopped" by the Mint for use in Formosa, and I am told there are now many of them in circulation here. The Government offices (Customs & Posts and Telegraphs) accept them in payment of fees, dues &c. at a fixed discount of 3 sen 6 rin on each yen.

There is no gold in circulation here as yet.

The Office of Works are at last going to commence the work of repairing the Takow Consulate residence. Mr. Cowan has sent me a most elaborate plan with specifications of the work required and is anxious to get estimates locally as quickly as possible. The repairs which consist in building an entirely new roof and a new brick verandah will be a pretty big undertaking.

Yours very truly

Ernest A. Griffiths

22. Griffiths to Satow [handwritten, p. 54 in file]

Anping.

February 28. 1898.

Dear Sir Ernest Satow,

Your private letter of the 16<sup>th</sup> reached me yesterday. Mr. Lowther's telegram of the 25<sup>th</sup> October respecting the obtaining of funds by bills on the Chief Clerk F.O. instead of from the Treasury Chest, HongKong never reached me. I made enquiries this morning at the Telegraph Office and was informed that no such telegram had been received by them and that the only telegrams addressed to me which they had received from Tokio during

October were one on the 23<sup>rd</sup> (from Mr. Kenny informing me of his appointment as Acting Consul Gen[era]l. in Hawaii) and one from Mr. Lowther dated Octr. 30 (recd. here on the 31<sup>st</sup>) instructing me to half mast the flag for the Duchess of Teck.<sup>10</sup>

Your telegram and private letter as well as Circular No. 4 have made the matter quite clear to me, except as regards payments to writers and servants. These I have up to the present made in silver dollars, there being no gold yen in circulation here. I presume servants' wages are now to be paid in gold yen or their equivalent here in dollars or chopped silver yen but I shall be obliged if you will kindly send me instructions on this point. I telegraphed in this sense on the 25<sup>th</sup> instant.

Last week I went down to Takow to see about getting estimates for the repairs and alterations to the Consulate residence there. I found it sadly in need of repairs and am glad the Office of Works have decided to thoroughly overhaul it. The house is at present practically uninhabitable and I stayed for the few days I was in Takow at Dr. Myers'. I took the opportunity of going out to Hozan – the seat of the Prefecture (Hozan Ken) and called upon the Prefect – Mr. Kinoshita Shuichi and the other local officials, as well as upon Lieut. Colonel Yasumura, the Head of the 6<sup>th</sup> Regiment stationed at Hozan. The latter I found, had brought a letter of introduction to me from Mr. Yamashita Yutaro, the Chief Prosecutor of the Osaka Appeal Court and formerly of the District Court at Kobe, with whom I was on very friendly terms while we were together in Kobe.

Hozan is about 6 or 7 miles from Takow and is garrisoned by about 600 men – a third of a regiment in Formosa.

During my absence a raid was made on several houses (native) in the village by a band of about 20 robbers who managed to get away with \$2000-\$3000. I have not heard of any arrest having been made as yet. The streets are now patrolled at night by Japanese police armed with swords and rifles, as well as by native assistants armed with long sticks.

No danger from robbers is anticipated as regards foreigners, the Police station being situated on the Bund within a stone's throw of all the foreign houses.

Yours very truly

Ernest A. Griffiths

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<sup>10</sup> Princess Mary Adelaide Wilhelmina Elizabeth of Cambridge (27 November 1833 – 27 October 1897) was a member of the British Royal Family, a granddaughter of King George III and great-grandmother of Queen Elizabeth II. She held the title of Duchess of Teck through marriage. Mary Adelaide is remembered as the mother of Queen Mary, the consort of King George V. She was one of the first Royals to patronise a wide range of charities.

I am sending this by the “Takhoi” – a British steamer going direct to Yokohama from Anping with a cargo of sugar.

23. Griffiths to Satow [handwritten, p. 57 in file]

[Recd. 31/3]

Anping.

March 23. 1898.

Dear Sir Ernest Satow,

In answer to your private letter of the 2<sup>nd</sup> instant the “chopped” silver yen and the Mexican dollar are both taken by Chinese here at the same rate – that is to say the foreigners, in payments to Chinese (natives) can equally use the Mexican dollar or the specially “chopped” silver yen. It is only in payments to Japanese (official and private) that any difference is made, and then the Mexican dollar is entirely refused and the “chopped” silver yen is only taken at a fixed discount of 3 sen 6 rin.

As a matter of fact, of course, the foreign merchant here benefits considerably by the difference in exchange. Sugar and rice – the chief articles of export to Japan at the present moment – he buys from the native dealers with Mexican Dollars or “chopped” silver yen and sells to his customers in Japan in yen (gold). The difference in exchange has amounted to as much as nine per cent, while just at present it is, I am told, about four per cent.

Yours very truly

Ernest A. Griffiths

24. Griffiths to Satow [handwritten, p. 59 in file]

[Recd. April – date unclear]

Private

Anping

April 2. 1898

Dear Sir Ernest Satow,

Should you approve of the Telegraph and Travelling Expenses for last quarter, a statement of which I am sending by this mail, may I ask you to kindly sanction them direct to the Foreign Office in order to save the time which would otherwise elapse before your sanction could reach London.

The weather here has been very warm the past few days and I am afraid the beginning of

summer has already arrived. Things are quiet here in Anping though frequent robberies by armed bands of thieves occur to the north of the city (Tainan) and the roads both in that district and also to the south of Takow are very insecure. In the interior around Chip Chip and in the Kagi district I am informed there has been pretty severe fighting between the soldiers and rebels – or – to speak perhaps more correctly – armed robbers, as, unlike the rebels of the summer of 1896, they do not confine their attentions to the attacking and killing of Japanese, but rob and plunder indiscriminately.

Among other victims, a native clerk in the employ of Mannich & Co's compradore, and a native dispenser attached to the Presbyterian Mission Hospital of Tainan, who were captured some short time ago by the robbers are still held by the latter to ransom.

Mr. Shibahara<sup>11</sup> formerly Sub-prefect of Hozan and then Secretary of the Hozan Ken, who was arrested in July last on a charge of fraud and misappropriation of Government funds has been sentenced by the Hozan District Court to nine years penal servitude. He will, I presume, appeal, as in an interview with Dr Myers, who recently visited him in jail, he asserted his innocence and put the charges down to personal enmity and spite on the part of some fellow officials.

He is of very good family, was educated for some time at Cambridge University, and was very popular with the foreign residents both here and in Takow. He was also, while Sub-prefect (and Judge, before the establishment of the District Courts in Formosa) very well liked by the Chinese and natives over whom he had jurisdiction.

Much sympathy is therefore felt for him and it is hoped he may ultimately be proved innocent.

Mr. Isogai the Prefect of Tainan has gone to Taipeh to meet the new Governor General. Mr. Kinoshita, the Prefect of Hozan, follows in a few days, and Dr. Myers has been summoned by the Governor General to Taipeh to attend a conference of Prefects and other officials.

Yours very truly

Ernest A. Griffiths

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<sup>11</sup> Shibahara Kameji 柴原 亀二 (1867-1935), bureaucrat, translator and lawyer. According to John Venn's *Alumni Cantabrigienses* he was admitted as a pensioner to Trinity Hall, Cambridge in 1889. He probably stayed at the university for a short time, after graduating in Law from Tokyo Imperial University. He was a special correspondent for the *Osaka Asahi Shinbun* newspaper during the Russo-Japanese War, 1904-5. From 1910 he worked as a lawyer in Kobe. Satow noted in his diary that he met him in a train going to Yokohama on 20 October 1896. (With thanks to Noboru Koyama, Librarian at the University Library, Cambridge for help with this note.)



25. Griffiths to Satow [handwritten, p. 63 in file]

[ans 27/4]

Anping

April 16. 1898

Dear Sir Ernest Satow,

The items appearing in the Account Current for this Consulate for the past quarter, both on the receipt and expenditure sides have all been converted, from dollars into sterling and vice versa respectively, at the rate of 1s[hilling]/11d [pence] to the dollar.

The Bank here was unable to quote me a rate for sterling drafts in gold yen and I was therefore obliged to sell my draft on the Chief Clerk for Mexican Dollars. The rate 1s/11d which was also the average local rate, as certified by the Bank, at which bills could be bought, prevailing during the quarter. Servants' wages &c I have paid in Mexican dollars, these together with chopped silver yen being at present the local currency.

There is little or no news to send from here this mail. The Prefects of the two Ken (Tainan and Hozan) have both gone to Taipeh to meet the new Governor General.

The export of rice to Japan is proving a most remunerative business for merchants in South Formosa and though the camphor trade has been practically at a standstill for some months past, the export of rice, together with that of sugar, has been recently so large that there has been little cause for dissatisfaction in the matter of trade generally. The export of rice to Japan has been quite a special feature of this winter's trade and has in most cases, I believe, proved very profitable for exporters.

Yours very truly

Ernest A. Griffiths

26. Griffiths to Satow [handwritten, p. 65 in file]

[Ans. 20/5. Sorry cannot help it, reference to Kenny's private letter of Feb. 11 & my teleg. to him.]

Anping

May 2. 1898

Dear Sir Ernest Satow,

I have just received the following query from the Chief Clerk, Foreign Office:-

“Sir Ernest Satow having reported that Mr. Griffiths was not appointed Acting Consul

during Mr. Kenny's absence and that it would not appear that he is entitled to an acting all[owan]ce the Chief Clerk has no alternative but to disallow the claim put forward by Mr. Griffiths."

This refers to the time when Mr. Kenny went overland to Tamsui viâ the camphor districts in March/April last year and to the fact that in my Life Certificate I mentioned that I had been Acting Consul for that period. Until I received the Chief Clerk's query I was not aware that I had not been appointed Acting Consul.

Mr. Kenny handed the Consulate over to me as Acting Consul<sup>12</sup> and notified the Japanese Authorities to that effect in the usual way. I, also, made out all the Accounts for the March quarter and signed them as Acting Consul, as well as signing letters to the Japanese Authorities and others in that way. I am sorry that I should have been labouring under a mistake, but, as in Mr. Kenny's absence from this District (from the Island even, for he returned viâ Amoy) the work of Acting Consul was actually performed by me, may I venture to ask your favourable reconsideration of the matter.

In the meantime I am not replying to the Chief Clerk, to whom in fact I find it rather a difficult matter to explain. As several robberies of the overland mails have taken place of late and as there is not another steamer for some days I am sending this viâ Amoy.

On the 29<sup>th</sup> March the overland mail from Taipeh, consisting of 254 covers and 8 bags was stolen near Changhwa (Shokwa) and on the 19<sup>th</sup> ulto. [last month] the parcel post between Kagi and Tainan was robbed.

Yours very truly

Ernest A. Griffiths

27. Griffiths to Satow [handwritten, p. 67 in file]

Anping

May 9. 1898

Dear Sir Ernest Satow,

It is curious that the Director of Kew Gardens has no knowledge of the Lungan<sup>13</sup> or

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<sup>12</sup> The F.O. List 1914 states that Griffiths was Acting Consul at Tainan from November 24, 1896 to January 27, 1897; and from July 10, 1897 to December 3, 1899. Thus in March and April 1897 when William Joseph Kenny went overland to Tamsui it seems Griffiths was not Acting Consul. Thus Satow was correct.

<sup>13</sup> Lungan: a sapindaceous tree, *Euphoria longan*, of tropical and subtropical Asia, with small yellowish-white flowers and small edible fruits.

Lungugan – as I find that several writers on the Botany of Formosa make mention of it. Mr. Augustine Henry<sup>14</sup> of the Chinese Customs Service, in his paper on the Flora and Economic Botany of Formosa, refers to the “*Nephelium longana* – the lungugan, wild and uncultivated. Lungugans are a staple export,” (from Formosa); while Mr. Campbell<sup>15</sup> of the English Presbyterian Mission at Tainan sent, some years ago, specimens to the British Museum.

Mr. Campbell has very kindly furnished me with some notes on the lungugan or gêng-ge'ng, as it is known here in Formosa, and as they may be of interest to you I enclose a copy herewith.

I will send a copy of them to the Director of Kew Gardens, together with specimens of the fruit and pulp as soon as the fruit is ripe.

In sending me the notes Mr. Campbell says – “It seems to me that there is not very much to write about by anyone and one would have thought that the officials at Kew already knew all that could be said on the subject.”

There is little of news to send from here. Robberies in the district, by armed bands of robbers, continue to be of pretty frequent occurrence and neither the military nor police seem able to put a stop to them.

The number of Prefects in the Island has been reduced to three – Taihoku [Taipeh 台北], Taichu [Taichung 台中] and Tainan [台南] – and Mr. Isogai, the Prefect of Tainan has now got, in addition to Tainan Ken, Kagi and Hozan Kens to look after. The number of Bemmusho-cho [district offices, 弁務處 or 弁務所] has also been considerably reduced, and Dr. Myers, who is at present in Taipeh, writes me that similar reductions are taking place in nearly all the Government departments.

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<sup>14</sup> Augustine Henry (1857-1930) was an Irish botanist and Sinologist. He entered the Imperial Chinese Customs Service in 1881. In 1888 he published a list of Chinese plants for the Royal Asiatic Society. He sent over 15,000 dry specimens and seed to Kew Gardens and 500 plant samples. With Henry John Elwes wrote the seven volume *Trees of Great Britain and Ireland*, 1907-13. Professor (Reader) of Forestry at Cambridge, 1907-13, and thereafter at Dublin.

<sup>15</sup> Rev. Dr. William Campbell (1841–1921) was a Scottish Presbyterian missionary to Taiwan. He wrote extensively on topics related to Taiwan and was also responsible for founding the island's first school for the blind. He arrived in Taiwan in 1871 to begin his mission in the southern part of the island called Tainan (then known as Taiwan-fu). He left Taiwan in 1917 to return to Scotland. His published works include: *Past and Future of Formosa: With a New Map of the Island*. 1896; *Notes on a visit to the Taichu prefecture of Formosa*. 1902; *Formosa under the Dutch: Described from Contemporary Records*. 1903; *A Dictionary of the Amoy Vernacular* (in Southern Min). Tainan: Taiwan Church Press. 1913. (Extracted from Wikipedia. See also the map of Taiwan at the beginning of PRO 30/33 5/11 above.)

Yours very truly

Ernest A. Griffiths

Copy [handwritten, apparently by Griffiths, p. 70 in file]

The Lung-ugan or Gêng-ge'ng

The dried “lung-ugan” which is largely exported from An-pêng, the Port of Tainan, is described on p. 567 of Williams’ Dictionary as the “long-an fruit – Nephelim long-an”; and in Dr. Giles Glossary<sup>16</sup> as “Dragons’ eyes, a fruit found in Southern China, & sometimes called the wild lichee” (p. 82); while on p. 522 of Williams’ the lichi is referred to as the Nephelium litchi; “of which eight varieties are said to exist.” On p. 105 of Douglas’ Amoy Vernacular Dictionary<sup>17</sup> “gêng-ge'ng” is described as “Dinocarpus longan, the dragon’s eye or lung-yen fruit, gêng-a’-koa being the dried lung-ugan” (Mandarin sound of characters, as gêng-ge'ng is the local with us in Formosa) which is the article of export. Curiously, Dr. Breitschneider’s work on Chinese Botany makes no reference, either to lichi or lung-ugan.

A scientific description of both is almost certain to be met with in Dr. Hance’s<sup>18</sup> Flora of China. Some years ago, I sent specimens to Mr. Carruthers, who was then Keeper of the Botanical Dep[artmen]t. in the British Museum. Specimens were also sent to the Hong-Kong Museum.

Natives state that the lichi is not very common in Formosa. It is larger than the lung-ugan or gêng-ge'ng, has a thinner and much rougher outside husk, & contains more edible matter. The country of Kagi is a regione where much of the gêng-ge'ng yearly production is prepared for exportation. The work of first heating the fruit so as to cause the soft part inside to shrink, of peeling the husk, & then of drying the abstracted soft part over a slow fire, is carried on chiefly by women and girls, who earn each about 60 or 80 cash a day, besides getting the husks and hard inner nut for use as fuel.

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<sup>16</sup> Herbert Allen Giles, *A Glossary of Reference on Subjects Connected with the Far East*, 1<sup>st</sup> edition 1878, 2<sup>nd</sup> edition 1886, (Hongkong: Lane, Crawford & Co.; Shanghai & Yokohama: Kelly & Walsh; London: Bernard Quaritch), p. 139. The Chinese characters given by Giles for the fruit are 龍 (dragon) and 眼 (eye).

<sup>17</sup> Rev. Carstairs Douglas, *Chinese-English dictionary of the Vernacular or Spoken Language of Amoy* (revised 1899).

<sup>18</sup> Henry Fletcher Hance (1827-86). See the entry by Robert Kennaway Douglas in *Dictionary of National Biography*, 1885-1900, Volume 24.

The work usually begins about the middle of the eighth month and lasts on till the end of the year. The dried article of export is taken to Shanghai &c and is said to be largely used for infusion with water as a refreshing drink or febrifuge.<sup>19</sup>

(sd.) W. Campbell

28. Griffiths to Satow [handwritten, p. 72 in file]

Anping

June 9. 1898

Dear Sir Ernest Satow

The enclosed copy of a letter from the Revd. William Campbell of the English Presbyterian Mission of Tainan to Mr. Bain of this port may be of interest.

Mr. Campbell is up country distributing the money subscribed by residents here and in the coast ports of China for the relief of those who suffered during the rebellion of the summer of 1896. It seems a little late in the day to be affording this relief now, but Mr. Bain (who was in charge of the fund) has up to the present found difficulty in getting any reliable person to undertake the work owing to the dangerous state of the country. Mr. Campbell, however, has been furnished with an escort by the authorities and the Chiuritsu Ginko [Bank] has provided him with drafts to be cashed at its local office at Kagi.

Mr. Campbell is apparently displaying much tact in avoiding wounding the susceptibilities of the Japanese, and as the fund was originally raised for the benefit of those whom the Japanese at the time, rightly or wrongly, deemed to be rebels, I myself have from the beginning carefully refrained from taking any part whatever in the movement.

Mr. Campbell himself applied direct to the Prefect for an escort and Mr. Bain applied to the bank for the drafts.

The accompanying despatch (No. 18 re Factories &c.) has been delayed owing to a bar which has prevented any ships coming to the port for some days past.

Yours very truly

Ernest A. Griffiths

Copy [handwritten by Griffiths, p. 74]

Extract

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<sup>19</sup> Febrifuge: n. A medication that reduces fever; an antipyretic. [Latin febris, fever + -fuge.]

Kagi, 27 May '98

My dear Mr. Bain,

I arrived here last night and am glad to send you this preliminary note of our experiences during the past two weeks. I say "our" because Mr. Campbell concluded that it would be better to accompany me and I daresay that his presence has really had a helpful influence in enabling me to accomplish the object of my visit.

The country up here is still in a very disturbed state. There was an attack by robbers on the road a little south of Kagi the day after we started. Yesterday, we met a company of about 30 Tho-hui (bandits) being escorted by armed soldiers into Tanlak, and only a few nights ago, the Police Station at Tha-li-bu was attacked by over 100 robbers, who succeeded in carrying off on horseback the wealthiest man of the place.

It is on account of these disturbances that the Police me not to think of going north east of Tanlak, because I informed them I wished at least to visit the Kiu-Kiong-ua and Lin-ki-pao (Rinkipo).

You can imagine that on settling down for a few days at Tanlak, the task before us was not one of very easy accomplishment. On the one hand, I did not wish our church people there to think that I had come for their benefit, as we happen to have very few real sufferers or miserable people amongst them; and on the other hand, it was quite evident that the Japanese up there looked a little askance on my undertaking. I had therefore to be a little careful in giving too much prominence to the Japanese massacres of two years ago, especially when every day is bringing in any amount of information about the plundering and heartless ongoing of the tho'-h'ui .

I began by making enquiry of a number of trustworthy persons, and at last got one who knows the region well to promise that he would sit with me while investigating cases before issuing compradores' orders for payment next day.

I then myself posted up over the town notices that I would be in waiting for this purpose. Of course, a great crowd gathered. Every person was identified by some one or other present and questions were afterwards put by me regarding the applicant's name, surname, relatives, residence, occupation and kind of suffering two years ago. On being satisfied, I gave an order for \$5, only four cases up there receiving an order for \$10 each. I was guided in this amount by what had been done when the Japanese distributed the money sent from Tokyo for a similar purpose, and because I thought it would do more good for the money to be spread over as wide an area as possible. I need hardly say that it made a long, hard day's

work to deal with the large crowd who kept waiting there from early morning till dark.

At the close, we found that 102 orders had been issued and it only remained to exchange these orders for bank notes on being brought to me next morning. The money was given out in front of one of the temples, no preacher or office bearer of the church having been associated with me from beginning to end.

On the whole, I am fairly satisfied with the distribution at Tanla'k considering the somewhat delicate nature of the business before our Japanese friends, and the short time at my disposal. There can be no doubt that in the main the money reached its proper quarter and will be the means of affording a little relief to really deserving people.

At Sai-le, I remained about a week. It is a large market town which was burned down by the Japanese two years ago and lies about 12 miles N.W. of Ta'n-lak. The plan adopted here was a little different from that followed at the former halting place. Through a well-to-do rice merchant living in Toa-ka-tang (4 li to the South of Sai-le) who is a friend of mine and a thoroughly reliable man, I got introduced to a number of the leading shop-keepers, who promised each to make out a list of deserving cases for my consideration. This method worked very well because it gave a fairly good guarantee that no great abuse would be made of the money to be served out. Here, too, the examination of applicants and distribution of notes took place in front of a temple. None here received more than \$5. The people were all very grateful and I left the whole town ringing with the praises of those "Lo'siu e Eng-kok lêng." (Kind hearted Englishmen.)

My intention now is to leave this for Sang Que Khan on Tuesday. A number of towns have to be visited, including Toa-paw-nâ[?], and I hope I may be able to distribute the \$1500, just to hand, by 18 June. It is this going across country from place to place that takes up time.

x            x

I am &c.

(sd.) Wm. Campbell

29. Griffiths to Satow [handwritten, p. 77 in file]

Anping

August 15. 1898

Dear Sir Ernest Satow,

Since writing my despatch No. 22 of the 11<sup>th</sup> instant reporting that, from the end of June there have been no cases of “Pest” in Formosa, I have received a despatch from the acting Chief of the Foreign Section of the Govt. General, dated the 30<sup>th</sup> ultimo, stating that there were 5 new cases in Taihoku Ken during the three weeks July 7-27.

As I had received no returns of “pest” from the Government General since the 23<sup>rd</sup> of June I wrote on the 9<sup>th</sup> inst. to Mr. Isogai, the Prefect of this Ken, to enquire whether the epidemic was at an end and he replied that there had been no cases in the Island since the latter part of June. This it seems was a mistake as there were actually 7 cases during the three weeks referred to above. The number, however, is so small that the epidemic may practically be said to be at an end. No cases have occurred in this Ken (Tainan) since the middle of June.

The weather of late has been very bad, in fact for the past six or seven weeks we have had almost continuous rain and heavy seas, in consequence of which communication with the outside world by sea had been much interrupted.

The Douglas Co’s steamer which, weather permitting, makes the trip between Hongkong & Anping, viâ Swatow and Amoy every ten days had on the last trip to put in to Makung in the Pescadores and wait there for a fortnight before she could discharge or take in cargo at Anping. On the 6<sup>th</sup>, 7<sup>th</sup> and 8<sup>th</sup> inst. we had the outside edge of a typhoon which appears to have started to the East of the Bashee Channel and passed west to the mainland of China. Fortunately little or no damage was done here, although the wind and rain were pretty violent.

The country districts still appear to be disturbed by the presence of robbers and only a fortnight ago three gendarmes were killed between here and Takow, a little off the main road. In the City (Tainan) and here in Anping things are very quiet at present.

As regards trade the foreign merchants have had a very successful winter season. The export of sugar at the beginning of the year turned out exceptionally profitable, and, at the end of last year and during the Spring of this, considerable profits were made on the export of rice to Japan. This latter is practically a new business for foreigners, as Formosa rice has not hitherto found much favour in Japan and the export of rice to the mainland of China has been entirely in the hands of Chinese and native merchants.

With prospects, therefore, of trade again prospering, the foreign merchants in South Formosa (in spite of the total loss of the lucrative opium trade and the practical loss, at all events for the present, of the camphor trade, owing to the impossibility of sending money



into the interior) are becoming more satisfied and reconciled to the new condition of affairs.

It is early yet to speak of the success or otherwise of the new system of administration introduced by Baron Kodama and Mr. Goto Shimpei. The only people who seem to be affected by it up to the present are the Japanese officials themselves, numbers of whom have been placed upon the retired list or dismissed altogether. The natives apparently view with indifference the changes (perhaps on account of their frequency) which have taken place in the system of governing the Island since the advent of the Japanese, and the numerous regulations which are continually being issued by the Authorities. When the new tax regulations, however, come into force on the 1<sup>st</sup> of October they may probably take a little more interest in things.

Yours very truly

Ernest A. Griffiths

30. Griffiths to Satow [handwritten, p. 81 in file]

[Recd. Sept. 25]

Anping

September 13. 1898

Dear Sir Ernest Satow,

It is a pity the Office of Works did not reroof the Takow Consulate in the Spring of this year as Mr. Cowan originally intended to do. We have had very heavy rains all through the summer and of course the building with its old, leaky roof has suffered.

The lowest estimate which I sent to Mr. Cowan in February was, exclusive of certain special, white ant resisting wood and certain brass and iron work which Mr. Cowan was to provide himself, \$6000. I am now informed that the estimates for the work to be done early next year will, owing to increase in prices and wages &c. be nearly, if not quite double that sum. As an instance of the way in which wages have increased of late I may mention that carpenters, who only a year ago were paid at the rate of one dollar for three days work, now demand as much as a dollar per day. Other workmen, though not quite as exorbitant in their demands, charge from 50 to 100 per cent more than they did a year or so ago.

Yours very truly

Ernest A. Griffiths

31. Griffiths to Satow [handwritten, p. 83 in file]

Anping

October 13. 1898

Dear Sir Ernest Satow,

The new Tax Regulations came into force on the 1<sup>st</sup> instant but so far in this Ken [prefecture], I am informed, with but little success. The natives – Chinese-like – are very conservative and can not, or perhaps more correctly, will not, understand the new order of things and they are consequently not only loth to assist the Authorities in carrying out their duties but in many cases place every obstacle in the way of their doing so. Tax collecting at any time and in any place cannot be a particularly pleasant kind of duty to perform but here in South Formosa it is not only difficult but dangerous.

The country districts are still infected with bands of armed robbers (dohi),<sup>20</sup> who on the approach of the military at once disappear into the hills. At the end of last month there were rumours that the City (Tainan) and also Anping were to be attacked. Up to the present, however, there have been no signs of the approach of the robbers and the authorities are taking all possible precautions to protect the two places. Some anxiety was felt by the members of the English Presbyterian Mission whose compound is situated in a rather isolated position at the South East corner of the City. It is within the wall but the latter has in the vicinity been broken down in several places. Mr. Campbell, the head of the Mission – represented the matter to me and I had an interview with Mr. Isogai, the Prefect, on the subject. He assured me that everything would be done to guard against an attack by robbers, that the breaches in the wall had been blocked up and that police were stationed some distance outside the wall who in the event of the appearance of any considerable body of robbers would at once retreat to the gate and communicate with the garrison; the wall, too, was in the day time patrolled by soldiers and at night by police and gendarmes.

Under these circumstances I agree with Mr. Isogai in considering that there is no very grave cause for alarm. Mr. Campbell and the members of the Mission, too, have been made much easier in their minds by what the authorities are doing in the matter.

Mr. Isogai had a very unpleasant experience at the end of last month. He had gone down south with a party of officials and police in a small tug on a tour of inspection of the different places along the coast between this and south cape when, on the 20<sup>th</sup> they met with a pretty severe typhoon and though finally and with very great difficulty managing to put in to Expedition Bay, their launch was driven ashore and Mr. Isogai and others of the party

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<sup>20</sup> dohi 土匪 are rebellious natives.

had a narrow escape from drowning. As it was one police sergeant lost his life. They spent an uncomfortable night in a fisherman's hut and were not rescued until two days after, when the Customs launch which had been sent to search the coast, discovered and brought them back to Takow.

I hear from Mr. Cowan the Office of Works surveyor that his Assistant will pay a visit to South Formosa this autumn and inspect the Takow and Anping Consulates.

Yours very truly

Ernest A. Griffiths

32. Griffiths to Satow [handwritten, p. 87 in file]

Anping

December 3. 1898.

Dear Sir Ernest Satow,

Since writing my last private letter to you the Authorities here have decided to adopt very drastic measures against the armed bands of robbers (dohi [土匪]) who during the past year have been a perfect pest all over this Ken. So daring have they become of late that communication overland between this place and Takow is practically stopped, owing to their frequent presence on the road, while on the night of the 3<sup>rd</sup> November Mr. Isogai, the Prefect, would not permit Mr. Bain, Dr. Myers and myself, who had been to Tainan to attend the Emperor's Birthday dinner, to return to Anping without a police escort.

About the middle of last month, however, the Authorities decided to organize a punitive expedition and scour the country from the northern limits of the Ken – the Unrin (Tanlak) district, right down to the Hozan district in the South. Major-General Takai, the general in command of the Third Mixed Brigade, whose headquarters are at Tainan, has himself taken command of the expedition, which, I am informed consists of about 4000 men, including infantry, gendarmes, police and a small contingent of artillery. The General decided first of all to proceed north from Tainan along the road towards Kagi (42 miles distant), at the same time thoroughly scouring the country on each side. Mr. Isogai, who had accompanied him, returned to Tainan last night and this afternoon sent his private secretary to Anping to inform me of what had been done up to the present. He told me that General Takai had fixed his headquarters for the present at Shinyeisho (Sinya) about ten miles south of Kagi, that up to the 29<sup>th</sup> ulto. 234 robbers had been killed and over 300 taken prisoner, among them being one or two of the robber chiefs; that at Unrin they had driven a considerable

number of “dohi” into a valley where they had completely surrounded them, no one being allowed to pass the lines either from within or without; that by these means they hoped to starve the robbers into surrender; they they could, of course, exterminate the robbers so invested if they were so inclined but that rather than run any risk of loss on their own side, the robbers being protected by thick scrub, they preferred to adopt their present tactics.

By the end of this month General Takai hopes to have completely cleared the northern and central portions of this Ken of robbers, when he intends to return with his forces to Tainan and at once start on a similar expedition south towards Hozan.

In connection with the expedition a good deal of friction occurred at the end of last month between the military and civil authorities in Tainan. It appears that the military required about 2000 coolies (native) to carry stores, ammunition &c. to Shinyeisho for the use of the troops. This providing of coolies was placed in the hands of certain army contractors in Tainan, who, after engaging a certain number of coolies on fair terms, refused to carry out these terms when they had got the coolies on the road towards their destination. (This I had previously heard from Chinese (native) sources but could scarcely credit the story. Mr. Isogai’s secretary, however, has now confirmed it.) The result was the contractors could get no more coolies to go. Nothing daunted, however, they called in the assistance of the military authorities in Tainan and for several nights, without consulting the civil authorities, made raids on houses in Tainan and indiscriminately arrested and carried off coolies or anybody they considered capable of doing coolie work. Things were brought to a climax when, on the night of the 28<sup>th</sup>, they raided Anping and, among others, arrested and took away with them several employés of foreign residents. (These employés, of course, resided in their own houses in the village and not with their employers, whose houses were not, of course, violated.[]) Complaint was made to me and I privately represented the matter to the Secretary of the Ken, in the absence of the Prefect. The Secretary, at once, very kindly telegraphed to the General who gave orders that the foreigners’ employés were to be immediately released. This was done and the men returned to Anping. Mr. Isogai’s private secretary now informs me that the indiscriminate arrest of natives was carried out without any authority from the Kencho or the higher military authorities and that the army contractors and petty military officials in Tainan are entirely responsible for it.

Mr. Isogai is very angry about the affair and threatens to have the contractors punished. I may mention that I represented the matter privately and not officially to the Secretary of the

Ken as I did not at the time know whether the indiscriminate pressing of natives might not have been an order of the Prefect and the higher military authorities necessitated by a state of war. This, however, Mr. Isogai assures me was far from being the case and both he and the General are much annoyed that these indiscriminate arrests should have been made. The raiding has now been stopped.

Owing to the disturbed state of the country, trade is at present almost at a standstill. I trust, however, that the measures taken by the Authorities to deal with the robbers will prove effective and that things will improve ere long.

Yours very truly

Ernest A. Griffiths

33. Griffiths to Satow [handwritten, p. 95 in file]

[Recd. Jan. 11]

Anping.

December 26. 1898.

Dear Sir Ernest Satow,

The mails from Japan to this place have been running very irregularly of late. Your private letter and despatch of the 3<sup>rd</sup> instant took 19 days to come while your despatch of the 16<sup>th</sup> came in 8 days.

Mr. Bain had already spoken to me on the subject of asking for compensation from the Japanese Government for the loss of the capital invested by his firm in the camphor distilling business and I had suggested to him that it would be well for Mr. Arthur, his partner, who was leaving about that time for Japan, to, if possible, place the matter before you personally. Mr. Bain is waiting until Mr. Arthur returns to Anping before deciding what to do in the matter.

As regards Takow – at present there is only one British family (Dr Myers') permanently resident in the place and, although all the British firms in Anping have branch establishments at Takow and during the sugar season (January to June) usually have a foreign representative there to superintend the packing and loading of sugar, the presence of the Consul is, at present, only required there on very few occasions during the year. Still I venture to suggest that it would be a pity to gauge the necessity of keeping up a Consulate and Consular residence at Takow at the present time when the country is in a very disturbed state and trade is consequently much interfered with. I do not think Takow will cut out

Anping as the principal port of this district, but, should the Japanese, as I am informed they intend to do, build a railway connecting Takow with Tainan and other large towns in this prefecture, and should they, as I think it would be very well worth their while to do, dredge and deepen the lagoon and make a good harbour there, Takow ought to become a commercial port of some importance where it might be deemed necessary to have a resident British consular official as formerly.

The present Consular property in Takow is certainly the best situated and most valuable lot in the place and, if it is disposed of now, I am afraid it might be difficult in the future to acquire such a suitable site should it become necessary to have a resident consular officer in Takow. I doubt, too, if at the present time of trade depression the property would realize the price which, under ordinary circumstances should be paid for it by any would-be purchaser.

The present cost of keeping up the Consulate at Takow is less than forty five dollars a month.

Under the circumstances and as Mr. Simpson of the Office of Works, Shanghai, is due here by the next steamer from Amoy to commence the work of reconstructing the roof &c. of the house and office at Takow, may I ask you to kindly defer for the present suggesting to the Authorities at home that the property be disposed of.

Yours very truly

Ernest A. Griffiths

34. Griffiths to Satow [handwritten, p. 99 in file]

[Recd. 7 Mar.]

Private

Anping

February 28. 1899

Dear Sir Ernest Satow,

The information given in the memo. enclosed in the accompanying despatch (No: 4) I have gathered from both Japanese and native sources as well as from foreign residents.

The confidential return of the deaths of innocent people at the hands of the military was placed at my disposal by Dr. Myers, adviser to the Formosan Govt. General. He informs me that the sending of a military expedition against the “tau-hui” was, in his opinion, a great mistake and that the result of the expedition bears out what he had all along believed, and

pointed out to the authorities, would be the case – viz. the suffering of the innocent for the guilty.

A system of local popular Government, of course under the sufficient guarantees of the headmen of the districts, is, in his opinion and that of other old residents who are well acquainted with the people and their habits and customs, the most effective, if not the only way of remedying the present unfortunate state of affairs.

I see the Japanese Authorities are giving a trial to this system – or rather a modified form of it (Hôkô: 保甲 “the tithing system” as translated in Giles) in Banka, a suburb of Taipeh and also in Taichu Ken. I haven’t heard how the system is working there, but Dr. Myers informs me that the Japanese are making a mistake in appointing their nominees without reference to the people instead of permitting the latter to elect their own headmen.

The natives, or Chinese, best known to the Japanese Authorities and most likely to be appointed by the latter to be headmen under the “hôkô” system are, it appears, mostly ex-yamen – runners or other petty officials under the late Chinese régime and do not bear the best of characters for honesty and fair-dealing. In fact it is, Dr Myers informs me, largely due to their evil advice and influence that the Japanese Authorities have, in some parts of the Island, been led to act with oppression and injustice and have consequently got themselves disliked, if not positively hated, by the people.

The Authorities were, at first, of course, dependent to a considerable extent in their intercourse with the natives upon these ex-Chinese officials, and the unscrupulous among the latter undoubtedly made the most of their opportunities in the way of black-mailing and otherwise oppressing the unfortunate people who came within their clutches. It is now three and a half years, however, since the Japanese took charge of this portion of the Island and it would seem time that such dependence should cease and that the people should be encouraged to have more confidence in, and more sympathy with, their rulers than they have had, or been given the chance of having, hitherto.

To allow the people to elect their own headmen who would be in direct communication with the local Japanese authorities without the intermediation of any ex-yamen runners or other late Chinese officials – corrupt or otherwise – would appear to be a means towards this end.

Yours very truly

Ernest A. Griffiths

35. Griffiths to Satow [handwritten, p. 103 in file]

[Recd. April 12]

Anping

March 30. 1899

Dear Sir Ernest Satow,

The plague still continues to increase in Tainan in spite of great exertions on the part of the Authorities to check its progress. New cases average about 30 and deaths over 20 a day. It is much the biggest of the plague epidemics which have visited this district annually since the summer of 1896.

Up to and inclusive of the 28<sup>th</sup> instant there have been 720 cases (46 fresh cases broke out on the 28<sup>th</sup>) of which 667 were native and 53 Japanese cases. No foreign residents have, fortunately, been attacked by the disease and there have only been four cases reported in Anping – 1 native and 1 Japanese.

Admiral Seymour<sup>21</sup> called here in the “Alacrity” last Saturday morning (25<sup>th</sup>). He had intended landing in the afternoon (he told me when I went on board to call upon him) but found that the state of the tide would prevent his returning on board until late in the evening, so he decided to go on to Takow and left this port at 2 o’clock. He seemed much interested in the Island and made many enquiries as to the state of affairs here, trade, the possibilities of harbour improvement etc. and was greatly disappointed at being unable to visit the city (Tainan) owing to plague being prevalent there.

From Takow, where he proposed to stay about a day only, Admiral Seymour intended to go round South Cape and along the East Coast to Kelung and to visit on the way the harbour of Sōō (Sawo Bay on the Admiralty Chart). He expressed a desire to land there and asked me to enquire if the Authorities had any objection to his doing so. Mr. Isogai, the Prefect, at my request, kindly telegraphed to the Governor General who at once wired back that there was no objection to Admiral Seymour’s visiting, staying in, or landing at the port of Sōō.

I am very much obliged to you for telegraphing to me respecting Kenny’s movements and shall be glad to wait for leave until November.

The Office of Works has just finished painting, colour-washing and repairing this Consulate both inside and out and although no amount of paint, I am afraid, will ever make

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<sup>21</sup> See PRO 30/33 6/10, Letter 62 and following letters in this volume above. In Letter No. 77 from Hong Kong dated March 21, 1899 Seymour mentions leaving for Formosa on the 23<sup>rd</sup>.



it look artistic or even comfortable, the house has now certainly the merit of being thoroughly clean. The extensive repairs required at Takow are to be commenced in September, after the rainy season.

The Book of Forms of Bills of Exchange (Board of Trade) transmitted with your Circular Desp. No. 3 of the 14<sup>th</sup> instant has not reached this Consulate.

The weather here is beautiful just at present but rain is much needed to wash away the plague. I am afraid, however, we cannot hope for much before June.

Yours very truly

Ernest A. Griffiths

36. Griffiths to Satow [handwritten, p. 107 in file]

Anping

May 2. 1899

Dear Sir Ernest Satow,

Mr. Ando Keiyu, the young man who was engaged in Tokio by Mr. Longford in April 1896 as writer to this Consulate, and who has served continuously as such since that time, has, unfortunately, owing to the present state of his health and urgent private affairs at home, been obliged to resign and return to Tokio tomorrow. Mr. Ando's term of service under agreement with Mr. Longford was one year. He has, however, continued to serve for three years and during the whole of that time given every satisfaction. His steadiness of conduct, modesty and courteous behaviour to all with whom he has come into contact has been very marked and have set an example both in Takow and Anping which a great many of his fellow countrymen in those ports might well have followed. As it is, Mr. Ando has the respect of both foreigners and Japanese here, and it is due not a little to his invariable tact and courtesy that many slight differences and misunderstandings in cases where I was unable, or unwilling, to interfere officially, have been smoothed over by him privately. His departure is a distinct loss to this community – not only to Japanese and foreigners but also to the natives, towards whom his bearing, so different I regret to have to say, to that of many of his fellow countrymen, has been invariably courteous. He has asked me whether you would be willing to see him on his return to Tokio and I have taken the liberty of informing him that I am sure you will have no objection to doing so.

Mr. Ando having stayed longer in the service of this Consulate than one year is entitled, under his agreement, to his expenses back to Tokio. I do not, however, until I

receive a detailed statement, with vouchers, from him from Tokio, know what these will be. I have, in the meantime, advanced him sufficient for his steamboat and railway fares, and will submit the whole account to you for your sanction on receiving it from Mr. Ando.

I have engaged the services of a Mr. Musashi Yonekichi, till recently in the employ of the Customs at Anping, as writer in the place of Mr. Ando.

Mr. Musashi has been in South Formosa for about three years, and is well known to myself and to all residents of Anping and bears an excellent character. Having been engaged locally, he understands, of course, that he will not be entitled to receive travelling expenses back to Japan should, at any time, his services be dispensed with or should he himself resign.

I trust these steps will meet with your approval. I have not written officially to you respecting Mr. Ando's resignation knowing that [it] is unusual to do so in the case of Consulate writers, but I am only too glad to bring to your notice privately this recognition, on my own part and on that of all the foreign residents of this district, of Mr. Ando's services.

Yours very truly

Ernest A. Griffiths

37. Griffiths to Satow [handwritten, p. 111 in file]

Anping

June 6. 1899

Dear Sir Ernest Satow,

The mails have been considerably delayed of late owing to continuously bad weather and a bar, which has prevented any communication between ship and shore for the past fortnight. I have consequently been unable to send my Trade Report sooner, although it was ready for posting some time ago. I am now sending it by British S.S. [Steam Ship] "Szechuen" which goes direct to Yokohama with sugar from this port.

Mr. Boyce of the Office of Works, London, was here the middle of last month on a tour of inspection of all Governmental buildings in the East. He arrived on the morning of the 14<sup>th</sup> and left again for Amoy on the afternoon of the following day. Although his stay was so short he managed to run down to Takow to inspect the Consulate there. He also paid a visit to the City (Tainan). I accompanied him to the latter place but was unfortunately unable to go with him to Takow. He proposes to recommend the building of a verandah on

the north and east sides of the Consulate here. Such a verandah will not only prove a great boon to any occupant of the Consulate during the summer months when the south and west side are exposed to the glare and heat of the sun but it will effectively protect the north and east walls of the building against the heavy rains to which they have hitherto been entirely exposed and which up to the present have kept the walls in a state of constant dampness.

The number of plague cases in the city is rapidly decreasing, only 6 fresh cases occurring (according to the latest returns) from the 1<sup>st</sup> to the 4<sup>th</sup> instant. In other parts of the Prefecture, too, the epidemic appears to be dying out, though here in Anping during the past fortnight we have had 12 cases and 7 deaths.

Dr. Goto, the Chief of the Civil Administration, is expected here shortly from Taihoku. It will be his first visit to South Formosa, in fact the first visit to these parts of any high official from the Government-General since Mr. Mizuno and Mr. Sugimura were here more than two years ago.

As regards the proposed Government monopoly of the camphor business in Formosa when the new Treaties come into operation [on July 17, 1899], I have not as yet received any official information on the subject, nor is it known here under what system the monopoly will be established or how the Government intend to place the camphor produced on the market. I presume, however, some notice will be given by the Authorities soon. The British merchants interested in the business are anxious to know what their position will be when the Japanese assume control of the trade. I hope to have an opportunity of speaking on the subject to Dr. Goto when he visits Tainan.

Yours very truly

Ernest A. Griffiths

38. Griffiths to Satow [handwritten, p. 115 in file]

[Ansd. 4 Aug. Question, abt. Myers]

Private

Anping

July 13. 1899

Dear Sir Ernest Satow,

The information given in the Memo. enclosed in my No: 35 of the 11<sup>th</sup> I have derived from Japanese, natives and foreign residents. A copy of the agreement made by the Authorities with the chief of the brigands in this Ken was supplied to me by Dr. Myers, as

well as by one of the Chinese signatories to the document. The translation I send was also supplied to me by Dr. Myers, and at his particular request I am sending it just as he has given it to me. It is not an exactly literal translation but gives as Dr. Myers says “a full English equivalent” of the original Chinese. He has sent, he informs me, a copy of the agreement and his annotated free translation to the Governor-General of Formosa and to the Cabinet in Tokio.

I do not think such an agreement will be altogether palatable to the Authorities in Tokio or to the Japanese people generally when it becomes known. It certainly seems curious that just as Japan is on the eve of the abolition of extraterritoriality as regards foreigners, she should be granting what practically amounts to the same thing to certain of her own subjects whom she finds it difficult otherwise to control.

Yours very truly

Ernest A. Griffiths

39. Griffiths to Satow [handwritten, p. 117 in file]

[Ans. 20<sup>th</sup> Aug. Also that Kenny will relieve him towards end of Novr.]

Anping

28 July 1899

Dear Sir Ernest Satow,

There has been continuously bad weather here for the past fortnight and no communication has been possible during that time between ships and the shore owing to an impassable bar. There has consequently been considerable delay in sending you the translation of the camphor monopoly regulations. No claims for compensation for losses consequent upon the stoppage of the camphor business in South Formosa have yet been presented to me by British merchants.

The latter are waiting, I am told for accounts – completed up to date to come down from the camphor districts. As soon as I receive the statements of claim from the firms interested I will transmit them to you.

Yours very truly

Ernest A. Griffiths

40. Griffiths to Satow [handwritten, p. 119 in file]

Private

Anping

August 11. 1899

Dear Sir Ernest Satow,

The accompanying despatches 43-46 have all been delayed by the continuous bad weather which we have experienced here of late. On the 5<sup>th</sup> and 6<sup>th</sup> we felt the edge of a pretty severe typhoon which started from the Bashee Channel and, as so frequently happens here during the S.W. monsoon, the port has been shut off from communication with the outside world ever since owing to heavy seas and a big bar.

The change from Consular to Japanese jurisdiction has of course been effected here quite smoothly. The British residents, though inclined to grumble a little at the minute detailed forms and regulations to be followed, are of course readily complying with all that is required of them.

The Authorities, too, are doing everything they can to enable things to run smoothly. The change has entailed extra work as far as the Consulate is concerned as, owing to the necessity of all applications & forms sent in to the Authorities under the regulations being written in Japanese and the consequent inability of the foreign residents to make out their own applications, these latter have all been drawn up for them at the Consulate. As regards the local Bank agencies the Auth[ori]ties. found some little difficulty at first in receiving the applications for permission to carry on their business as hitherto owing to the fact that the Finance Dept. ordinance (No: 30) bearing on the subject only referred to head offices and branch offices of banks and said nothing about Bank agencies. The Governor General has now, however, telegraphed to Mr. Isogai that it will be in order if an application is sent in from the manager of the Head Office of the Bank to the Finance Minister through him (the Govr. Genl.) stating the name and address of the Agency and forwarding a copy of the Bank charter or articles of association.

Local taxes, except the house tax, are to be collected from the 1<sup>st</sup> of next month, the house tax from the 1<sup>st</sup> of April 1900. There is no Income Tax in Formosa. The principal taxes affecting British residents here are the "Business Tax" which ranges from 30 sen to 1500 yen a year according to assessment and the "House Tax" which is 15 per cent on the assessed yearly rental.

As regards the handing over of the foreign cemetery at Takow to the Japanese Auth[ori]ties. (my desp. No: 46) strictly speaking the land is not as far as Article XVIII of our Treaty [of Navigation and Commerce, 1894] is concerned, property belonging to the

Settlement but is portion of a lot belonging to the British Government. It will be a good thing, however, if it can now be handed over to the Japanese Govt. and the cemetery placed under their control.

At present only one of the trustees (Dr. Myers) resides in Takow and it is difficult for efficient control to be exercised. There is not the slightest objection on the part of the Foreign Community here to the transfer of the charge and control of the cemetery to the Japanese Authorities.

Besides the foreign cemetery at Takow (and this as already mentioned is, strictly speaking, not community property) there is no land or property in either Tainan, Anping or Takow which can be considered property belonging to the settlement.

Yours very truly

Ernest A. Griffiths

41. Griffiths to Satow [handwritten, p. 121 in file]

Private

Anping

August 26. 1899

Dear Sir Ernest Satow.

Your private letter of the 4<sup>th</sup> reached me on the 14<sup>th</sup> inst. in unusually quick time.

It is a little difficult to understand the footing on which Dr. Myers stands with regard to the Formosan Government. I am told by the Prefect's private Secretary who was in Taihoku recently on a visit that Dr. Goto informed him that Dr. Myers' engagement had been at the latter's own request terminated. Dr. Myers himself informs me that this is incorrect – that while it is impossible for him to get on with Dr. Goto, the latter having plainly informed him that he required no foreign assistance or advice in the management of the affairs of the Island, he (Dr. Myers) has not resigned and that he still continues to supply the Governor General and the Cabinet in Tokio with information and advice respecting Formosan affairs. The position is a curious one more particularly as I believe that Dr. Goto is practically the head of the Island.

The interpreter or secretary – a Mr. Yasuda – supplied by the Gov[ernment]. Gen[eral]l. for Dr. Myers' benefit has been recalled and has returned to Japan and altogether it would seem as if Dr. Myers, though nominally still employed, had been shelved. It would be interesting to know if his letters to the Cabinet are read. One which he recently showed me – a very

lengthy document – was, almost from beginning to end a bitter attack on, if not a strong indictment of, Dr. Goto's administration of the Island, especially with reference to what Dr. Myers calls the "Goto policy of surrender" (to the brigands). There is, so far as I can learn, no truth in the rumour that Dr. Myers is bringing an action against the Governor General to prevent recognition of his title to a great part of the land on which Takow is situated.

I believe Dr. Myers had a slight difference with the authorities about a year and a half ago respecting the erection of a shed by the lighthouse dept. on a piece of ground which Dr. Myers claimed to be included within the boundaries of his property situated on Saracen's Head. The matter was settled amicably however. More recently he has got at loggerheads with a native – and old resident of Takow – respecting foreshore rights. Dr. Myers claims to have the right to fill in in front not only of his own property but for some considerable distance beyond, while the native says that a portion of the sea frontage proposed to be filled in by Dr. Myers has belonged to him for many years, and he has produced deeds of ownership. Dr. Myers himself referred the matter direct to Mr. Isogai, the Prefect, and requested him to stop the native from filling in. This Mr. Isogai has done on the condition that Dr. Myers also stops filling in pending settlement. The matter, which has never come before me officially, is still, I believe, being negotiated.

Yours very truly

Ernest A. Griffiths

42. Griffiths to Satow [handwritten, p. 125 in file]

Anping

October 10, 1899

Dear Sir Ernest Satow,

Your private letter dated "Chiuzenji 20 August" reached me on September 4. I have delayed replying until now as I was anxious to hear first from Mr. Kenny, to whom I had telegraphed on the subject, whether it could be arranged for him to postpone his return to Tainan until the spring or early summer by which time I hope to be able to go up for my examination in Japanese. I have now received a telegram from him to the effect that it is impossible for him to do so. Under the circumstances and as I should be sorry to go home on leave without passing my examination I should like, if possible, to be attached to the Yokohama Consulate for a few months to enable me to prepare for the examination.

I telegraphed to you today asking if I might be so attached. I am very sorry that I am not

ready to go up for the examination now but trust to be able to do so by the beginning of the summer.

Yours very truly  
Ernest A. Griffiths

43. Satow to Griffiths [handwritten, p. 127 in file]

D[ra]ft.

Tokio

13 October 1899

Dear Mr. Griffiths,

Your telegram reached me the day before yesterday. I am sorry to learn that you do not expect to be ready for your examination by the end of November, and that you wish to put off going on leave. Unless men in the Consular service take their home leave when it is offered to them, they must naturally run the chance of losing their turn. I do not say this is the case at the present moment, but it may happen if you remain another six months. I suppose you have been some fifteen years in the service, and the question naturally presents itself, what have you been doing all that time in regards learning the language?

However, I am willing to facilitate your passing the examination as far as I can, and am prepared to station you at Yokohama on the following conditions:

- 1°. That you lay no claims to precedence over any assistant junior to you in the service who may be at the Yokohama Consulate when you join it.
- 2°. That while it will be understood that you are there for the purpose of working at the language, you will be at the Consul's disposition should he require your services.
- 3°. That your claim to be the next on the roster for home leave is in abeyance as long as you are attached to Yokohama.

I am obliged to make these conditions, of w[hi]ch. the first may be somewhat unpalatable to you, because your coming to Yokohama under any other circumstances would be an inconvenience to the public service.

Yours very truly  
E.S.

44. Satow to Griffiths [handwritten, p. 129 in file]

Anping



31 October 1899

Dear Sir Ernest Satow,

I am in receipt of your private letter of the 13<sup>th</sup> instant and beg to thank you for your kindly acceding to my request to be attached to the Yokohama Consulate for a short time to enable me to work up for my final examination in Japanese. As my object in making the request was for my personal benefit, I did not of course desire that existing arrangements should in any way be interfered with so as to cause inconvenience to the public service and I willingly therefore accept the conditions under which you grant my request.

As I am desirous of going home on leave as soon as possible I shall of course use every endeavour to pass the examination at the earliest possible date.

Yours very truly

Ernest A. Griffiths

45. Kenny to Satow [handwritten, p. 131 in file]

Anping

December 4, 1899.

Dear Sir Ernest,

I arrived here yesterday morning, and found Mr. Griffiths, I am sorry to say, very seedy, but cheerful at the prospect of leaving by the next mail about the 15<sup>th</sup>. He must have a wonderful constitution to have been able to stand three years of this place without collapsing completely, as I did after only six months, and without a change.

Passing through Amoy, I took occasion to inspect the Japanese Concession, and was surprised to find that it is only a narrow strip of unoccupied land (on the North side of the river near the mouth) of about 2½ acres running between the oil-tanks (belonging, I think, to Schale & Co) and a Chinese village. It does not include the disputed cemetery or Tiger Hill at the back – both desirable places from a Settlement point of view – and has a very rocky foreshore, so that it can scarcely be called a valuable acquisition in its present state. However, if the Japanese construct a pier of a few hundred yards as far as deep water (say 8 fathoms) ships would be able to come alongside.

There are, I hear, about 800 Formosans in Amoy, who have applied to the Japanese Consul there to be recognized, and appear to be giving him some trouble. He applied to our Consul (Mr. Mansfield) for advice, & was advised to follow our rule of not recognizing naturalized subjects abroad.

Mr. Griffiths and I are busy today handing and taking over. Tomorrow we visit all the officials, and the next day go to Takow. Anping is about the same as when I left it, but, Tainan, I am told, has been greatly improved.

Yours very truly,

W.J. Kenny

46. Kenny to Satow [handwritten, p. 133 in file]

[Ans. Bain & Co. this is a question not of Treaty but of Jap[ane]se. Law: the local Court must decide. 5/2/00]

Private

Anping

January 31. 1900.

Dear Sir Ernest,

The word “shutoku” in the enclosed ordinance seems to be quite new, used in the sense of “acquiring land” (tochi wo shutoku suru koto).<sup>22</sup> I cannot find it so used in the Minpō,<sup>23</sup> or in the Japanese version of our Treaty, but it appears in the Note of Visct. Aoki to the German Minister for Foreign Affairs – March 31, 1896 – (attached to the German Treaty) where it is used in the sense of “acquiring the right of ownership of land” tochi shoyuken wo shutoku suru koto.<sup>24</sup> I have written to Mr. Otori asking whether it relates only to the right of ownership of land, and expect a reply in ten days or so.

Messrs. Bain & Co. have asked me whether after having registered as a Gōmeikwaisha<sup>25</sup> & being advertised by the local Court as such, they are not a commercial firm established under Japanese law, and, therefore, a juridical person entitled to acquire the right of ownership of land. I referred them to Ordinance 1 and suggested that they should apply to Dr. Lönholm for his opinion. It appears they wish to buy some land in Takow from their Compradore the title deeds of which they hold at present as security for advances.

The brigands have been very troublesome all this month, as I believe they always are at the approach of the Chinese New Year, but a military expedition sent out a fortnight ago has dispersed them to the hills.

The Contract for repairing the Takow Consulate residence on the hill was signed on the

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<sup>22</sup> 土地を取得すること

<sup>23</sup> Minpō 民法 Civil Law, Civil Code

<sup>24</sup> 土地所有権を取得すること

<sup>25</sup> 合名会社 an unlimited partnership

16<sup>th</sup> instant & the work ought to be finished before June next. When ready the house will be a delightful place to live in.

The railway between here and Takow will be open before the end of the year probably in September. The harbour works at Takow are also being professed [progressed?] with. It is proposed to cut a second channel to the sea from the West of the lagoon and to deepen the harbour to allow of vessels up to 1500 tons entering & anchoring.

Yours very truly

W.J. Kenny

47. Kenny to Satow [handwritten, p. 135 in file]

Anping

March 5, 1900

Dear Sir Ernest,

Ordinance No. 4, in the light of Mr. Otori's explanations, seems to have no particular meaning or application at present, beyond the mere recognition of the existence of our Registers. It ought to be a simple matter for the Formosan Authorities to issue an ordinance now stating clearly how they propose to register foreigners' perpetual leases hereafter. At present we only have this Ordinance establishing the equal validity of our Registers with those of the Formosan Courts (which do not exist) and leaving everything else vague, and a private instruction to the two Kenchō [prefectural offices 県庁] which makes the Kenchō the Registry Office, instead of the Courts.

I was called upon to make the latter known to British Subjects in the Island, and to hand over a copy of our Register at once, but this I did not feel at liberty to do here in Formosa, without having first received my instructions from you. One can understand that the difficulty in the way may be to adopt perpetual leases under the Treaty, and at the same time to apply the Regulations for the registration of Immoveables (from which rights relating to land are expressly excluded) without having recourse to a Ritsurei [律令 legal code], which is the only recognized mode of enacting the Laws and Ordinances of Japan in Formosa. But there seems to be nothing to prevent the Formosan Authorities from issuing an independent Ritsurei, as they have done in other cases, dealing with this question, seeing that land in Formosa is exempted from the operation of the Civil Code. One way would be to apply the Civil Code to rights relating to land, where foreigners are concerned, to take effect from the date of promulgation of rules for the Registration of Immoveables as they

are in force in Japan; - or, another way, which, however, may not commend itself to the Authorities, would be to recognize a perpetual lease as ownership, which it practically is, and this could be done by the mere issue of a Government General Order (Furei) [府令] explaining that the words “actually owned” in Ordinance No. 1 (forwarded in my despatch No. 3 of the 31<sup>st</sup> January) include land “actually held under perpetual lease” by foreigners.

Imperial Ordinances Nos. 329 and 458 fix the latest time for registration as August 4 this year, but as these Ordinances do not apply at present to rights relating to land in Formosa, there seems to be no necessity for haste, and the Consular Register ought to be unconditionally accepted, until the matters of land and land registration are placed on a proper footing.

In the meantime should a transfer take place, the Kenchō can always obtain a certified copy of all entries in the Register relating to the lot, and provisionally register it, which, indeed, is all they appear to have the power to do at present under the instruction issued.

I trust it may not be thought that I am raising a question unnecessarily, but in view of the fact that the whole question of land tenure, proprietors, measurements, boundary marks, titles, etc, is now being investigated, and \* will be settled probably more or less arbitrarily, as regards the natives at least, at a meeting of the Committee to be held some time this year or next, it would not seem too much, in order to avoid questions in the future, to ask from the Authorities – an assurance that foreigners rights shall not be made the subject of this investigation, or interfered with by local officials in any way.

\* With regard to this, I enclose a cutting from the Taiwan Nichi-Nichi Shimbun (semi-official newspaper published at Taipeh) of the 23<sup>rd</sup> ulto. [Margin note. See cutting below.]

I am not addressing any further queries to Mr. Otori on this subject, although the word han-i, [範圍] which I have translated “scope,” still seems to require explanation.

Our Land Register, I should mention, contains 56 entries, most of which are of lots held on perpetual lease, inside and outside the Settlements, from Taotai<sup>26</sup> of Formosa, and the

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<sup>26</sup> Tao'tai", n. [Chin. tao circuit + t'ai, a title of respect.] In China, an official at the head of the civil and military affairs of a circuit, which consists of two or more fu, or territorial departments; -- called also, by foreigners, intendant of circuit. Foreign consuls and commissioners associated with taotais as superintendants of trade at the treaty ports are ranked with the taotai. (Webster's Revised Unabridged Dictionary, © 1996, 1998 MICRA, Inc., cited in dictionary.com) The rank was abolished shortly after the establishment of the Republic of China in 1911.

entries are nearly all one-page ones, so that copying the Register is not such a formidable matter as it appears to be at Tamsui.

Baron de Richthofen and Dr. Müller, Acting German Consul at Taipeh, passed through here today on their way back overland. They travel nearly the same route as I took 3 years ago – Hunlim, Polisia and Taichū, and will be accompanied by a large Japanese escort the whole way. Dr. Müller told me that Messrs. Mannich & Co, formerly German merchants here (now retired), had sent in a camphor claim somewhat on the same lines as Bain & Co's, and that it would probably be presented or pressed either to the Government or against the Monopolists (i.e. whoever purchases the monopoly).

I have received an interesting report from Father Giner,<sup>27</sup> head of the Spanish Catholic Mission, who has lived for many years in the district of the brigand Chief, Kwa-ti-ha or Katetsu, in mid-Formosa. He gives an account, apparently trustworthy, of the state of affairs in the interior, especially in the vicinity of Hunlim (Unrin), since the Japanese occupation, and believes in the existence of a treaty between the Japanese and ※ Kwatiha. The document is in Spanish, of which I know nothing, but in the absence of assistance, I am endeavouring to translate it myself, and shall forward it as soon as possible.

※ Kwa-ti-ha, I hear, died of dropsy about three weeks ago. [Margin note]

The Kenchō officials tell me that a Russian man-of-war is expected to call here soon. I hope not, as such a visit would have a disturbing effect on the natives in this part of the Island, and might precipitate a rising against the Japanese.

Camphor The Camphor monopoly is to be disposed of by tender, regulations on the

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<sup>27</sup> Father Francisco Giner. "On September 3, 1895, a group of Christians gathered secretly in the church of Touliu to pray the rosary. At this meeting, they were told that the rebels were on the lookout for them, that the rebels had every intention of slaughtering them. This prompted them to flee to other towns for refuge. They were hardly out of the town when a bandit-led mob of rebels entered the town and sacked the church and set the missionary's building on fire. If the missionary had been there, he would no doubt have been put to death. The same vandalistic acts were perpetrated on the chapels at Shalun, Talibu and Chiuakha. At Tainan two weeks later, the catechist was cruelly put to death.

By the end of November, the Japanese succeeded in quelling all rebels' resistance. Their sway over Formosa was complete. But the Christians, who still did not know what the Japanese policy would be towards Christianity, continued to roam from one place to another, fearing to return to their homes as yet. Thanks to Fr. Francisco Giner, these Christians eventually went back to their homes. Father Giner succeeded in convincing them that the Japanese meant them no harm, that they would extend protection to the Christians and would permit them to practice their faith unmolested. These good priests had to do this because he realized that if the Christians remained in hiding, they would eventually give up their faith and all the work of the missionaries would go for naught." (Church in Taiwan, [http://www.catholic.org.tw/dominicanfamily/taiwan\\_history\\_english.htm](http://www.catholic.org.tw/dominicanfamily/taiwan_history_english.htm) accessed 27 June 2014)

subject of which may be issued any day, now that Dr. Gōtō [Shimpei] has returned. The tenders are, it is reported, to be confined to the following firms: Okura, Mitsui, Sumitomo (Besshi Copper Mine)<sup>28</sup> Hamaoka (a Kiōtō capitalist)<sup>29</sup> Messrs. Samuel, Samuel & Co., Messrs. Jardine Matheson and Messrs. Tait & Co.

The last firm is backed by a strong London Syndicate, and hopes to get the monopoly, one of the conditions of which is said to be that the purchaser must deposit yen 2,000,000 in gold, or Formosan Industrial Loan Bonds with the Taiwan Ginkō [Bank] as security.

The Syndicate have telegraphed to Messrs. Tait & Co, that money will be forthcoming to any extent, but that they must first insist on getting an “official” assurance ~~guarantees~~ that the Kiushiu [Kyushu] production shall either be stopped or included in the monopoly, and that the Government must guarantee them against smuggling, otherwise they will not be prepared to tender.

Mr. Bruce, partner in Tait & Co., and Mr. Ohly, their representative here, have both gone to Taipeh to see Dr. Gōtō before the Tender Regulations are published. Nothing is known yet as to the conditions, but the tender will probably take the form of a three or five years’ contract, with or without the above guarantees, and a maximum limit will be placed to the production of, say 20,000-40,000 boxes a year. The Government, I believe, calculate on a profit of \$800,000 a year on \$3,000,000 purchase money, but this seems to be a sanguine estimate, in view of the increasing cost of labour for transport from the depôts in the interior, which the Government undertakes, and the expenses connected with a guarantee against smuggling, which they must give in order to establish a monopoly vis-a-vis the purchaser. To do this will be expensive, as it will involve the purchase of all old or private camphor at any price that may reach the HongKong market, and will rather tend to encourage illicit manufacture and smuggling than otherwise. The Government’s camphor is turned out in solid rectangular blocks weighing 10 catties each, is marked, and does not lose weight, so that private camphor can be at once recognized. I understand the Japanese Consul at HongKong has orders to buy up all outside camphor on behalf of the Formosan Government, and return it to Taipeh, and of course the purchasers of the monopoly will employ similar measures for their own protection.

I cannot help thinking that it would be much more profitable for the Formosan Govt. if

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<sup>28</sup> 別子銅山 (*Besshi Dōzan*) is in Niihama City, Ehime prefecture. It was discovered in 1690, and closed in 1973. The Sumitomo family managed the mine, which helped to build the Sumitomo *zaibatsu*.

<sup>29</sup> Probably Hamaoka Kōtetsu 浜岡光哲 (1853-1936).

they followed the old lines and levied a tax, as between producer and purchaser, of so much a box, giving the same amount of supervision and protection as they do now. It would certainly be more satisfactory to the foreign merchant who alone – in this district at least – started and developed the industry, and who now finds himself summarily deprived of his trade without the slightest compensation. Moreover it would have the additional advantage of bringing, more and more, independent foreign (British) capital into the Island every year, and of developing its resources in a natural and practical manner. The Government has, I believe, contracted with a certain Chinaman for the production and purchase of camphor in the interior at the fixed rates, and many of the old workers and some of the foreign hun – or hun built with foreign money – are, it is said, still being used. Of this however, I have no evidence at present beyond the report of some of the Compradores here.

Another British camphor claim is, I am informed, about to be sent in, one of \$28,000 from Messrs. Dinshaw & Co., being, it is understood, for money actually disbursed by the firm. The affidavits in connection with this claim are being made out in Hong-Kong, and may arrive next mail. This brings the total of the three camphor claims from this district to nearly \$68,000 – a sum which British merchants here would be glad to accept, if paid promptly, in full satisfaction of all camphor claims, and which the Formosan Government – without being asked to formally recognize these as claims – could well afford to present to the merchants this year out of the proceeds of the monopoly.

I must apologise for the length of this letter, and trust you will kindly excuse me if I have overstepped bounds in anything I have said. There are many other things I should like to write to you about privately in the hope of mending them, which it is scarcely yet the time to report on officially, such as, the outlook for British shipping and the sugar trade, which are both seriously threatened by the huge subsidy granted to the Osaka Shosen Kwaisha (yen 250,000 from the Home Govt. and yen 800,000 from the Formosan Govt.) this year. British merchants are beginning to complain of official discrimination and indirect interference, and to fear that a final monopoly is contemplated, but I hope the Formosan authorities will see the wisdom before long of allowing foreigners to invest in land, and engage in sugar cultivation and manufacture, instead of burdening themselves with another monopoly.

The weather here has been delightful during the past three months, averaging under 60° , and we have had only one day's rain during all that time, but old residents expect a severe rainy season beginning next month.

Satow Papers: PRO 30/33 5/12

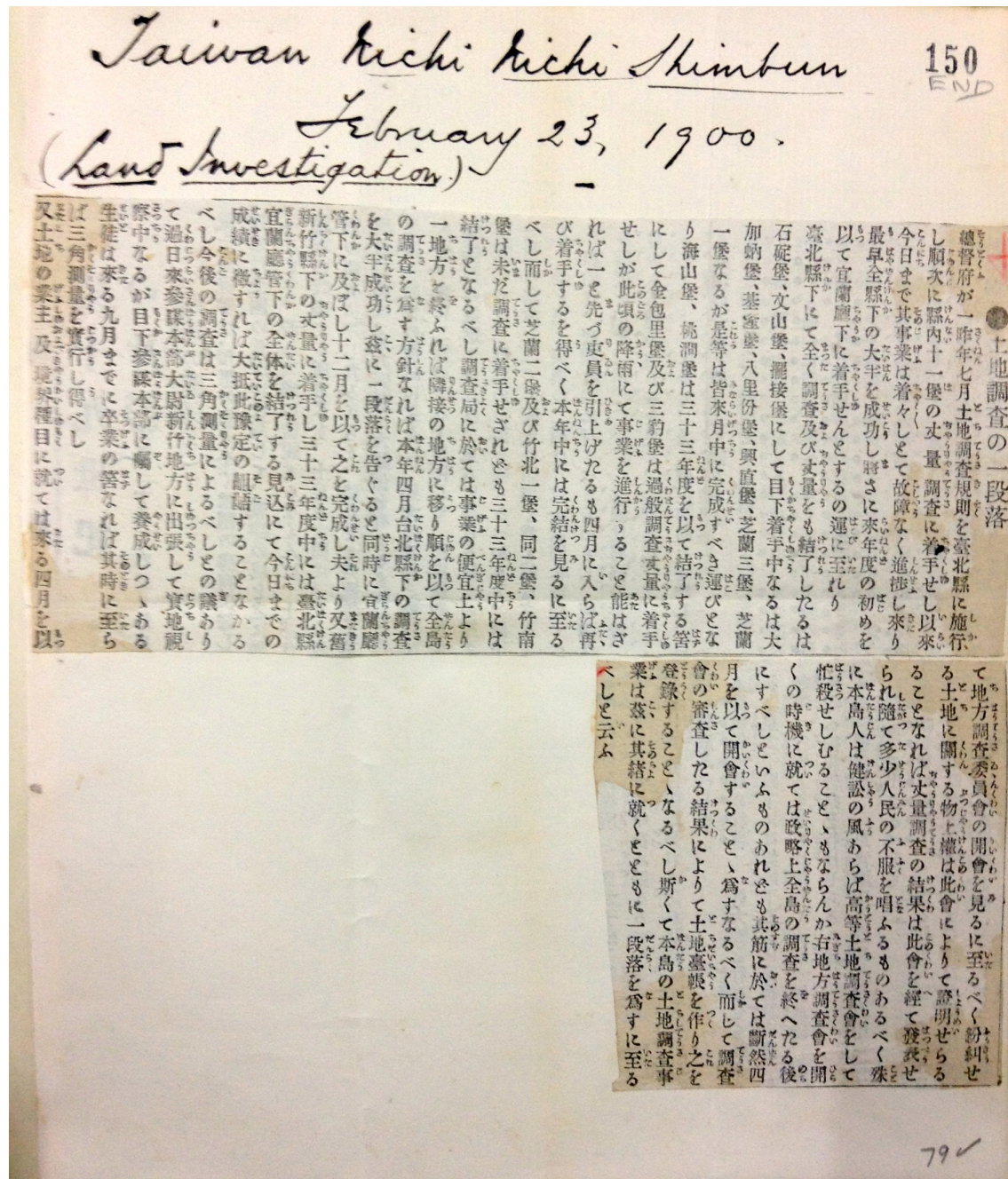
Correspondence and Papers (private). Japanese Mission. Consular Staff. Anping, Formosa (Taiwan).  
(January 1897 – March 1900)

Yours truly,

W.J. Kenny

Enclosed newspaper cutting: see next page.





End of file.

Satow Papers: PRO 30/33 5/13

Correspondence and Papers (private). Japanese Mission. Consular Staff. Tamsui, Formosa (Taiwan). (February 1896 – April 1900)

**Satow Papers: PRO 30/33 5/13**

**Correspondence and Papers (private). Japanese Mission. Consular Staff. Tamsui, Formosa (Taiwan). (February 1896 – April 1900)**

1. Raymond de Burgh Money Layard<sup>1</sup> to Satow [handwritten, p. 1 in file]

Hong Kong Club [embossed letterhead]

Feb. 27.1896

My dear Sir Ernest,

Providence is clearly on my side. We arrived here yesterday, without having had any rough sea whatever, and on making enquiries found that the Douglas steamer “Formosa” left the following day, that is today for Amoy and Tamsui. As these steamers leave at irregular intervals – not under a week – according as they can fill up with freight, it was & is the greatest piece of good luck imaginable. There are others that go to Amoy only, whence steamers of a sort run about twice a week to Tamsui. Longford had better communicate later with Douglas Lapraik<sup>2</sup> & Co. and find out all particulars about their steamers which go hence to Taiwanfu. The runs vary according to the seasons. I am in

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<sup>1</sup> Raymond de Burgh Money Layard (1859-1941). Educated at Wellington College. Appointed Student Interpreter in Japan, 1881. Acting Consul at Tamsui, 1896. Consul for Hakodate, 1896-7. Transferred to Tamsui, August 1898; to Nagasaki, May 1903. Consul at Honolulu, 1904-8. Consul-General at Manila, 1908-9. Transferred to Kobe, 1909. Made a C.M.G., 1913. Retired 1913. Employed in War Trade Intelligence Department 1917-19 as Assistant Editor of the Official History of the Blockade. [F.O. List, 1942; *Times*, September 23, 1941.]

<sup>2</sup> Douglas Lapraik (1818-1869) who started his Hong Kong career as a watchmaker's apprentice, in 1860 founded a steamship company which ran the south China coast. By the time of his death in 1869 he owned seven steamships. In 1866, Douglas Lapraik together with Thomas Sutherland, also founded the well-known Hong Kong and Whampoa Dock Company, which is at the present day one of the largest concerns of the kind in the world. They built docks under arrangements with the Admiralty to admit the largest ships in the Navy, thus creating in Hong Kong an effective naval base.

In 1866 Douglas Lapraik retired from his company and his nephew J.S. Lapraik took over as a director. J.S. Lapraik took two partners and continued the company as Douglas Lapraik & Co. The Douglas Steamship Company was formed 1883 and took over the various steamers and other assets which had been managed but only partly owned by the firm of Douglas Lapraik & Co. J.S. Lapraik died in 1893 and the firm was then led by junior partner Davis.

The cession of Taiwan to Japan under the Treaty of Shimonoseki in 1895 which ended the Sino-Japanese War, struck the company a heavy blow. The Osaka Shosen Kaisha (OSK) placed several steamers on the Amoy-Tamsui Line and the Douglas Steamship Company was forced to cut down freight rates. Also, OSK opened several other lines and began to compete on the China coast with Douglas Steamship Company and the company incurred severe losses. (Adapted from <http://www.theshipslist.com/ships/lines/douglas.shtml> , accessed June 29, 2014.)

touch with [William Scrope] Ayrton as the Captain of the “Formosa” was told by him to look out for me. The date (the 26<sup>th</sup>) you mentioned to him will not be so far out after all, I am glad to say. The shops here are in the habit of supplying residents in Formosa and an order from Tamsui can be carried out & goods laid down there within a [illegible].

There seem to be a number of Japanese going with us this afternoon. With best regards from my wife, believe me

Yours sincerely

R. de B. Layard

2. Layard to Satow [handwritten, p. 3 in file]

Tamsui

March 5/96

My dear Sir Ernest,

[W.S.] Ayrton<sup>3</sup> hands over charge at the close of this day – too late to be reported by the outgoing steamer. I arrived here a couple of days ago – and have been busy extracting all possible information from him. Things are quite quiet, but the crux seems to be to know who is the proper head of affairs locally. The civil and military do not seem to work together, and in any case where they wish to escape responsibility, the one gets behind the other, and Ayrton says he has had on certain occasions to go from department to department and then failed to run the responsible person to earth.

I shall know more about it when I have made my official calls today in Twa-tutia, which by the way necessitates going miles up the river by launch & sleeping the night. The other Consuls have a great pull in being at headquarters at Taipei (or Taihoku) Fu. It is hard luck the British Consulate was ever built so far away – where it is only of use for taking care of ships’ papers. The telegraph account[?] shows how communication is carried on with the authorities. Letters take 2 days to come from the city. I would suggest confidential despatches being sent via H’gk’g or Sh’ghai, the delay in the P.O. seems to be somewhat suspicious. It is probable the Jap[ane]se may make a bid for the site of the fort and Consulate which commands the harbour and if they offered sufficient, say \$12,000, it would be well worth considering if they gave us an equivalent site at the capital which is

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<sup>3</sup> William Scrope Ayrton (1849 – 1902) of the China service. Appointed Student Interpreter in China, 1869. In 1891 he was promoted to be Consul at Tamsui. Acting Consul at Newchwang, May 1891– October 1892. At Tamsui, 1896. Transferred to Wênchow, February 4, 1896. [F.O. List, 1903]

healthy, and the centre of all business. But this is all in the air, and I gather the O[ffice]. of W[orks]. would be obstructive in the matter. Everyone I have met says they are at a great disadvantage with other nationals because of our absence from the centre. A continuous stream of the most gruesome description of stories about the late troubles has been poured into my ears, and the office diary is very interesting reading. It has been drizzling with rain continuously for weeks, and one can stick one's finger into the wet plaster on the inside of the room walls at the Consulate. This is not the case, they say, up the river. Please do not think I am complaining but I want you to know exactly how things are.

Accounts of Anping & Takow are better than of this place, regarding climate. As to our local capital up river one may say there is no fever.

I am writing to Hall by another steamer a few days hence and will send him a photo of the house which I will ask him to show you. The steamer is now leaving and I must close. My wife, who remained at Amoy pro. tem. [for the time being] with the Broadbents will be here in a few days – by the steamer which will take away the Ayrtons. She will be the only lady here apparently.

Yours very sincerely

R. de B. Layard

3. Layard to Satow [handwritten, p. 7 in file]

Tamsui

March 11. 1896.

[Recd. 27 -----]

Dear Sir Ernest,

With regard to Liu [Lin?] Hsün Chên and his post here, we shall of course require a Japanese in the course of time to fill his place – and I have asked Hall to look out for a suitable person.

L.H. Chên however will be of great value here until the land business is settled as he has all the old Chinese archives relating to deeds etc at his fingers' ends. This however should not stand in his way if they can place him in China as he seems to have done good service. You know Mr. Ayrton's opinion of him.

I have not been able to come to a clear understanding yet about the local authorities, but dare say I can put in a test case soon. Perhaps at headquarters in Tokio they could elucidate the matter more quickly.

Yours sincerely

R. de B. Layard

4. Layard to Satow [handwritten, p. 9 in file]

Tamsui

March 20 1896

My dear Sir Ernest,

I was concocting the despatch enclosed when your telegram arrived, and I am glad to bring the matter to your notice. I have put it as clearly as I can.

Even with the rail or road complete, too much time would be taken up with getting backwards & forth. There is no earthly reason why the Consulate ever was established here except I suppose the difficulty of getting a grant of land from the Chinese at Twatutia.

I hear the Japanese would be glad to have this site, but they have said nothing to me about it.

With regard to a position up river an ideal spot would be outside Taipeh on what is called Ferry Hill about ¼ hour in a chair, scarcely further than Twatutia from the Govt. offices. I have not yet inspected the place, but will let you know when I can.

I am very busy with the Trade Report Customs Return not out yet – and not a single note left for me to work on. Will you also forgive the white paper and no endorsement. There are only a few sheets of paper left and I cannot afford even one. No grey paper at all. I have written to Amoy for more.

Do not be astonished if I have to write on “semi-official”.

Yours very truly

R. de B. Layard

We have written for our daughter to follow. All well here.

5. Layard to Satow [handwritten, p. 11 in file]

Tamsui

March 29. 1896.

My dear Sir Ernest,

My two despp. [despatches] if not of any particular importance will give you an idea of the procrastination which is simply rampant here. As regards the coolies the Jap[ane]se. were perfectly aware that the coolies were going to arrive, but did not let me know in time

what was necessary, the result being that the coolies were detained for 24 hours.

In the other case knowing what the telegraph dep[ar]tm[en]t. is here, I wanted to show Nōmura the Chief of Customs and the Govr. Genl. that I was up to their tricks. I could not “bluff” them so thought it best to telegraph to you. I heard Nōmura give a hurried order as I went to send off my wire and no doubt he wired to Taipeh. It is a coincidence, if not, that the Chief Sec[retary] should have telegraphed to me just afterwards. It has cost H.M. Gov[ernmen]t. some \$22 but I don’t think they will force me to do it again.

The Custome here have not got their Returns out yet, and it is only since last June that they took over from the Chinese Customs. I have written to Morse<sup>4</sup> at Shanghai for the returns previous to that, but I do not know how it will turn out. Merchants here are giving me notes upon their different lines of business, and I hope to send in my Report before very long, but it is uphill work.

Am I right in supposing that telegrams sent here and effecting the Southern port also should be forwarded by me? I let Hurst know about the Thales opium, at any rate. Forwarding thro’ Tamsui would save money, and waste but little time.

Yours very truly

R. de B. Layard

All well here

6. Layard to Satow [handwritten, p. 13 in file]

Tamsui

April 8<sup>th</sup> 1896

My dear Sir Ernest

I am sending the accounts as well as another desp[atch]. by Japanese steamer – as an experiment. She leaves for Kobe on the 10<sup>th</sup>. We have had a great gap in the regular Douglas S.S. owing to bad weather. We had at one time in harbor 2 Douglas, 1 Malcampo, 1 German and three Jap[ane]se. steamers!

I have interviewed the Jap[ane]se. on the subject of a site up-river for the Consulate, and am to go up and inspect lots. I have been too busy to do so since getting your telegram, but,

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<sup>4</sup> Hosea Ballou Morse (1855-1934) served in the Chinese Imperial Maritime Customs Service from 1874 to 1908. Best known for his scholarly publications after retirement: *The International Relations of the Chinese Empire*, and *Chronicles of the East India Company*. Became a British citizen during World War One.



according to my Japanese friends I have only got to come and take what I want! Time will show. I have no offer yet for this house & grounds.

We have had a most disagreeable incident. There is a house known as the Sulphur Spring Club near Taipeh built by the foreign community and held in a Chinese name. The members went there the other day and found the place overrun by Japanese, and Chinese with them, the latter smoking opium on the club beds. They had to leave but the Jap[ane]se. who appears to be a subordinate official of the Taipeh Prefecture was most truculent and offensive calling in a policeman and generally behaving in any but a proper manner. The Prefecture are well aware of the ownership as on a former occasion they asked permission for an official to go there for his health's sake. I have represented the matter to the authorities and if anything regarding the property comes in will let you know. It is lucky there was not a regular free fight but the German Actg. Consul was with them. As usual here the Japanese were all armed with sword sticks, &c. One of them, a respectable old man, handed his to the policeman for fear of using it, as one of the party who understands Japanese, heard him remark.

With the hugger-mugger state of the administration there is a succession of little worries with the different departments. Just now, I notice, the Roads Office (Do boku ka [土木課?]) which is under the military has staked out a route for a roadway clean through a private British owned property, at Tamsui – clearing down the plantation for the sake of the survey. The owner's Attorney is going to make a statement about it.

It took me nearly three weeks to get a refuse heap removed from my front gate, where the "Sanitary Board" had erected a public receptacle! That and the objectionable way the soldiers etc. had of flattening their noses against our windows and trying to saunter about our houses have taken up time I could ill spare. I have stopped the last finally.

This is a beautiful place in fine weather, and I wish we could transport it bodily upriver. It surprises me that this should be unhealthy and Twatutia the opposite; but it is so. Twatutia is ugly in itself, the houses being a succession of dark cells with colonnades in front, all brick, the intervening street nothing but cobblestones with double tracks of fixed stone for the jinrikisha [rickshaws, 人力車]. The streets are laid out at right angles. Everything is pervaded by the Japanese coolies, dirty, ragged and indecent. Sentries at principal points expect the Chinese to take off their skull-caps to them, even my boatman was stopped when leading the way for my chair; but the sentry desists on my calling out in Japanese. I may say the boatman is obviously British as he has Union Jacks stitched in pairs

on his arms, as well as the regulation cap. We seem to have gone back at least 20 years. Executions go on in the open, just across the river from Twatutia a cross-bow shot off and one of Jardine's people lately looking across saw a Chinaman make a bolt from the Executioners, who chased him all about the sands slashing at him with their swords till they cut him down. At the same spot at another time, when the place was deserted, they found the bodies & heads of some of the Chinese left exposed. It is a revelation to me. Have you met Davidson the American war correspondent who I believe went to Japan with Kabayama? He is from all accounts in the pay of the Japanese, and his accuracy questionable. My partiality for the Japanese has been rudely shaken, but I think it quite likely that the military are to blame. The civilians I have met are very obliging and when behind hand in some things may no doubt be excused very often by the fact of their hands being tied to a great extent.

The Min'sei [民生局 *Minseikyoku*, Civilian Administration] was to take the place of the Gunsei [軍政局 *Gunseikyoku*, Military Administration] on the 7<sup>th</sup> April but 4 days ago they had had no instructions from Tokio. I do not know what difference it will make exactly – but we shall finally be able to fix responsibility on someone's shoulders.

Hall writes me that he does not intend to apply for the officiating billet at Nagasaki, and I am glad he should take this Consulate over when due, if the Nagasaki post (acting) is to go to the impoverished Juniors. I suppose we cannot now expect to hear anything about the Kobe Vice Consulate for another 6 weeks. We hope to hear soon of our nurse & babe leaving for this.

With best remembrances from us both

Yours very truly

R. de B. Layard

7. Layard to Satow [handwritten, p. 19 in file]

Tamsui

April 18. 1896

My dear Sir Ernest,

I am still waiting for an offer for this Consulate from the Governor General, but hope to get it soon. They tell me they are waiting for the estimates, from Tokio, for the current year. I have inspected what appears to me a suitable site just about 300 y[ar]ds above the German Consulate on the riverbank at Twatutia. It is raised considerably higher over the water



than any other land about, & consists of three lots, occupied by Chinese timber yards. The main difficulty is water, but Artesian wells are easily driven and give good water in great volume. This would cost I am told not more than \$300.

A stern sense of duty compels me to do my best in this direction; Twatutia can't compare, except for healthiness, with this place, which is really beautiful.

The Japanese Consul at Amoy is now supplying coolies with passports to come over. His fee per head is \$2. We have had no more bother with them. Douglas' new steamer the Haimun has arrived and we now get very frequent S.S. [Steam Ships] from Amoy for the tea season.

We expect Christabel and nurse about the end of the month. I hope Mr. W. Morgan has had a 'good time' in the country.

Kind regards from my wife.

Yours sincerely

R. de B. Layard

8. Layard to Satow [handwritten, p. 21 in file]

Rusty pens have spoilt my handwriting!

Tamsui

April 22. 96

My dear Sir Ernest Satow,

Please accept my best thanks for so kindly telegraphing the news of my appointment to Kobe. It was a delightful surprise, there is so much difference between "hoping" and "expecting".

I am still without any reply from the Governor about an offer for the Consulate. It takes a long time to get anything out of the local offices, and I cannot look in upon them at this distance, as I have plenty to keep me occupied.

The Japanese Customs have not yet got their returns compiled for last year – and they only took over charge in June. I am getting the first half from China.

We received a telegram lately to say our Babe could not start on the 18<sup>th</sup> and are anxiously waiting to hear why?

With best remembrances from my wife – believe me

Yours sincerely

R. de B. Layard

9. Layard to Satow [handwritten, p. 23 in file]

Tamsui

April 27. 1896

My dear Sir Ernest

The same revolting procrastination on the part of local people which I mentioned before, prevents me sending you any news about an offer for this Consulate. The complaint on their part is that they are shorthanded but the results are wearing in the extreme. The true cause is, I think, that the officials are always playing a game of “post”; transfers are the order of the day all round.

I think the Japanese are likely to put quarantine restrictions on ships coming here from Hong Kong and I may have to telegraph to you about it. There is some epidemic even now in Taipeh, but as far as I can gather it is kakke [脚気 beriberi]. Nothing worse, although it is very prompt in its effects. There has been no fever amongst foreigners (excepting the Ayrton children) since I arrived. Hopkins of the China service was here for two years and only had a week of it.

Yours very truly

R. de B. Layard

10. Layard to Satow [handwritten, p. 25 in file]

Tamsui

May 4. 1896.

[Recd. 20]

My dear Sir Ernest,

It is annoying to have to write to you despatches such as today, but things are in a bad way here. The Japanese seem to make no headway at all; and the Island [Taiwan/Formosa] might still be under military occupation for all the satisfaction to be got.

Several lots of British property at Kelung are still occupied by the Jap[ane]se. no rent being paid to the owner. They have not yet made any surveys of property or verified limits so one gets no satisfaction. Although the gun-sei [軍政 military government] was nominally withdrawn on the 1<sup>st</sup> April (it was not notified however) the railway to Kelung is still under military control, ordinary traffic is only allowed as a favor & grudgingly. They even keep secret the numbers of locomotives & rolling stock. The policing of Tamsui itself

is conducted by Police, gendarmes, soldiers and Custom House officials mixed, so the result is not always a success, especially on incoming steamers whose Captains are sometimes touchy.

The coolies are a source of great annoyance; overpaid, drunken rowdies who think the whole street belongs to them, and walk in and out of compounds and houses. Twatutia is not properly patrolled by Police, although they are helpful after the Event: Tis [It is] the same here.

Grunenwald has great hopes of Haseguchi who replaces the Act[in]g Prefect – some day but they don't seem to want to make much of the Island. The coal mines at Kelung even are stopped. I have the feeling that they don't expect to stay here for ever but it is only a feeling.

The German steamer “Ingraban”<sup>5</sup> with rice is ashore outside the bar and not likely to get off.

All well here.

Yours very truly,

R. de B. Layard

11. Layard to Satow [handwritten, p. 27 in file]

[Recd. 26<sup>th</sup>.]

Tamsui

May 11<sup>th</sup>. 1896.

My dear Sir Ernest,

I am at my wits' end to discover how to supply the statistics applied for in your desp[atch]. No. 11 re goods carried to Japan from Formosa. No one seems able to give the necessary information. I will not however give up trying yet awhile.

The Customs here are still at work (?) on their returns, and I am utterly put to shame with regard to my overdue Trade Report.

Hashiguchi Bungo, the new Prefect at Taipeh has just assumed office. I have not seen him, but hear he is a capable man, and I trust that he may have the power to settle some of the land questions. One or two of our nationals state that the Japanese are meditating

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<sup>5</sup> The steamer *Ingraban* was built by Blohm & Voss in Hamburg for the shipping company J.P. Massmann & Co. of Heiligenhafen which ran three ships on the route to China. Sold to Japan in 1900, and renamed *Yoko Maru*. Destroyed by fire in Osaka, December 1901. (<http://www.wrecksite.eu/wreck.aspx?207462> , accessed July 3, 2014)

building on land which is British property at Kelung – and I have of course represented it; but whilst the lots are as vague as they appear to be, there will always be trouble. Perhaps the best method would be for the Japanese to issue new title deeds – but the British owners seem to value their old Chinese documents too much to part with them lightly. Some claims, I fancy, are rather flimsy, and I feel sure will give rise to considerable discussion. A new official attached to the government offices called on me to explain that there were many and very good reasons for so many of my despp. [despatches] remaining unanswered – but they scarcely held water. The fact remains that they have had title deeds in their hands for over nine weeks, for registration, and have not returned them as requested.

It looks as if everything were referred to Tokio.

Do you wish to buy any of McClatchie's<sup>6</sup> books? [W.S.] Ayrton has left a great number here, thinking, I suppose, to get purchasers amongst the Jap[ane]se service. I have not a list, but is there anything you especially wish for?

My wife and myself find the weather by no means unpleasantly hot, and we have had many beautiful days. We get a little tennis occasionally and there are plenty of walks. We expect our babe and nurse next Thursday or Friday – (the 15<sup>th</sup>). Probably de Bondy arrives by the same steamer.

Did you see much of the Morgans?<sup>7</sup> I am very sorry to have missed them.

Yours very truly

R. de B. Layard

12. Layard to Satow [handwritten, p. 30A in file]

[Recd. 30]

Tamsui

May 18. 1896

My dear Sir Ernest,

I received your telegram about notification re shipping at Kelung.

The accounts of the plague in Anping seem exaggerated, the cases apparently having been passengers by junk from the mainland, but Longford no doubt has reported.

The last influx of officials from Japan seems to have provided a good number of “new brooms” – and I am getting answers to my despatches of old date, by degrees. I cannot,

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<sup>6</sup> Probably Thomas Russell Hillier McClatchie, Student Interpreter in Japan from 1870. Died at or near Penang, February 23, 1886. [F.O. List, 1887]

<sup>7</sup> A Mr and Mrs Morgan lunched with Satow on April 2, 1896. (Satow's diary)

however, get any offer yet for the Consulate. Everything nearly is tori-shirabe-chiū [取調中 under investigation], as usual. The British subjects are dining here for the Queen's birthday – but to suit the convenience of the officials I am holding a reception with champagne etc. at Twatutia, whither I shall go for the purpose.

Christabel and her nurse arrived here on the 16<sup>th</sup> after varied adventures by the way. Both well I am glad to say.

I am getting nervous about my commission, and hope there is no hitch in the proceedings.

Would you kindly let our Archivist know that desp[atch]. No. 4 has turned up from Wenchow, after being redirected several times in the post.

My wife begs to be remembered to you.

Yours very truly

R. de B. Layard

The Viconte de Bondy leaves again today. He is not impressed by the Island.

13. Layard to Satow [handwritten, p. 31 in file]

[Recd. 30]

Tamsui

May 18. 1896.

[ans. June 2]

My dear Sir Ernest,

M. de Bondy has been to lunch with us since I wrote my other letter. He is delighted with this house and grounds, and is very keen on either buying or renting the house etc for his Government. I asked him to speak to you about it, as it appears to me that you will be able to arrange better with him personally if anything is to come of it. I am curious to know what sort of figure would be acceptable to H.M. Government. In the meantime I shall use the French Consul's offer as a lever to move the Japanese into giving me an offer.

De Bondy says he could give 3,000 fr[an]cs a year rent, which means at 4 p.c. a capital of 75,000 fr[anc]s or £3,000 – and they ought to be able to give a fair sum if they bought it right out.

Marshall, I believe, spent a great deal on it. M. de Bondy will tell you how much nicer a place it is than Twatutia, which simply disgusted him. I should be glad if you would let me have word, if his talk with you comes to anything.

Yours very truly

R. de B. Layard

14. Layard to Satow [handwritten, p. 33 in file]

Tamsui

May 22. 1896

My dear Sir Ernest,

I have to cry ‘Peccavi.’ [Latin: I have sinned.] I was considerably confused about your telegram, and entirely missed the point. A Memo[random]. I found in the office altogether misled me as to the tenure of this compound, and I had already despatched my No. 27. when, in ransacking some old documents, I came upon a translation of the original title. I am extremely sorry that I should have put you to all this trouble, and would ask you to substitute the enclosed “No. 27” for that already sent forward. The last paragraph is the only change.

Should the French Gov[ernment] want this place I presume the Japanese Government would transfer the lease without difficulty, but the authorities here keep on telling me they would be glad to have it for themselves. The offer hangs fire.

Longford having also received from you the telegram as to possibility of selling the sites, and asking me what it meant, by wire, rather sent me off at a tangent, and led me to reply “Not at Twatutia”. It never entered my head that there would, or might be, a sale of this land to any outsider.

I trust you will excuse the confusion I have caused.

Yours very truly

R. de B. Layard

I presume we are bound, as to the title of this land, to the Japanese Government, in exactly the same way as we were to the Chinese.

15. Layard to Satow [handwritten, p. 34 in file]

Tamsui

June 1. 1896.

My dear Sir Ernest,

Many thanks for yours of May 20<sup>th</sup>.

Things have decidedly improved officially since the arrival of Midzuno [Jun]<sup>8</sup> and Hashiguchi – both intelligent men with authority. With regard to camphor we, that is the British merchants, have next to no interest in it in the Northern district. We have had no trouble whatever as yet in consequence. The German Act[in]g. Consul has started a hare, however, which may give trouble. He has suggested to the Japanese to do away with the up-country offices established for collecting the 10 p.c. inland camphor tax, which he suggests might be levied at the open ports. The Japanese of course have jumped at the chance of decreasing their expenditure.

Grunenwald writes to me to consult the British merchants, get their consent if possible and recommend it to you. The merchants are considering it. Here of course they wouldn't much care about the tax on camphor being levied thus, although it would amount to a taxation of the subjects of Treaty Powers. The point I wish to make however is that if they comply in this instance they will have little excuse for refusing to act in the same way with regard to tea on which it is highly probable an inland tax will be levied later. This they could scarcely agree to, as they have settled prices in advance for the whole season.

I shall write to you officially as soon as I have got a reply from these merchants, but I should fancy the German Minister is already posted about it by his Consul here, so you ought to know. It is distinctly a case of Germany is your friend – and may put us in the awkward position of having to refuse in one case what is easy to concede in the other. Longford of course will have most to say about it. I am sorry that there is a chance of Hall not coming here yet. Of course for myself it is all right, but I am afraid for the health of the family. I shall probably have to send them to Amoy during the worst season – September. Apropos of my family – what a pity you could not have had Christabel as an 'exhibit' at the Jenner meeting! She is a great-great-granddaughter of his on the female line. You might have produced her at a given moment during your speech!<sup>9</sup>

I would not put entire faith in Dr. Mackay's book. He supplied the information but it was edited by his Mission and, I am afraid, entre nous [between us], that stress was laid on much of the hardship of the life here. It had its effect of course and the Mission is flourishing. There is a story current for which I cannot absolutely vouch, but it is amusing.

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<sup>8</sup> Mizuno Jun 水野遵 (1851-1900).

<sup>9</sup> On May 14, 1896, a celebration of the centenary of the discovery of vaccination by Edward Jenner was held at the British Legation (Diary, Ruxton, 2003, p. 91). A copy of Satow's speech in Japanese, as reported in the *Tokyo Nichi Nichi Shinbun* on the next day, is in Nagaoka, vol. 1, p. 322.

Dr. Mackay (who has considerable humour) telegraphed to Canada sometime ago “ten thousand more savages have cast down their idols – send more dollars” – and the result was most satisfactory. This was told me by the firm thro’ whom the wire was sent. Dr. Mackay is a very pleasant neighbor. I will send you a private report about the missionary work here. As you say, their civilizing influence is great. What particularly strikes the casual and unregenerate traveller in the interior is the hearty welcome and comparative comfort given him at the numerous mission stations. Mackay has done good work. I should much like, supposing my wife has to leave this place later on, to make a trip into the interior. Could this be managed do you think by getting the German to take temporary charge, or would it work if Griffiths came up? He would no doubt be glad of an opportunity to extend his own knowledge of the country en route. It takes about a week on foot overland.

Considerable damage has been done in one or two places to missionary chapels – by the military – billeting themselves there and using them as stables. I have I think stopped interference with divine worship by rowdies, and Mackay prefers not to press the point of damage done. It is however a disgrace to a tolerant Gov[ernment] like the Jap[ane]se. that there should be any occasion to complain, a twelvemonth after their occupation. Still Midzuno is, I feel sure ready to do everything in his power. This however does not mean that his power extends to a proper control of the military, which is a very incubus [nightmare]. Baron Tatsumi (Colonel?) the new head of the military department is a gentleman and I shall try and work him “for all he is worth”. He complains that he has not enough work to do! My reception at Twatutia on the Queen’s birthday was well attended. I had found out beforehand that they would rather celebrate that way than come all the distance to Tamsui in the evening – and I knew that a dinner would mean a very poorly-attended feast. I am dining with Midzuno tonight. I bear in mind what you telegraphed about consulting him in difficulties and can realize that it is the best course. I wish he had been here from the first. They have now initiated writing all corresp[onden]ce. in Jap[ane]se. and I am glad of it, though I could not suggest it at first. Their interpreters are most inferior. Kind regards from wife.

Yours sincerely,

R. de B. Layard

16. Layard to Satow [handwritten, p. 38 in file]

June 3. 1896.



Dear Sir Ernest,

I am forwarding to you in my [despatch] No. 32 a letter received from Mr. Midzuno about the Camphor trade. I suppose he had to sanction it but there will be a fearful outcry if any restrictions are put on the business by the Home Government. Up here the Germans have almost a monopoly of it. It must be very bitter for the Japanese to find that the Island trade is almost entirely taken up by natives and foreigners. They seem to have expected a virgin country only waiting for colonists to exploit it profitably, whereas there is very little available ground that has not been put under cultivation by the sons of the soil. As to the camphor – it is uncommonly risky for Japanese to venture into the wild country.

I hope you will excuse the writing of the Jap[ane]se. copy – the writer has not arrived yet so I had to do it myself.

Yours sincerely

R. de B. Layard

17. Layard to Satow [handwritten, p. 40 in file]

[Recd. June 24

Ansd. 25]

Tamsui

June 15. 1896.

My dear Sir Ernest,

I reserve answering your letter about the house until you have got every detail that I sent. Longford tells me that O/W [the Office of Works] propose to sell all Consular Buildings in Japan. It cannot be that Marshall had been spending too much on repairs I should say. I am in rather a fix as to my “residence” here. The roof must be repaired before the Typhoon season – but Marshall is allowing me a prohibitive limit for tenders, and would probably cut it all together if he thought there was a chance of a speedy sale. I am going to put it in hand however whatever happens. Our bedroom ceiling fell in lately in a high wind, some of it penetrating my mosquito net and hitting me pretty severely on the head. I was more scared than hurt fortunately – and my wife neither one nor the other.

Thank you much for service news. We are going through an upheaval of the service. What about Kenny’s gazetteer being subsequent to mine! I might have some fun with him if on the spot.

They surely must send you St[udent]. Interp[rete]rs. soon.

If [James Joseph] Enslie is finally obliged to leave Kobe and the service<sup>10</sup> I expect Longford will be very keen to come to Tamsui. It seems a far better place than Takow – from his account. I am on that account more desirous of getting to Kobe than ever – but feel sure everything will turn out for the best. I am naturally anxious about the family's health, and my inability to go away with them to any leave, however short.

We are fêting the Ministers at present – 3 times to Taipeh in 5 days, to interview them in various ways.

Yours very sincerely,

R. de B. Layard

Christabel [Layard's daughter, Satow's goddaughter] sends a kiss: she quite understands!

18. Layard to Satow [handwritten, p. 42 in file]

[Recd. July 3

Ansd 4]

Tamsui

June 17. 1896.

My dear Sir Ernest,

I have just got the news of poor Enslie's death last Sunday. I should not fancy he was a very happy man though, at the last.

I wish to ask you about the Trade Report of this place for last year. I am no further advanced with it than before, and I want to know if I can tell you officially by despatch that it is impossible for me to do it. At this date in any case it can have no value whatever and I see no prospect of ever getting any material from the Japanese Customs. Neither Ayrton nor his predecessor had left any stuff to work on either. If you think it should be done, I will of course send it in later, wretched production as it will be – which can do me no credit, nor anyone else any good.

Ito, Saigo and the Governor are keeping things lively at Taipeh. 4 visits thither in 6 days to various functions. 'Tis awful, as I am seedy with tonsillitis, otherwise bad sore throat. There is a regular epidemic of it, no doubt from the horrible smells one occasionally meets. Work is at a low ebb – whilst I have to spend 4 or 5 hours a day on the river I have nothing to say about the service mores except that I should hate to go South. I should dearly like a rest now somewhere North of this. My wife sends her best regards

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<sup>10</sup> Enslie died on June 14, 1896. [F.O. List, 1897]

Yours sincerely

R. de B. Layard

19. Layard to Satow [handwritten, p. 44 in file]

Tamsui

June 22. 1896

My dear Sir Ernest,

My two contradictory telegrams went to you on the 20<sup>th</sup> announcing departure of the Ministers. You see how the distance from Taipeh puts me at a disadvantage for getting accurate information. Longford nearly had a fit owing to a mistake in the Telegram I sent him, which read as if you were on the point of leaving for Takow. He is calm now – but probably thinks I am the culprit.

I hope the Japanese will soon make an offer for the house. I do not now think \$12,000 would be nearly enough.

Could not the O[ffice]. of W[orks]. be consulted as to what they paid for it? It is only 4 or 5 years old too.

Poor Enslie is dead since I wrote to you. I did not know him well but cannot think he was a happy man.

It makes my chances of getting back to [illegible] life rather remote, I fear. Surely, now there are vacancies for 3 students, they will send some out.

The German Act[in]g. Consul poured many woes into Ito's ear<sup>11</sup>, but I could see that he wasn't prepared to mix himself in any way in local matters on the spot. He more or less bantered Grunenwald until the latter stopped. I got a promise from Katsura<sup>12</sup> that he would manage to have all chapels vacated each Sunday to allow divine service to be performed without hindrance. I do not quite know whether to worry you officially about it yet but there is no doubt that over the country the military are occupying Mackay's buildings to his great inconvenience. I have represented it to Midzuno – who however says that the country

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<sup>11</sup> Itō Hirobumi was prime minister four times, and his second term was from August 8, 1892 to August 31, 1896. He also negotiated with Mutsu Munemitsu the Treaty of Shimonoseki (April 17, 1895) in which Taiwan was ceded to Japan by Li Hongzhang, even though it had never been a battleground in the Sino-Japanese War, 1894-5.

<sup>12</sup> Katsura Tarō was prime minister three times, and the second Governor-General of Taiwan after Kabayama Sukenori from June 2<sup>nd</sup> to October 1896. He was succeeded by Nogi Maresuke (October 14, 1896 to January 1898) and Kodama Gentarō (February 1898 to April 1906).

(See [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Governor-General\\_of\\_Taiwan](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Governor-General_of_Taiwan) , accessed July 8, 2014.)

is still in an unsettled state and that it cannot be helped. It seems absurd that 12 months after their annexation they have not housed the scattered garrisons properly in their own quarters – and have virtually put a stop to the free practice of the Christian religion, at any rate in the chapels.

Katsura seems an energetic official and very pleasant. We had four entertainments in Taipeh – and my digestion is entirely ruined by German cheap beer which flowed flüssmässig. Ito & Saigo<sup>13</sup> both did me the honour of coming to the Consulate to see the view from the top of the Fort (an advertisement for sale of same!) and Christobel entertained them with her broken toys.

The latter [Christobel] being asked what she sends you says ‘two kisses’.

Kind regards from my wife,

Yours sincerely

R. de B. M. Layard

20. Layard to Satow [handwritten, p. 46 in file]

Private

Tamsui

June 23. 1896

My dear Sir Ernest,

I should be very glad of your advice in the matter of questions connected with the claim of foreigners to land in this Island. The position is this. Under the Chinese régime, there was a good deal of money-lending done by Foreigners, through their Chinese compradores to Chinese owners, mortgages on the owner's property being given as security. Before and during the troubles these owners in many cases ceased to pay interest – in some cases they disappeared, in others were killed. The Japanese now, finding that there was no foreclosure, or transfer of the land to the mortgagee, have possessed themselves of the land, and the mortgagee (that is the foreigner really) has nothing to show but a receipt for the loan from the mortgagor mentioning the security. The claim or title is a very bad one for the foreigner, but the Japanese go a little far in absolutely ignoring all claim whatsoever.

They now propose to try each claim separately in the Court instituted at Taipeh for such cases but the decision is almost a foregone conclusion. Shall I allow the foreigner to send in

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<sup>13</sup> Saigō Tsugumichi (1843-1902), younger brother of Saigō Takamori. Admiral and Navy Minister.

his claim to the Court or refer each claim separately through the Legation.

Kindly let me know what you think about it.

Yours sincerely

R. de B. Layard

21. Layard to Satow [handwritten, p. 48 in file]

Confidential

Tamsui

June 29. 1896

[Ans 21/7]

My dear Sir Ernest

I am having a great deal of trouble about the question of land and as soon as I can get a satisfactory answer, or an unsatisfactory one for that matter, out of the local Gov[ernor]r. am going to address you officially. The most straightforward plain case is one at Kelung, where the Military are occupying land held by a British subject and have not paid rent for it. The attorney for the owner wants to sell, the proposed purchaser of course making it conditional that land and buildings are vacated.

I cannot put the case to you, until I hear the Japanese view, but they seem to think we still are under a military occupation. They will go off on side issues – taking exception to the term “owner” and so on, but they can scarcely object to the holder of the land continuing to hold it – whatever he was called under the Chinese régime. If his title was erroneously in fee simple at that time it would be hard to turn him out because he ought now to hold it on a perpetual lease. When I have got everything together the question will come with a rush. I am sick of it already!

It is early days to talk about it but there is a danger looming in view which might well be provided for beforehand. I mean the rights of the foreigner in land held in the name of Chinese (compradore) subjects. The old-established firms in Twatutia are all on that footing – and what will happen when these Compradores are called upon to declare next year (May, isn't it) whether they become Japanese subjects, or not? There is only one way which could secure the foreigner absolutely and put his mind at rest – and that is for Twatutia to be made an open port as it should be – the Concession or what they choose to call it comprising all ground held by aliens in any way whatsoever. No doubt the lots now held by Chinese compradores would then be transferred without difficulty to the, at present, only

nominal holders.

The system under the Chinese Gov[ernment] seems to have been most slipshod. I am shortly going to write to the Spanish Minister on a case in which one of his nationals is concerned. This man – Malcampo – has an absolute ownership title to some ground at Hobé [滬尾 in Tamsui]: that is by the terms of the purchase. It was not registered in any Chinese land office. I dare not ask the Japanese to register it because they would immediately refuse to register him as owner and, if I am not far out, would probably try and purchase it themselves from the original Chinese owner. It is as hard a case almost as any, and I hope you won't think my last remark too harsh, because I am judging from other experiences which seem to point in that direction.

I will give it you in short. Some time ago a Chinese merchant here, the adoptive son of one Tan Ah Soon in Amoy, a merchant, handed over a large piece of ground at Hobe to a Japanese taking bargain money and promising to get the title deeds from Tan Ah Soon in Amoy. There the matter rested for 3 months, when up comes another Chinese, Lay Kee, a British subject, armed with the same title deeds and a deed of transfer of that land from Tan Ah Soon – all properly executed before the British Consul at Amoy. Quite ignorant of the previous transaction I register it and send Lay Kee to get his title endorsed by the Shi-cho [市長 Mayor] here. They first take exception to his claim to ownership at all and when that is rectified say that the land was already owned. Tan Ah Soon is made to appear before the Japanese Consul at Amoy and deny any knowledge of it – or the right of his son to sell at all. The latter also had never sent for the title deeds. The decision on this point is still being waited for although Lay Kee applied about the 15<sup>th</sup> of May. I cannot of course say that it has anything to do with it – but I would like you to know that the Tamsui garrison is housed on the very land bought by Lay Kee. I am sending a despatch again, on the subject, to the Japanese tomorrow and shall have to say that the matter must be referred to Tokio – if the decision is not soon given one way or another. They have as a matter of fact no properly constituted Courts in which such a case could be pleaded, and one is quite at the mercy of any procrastinating sub-official who is deputed to look into the matter.

We are well here – but Christobel had a bad bout of diarrhoea with fever and convulsions which she has, we hope, now shaken off. The weather is oppressively hot but tempered occasionally with a breeze. Our doctor, I grieve to say, proves a broken reed. Kind regards from Isabel

Yours sincerely

R. de B. Layard

22. Layard to Satow [handwritten, p. 54 in file]

Tamsui

July 10. 96

[ans “ 21/-]

My dear Sir Ernest,

Many thanks for yours of 19<sup>th</sup>, 22<sup>nd</sup>, 25<sup>th</sup> & 26<sup>th</sup> of June, and for all service news. It was only a little joke about Kenny’s seniority, of course he is my senior for promotion.<sup>14</sup>

With reference to the sale of this Consulate, I know it was considered in 1891 that the Consul should be in Hobe for the shipping, and no doubt the same holds good now – but then the Consul could always come down from Twatutia to meet each ship, until the shipping becomes so numerous that there will be necessity for an Assistant. I will bear in mind about looking out for a house in Twatutia but scarcely think it will ever be possible. I shall be only too delighted to remain at Tamsui instead of moving up river.

That fatal thing, zeal induced me to recommend the move, and I can only repeat that from a service point of view, the Consulate ought to be near the Capital. With railways & telephones, it will of course not be so necessary; but then what about Kelung – which may be the coming port?

The Japanese have been taking measurements etc. with a view to setting a value on these buildings but I don’t think they will touch Marshall’s figure. They wanted to know if I would let my furniture go with the house Omake ni [お負けに into the bargain]. I nearly had a fit.

I feel sure [John James] Quin will return hither. He is not the man to throw up his full salary unless forced to. (I take your notes *seriatim*<sup>15</sup>).

Strange to say I had just written to Marshall telling him I had set the contracto[r?] to work without waiting sanction for the amount wanted for the roof. M[arshall]. has been sticking out for a contract at \$300[?] when the lowest we can get is about \$600. I hope I shall not have to fight it – but Marshall has let himself in rather by asking a man he knows here to look into it and get it done. However, no matter. I am afraid O[ffice]. of W[orks]. is more ready to help diplomats than nous autres [French: the rest of us, i.e. consular officials].

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<sup>14</sup> Apparently a reference to a comment in Letter No. 17 above.

<sup>15</sup> *seriatim*: in the order in which they were raised; one after another.

I feel for you & shall not bother you.

I quite agree with you about Dr. Grunenwald. Energy is a good thing, but he forgets that his Minister won't thank him for squandering it to such an extent on Formosa. Nor anyone else except a couple of hiesige [German: local] German born companions who batten on camphor.

Longford has I presume reported about the killing of Ollia<sup>16</sup> at Humlin or Unrin 雲林. I wired to Longford as it was his district. I saw a man here (in Mehta & Co. of Anping) who had escaped with the clothes he stood in only. He is a Parsee as well as Ollia and the natives took them for Japanese. He was very excited naturally, and his accounts much exaggerated. Still the Japanese have had a nasty jar [shock] and lost a good number. I could give you much hearsay evidence about the want of tact displayed by the Jap[ane]se. up-country but refrain. As a fact however, the lesser officials are certainly responsible for 50% of the deaths – the violent ones. They alienate Chinese & savages by their injudicious treatment and the Island will never be settled until they can afford a better staff to govern it.

A Notification has issued throwing open the railway, with reservations, for passenger & goods traffic; a good step.

Between June '95 and Feb '96 ships coming here were subject to tonnage dues, since then they have paid entrance & clearance fees. I am now notified, and I will report it officially – that retrospectively the old system is abolished and where ships have paid tonnage dues they may get a refund of the difference, if any, between those and what they wd. have paid in port fees.

Did I tell you that the auth[orit]ies. talk of laying out "Settlements" at Tamsui, Twatutia & Kelung? They are surveying now.

Referring to the land question, should they elect to let aliens hold land on lease which has been transferred absolutely, how about such lots, where the foreigner has paid the Chinese owner a lump sum for perpetual lease – in lieu of a yearly payment?

If I keep on writing thus it is to prepare the way for a complete survey of the subject when the Japanese raise it.

The British subject, though few here, is thorough in his rampant readiness to find fault with existing things. Tis worse than Yokohama; and I have to soothe as best I can. A few days ago I had to return a gentleman's official letter to be rewritten such was the unparliamentary language! but we are the best of friends.

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<sup>16</sup> See Longford to Satow, Letter No. 16 (July 14, 1896) in PRO 30/33 5/11 above.



I have been with my family up a hill for a week staying in a mat shed with a thatched roof. There is a lovely view and the thermo. gracefully descends to 77° Fahr[enheit]. o'night. while[?] it is 10° degrees cooler than below in Tamsui at any time. Christobel has improved rapidly and sends you the usual 2 kisses. The up- & down journey daily for me is a trial but as I can take a chair if tired I must not complain. With numberless coolies we are in no want of supplies. Thank you for dubbing me philosopher, we might be far worse off anywhere. It is chiefly the isolation which frets one - & your letters are very pleasant help. My wife joins me in best remembrances. Please remember me to Mr Lowther, Paget, Gubbins and all friends.

Yours sincerely

R. de B. Layard

23. Layard to Satow [handwritten, p. 60 in file]

Tamsui

July 21. 1896

My dear Sir Ernest,

I have at last succeeded in obtaining something more definite about the purchase of this Consulate – from the Japanese. Sugimura [Fukashi] the Chief of the Foreign Section tells me by letter that the matter is still under consideration [illegible line] whether Yen 56,000 (say £6066 odd @ 2/2 = \$1) would be acceptable. This to include, as he says, buildings, walls, gates, trees & stones! If Marshall estimates the Consulate, as you say in your letter of 22 June, at from \$17,500 to \$20,000 my touting has been of some good. Does he really mean dollars or pounds sterling? At the same time Sugimura keeps silence about the grant of land at Twatutia and I have written officially to ask if that is included in the offer; or if not at what price the land suggested by me would be procurable.

When I hear I will report to you. There is something in what Marshall says about waiting to see how things turn out, but what does he mean exactly? The Capital shows no sign of shifting its position. A railway to this place would of course facilitate matters but still it would be like doing business with the Tokio officials from Yokohama. And when oh when will the railway ever be even begun? All well here, and send best remembrances.

Yours sincerely

R. de B. Layard

24. Layard to Satow [handwritten, p. 62 in file]

[ans. 15 Aug.]

Tamsui

July 28. 1896.

My dear Sir Ernest,

I have just despatched to you my Nos. 41 & 42. I hope that in my complaint about the stoppage put on missionary work by the quartering of soldiers I have not overstepped the mark. I had purposely waited a long time before doing so. Throughout the Island the Japanese have been making themselves offensive in every way to the feelings of the natives. And it is hardly too much to say that if Japan came to blows with a foreign power the arrival of the latter's men of war off the Island would be the signal for a general uprising – and whether an organised revolt or not – the Japanese would be killed right and left. It is a matter of regret that there is no means of obtaining an absolutely unbiassed report of affairs at Hummin (or Unrin) but there is no manner of doubt that such horrors have occurred. I do not believe that the heads of departments either at Taipeh or Tokio are fully informed of the state of things, and that the Military are allowed full licence and take every advantage of it.

I can see here in many places, a strong feeling among the Japanese officials against their Home Government. They are sent here at 1/3<sup>rd</sup> increase of salary – which is quite insufficient – are miserably housed – and die consequently in numbers. 3 officials in the Customs & Subprefecture just below the Consulate have died, the last of typhoid fever. There is no proper Jap[ane]se. doctor at Tamsui and the poor man was taken to Taipeh hospital by lammeh[?] with the fever on him. Can it be wondered that he succumbed. Although there are funds in hand, they have no authority to spend. No buildings have been constricted of any public importance.

Although the survey for the water works at Tamsui has been ready for the past ten months, there are no pipes on the spot and they cannot get authority from Tokio to start work. The length of pipe might be 2 1/2 [two and a half] miles or even 3 – from a splendid spring of water amply sufficient. The other side of the picture is Tamsui with a few bad wells which are almost monopolized by the Japanese. There is but one spring – in Lapraik Cass's compound – and even there the Japanese not only encroach, but forcibly keep the natives away on occasion. The company unfortunately think it worth their while to allow it – but if I had seen, (which happens), a Japanese soldier chasing Chinese away from that private well with a drawn bayonetsword I should have padlocked the source immediately –

in their place.

The Japanese here behave in a manner quite different to their traditions. It might almost be called the Formosa manner. An overbearing, rowdy, casual, brutal impertinent style which taints everything. Even my well-behaved Japanese servant thinks he can cut bananas or pull take-no-ko [竹の子 bamboo shoots] on Chinese property because it is Formosa. They are extraordinary. A Japanese going up the companion [i.e. companionway] of a launch before my office messenger kicks him in the face for no reason – but that he is a Chinese in Formosa. An orderly (save the mark!)<sup>17</sup> meets a foreigner in the street and because the latter refuses to drink with him throws a bottle at his head & nearly kills him. A coolie chases one of Lapraik Cass's watchdogs into the comprador's sitting room and stabs the dog to death there, and the police wait upon the Agent to ask him what punishment he thinks should be meted out to the coolie. These are all cases which have come under my immediate notice.

Even walking the narrow street it is difficult to keep out of a row on meeting a coolie or soldier with his arms set akimbo so as to fill the whole road. I was only just in time, fortunately, the other day, to prevent my wife's chair from being overturned by a Japanese coolie who objected to making way for it to pass. They are withdrawing the garrison from Tamsui next month, and the feeling is really one of relief, instead of any fear of disturbance. One would expect a little outward show for all the money expended but there is nothing in the way of roads or sanitary measures. It is most disappointing to anyone predisposed to admire Japanese progress. Every now and again the Chinese start a rumour that the Island is to be taken by the Russians or given back to China – and there is so much repressed joy over it, that whatsoever the source, the wish is evidently there. Nothing could be worse, in their minds, than the present régime. With all allowances made for inexperience, the Japanese have made a total hash of it. Who is responsible I am not quite clear but I am disposed to think it is the people at Tokio. Kabayama [Sukenori] is reported to have resigned because he wasn't allowed sufficient discretionary powers.

Can you tell me if it seems to you that the Japanese do not hope to keep the Island?

I may give you one more instance of idiotic behaviour. A Japanese living next door to the bowling alley of the foreign club at Twatutia began to erect a lookout, of wood, a place to cool off in on the roof of the bowling alley – and being of course summarily evicted,

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<sup>17</sup> An abbreviated form of "God save the mark!" originally used in archery, but here meant as an expression of contempt or derision. See Cobham Brewer's *Dictionary of Phrase and Fable*, 1898.

shifted it to the roof of a Chinese neighbour, where it now stands! This is very typical of the Formosa manner.

Can you expect the foreign “own correspondent” to believe the Japanese a well behaved, sober, nice-mannered nation. Pardon this long Jeremiad<sup>18</sup> & believe me yours sincerely

R. de B. Layard

My wife’s best remembrances & two of the same from Christobel.

25. Layard to Satow [handwritten, p. 68 in file]

Tamsui

July 31. 1896

My dear Sir Ernest

I have had to put a stopper on Dr. Angear<sup>19</sup> altogether as the only means of getting him away from the Island. The firms here have all joined me in stopping payment. The poor man’s only chance is to go on leave, as he is rapidly deteriorating both morally and physically – another wreck such as we find so many instances of in the Far East.

I see the “Japan Mail” says that the local railway has been thrown open to the public. I made much the same statement to you but the facts prove to be that one has to grovel for permission to travel by any train and permission is as likely as not to be refused. There is of course no means of ascertaining beforehand by which train one may journey which gives rise to friction. I see that there is another little Gubbins.<sup>20</sup> Our small family is flourishing – ungerufen [Touch wood!].

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<sup>18</sup> Jeremiad: a prolonged lamentation or mournful complaint. (In reference to Jeremiah’s *Lamentations*)

<sup>19</sup> “Dr. Frederick Charles Angear was born in Devonport in 1863, the sixth of seven children born to Samuel Angear (Chief Constructor) and his wife Elizabeth (Mogg)... He studied at Charing Cross Hospital and became a licentiate of the Royal College of Physicians and a member of the Royal College of Surgeons in 1889. From 1893 to 1900 he was working in China, employed as a physician at the British Consulate in Formosa (Taiwan) and as a Surgeon to the Chinese Imperial Maritime Customs. [This organisation employed 700 foreigners and 3500 Chinese and, in 1895, generated almost 50% of the entire income of the ruling Ch’ing dynasty. In some ways it was very similar to the Indian Civil Service.] Charles also worked as a Surgeon to the Mackay Hospital, Formosa and to the Douglas Steamship Company. He was based at Tamsui, Formosa. From 1895 Formosa was under Japanese occupation - the result of a treaty agreement rather than through conquest. He returned to England in 1900.” (<http://wc.rootsweb.ancestry.com/cgi-bin/igm.cgi?op=GET&db=angear&id=I258> , accessed July 13, 2014)

<sup>20</sup> The future Major-General Colin McVean Gubbins (1896-1976) was born in Scotland on July 2, 1896. He was the prime mover of the Special Operations Executive (SOE) in World War Two.

Yours Truly

R. de B. Layard

26. Layard to Satow [handwritten, p. 70 in file]

Tamsui

Aug. 1. 1896

[Recd. 15/8]

My dear Sir Ernest

I have just received a note from the Taipeh people stating that the offer of yen 56,000 for this Consulate en bloc, would not include grant of lease of a site up-river. Further that it is not possible to obtain the site I selected, as the present owners will not part, at least 2 out of 3 will not. The fact is they grudge the river frontage, which they think will be useful to themselves. As I have not yet got a real offer – but only an enquiry whether Yen 56,000 would be about the figure; things may be left thus for the present.

My previous letter had enough grumbling in it to last a long time! Did you ever have the sensation of having your mental organization spread out thin. From other people's procrastination I feel that way. 'Tis the result of having one's own official work forcibly long drawn out, and the finer drawn out, the stronger must be the tenacity of the material that goes to it. We are not suffering in any way – and the roof is furnished.

I started work, as I had the means of forcing the O[ffice]. of W[orks]. into it, and then informed them, whereupon Marshall at once sanctioned the job at nearly double the limit he had fixed previously. I would rather be treated like a gentleman, but it takes two to ensure the treatment.

I suppose you are now at Chiuzenji<sup>21</sup> – and am delighted to think you are having cool nights and lovely & congenial surroundings, which will give you a real store of health to go on with.

The Japanese have made great improvements in the track of the railway to Kelung – respektif [with respect to] ballasting & tunnelling.

Yours sincerely

R. de B. Layard

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<sup>21</sup> Satow was at Chuzenji from July 31<sup>st</sup> to August 14<sup>th</sup>, August 24<sup>th</sup> to September 5<sup>th</sup>, and September 11<sup>th</sup> to 21<sup>st</sup>, 1896 (diary). He seems to have retreated there whenever he had the opportunity.

27. Layard to Satow [handwritten, p. 74 in file]

[Recd. 21/8/96.]

Tamsui

August 10. 1896.

Dear Sir Ernest,

It would have made your blood boil to see a lot of Japanese smoking & laughing – with their hats on, u.s.w. [etc.] in the chapel as I have described in my No. 46. The bantō [番頭 head clerk] shook in his shoes when I bearded him. A whip of small cords was what was wanted – but I did what I could in accordance with present requirements.

The “occupation” system is the same whether by civilians or officials. I am preparing several eviction bombs for the military who are occupying foreigners’ property at Kelung.

With regard to the Lay Kee case [see Letter 21 above], it is a disgrace. Having kept Chon Teck hee out of his premises they now shelve the matter on the pleas of registration not being possible. There is a glut of promises of speedy arrangement, but I no longer put faith in them. I have told C.T.H. to send in a notice to quit to the military and a claim for arrears of rent. I have told the Japanese that I consider that they have protracted the matter so as not to have to oust the soldiery, and they admit, if you please, that it does look suspicious! but deny of course that they have any such intention. They have not, I must say, forgotten their tradition of 30 years back and one might be dealing with the oldtime Bugyo [奉行 Tokugawa magistrates, officials].

Having sent in a notice to quit for one Kelung property they have “failed” for a month or so “to identify” the property – a capital way out of it. You shall have them in detail, I trust, soon.

Kelung is a truly one-horse kind of place, and the transit by rail at the risk of one’s life, as the old Chinese rail is something fearful in its gyrations. The engine has to water 1/2 way for the 23 miles! On taking a first class ticket I was offered a seat in an open truck – which with a 3<sup>rd</sup> class compartment full of smelly people formed the whole train. Failing that I might stand in a cattle wagon by a later train. I managed to ensconce myself in the P.O. section, 4 ft. of the end of the 3<sup>rd</sup> compartment boarded off, and got there ultimately. The return journey was in a new carriage – plain wood seats fore and aft under the windows and a bench running down the middle, fortunately not crowded.

If Bohns[?] goes to Japan I wish to recommend him to you. They say he is a spy – and certainly an Austrian man-of-war visited Kelung when he was there – but I am grateful to

him for taking the long journey from Kelung simply to post me about the chapel. I am going up to the hill (2 hrs. away) to stay there for a fortnight. I can be called for at short notice – and there is a lot of fever about. We are all free [of fever] so far thank God. Our love to you

Yours sincerely

R. de B. Layard

28. Layard to Satow [handwritten, p. 78 in file]

Tamsui

Aug. 11. 1896

[ans. 21]

My dear Sir Ernest,

Will you please give me your advice privately how to act in the following. Before the Jap[ane]se. occupation a certain Chinese whom we will call Li Tiong Seng mortgaged land at Kelung to Dr. Rennie,<sup>22</sup> a B[ritish]. S[ubject]. The debt fell due about the time the Jap[ane]se. came - & Rennie states that Hopkins then Act[ing]. Consul promised to transfer the land to R. as the mortgagor couldn't pay. There is no trace of any such promise or of a transfer, and the Japanese very properly decline to acknowledge anyone but the Chinaman as owner. I put the statement about Hopkins aside as during the disturbances, I feel sure that nothing could have been – or was done.

My idea is to tell Rennie to take his case into a local court, if we can find one! Going on writing is a mere waste of paper and I do not see how he can get redress otherwise.

Please let me know what your idea of the matter is, as I do not feel inclined to trouble the Japanese about it again, unless you think advisable.

Yours sincerely,

R. de B. Layard

29. Layard to Satow [handwritten, p. 80 in file]

Sio-ping-ling Bungalow

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<sup>22</sup> Writing of missionary work in Formosa, the Canadian Presbyterian missionary George Leslie Mackay (1844-1901) mentions the following resident physicians to the foreign community: Dr. Ringer (from the beginning until 1880); Dr. Johansen (1880-86); Dr. Rennie (chief officer of the hospital, 1886-92); and then Dr. F.C. Angear. (G.L. Mackay, *From Far Formosa: The Island, Its People and Missions*, p. 331. First published 1896, ed. J.A. MacDonald, Cambridge Library Collection, 2011.)

Tamsui

August 17. 1896.

[Recd. 4/9/96.]

My dear Sir Ernest,

Your letter of 21 July, only received today, has beaten the record: but then it was enclosed in a despatch to Longford, whom it reached on the 8<sup>th</sup> instant.

It is satisfactory, about the Marquis Ito's assurance that foreign questions will be treated liberally here. The prejudice against Japanese certainly exists here with the foreigners. They have formed their judgment, one may say, from their everyday experience of the low class Japanese with whom they have come in contact, and this feeling, which so far is entirely justified here, has not been counteracted by any great outward and visible signs of satisfactory reform on the part of those in authority. I do my best to impress on the B.S.S. [British Subjects] the fact that the head officials are not what they are inclined to think them, and I am glad to say that personal acquaintance with many of them has ripened in many cases into liking. The B.S.S. of the old Chinese régime are inclined to side with the Chinese who are very bitter against the Japanese from first to last.

The "Kobe Hill Lots" were always a nightmare to the service and it is a great blessing that you have succeeded with them.<sup>23</sup>

I will bear in mind what you say about the land matters here. I have always found Midzuno most reasonable, but I cannot think he has a free hand. It would be a great thing if matters could be left as they are until the Treaties come into force [in 1899], but as foreign firms are now wishful to lease land round and about their present possessions for business purposes, they cannot do so very well unless they know how far the limits of the settlements extend – more especially as in many cases the Gov[ernment] will be competing with them in acquiring. It is a rather difficult matter; and if the Japanese Government were wise they would throw this Island open entirely. I wonder what they will do next year when the naturalized Chinese elect to go to Japan? Presumably they will have the same rights as Japanese natives in Japan, and Formosa will be an excellent halfway house to whitewash themselves & get rid of their Chinese disabilities.

It was idiotic of me not to explain fully that Patel Mehta & Co's man had nothing to say about the Yun-lin affair. The disturbance was foreseen & with the exception of Ollia and himself all the foreigners had cleared out. Patel saw nothing of it except sufficient to induce

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<sup>23</sup> See Gubbins to Satow, 31 March 1896 (PRO 30/33 5/4) in Volume One of this series, pp. 73-4.



him to run for his life. He was in hiding in a field for some 6 hours and then made his way to the coast (Lokkan) and was lucky enough to catch a small coasting launch coming to Tamsui, which place he left almost immediately for Anping via Amoy. He was very excited and couldn't even say what he had to say without contradicting himself. As to the Japanese he saw nothing of them, but heard rumours of massacres. That was all.

Bain of Anping has allowed his feelings to run away with him. The Chinese in charge of treasure, bearer of a customs pass (?), spoken of as murdered by the Japanese soldiers, was Bain's man, so I am told.

It is a great thing being able to get up this hillside for change of air and I am always in touch with the Consulate. The distance down is only 1 1/2 [one and a half] hours walking. You can imagine how delightful it is when I say it is only 76° now; and the thermo[meter]. goes as high as 94° in the shade at the Consulate. We are 1200 feet over the water. Down below I was beginning to feel used up, and with this change hope to get through all right. Two of our staff were down with fever quite recently, but I pulled them round with quinine. [William Kinninmond] Burton<sup>24</sup> of Tokio is here on sanitary inspection, and I hope great things of his visit. They are pulling up streets & drains in Taipeh now for improvements; but in this country it unfortunately means death to numbers when soil is turned up.

Best remembrances from us & a kiss from the Babby.

Yours very sincerely

R. de B. Layard

30. Layard to Satow [handwritten, p. 84 in file]

Tamsui

Aug. 20. 1896.

My dear Sir Ernest

Your desp[atch]. No. 22 with military map of Formosa reached me yesterday, and I am very glad to have it, such as it is. I can vouch for the part round Tamsui being inaccurate but I want the transliteration of the Chinese names: there is such a variety.

I am glad to say that since writing to you about the "Lay Kee" case, Sugimura has sent me copy of the regulations concerning the establishment of the Taihoku chiho-ho in<sup>25</sup>

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<sup>24</sup> See Olive Checkland's portrait of W.K. Burton (1856-99) in Hugh Cortazzi (ed.), *Britain & Japan: Biographical Portraits*, Volume IV, Chapter 16, pp. 174-186. (Japan Library, 2002). See especially pp. 180-2 on Taiwan.

<sup>25</sup> The Taipeh Regional Court 台北地方法院. On October 7, 1895 an ordinance was promulgated

promulgated goodness knows when but which Courts he coolly informs me were opened on the 15<sup>th</sup> July. This is a fiction. No doubt Judge Kato the head of this paper establishment would have accepted petitions but the case would be pending even now. However, I am instructing Chon Teck Hee (the Lay Kee man) [see Letters 21 & 27 above] to proceed in the Court at once.

It is very convenient having them at last, and I hope for good results, but the institution is a retrospective one. Sugimura kept on telling me that they hoped to have the Courts going soon, even after the 15<sup>th</sup> July! and they are now fitting up a building for the purpose, which they have leased from Lapraik Cass & Co. Ah me! for a little more bustling energy somewhere.

Did I tell you that the Osaka Shosen Kaisha S[team]. S[hips]. leave Kelung regularly now on the 7<sup>th</sup>, 17<sup>th</sup> & 30<sup>th</sup> for Kobe viâ ports? It is sometimes difficult to calculate which route will be quicker for letters, but I shall get to know by experience. It takes 4 days for a letter to reach Taipeh often.

Kindest regards from both of us,

Yours sincerely

R. de B. Layard

31. Layard to Satow [handwritten, p. 86 in file]

Tamsui

August 22. 1896.

My dear Sir Ernest

Your telegram came strangely to time. I should have wired as I did in any case to tell you how the Japanese soldiers with bag & baggage had been gradually withdrawn from the Tan ah Soon lot. Their retreat was dignified, but curiously coincident with the matter coming to a crisis. Mr Tang Kang han is not likely to assert any claim against Chon Teck hee in the Consulate court and I have the commanding officer's assurance that he, as rentpayer hitherto, has no objection to Chon Teck Hee locking up the whole establishment.

Chon Teck Hee is going to claim for arrears of rent against Tang Kang hai if the latter makes himself unpleasant.

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establishing 11 regional courts, under military law. In 1896 Katsura Tarō transferred control from military to civil administration, and the Taipeh (J: Taihoku) regional court was established on July 15<sup>th</sup>. Initially there was no courthouse, so a building of the prefectural offices was used. Tamsui was within this court's jurisdiction. (Entry for 台北地方法院 in Japanese Wikipedia)

The whole affair has been a dirty one all through and the Jap[ane]se. authorities might have shown up better if they had met me halfway instead of sneaking out of it in this manner. I cannot exactly blame them for taking advantage of circ[umstance]s., but it was distinctly sharp practice. In every case the military will be hard to dislodge.

We are all well here, and the air up the hill delicious. I have been down once or twice to the Consulate and felt a great difference. Best remembrances

Yours sincerely

R. de B. Layard

32. Layard to Satow [handwritten, p. 88 in file]

Tamsui

August 31. 1896.

[Recd. 11/9/96]

My dear Sir Ernest,

Your letter of 15<sup>th</sup> inst[ant]. has given me much pleasure, and I trust to prove that I deserve your confidence. Except for one's Chief's appreciation the labour here is very thankless.

I shall take an opportunity of telling Dr. Mackay what you say about protection of missionary work. I have not forgotten that you asked me to let you know as to how much his mission was a civilizing influence in the interior. He says he can add nothing to what is in his book, but the point, outside of that, that strikes me most forcibly, is that he does not confine himself solely to Bible work, but that he educates the Chinese in every branch of modern thought by means of magic lanterns and lectures illustrated by pictures. He looks on general knowledge as a great help to Christian teaching & in so far as it has shaken the Chinese, who come in touch with him, out of their iron bound conservatism, it must have had an enormously civilizing force. That there are undoubtedly black sheep among the converts can scarcely be questioned but his personal influence has been such that the foreigner in general is treated by them as a man & a brother & not as a barbarian. As I said before anyone travelling through the country and visiting one of Mackay's stations is sure of a hearty welcome, and will be treated to the best that the station affords. He has done wonders, and personally speaking I have great respect for him – for his solid sense, pertinacity and indomitable courage.

[Joseph Henry] Longford, on getting your wire re transfer sent post-haste by hand, to

inform me (evidently under the impression that I should have to turn out at once, if not sooner!) and was very impressive on the subject of leaving archives & tenant's repairs in good order.

After your previous letter I called on Midzuno, as I told you, about the limits proposed for Settlements. He does not see his way to doing without them, and unless the Island is entirely thrown open I do not see how we can avoid it. I shall take good care that they do not make them too confined if the limits are established.

There are two questions I must bring to your notice, and should be glad of your advice in connection therewith.

On the 18<sup>th</sup> inst. the Douglas S.S. "Formosa" brought to this port from Hong Kong 60 cases of opium – shipped by a Jap[ane]se. official named Kato Shoshi and consigned to the Ei'sei'kioku [衛生局 Sanitation Department] at Taipeh. I was informed that the opium was procured through Mr. Männich of Anping (or Takow) and a British firm complained to me that as there were 150 cases in stock in British hands at Twatutia which could scarcely be sold, owing to the low price resulting from this wholesale smuggling going on, it was hard on British merchants that the Japanese authorities should bring more into the country. I spoke to Midzuno on the matter and he did not deny that the opium was procured thro' Männich who must net a pretty commission and he assured me "that no more opium would be imported until the monopoly regulations come into force in October (or later), when their intention is to buy up all remaining stocks".

I explained to him what a hardship it was to foreign firms that, after prohibiting the import, they, the Jap[ane]se. auth[oriti]es. did not take sufficient measures to stop smuggling, which put the price so low that stocks could not be sold. Besides this we have no guarantee that when the regulations come into force, the price offered for stocks by the Jap[ane]se. Gov[ernmen]t. will repay the holder. I should be glad of the benefit of your advice; but I have not written about it officially as the Männich story and future prospects are not tangible enough for a complaint. The scandalmonger of course says that the commission to Männich was a sop to keep him quiet about the "Hurin atrocities"; and it seems to have been a very open transaction if it was.

The other question is an unpleasant one. A Mr. Bruce, representative of Messrs. Tait & Co. of this place, with what he considered great foresight, got possession of a quantity of land from Chinese on all sorts of titles, just before, (in one case two days before) the Japanese took the Island last year. The titles are so shady that I don't like backing them,

and I should be glad if you would let me tell Tait & Co. to send them into the Japanese Court. If they are not satisfied then I can forward their complaint to you; but locally nothing can be done. Ayrton did not post me properly on this point, altho' I find he neglected to register one of the transfers, evidently because he thought it shady. I cannot well judge the merits of the titles and I see no other way than that of the Court, as the Jap[ane]se. oppose their claims utterly.

I have evicted another lot of Japanese, post office, military stores etc, from land held by a British subject at Kelung; and have sent in another demand for evacuation of 3 lots on behalf of a Spaniard. It is too bad that it should be even necessary. They will have to pay through the nose for arrears of rent also, never having taken the trouble to make any arrangement, or to ascertain whose ground they were seizing. I fear I shall get myself disliked, but if the foreigner wants his property, it cannot be helped.

Dr. Myers of Takow is I believe appointed "adviser" to the Gov[ernmen]t of Taipeh for 5 years but I have not seen it gazetted – he will probably live at Taiwanfu.

[W.K.] Burton's advent has given things a push. The waterworks, now thrice surveyed is to be put in hand at Tamsui shortly – and thereby hangs a tale. At present the survey marks run across country & through British property which is unoccupied. I shall try to avoid trouble by compromise, but I think they have no right to expropriate ground in this manner, & shall protest when it comes to laying down pipes. Surely the main artery ought to follow a road as much as possible? In one case the pipes will cut a square lot diagonally into two triangles, neither of which would be suitable for building anything extensive. Burton has left these parts and I have had no chance of speaking to him about it, but I hope to see him before he returns to Japan.

Many thanks for your kind letter, & with best remembrances from us all.

Believe me yours sincerely,

R. de B. Layard

My pay as Vice Consul, Kobe, would I presume begin from the 27<sup>th</sup> February, the date of my appointment. R. de B. L.

Note by Satow written at end of letter

"Note. ans. 11/9 write officially abt. opium giving statistics of Stocks held by B.S.s. [British Subjects]

Land. Tait's man had better to go into the Courts. We cannot support colourable transfers.

Satow Papers: PRO 30/33 5/13

Correspondence and Papers (private). Japanese Mission. Consular Staff. Tamsui, Formosa (Taiwan). (February 1896 – April 1900)

Waterwks. Japse. must compensate or find other land.”

33. Layard to Satow [handwritten, p. 92 in file]

[Recd. 23/9]

Tamsui

Sept. 4. 1896

My dear Sir Ernest

Thank you much for y[ou]r two letters of 21<sup>st</sup> August.

I am much annoyed with myself and think I shall never gain experience. Your desp[atch]. 24 shows I did not make the distinction sufficiently clear between the Kelung chapel leased by Mackay in the name of the Mission, and the Mission chapels in the interior which are held in Chinese names. However of course your last para[graph]. holds good in any case.

Being clearly British property (which word the Japanese object to) I jumped at the opportunity of asserting British rights with the success reported.

I will discuss with Midzuno the matter of making a provisional agreement about a site for the Consulate upriver.

I am glad to be able to report that the waterworks are ready to begin work, that the road from Taipeh to Hobe is surveyed, that the Customs have a small but well armed ‘preventive’ cruiser – and that Myers is signing (or has signed) an agreement as adviser to the Formosa Gov[ernmen]t. It is likely to be a 5 years’ billet at \$6,000 per an[num]., but I believe it will be renewable yearly for 5 years rather than a long contract.

Yours sincerely

R. de B. Layard

34. Layard to Satow [handwritten, p. 94 in file]

Confidential

Tamsui

Sept. 10. 1896

My dear Sir Ernest,

I must supplement the Männich opium story by details that I have ascertained on the best authority. As I told you in a previous letter [No. 32 above] Midzuno did not deny that Männich (although on paper not the importer) got the commission or profit on the 60 chests. My authority is Dr. Myers who has talked the whole matter over with Midzuno, and told

me of it privately. Männich through the German Consul, stated to the authorities that because he did not receive due notice of the prohibition of the opium importation, he was the loser by \$120,000 – and as Midzuno says, Grunenwald simply lived at Government house until he had got permission for Männich to import some the other day. He added that the German Minister at Tokio had also used pressure (?). The fact of the shipment having been made from Hong Kong in a Japanese name looks bad - & was probably done to avoid trouble. But the point is that Männich appears to have done some hard swearing. He is not an habitual importer of opium, as can, Myers tells me, be ascertained from the manifests of ships entered at the Southern port. It is a question whether he ever imported any previously and it is highly improbable that any one would import so much at one time as to stand to win (or lose) \$120,000. Myers says that Midzuno remarked “He wished he had known all this before – but Grunewald was so urgent etc. etc.”

The British merchant is of course up in arms and you will probably hear a great deal more about it from Longford. Except as regards the influence on the market price, the matter is entirely as far as I can see personal to the German. A British merchant, who did not mind swearing might have done the same thing, but the Japanese have evidently (looking at it charitably) been taken in – and owe some sort of compensation in accommodating present matters for the remaining foreigners. Myers is drawing up a memo. with regard to the future programme for the sale of opium in this Island. His idea is to let certain firms have a license to deal in the drug not to put the monopoly into the hands of an individual or the government.

Can anything be done at any rate to insure the British merchant from loss by a sudden promulgation of opium regulations which cannot be foreseen by him? The four local firms have 130 chests, which in this transition stage, & owing to smuggling, they cannot get rid of; and the best thing the Japse. could do would be to buy it all in.

Yours sincerely

R. de B. Layard

35. Layard to Satow [handwritten, p. 94A in file]

Private

Tamsui

Sept. 15. 1896.

My dear Sir Ernest,

Your No. 23 of Aug. 19<sup>th</sup> about mission chapels only reached me on the 12<sup>th</sup> Sept. and I hope to answer it very soon. I am only waiting for a report from Dr. Mackay on the actual up-to-date occupation by the military &c. of the chapels.

It may look as if I had gone behind Midzuno but the latter is perfectly aware of my expressed opinion that although he does his utmost to give orders to the subordinates(?) in the Interior – his orders are not always satisfactorily carried out. My query refers to the military who exercise a free hand.

So the satisfactory settlement reported by Mr. Sec. Sasano simply means that I thanked him for sending the stringent orders and not that I was satisfied that the desired result was obtained.

Dr. Myers called upon me today and talked. He had no special news, but he is distressed by the evident (to him) opposition shown to his employment with the Jap[ane]se. by the Germans. I hope that it may not affect his position. He is a clever man, and, being long resident here, very well capable of filling the post of adviser usefully to the Formosa Government. In any case there is no German who could compete on the same lines.

We have none of us had fever yet, although this is the worst month, but Myers “percussed” me today and finds I have a little enlargement of that useless organ, the spleen – with slight indications of malarial fever (tendency) in my water [urine]. He tells me to go up the hill again for a week or so – and I intend doing so – coming down daily. It is a horrid nuisance, and I have not told Isabel [his wife], but I trust it will get all right soon – being taken in time.

I hope you are keeping well and have brought back good store of health from Chiusenji.

A kiss from the babe & our combined best remembrances.

Yours sincerely

R. de B. Layard

36. Layard to Satow [handwritten, p. 97 in file]

[ans. 5 Oct 1896]

The Bungalow

Sio pe ting

Tamsui

Sept. 21. 1896

My dear Sir Ernest,



Myers was so stringent in his order that I should clear out of the Consulate that I have come up here and am not going down for 10 days unless sent for. He is a bit of an alarmist I fancy, but I certainly was a little used up.

He showed me, with Midzuno's permission, a memo in the latter's handwriting explaining his action in the Männich opium business. The following is the first of it. After the last opium admitted in February, Männich claimed to have incurred great loss by ignorance of notification, and protested with strong support of German Minister and Consul – but his application was refused. There it rested. The other day, the Health Board refusing opium, Midzuno directed S. Kato at Hong Kong to obtain the drug & after it had been got, discovered as a coincidence that the opium was supplied by Männich. The opium imported by the Health Board has not been sold and Midzuno's own idea is to buy up stocks in the hands of local merchants at a proper valuation. I saw Midzuno on the 17<sup>th</sup> inst. when he protested his innocence! I have written to him privately asking whether he is prepared to buy up the stocks and when he will do it – but he is evasive. One of the British merchants here is preparing a statement of what he estimates his loss at by this importation and the almost unchecked smuggling and I will forward his letter when he sends it. In this matter the B[ritish].S[ubject]. has reason but they are apt to have extravagant notions.

Just now Jardine M[atheson]. & Co. & Lapraik Cass & Co. are both proposing to build kerosene godowns at a place called Piatow about a mile out from Hobé – where they hold land on Perpetual Lease. The Jap[ane]se. being notified, wish the firms to ask for sanction and submit plans. Jardine's man is prepared to do so, but the other, prompted by [T.S.] Gowland [of Lapraik Cass & Co., Amoy], has an idea that they can do as they please even to building a jetty out in the river, & brings in support what Gowland states you told him about “existing rights” prior to the Jap[ane]se. occupation. I have told them that if the buildings and jetty had been begun before the Jap[ane]se. came, it would have been another matter but my opinion is that the Japanese have a municipal right to control such buildings for dangerous goods. Piatow happens to be at a distance but, as I put it to them, would they deny the right of the Jap[ane]se. to object to kerosene godowns being built on a certain piece of property alongside some government buildings at Hobé – as might have been the case. In view of Gowland's statements, however, I shall perhaps have to telegraph to you for instructions – altho' I can only fancy it will be money wasted. The British subject with his vested rights is a nuisance. As for the proposed jetty; as the anchorage here with the silt

is a ticklish matter – I think they ought to allow the Jap[ane]se. control of an erection which may effect the course of the river.

Myers told me to ask you, if not indiscreet, to let Bonar have a glance at the report on Takow & Anping which he believes was sent to you. I know, what absolute ignorance I was [in] of the place when I came here and I feel sure Bonar would be very grateful. I am quite sick of describing Tamsui – having done it for Hall, Bonar & Longford – each in succession being certain of coming here! Please excuse any laziness – I am quite fuzzy from quinine. Best remembrances from us both & a kiss from Christobel who says she hopes you have some more stamps!

Yours sincerely

R. de B. Layard

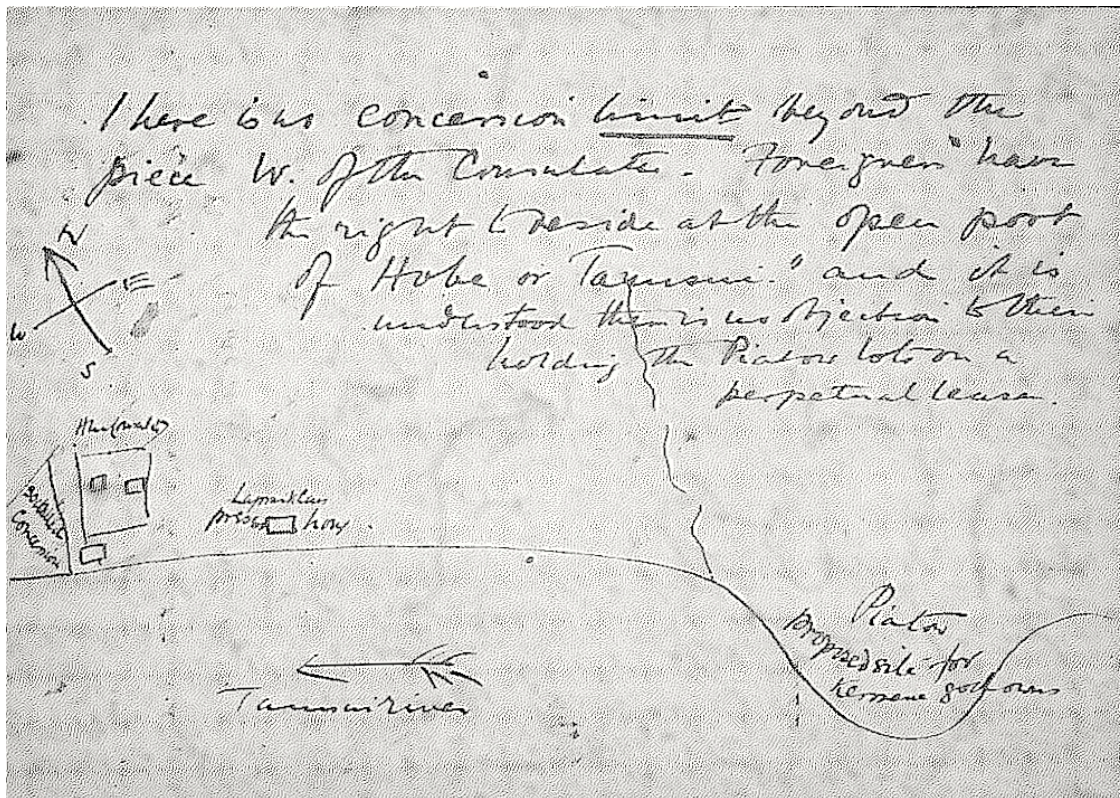
Re-reading my letter I see I should have stated that Gowland says “Sir Ernest Satow is fully aware of what we propose to do in Tamsui”, so I shall send you a copy of his letter to Mr. Ashton of the firm here.

“Japanese permission to erect a jetty.

the subject cropped up when I was in Japan as to how far it was necessary to ask permission to do such things on a foreign concession (?) as we were allowed to do before the war, in other words to take the Japanese at their own word when they say existing sights will not be interfered with, and Sir Ernest Satow’s advice to me was to assume the right, not to ask permission, but if we were prevented going on then to fight the question – to ask permission is to assume the Japs. have the right to refuse to give it and it also shows that we recognize the right of the Japs. to refuse. Sir E. Satow is fully aware of what we propose to do in Tamsui and was good enough to interest himself in the matter very much.” Thus Gowland.

The “foreign concession” is not defined by Treaty, the only so called “concession” being at Hobe, some ground, swampy and useless – which nobody is using for building. There is no concession limit beyond the piece W[est]. of the Consulate. Foreigners “have the right to reside at the open port of Hobe or Tamsui.” and it is understood there is no objection to them holding the Piatow lots on a perpetual lease.

[See drawing below.]



socalled concession, HM Consulate, Lapraik Cass [ ] hong, Piatow proposed site for kerosene godowns

I do not think he could have made you fully aware of what their proposals implied, and of course I cannot act on his statement against my own opinion without your instructions.

Dr. Mackay is just now away on a tour, but will return shortly and I shall then forward you a further report about chapels which he will be able to give.

I feel as if this letter was badly written bu[t] I can barely think – much less collect my thoughts.

Yours sincerely

R. de B. Layard

37. Layard to Satow [handwritten, p. 103 in file]

[Recd. Oct. 11]

Tamsui

Sepr. 28. 1896.

My dear Sir Ernest,

I am sending you almost simultaneously with this Dr. Mackay's last reports as to "chapel-obstruction". It will show you how utterly unable Midzuno or any civil head is to get his orders attended to, by the military in particular. Of course it is obvious that there is more difficulty on that score, owing to the constant changing of the personnel of the military bands – but if the officers were careful to include in their general orders, special prohibition of all interference, the soldiers might be better behaved.

Should you think it unnecessary to press the point in Tokio, with your permission I will unofficially bring every single instance, as it occurs, to Midzuno's notice – but to me it seems hopeless.

I trust my despatch on the subject will show that I have not overstated the case. The fact remains that Mackay, during the Chinese régime, had fewer annoyances of the kind – although popular prejudice sometimes gave him much trouble. The reports are of necessity not always 1<sup>st</sup> hand from Mackay but from his preacher-converts-caretakers. These men he has, however, perfect confidence in as they are men of some standing in the mission and tried servants but you have evidence of a disturbance caused in his presence by civilians at Kelung. The Hungarian Baron who was so useful in the matter, is, I am afraid, a fraud – for as soon as the Chapel sleeping quarters were vacated he ensconced himself, and poor Mackay cannot get rid of him. I have had to address his Minister about his goings-on as he is apparently penniless. Most of us have been taken in by him, but he hasn't tried to borrow any money of[f] me!

The British subjects who were on the war-path about their kerosene godowns have listened to reason as far as to apply to the Japanese for permission, submitting plans & specifications – but they threaten all sorts of horrors if any difficulty is put in their way, etc etc. With regard to my proposal to Midzuno to buy up at once the stocks of opium in Twatutia – he has declined with thanks. I am waiting for the statement of the British merchant, which I mentioned to you, before addressing you officially on the subject.

Dr. Angear, whose salary as I reported, I had to stop is still here – utterly unemployed, and mostly drunk. We are without a doctor, but the community held a meeting the other day on the matter, and we hope to get another.

The change to the bungalow up the hill did us all good and I feel specially benefitted. It's a great thing to have such a sanitarium close by, but I wish one could get away from the B[ritish]. S[ubjects]. Longford & Bonar both write to me and the comparison of their letters

is amusing.

Best remembrances from all

Yours sincerely

R. de B. Layard

38. Layard to Satow [handwritten, p. 107 in file]

Private

Tamsui

October 2. 1896

[Recd. Oct. 13/-]

My dear Sir Ernest,

I trust that, apart from the fact of my having made the matter too ‘official’ – the accompanying despatch will show how things go on & be sufficient.

Midzuno says he has heard nothing from Tokio as to my complaint but I told him that I knew that his orders were not carried out. He didn’t like it naturally – but I proved it to him up to the hilt. He is a very good fellow and I am sure willing to do all he can. The officials & smaller officers generally seem to act as they please towards the native. It is hopeless for the native convert to put his complaint through, generally speaking.

One case I can vouch for at Tokoham. The convert was going to the Jap[ane]se. office armed with a complaint against certain Chinese who had maltreated him. One of them is employed at the Japanese office and the convert no sooner appeared than this man had him arrested and put in prison – where he has been for months, without trial, or notice taken of his plaint. The Chinese who procured his arrest is a man whose name I have on an original account book showing that he headed a subscription list for funds to fight the Japanese and giving on the expenditure side 6 items of rewards paid for Japanese heads. I told the Governor of it but of course it is not my business. Mackay has employed a Japanese lawyer to represent the wretched prisoner.

The Chinese in the employ of the Japanese are with few exceptions of the lowest class – Yamên runners and the like – and many instances have occurred of them using threats of denouncement as rebels failing a squeeze.

I am glad to say one was caught out and promptly beheaded by his masters – but they don’t know what goes on. At least if they have a suspicion of it, they do not succeed in stopping it.

Many thanks for your letter of Sept. 11<sup>th</sup>. The B[ritish]. S[ubject]. is dilatory in sending me the report on Opium but I hope to forward it shortly. I have a return of Männich's imports for the last 5 years, obtained under seal of secrecy.

I have satisfied the landholders about water-pipes by getting Midzuno to guarantee they shall not interfere with reasonable house-foundations, but I got no thanks for it.

We have not yet got any reply for sanction to build those kerosene godowns – It is too bad.

I hope you had a good time at Chiuzenji & didn't get flooded out.

Yours very truly

R. de B. Layard

39. Layard to Satow [handwritten, p. 111 in file]

Tamsui

Oct. 17. 1896

26 [Recd. 26<sup>th</sup> Oct?]

My dear Sir Ernest

As [British Consul] Mr. Gardner from over the water [in Amoy] tells me that he has telegraphed to you about your letter, and its enclosure for me, having been tampered with, I send you the enclosure referred to for your inspection. I rather incline to think that it has been exposed to heat en route and not opened of evil intent, for I have received letters by Red Sea which have suffered similarly. If the gum, which shows along the flap, had been rice paste I should have been more suspicious. The edge of the letter was of course cut by myself. However such things are done even in Europe and Mr. Gardner may be correct in his surmise.

Many thanks for the letter in question (dated 26<sup>th</sup> Sept.), The Israelites will have it all their own way now with the opium, and I hope that BS.s. [British Subjects] will be conducive. I shall do my utmost to smooth matters. The agitation has (to use an up-to-date slang) fizzled out somewhat – but I have the material for a memo. on the course of the opium market since Jan[uary]. and will send it to you as soon as I can get it ready.

Perhaps for Myers' sake it is as well Katsura is not coming – his label was “German” and the local Teutons are not partial to the Doctor.

Thank you for your sympathy about malaria. I trust it will come to nothing, and the change of weather to a cooler temperature is all in my favor.

I am thankful to say the family have not suffered.

If only F[oreign].O[ffice]. would (or could?) give an answer definitely about Quin – it would save so much trouble to all – from yourself downwards.<sup>26</sup> I live in hopes, and am grateful for your promise to let me know particulars when settled.

The community is much exasperated against Burton and Davidson for what they look on as perversion of truth – or suppression. There seems no middle course with some in Japanese employ. The whole staff in the interior seems with few exceptions to be tarred with the same brush – and they are as incompetent as they can be. I am weary, past expression, of the dilatoriness and want of grasp even of the lower officials in my immediate vicinity.

Yours sincerely

R. de B. Layard

40. Layard to Satow [handwritten, p. 114 in file]

Tamsui

October 21. 1896

[Recd. Nov. 1. 1896]

My dear Sir Ernest,

I omitted in my last note to you to say that H.M.S. “Pique” had called on the morning of the 12<sup>th</sup> as your telegram warned me to expect.

The bar was impassable, and she anchored outside, unable, except by signals, to communicate with the shore. I attempted to get off to her in a steam launch, but did not care to face the breakers and came home again – fortunately as dry as I started.

The signalling wasted me a whole day – and she did not want any assistance, which includes telegraphing arrival etc.

I have struggled to send you the Trade Report such as it is – and I have not gone into a long apology officially – although a reminder from F.O. forced me to do so to them. The fact is that Ayrton should have done it (but he is lazy beyond words) and I came here with no possibility of giving firsthand information for want of local experience in a, to us, new district. It is an insignificant trade after all, although the fuss made by the local B[ritish]. S[ubjects]. is scarcely commensurate.

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<sup>26</sup> John James Quin was Consul in Nagasaki from October 1, 1888 until he retired on a pension on November 11, 1896. [F.O. List, 1898]

Cornes & Co. have sent down a Mr. Collum to inspect Kelung as an opening owing to Longford having written privately to Till that that place was everything desirable. Mr. Collum is not enthusiastic and it is a pity that Till did not take in that Kelung was in my district, and that I would probably know more about it. It was a near thing that Till and Wylie did not both come, as they would have done if not so busy. This is distinctly confidential, as the matter after all was a private one in the first instance.

Kelung will never be much until the railway communication is made of the easiest and then it must be remembered that the present rates of transport to Amoy, which are not high, have not been brought down to the “lowest possible” yet by competition. The Douglas S.S. Co. have it all their own way as yet, and would make a good struggle to keep the carrying business.

I can get no reliable information as to when the railway will be finished, and the same holds good for everything that we expect but can scarcely hope for as business is conducted in this Paradise -, where the pavement of good intentions seems to have encroached freely.

Mark Tapley<sup>27</sup> would have had grand scope here. Even I, and my household with me, are more cheerful than this might lead you to imagine. Best remembrances from us both and love from Christabel.

Yours sincerely

R. de B. Layard

41. Layard to Satow [handwritten, p. 118 in file]

Tamsui

Oct. 24. 1896.

[Recd. Nov. 9

Answered 12]

My dear Sir Ernest,

The regulations I send you are more curious in the form of announcement than in their actual bearing. I take them as a sort of provisional notification subject to Tokio sanction, but then why ask to have them circulated to foreigners?

The provision as to mentioning price is oppressive – and that requiring the double barrelled application inconvenient considering that many landowners are out of the country

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<sup>27</sup> Mark Tapley is a cheerful character in the novel *The Life and Adventures of Martin Chuzzlewit* by Charles Dickens.



and if they sell or lease will do it from the security of Amoy or elsewhere, and may not require to give a Power of Attorney to any local person if the foreigner execute the deed on the mainland.

The German has, by mutual agreement, done exactly as I have.

With regard to Rennie's mortgage business – I shall personally be glad if you instruct me that nothing can be done officially, but I should state that the H[ongkong]. & S[hanghai]. Bank are large holders of mortgages all around Twatutia and if they have speculated on a rise – there will be trouble ahead. At the same time a mortgage is only security – and Rennie seems very oppressive. He is a hardheaded Scot & lusts for the dollars.

General Kawakami arrives in Tamsui today & flags are flying. I presume he is here to take notes only for the Home Government. The weather is irreproachable and the family are well ungerufen [Touch wood!] – but we have no doctor yet.

Yours sincerely

R. de B. Layard

P.S. I open this to acknowledge your letter of 5<sup>th</sup> with desp[atch]. about opium just received by Hong Kong mail. It was given to Bigge of the "Pique" to hand to me & he as you know could not communicate. In spite of everything the post would be quicker than private hand and there is no bar at Kelung.

I am grateful that you are satisfied with my work here and as they say "shall use my best endeavours to continue to merit Etc."

I would not have you think me seriously ill, as I am not. No doubt I am a bit run down – and may have malarial taint[?] in me – but the best season is coming on – not the rainy season as you suppose. That is not due until December. Of course 'everything is comparative' and with the thermo[meter]. at 90° in the shade today – we cannot help suffering from the long spell of heat. Cf. my previous expression 'irreproachable'. I cannot blame it as it is certainly fine and the nights cool.

What keeps me going is the receipt of letters and with yours and a double mail just in I feel a new man! We shall be delighted to put up Mrs. Bird Bishop<sup>28</sup> as long as she can stay with us -, and she has had worse roughing it elsewhere undoubtedly. I will write to Gardner to let us know by wire of her movements.

Remembrances from us both

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<sup>28</sup> Isabella Lucy Bird, married name Bishop (1831-1904) was a 19<sup>th</sup> century explorer, writer and naturalist. The first woman elected Fellow of the Royal Geographical Society, her writings included *Unbeaten Tracks in Japan* (1880), and *Korea and her Neighbours* (1898).

Yours sincerely

R. de B. Layard

42. Layard to Satow [handwritten, p. 122 in file]

[“Please tell me whether we did anything on Layard’s No 43. E.S.”]

Tamsui

October 28. 1896

[ans. Nov. 12]

My dear Sir Ernest,

I had intended asking you in one of my previous letters – but seem, from my notes to have forgotten it – whether the sanction about Dr. Angear’s salary had been applied for to F.O.

I asked for your sanction in my No. 43 of July 30 to my getting rid of him owing to ill health. I hope they will not make a fuss about it, if it has gone home, because the man is steadily drinking himself from bad to worse, and there is no question of paying him to the End of the Quarter as there is no agreement with him. He is merely paid Quarterly for the sake of convenience.

We are in a great fix about getting another, as the subscriptions are so reduced since the Chinese Customs were evicted.

Yours very truly

R. de B. Layard

43. Layard to Satow [handwritten, p. 124 in file]

Tamsui

November 6. 1896

[Recd. 22]

My dear Sir Ernest,

I have quite forgotten until now to return to you the enclosed document for the loan of which I have been and am greatly obliged. It of course concerns the Southern part chiefly but it was a pity that Perkins did not take in the North which would have meant very little addition to his labour.

The plague is not increasing and is if anything less. It has been confined entirely to Taipeh; one case being reported at Hobe (Tamsui) which however proved to be not plague.

The German Consul and I lunched on the 3<sup>rd</sup> in uniform at Taipeh, and it was rather a shock to pass a house with a notice pasted on it that the inhabitants had the plague, but I have a strong suspicion that in some instances the so-called plague – was malaria with bubonic symptoms, like they have in India. However of 55 cases between 28<sup>th</sup> Octr. and 3<sup>rd</sup> November 20 have died, and 'it' must have been pretty virulent. I have much trouble in getting authentic returns, but I have just got a wire from the local Gov[ernm]t. to say that yesterday there was only one fresh case and no deaths. The rats seem to carry it into the houses from the fresh turned earth – as they die in great quantities. Any roadmaking or digging sends up the mortality.

I hope the opium matter will turn out all right. I have written privately to Bardens about it. There is little left in stock.

Best remembrances from us all.

Yours very truly

R. de B. Layard

44. Layard to Satow [handwritten, p. 126 in file]

The Plague goes on slowly with little betterment.

Tamsui

November 6<sup>th</sup>. 1896

[Recd.

Ansd. 2 Dec. ]

My dear Sir Ernest,

Mr. King<sup>29</sup> handed me your letter introducing him and your private letter of 28<sup>th</sup> ult[im]o. on the 14<sup>th</sup> inst[ant]. Many thanks for the latter.

I will make a point of seeing the Governor General about the Chapel question, and have no doubt he will do his 'possible'. As I have said from the first I have never doubted the good will of the chief authorities on that score, but it is the Home Gov[ernm]t. that is principally to blame in not providing the Island with an efficient official staff in the parts away from headquarters.

In sending you my Nos 59 & 60 I wish to keep the case open until you can judge of the possibilities of the position. Legally speaking Rennie should be satisfied with principal &

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<sup>29</sup> Probably Walter E. King, formerly Consul at Ichang. He and his daughter dined with Satow on June 20, 1899 (diary).

interest – but at the time when the mortgage fell due land was down to zero and the Chinaman was quite prepared to hand over en bloc. Also, I have no doubt that if any Consular official had thought fit to transfer the land to him the Chinese authorities would have made no objection. They would have permitted a transaction of the sort rather than back up their national, for fear of ‘losing face’ on a money bargain. Rennie I believe is under the impression that his claim was therefore all right and let things slide, until land should rise in value. And again if the Japanese had found him in possession even with an ‘absolute’ title they would have been requested to respect a ‘vested’ right. It is all rather vague however.

Ashton’s case is a little different. But, the Chinese in his case so Ashton says seemed to think at the time of the mortgage that he would never redeem it – and has since vanished. If the land is sold to cover the loan who gets the profit? for the value now put on it is somewhere about 8 times the value at the time of the deed. I am not satisfied that, in foreclosing the mortgage, it is absolutely necessary to sell the land – and Ashton is strongly and naturally against it – where he would not profit. So – may I ask you if there is any chance for him to get a title, on any basis, to possession thereof? I do not feel sure as to what the Japanese intend doing with regard to absentee owners’ land next year. If the original owner did not turn up, they might elect to seize it. I dare not suggest to the local authorities the issue of title deeds to Ashton, for fear of spoiling his chances of making a profit. In any case he would much rather have the land than the money.

I have telegraphed to Longford asking him if he is going to apply for leave, and even if I have to wait on his return from Japan shall feel happier at having definite dates to look to. I only hope now that Quin will not return whilst the moves are in progress. Bonar consoles himself with the prospect of snipe-shooting at Takow. It rather spoils my chances of selling my goods & chattels as Longford lives in two rooms or 3 and wants but little. The freight also from here to Kobe is ruinous.

Mr King has been taking most of his meals with us but he was captured by a hospitable resident who houses him – before he came to us.

Is the Vice Consul at Kobe to draw house-rent or live at the Consulate?

Best remembrances from us all.

Yours sincerely

R. de B. Layard

45. Layard to Satow [handwritten, p. 130 in file]

Tamsui

Nov. 19. 1896

[ans Dec 3]

My dear Sir Ernest,

Your telegram of yesterday was a great relief to my mind as you may suppose, as the prior arrangement that Longford was to come here after his leave, left things somewhat more in the vague.

I am applying to you officially for leave on my arrival back in Yokohama as I shall have of course many things to procure for the arctic climate of the Hokkaido, not to mention that the dentist will have to examine me. I have left the time or extent of leave open, but I suppose that it is not a matter of urgency that I proceed at once as there is little doing just now at Hakodate.

Many thanks for letting me know so promptly, as we shall require every minute to get ready. It is an awkward place to get away from.

Just experiences a severe shock of earthquake 4.15 am.

Yours sincerely

R. de B. Layard

46. Layard to Satow [handwritten, p. 132 in file]

Tamsui

Nov. 26. 1896.

[Dec. 12]

My dear Sir Ernest,

Many thanks for yours of 12<sup>th</sup> November. I am very glad that Dr. Rennie's case seems to hold out a hope of settlement – if not as he wishes it. My own impression is that the Japanese have taken every advantage of the loophole and forced the Chinese owner into compliance. Otherwise why should the money for redemption have come through their hands to Dr. Rennie's. The Chinaman was undoubtedly willing to let Rennie have the land until the Japanese got hold of him. It is a hard case without means of redress; and the sharp practice of the Power that be is distasteful. Here one has to be constantly on the look out for it, which embitters (!) one's existence.

If you have an opportunity would you kindly ask the Spanish Minister whether he got a

despatch which was posted yesterday. My people here omitted to register it, but if he can tell you the contents it will give you a good idea of the oppressive manner they are using to oust a Spanish subject out of property, the whole secret being that the military forcibly occupied foreigners' land last year and now are struggling to keep it, rent free. If forced to evacuate they have nowhere to put their soldiers. I am sure it will interest you.

I have succeeded in obtaining restitution of one lot of land to a B[ritish]. S[ubject]. but they are now trying to haggle over the amount demanded for arrears of rent. They show no desire to act promptly with justice. The usual course is first to declare their inability to identify the property in question, then to examine the titles for years back, although having Chinese Govt. sanction at the time of the occupation; and then to haggle over the rent. This for them of course puts off the evil day of swelling the Estimates for building expenses & purchase of land on Govt. account, but it is trying for the poor Consul.

I am glad to say we managed to get rid of that useless man Dr. Angear without taking legal action; and the new doctor left home on the 14<sup>th</sup> instant. I was fortunately able to press matters as the largest prospective subscriber.

The opium stocks have dwindled – only 8 chests in bond – but I doubt whether the Brit. Merchant has taken the trouble of writing to Bardens, and I have told them that if they haven't they will only have themselves to blame if loss ensues. One man (Jardine's) who fears the monopoly is imminent actually asks me to take over his opium personally! We have no direct notice when the monopoly will come into force [illegible] papers rumour 1<sup>st</sup> of December.

Repeated efforts have been unavailing, so far, to get a favourable agreement about a site for a new Consulate upriver, although I have made them agree to pay \$60 more since the roof was renewed! It stands now at \$56,600. When I see you I will tell you how I had to get the Chief of the Naval Department, the Chief of the Foreign Section and a Prefect to visit the proposed site for a jetty to be built by a perfidious foreigner. They are too ridiculous.

Our kindest regards & a kiss from Sukey

Yours sincerely

R. de B. Layard

47. Layard to Satow [handwritten, p. 136 in file]

Private

[Recd Dec. 19]

Satow Papers: PRO 30/33 5/13

Correspondence and Papers (private). Japanese Mission. Consular Staff. Tamsui, Formosa (Taiwan). (February 1896 – April 1900)

Tamsui

Decr. 2. 1896.

My dear Sir Ernest,

I enclose to you, sanko no tame [参考のため for your consideration] copy of what has passed between the German Consul & Midzuno re the camphor. Not hearing from you yet about it, and the British interests in camphor here being unimportant comparatively, I imagine you are considering the question in relation to the Southern port.

The Japanese letter to Merz is identical with the one I received.

No letter yet from Bonar and I fear he may have disposed of his furniture otherwise, on hearing of his going to Takow as first arranged. If so, what an expense to us in buying all over again at Yokohama.

Yours sincerely

R. de B. Layard

48. Layard to Satow [handwritten, p. 138 in file]

Tamsui

Dec. 5. 1896

[Recd. Dec. 19.]

My dear Sir Ernest,

The enclosed sanction has been called for retrospectively and has passed the Yokohama accounts long ago. I suppose the sanction had better be sent to F.O. through Tamsui now – although it would have simplified matters greatly if it had all been done at Yokohama in the first instance.

Yours very truly

R. de B. Layard

[no enclosure]

49. Layard to Satow [handwritten, p. 139 in file]

Tamsui

Dec. 9. 1896

[Recd. 22]

My dear Sir Ernest,

I discovered a grey hair this morning.

I cannot understand for a moment how the authorities hope to enforce the Tea tax regulations on foreigners and I have of course not notified them to B.S.s. [British Subjects] I should be very glad (or Bonar will be) to know what to do about it as without a notification from yourself I cannot see how they will be binding.

There will be an uproar when the B.S.s. get to know of it and the watchword will be “Likin”.

With regard to the Land registration, it is a pity Midzuno did not consult me first – and the matter is as far as I am concerned at a deadlock.

I wish to draw your attention to Midzuno’s P.S. I think the Jap[ane]se. auth[orit]ies. have a suspicion that some titles (& good ones except technically) would not pass the test suggested by his post scriptum. For many or some – property has been transferred with actual possession by way of security for money lent and under the treaties a foreigner cannot have full possession. I dare not raise the question but I think that the Japanese Govt. should not be allowed to cancel such a transfer entirely, but if they object to it – allow the present holder to get a perpetual lease or other title they may consider equitable. If I raised the question the answer might lead to fisticuffs. All well & nearly packed.

Yours sincerely

R. de B. Layard

50. Layard to Satow [handwritten, p. 141 in file]

Tamsui

Decr. 13. 1896.

[Recd. Decr. 28]

My dear Sir Ernest,

Your telegram of 14<sup>th</sup> inst. was apparently mutilated but I expect I have done what you wanted.

It ran thus

“Dead struck 63 paradoxes persuasive abrade conjoining”

The Japanese authorities are unnecessarily confusing matters by driving ahead of arrangements which should be made in Tokio. Endless talking is unavailing to impress on Midzuno that I am unable to make binding on foreigners anything not notified by yourself. He quite admits it in theory, but apparently expects the foreigner to be liable to all kinds of horrors if they unwittingly infringe these regulations before such notification.



With regard to the Tea tax I shall be sending you further despatches shortly, if still here but it is not sufficiently defined yet to worry you with.

As to the Land registration matters remain as they were – but possibly I may get a straight answer some day.

The kerosene godowns at Piatow (Hobe)” business was settled satisfactorily yesterday – it has taken 31/2 [three and a half] months.

I am very busy and the usual procrastinator is giving me work to do at the last moment which he could have arranged months ago. Bonar steps into a goodly inheritance. No news yet of his arrival.

Sugimura Chief of For[eign]. Sect[ion]. goes with Isogai to Tainan tomorrow – but is reserved as to his mission – which no doubt concerns the land questions.

Many thanks for your letter of 26 November and thank you much for inviting our large party to the Legation on arrival. I will let you know the date when I can telegraph it, but I think we shall take our thing[s] straight to the Hotel at Yokohama just to get a little arrangement into them. We are nearly in rags and covered with mildew!

Yours sincerely

R. de B. Layard

51. Layard to Satow [handwritten, p. 144 in file]

Private

Tamsui

Decr. 24. 1896

My dear Sir Ernest,

Herewith I send you what I have been able to do about the sale of the Consulate. The price stated is undoubtedly a “firm” offer but they have been fearfully slack about the matter of the site, and have not shown themselves eager to get a British Consul nearer headquarters. They at first proposed to restrict the choice of ground to a site within the limits of the settlement to be hereafter fixed. I have it in writing from the Chief of the Foreign Section that the proper course would be to apply for the Grant in the Estimates but he does not say whether he could secure its being passed. I have therefore left it so and think when the time comes – after the ground has been properly surveyed and approved – the application could be made for the grant for the purchase of such ground either in Tokio or through the Consulate with your sanction.

The site I have selected faces W[est]. and looks down the river which curves to the W[est]. of N[orth]. It lies as high over the water as most un-made ground tereabouts and is within fifteen minutes of the Taipeh Govt. offices and the Foreign Hongs at Twatutia. What would have to be looked into would be its position as regards the unhealthy part round Banka – the state of the bank of the river which is liable to freshets [sudden floods] and consequent landslips and its capabilities for an Artesian well. I think as to this last there would be little difficulty as water is struck (cf. Burton) from 100 ft downwards; the deeper the better.

With regard to Ship's papers a mail launch from Twatutia attends incoming and outgoing Douglas S.S. and the papers could travel (possibly) by that when communication is better – but at present the Consul or someone else would have to come down to meet steamers. If this port “booms” later there is no reason why it should be worse off than Takow & Anping and might have an assistant.

It seems a terrible pity to give up this Consulate after all, from the sentimental point of view. The old red fort commands the harbor and the flag that braved etc. is the first thing visible from the offing. There is something about the present site which commands respect but the arrangement is not practical as far as intercourse with the authorities is concerned. I suppose however this Consulate would be considered too expensive an investment for an assistant only?

If H.M. Govt. decide on building up-river, it should be understood that time is allowed for that purpose before handing over this Consulate. It would be quite impossible to rent quarters temporarily pending the building. There are none to be had, and we do not even know what to do with the doctor when he turns up, as the house occupied by the last man has been sold to the Japanese. The Revd. King has written to me saying that he thinks the Japanese, for strategical reasons are almost forced to hold the chapel (C.P.M.S.)<sup>30</sup> at Sintiam. I have not been there, but presume that a building on either side of a small chapel would have been equally good. Such irresponsible talk may do a lot of harm – and I should only like to ask King to examine himself as to whether he would say the same, if the chapel belonged to a Church of England mission. It has been occupied ever since the annexation and could probably have been purchased outright or if other quarter had been offered cheerfully lent to the Japanese. The services are carried on there as you will find stated in my long report of 1<sup>st</sup> October.

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<sup>30</sup> Canadian Presbyterian Missionary Society

A peaceful Christmas and New Year to you.

We have no news of Bonar's arrival yet and wonder where he has got to. If he is much longer in coming it will land me in the awkward position of having to settle up the last (of the year) quarter's routine work, with him waiting to step into the office.

We are all packed and waiting. Having but a few chairs and such things as we are leaving whilst we are eating off borrowed crockery. The house resounds to the voice like the Egyptian & Assyrian department of the British Museum.

We have had the thermo. as low as 45°F. and there has been a fall of snow on the North Hill above 2500 ft.

I cannot say how we shall come, but if Bonar's absence prevents us catching a steamer at Amoy it will necessitate going to Hong Kong which will be annoying & expensive.

Best wishes for the season from us both and a kiss from Christabel

Yours sincerely

R. de B. Layard

52. Henry A.C. Bonar to Satow [handwritten, p. 150 in file]

[Ans. Feb. 12]

Tamsui

5 Jan. 1896

[1897?]<sup>31</sup>

My dear Sir Ernest

We managed to arrive here on the 25<sup>th</sup> ulto. and our first impressions of this place were very agreeable. As usual the weather is reported to be abnormal, but I had no idea it could be quite so warm as it is in the daytime now – when a sun hat seems indispensable. Everybody appears cheerful & the hospitality of people is exceeding.

The inside of the residence is being painted so we are enjoying other people's comfort. The Japanese officials I have found both here & in Daihoku [Taipeh? 台北] most amiable. I have no doubt we shall get on very well. In Tamsui locally the smaller officials showed a cordiality which quite impressed me. Of official work there seems nothing special pending now. The Tea Regulations are explained by Midzuno as having in view only the saving of inconvenience to foreigners. I will go into that matter later on.

With reference to Ashton's land I am not writing officially yet as he is getting what

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<sup>31</sup> This query of the year has been added by whoever compiled the file.

evidence he is able to get at Amoy of the transactions. For the present I think Ashton is content to let the matter rest. The P.O. have given an acknowledgement of the rent paid to Ashton & the latter seems satisfied so far. This will explain the absence of No. 70 dispatch which had been partly written by Layard on the subject of Ashton's land & as the necessary document & there was nothing special to say I suggest that the desp[atch]. need not go. Might I ask that my desp. 71 be altered to No. 70?

One thing I should like to mention at length; I will not do so today however but will ask you not to do anything more in the matter of the sale of the Hobe Consulate just yet. You will hear what Layard has to say on the subject, and when I have made a few more enquiries I will put my own view before you privately. There can be no hurry, and I think it would be undesirable to make any sort of definite arrangement for the sale of the property here. The anxiety shown by the Jap[ane]se. to have this place is a very good reason for not letting it go until it is quite certain we shall not be the losers. I will make later another suggestion which I think will meet the immediate necessities of Consular requirements at Daihoku & which probably British Subjects at Twatutia would appreciate. For the moment I beg only that nothing more be decided as to the sale. In any case the Surveyor may be over shortly & there will be no harm in his looking at the site arranged for; it will not bind me to anything. It appears to me that whatever happens there must remain a Consular office at Hobe, tho' for many personal considerations Twatutia would be a better residence, & much official convenience would result – the question of giving up this place deserves a great deal more consideration.

I heard you were going to Chiuzenji at Xmas. Was it not too cold?

Yours sincerely

Henry A.C. Bonar

53. Bonar to Satow [handwritten, p. 154 in file]

Tamsui

15 Jan 1897

My dear Sir Ernest

I hope the suggestion I make in my despatch will meet with your approval, and as it will be some months before the Commission does come perhaps you could make the suggestion by wire and it would still be in time. It is perhaps a matter of no great importance but it would have this direct good effect that one will no longer have to communicate with the

Subprefects of Tamsui & Kelung except on very trifling matters, and one will be able to go direct to the Prefect of Taihoku for any matters affecting either Tamsui or Kelung, whereas Twatutia – which has so far not been recognized reserves itself the distinction of having its affairs brought directly under the notice of the Prefect. In Japan proper a Consul communicates only with the Prefects, and my German Colleague is in the position that he has nothing to do with Subprefects. But another good reason exists for the insertion of Twatutia, and that is that Tamsui now means only the port of Hobe, whereas hitherto it has (by the Germans at all events) been held to include Twatutia.

That the Jap[ane]se. will declare a foreign concession at Twatutia there seems little doubt. I don't see how they can avoid it; but I don't think they wish to avoid it, and the fact that they have agreed to let us have a Consulate site there & that the German Consulate is built on a site belonging to a German firm and registered as such is so much evidence that the question is practically settled. In my last I begged that nothing more should be done in the matter of disposing of this site, & for this reason. I have asked the British firms here privately to state impartially every good reason that may suggest itself for the establishment of a Consulate at Twatutia. Layard has already detailed these reasons on his own account & I fully endorse them; but the question of entirely disposing of this site is an entirely different matter. As long as Tamsui is Tamsui; & that the bar does not completely block up the river which it is not likely to, there will be shipping here; (and at any moment all the shipping of Kelung might be transferred here if the Jap[ane]se. will spend a little money & do some dredging). There is bound to be a Consulate Office to do the shipping. Tho' perhaps not as healthy as it might be the site here is a superb one, and apart from its historical interest the old fort is a most valuable bit of building. If finally therefore it were considered necessary to have an entirely new Consulate up river, the only thing to do would be to retain one slice of the ground here with the Consulate Office.

If the Jap[ane]se. are willing to buy the rest they would still have the most valuable lot anywhere about, but it would be a matter for continual regret if the whole site were given up. Pending the opinion of B. Wenham[?] which I will submit to you as soon as possible, my idea which they tell me is a practical one is to have a Branch Consulate at Twatutia, for which a rent all[owan]ce. would suffice, the accommodation being willingly provided by one of the British honges. In that way the community at Twatutia would have the Consulate, we should retain a most valuable site (of which the major portion could at any time be sold without detriment to the Government property here), and no lay-expense would be incurred

in a new & probably unsatisfactory building. The present Consulate can easily be made quite satisfactory if the Office of Works will only do what the climate & the experience of residents teaches.

If Layard is still with you he will no doubt explain the exact situation. I think the convenience of the British community at Twatutia, rather than the proximity to the Jap[ane]se. authorities should be the object in view; for tho' highly inconvenient at present, by the establishment of a British Consulate at Twatutia, and slated periodical visits there, I could easily arrange to see the Jap[ane]se. officials whenever necessary. That necessity however will not continue long, and sooner or later every Consulate, I suppose, will enter into limited functions. Please tell me what you think of my plan for the present of renting for a moderate rental say £150 per annum at the outside or \$100 per month, (they might be got for \$50, if the Brit[ish]. community is very anxious to see us there) suitable rooms for a Branch Consulate; & if you think well of the idea I will report up on it.

We find the weather trying, but unpacking & our new surroundings will enable us to get through the wet season without noticing it. I may have to report this Constable, he is always drunk. The rest of the Staff are satisfactory. But what a lot of rust [William S.] Ayrton left behind. Layard cannot have had a pleasant talk [with him?].

Yours truly

Henry A.C. Bonar

54. Bonar to Satow [handwritten, p. 160 in file]

Private

Tamsui

26 Jan. 1897

My dear Sir Ernest

I think I have attended to the subject of your cypher telegram received yesterday. I had to refer one group for correction, the 4<sup>th</sup> which was repeated as 1708. I believe it to be 1718. I regret there has been delay, but I calculated you should receive my despatch shortly after sending the telegram. Would you kindly have enquiry made ab[ou]t. the 4<sup>th</sup> group.

From Messrs. Lapraik Cass & Co. of Amoy I have received a generous offer of accommodation for a Consular office at Twatutia, the accommodation to be gratis, until further arrangements can be made. I much hope you will approve of such an arrangement at the earliest date, subject of course to my placing the matter before you officially.

I beg also your firm support to the other requests I make officially: the Japse. writer cannot get on on \$30 a month, nor can the boatmen live for \$6 per men.; the altered circumstances of Tamsui are such also that the yearly allowance for O.P.S. proves quite inadequate; we are insufficiently provided with a variety of articles that are found necessary in all Japan Consulates, not to mention that Tainan can spend \$172 per ann[um]. more than Tamsui.

Yours very truly

Henry A.C. Bonar

P.S. On second thoughts I will not now address you officially on the subject of the boatmen. I will see what I can do for them myself, and the question of the O.P.S. I will leave till the end of the Quarter.

I shall be very glad if you will give me further instruction ab[ou]t. Land Regulations i.e. Registration of land held by Foreigners. Layard's letter to you of the 9<sup>th</sup> December [no. 49 above] forwarded Midzuno's reply. From conversation I have had on the subject with the Prefect I think there is no intention whatever of making the regulations irksome & it would be to the interest of foreigners to have their land registered soon & placed on a proper footing. I should say that the respectable British merchant & they are all essentially that here will not object to have his title investigated. If after investigation any objections are raised to the registration then one can simply decline to do anything more & the foreigner will be in the same position as before. If his title is good then whether registered or not we can support him; if his title is not good I think he will be glad to find it out.

As far as Twatutia is concerned I believe the Jap[ane]se. Government would have no objection to see foreigners leasing land anywhere within reasonable limits and sooner or later I think they'll grant perpetual leases from Chinese to foreigners.

Beauclerk<sup>32</sup> was here for some days last week & the Jap[ane]se. officials were most courteous to him. Midzuno invited us to a small dance at wh[ich] the Governor was present. I was delighted to make Baron Nogi's<sup>33</sup> acquaintance and I have rarely met a more charming Japanese. Beauclerk was very keen on seeing some savages, and everything was done to get them, but apparently they did not consider it a favorable day for turning out of the hills, so they did not appear in time.

Midzuno is away on a tour of inspection extending to South Formosa: I fancy there will

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<sup>32</sup> Probably William Beauclerk (1840-98), 10<sup>th</sup> Duke of St. Albans. British Liberal politician.

<sup>33</sup> General Nogi Maresuke (1849-1912) was appointed the third Governor-General of Taiwan from October 1896 to February 1898.

be no new regulations coming out for the present.

Yours very truly

Henry A.C. Bonar

55. Bonar to Satow [handwritten, p. 165 in file]

[Twatutia to speak to O.

Ans. 3 Mar.]

Tamsui

17 February '97

My dear Sir Ernest

I regret to trouble you but at your convenience I beg you will send me instructions as to

1. Land Regulations which in view of Midzuno's explanatory letter forwarded in Layard's No. 67 will do very well, as they are optimal: British subjects who want their title investigated can have it done & I think the majority of titles are quite clear.

2. The Tea Tax Regulations No. 66 to which also there seems to be no objection as the tax together with export duty are less than the likin & export duty of the Chinese Government.

As to Camphor Regulations no British merchant here is interested & therefore it would be better for Tainan Consulate to report thereon.

Another point I submit for your earliest consideration: the advisability of settling before the month of May the limits of the settlements at Tamsui & Kelung & the formal recognition of the foreign settlement at Twatutia with limits already agreed upon by Layard & the Civil Depart[men]t. – so I understand. This latter measure will be immediately beneficial to British merchants at Twatutia, for as soon as the recognition of a Settlement or Concession takes place, the Authorities at Taipeh have promised to make perpetual leases for the properties held by foreigners in their Chinese compradores' names. For within the month of May all the Chinese must either elect Japanese nationality, or else leave the Island; in either case the position of the foreigner who has paid for the land and buildings becomes very unsatisfactory. In a conversation I had a few days ago with the Chief of Foreign section he told me that they were anxious to have the question of a Settlement fixed as soon as possible, and at present much confusion & discussion resulted from there being no definite limits. Another distinct advantage to foreigners would be that in a properly defined Foreign Concession they could henceforward acquire perpetual leases, which otherwise would probably be objected to by the Taipeh Auth[oritie]s.



I was much obliged for your telegram permitting my establishing provisionally a Consular Office at Twatutia. I trust also that my other proposal to rent, but not build, a Consulate pending further developments will recommend itself the more so as the site proposed by Layard cannot now easily be got hold of – the Chinese owner's refusing to sell or to let, as since last year the site has greatly increased in value. It is evident that the longer we wait, the more difficult it will be to acquire a site; & the proposition made in my last despatch might be made to include such an arrangement which will enable the Government to become the purchaser (on terms to be fixed before hand) of any building and/or site furnished by the party who will provide a Consulate at a yearly rental. The Germans have that arrangement, but as I have stated their Consulate is a palace & they pay a large rent. I trust something will be decided shortly; meanwhile I shall go up every week to Twatutia & I have located the Japanese writer there to keep me 'au courant' of what is going on.

As I have not heard at all from you since my arrival here. If you can spare the time I shall be obliged if you will tell me privately to what extent you approve of my suggestions in the matter of the Consulate & also as regards the Land Registration &c.

Yours very truly

Henry A.C. Bonar

56. Bonar to Satow [handwritten, p. 169 in file]

Tamsui

2 Feb. 1897

[Ans 18 Mar]

Dear Sir Ernest

A little excitement was caused a few days ago by an attack made by 5 or 6 rebels on a sentry at the West gate of Taipeh. The soldier was cut in the arm, but I was able to raise an alarm and the men got away. I hear a house to house visitation is being made at Banka, as a number of rebels are said to be hiding in that town. I have also heard that through a roof damaged by the rains a number of imprisoned rebels made good their escape. So far the amnesty does not seem to have induced any of them to make submission, altho' it was reported that 50 or 60 had come in to give themselves up – probably with intent to deceive.

Yours very truly

Henry A.C. Bonar

57. Bonar to Satow [handwritten, p. 171 in file]

[Recd. Mar. 13.

Ans 18.]

Private

Twatutia

5 March 1897

My dear Sir Ernest

By this mail Midzuno is leaving for Tokio. While there he has promised to do all he can for the speedy establishment of a Foreign Concession at Twatutia. It seems unnecessary to address you officially on the subject, as it seems a matter entirely for the Tokio F.O. to decide, and if you also agree that the matter is not desirable but urgent, I hope you will put what pressure you can on the Foreign Office to have the concession at Twatutia declared at the earliest date: postponement until after may would only lead to more confusion than already exists.

Midzuno has given verbal assurance of the recognition, and conversion into perpetual leases of the so-called ownership by Br[itish]. subjects of land & buildings at Twatutia (the land being registered in the compradores' names). This recognition would apply, he says, to land so acquired before and after the cession of the Island; furthermore, foreigners will – as soon as the Concession is established – at all events until the contrary is notified – be able to obtain perpetual leases for new lands they may hereafter acquire within the limits of the Concession. That would give new comers a chance.

If no concession is defined the present unsatisfactory tenure of land by Br[itish]. Subjects must continue; and with it the risk of being defrauded by such of their compradores who on the 8<sup>th</sup> May next may refuse to become Japanese subject, and who in consequence of their doing so must relinquish their properties (paid for by British merchants). They would also have a good chance of disposing of the property now standing in this name.

If you are satisfied that the Regulations for Registration of Land should be observed, I am also certain that Br[itish]. Subjects will gladly comply with them. In one case it has already been done. Proper registration makes the land marketable.

It is true that Ayrton sent to the Prefect of Taipeh a lot of title deeds to be registered; these were [Margin note: Mortgages to the extent of some \$100,000 held by the HongKong & Sh'hai Bank are now in my hands to be dealt with.] all returned to the Consulate, but beyond making a list of properties held by foreigners the Authorities did nothing in the

matter, so that at the present moment there is no Registration by Japanese Authorities of lands held by foreigners. This of course applies only to Kelung & Tamsui (Hobe): Twatutia is as yet not officially recognized altho' the Germans have one piece of land registered, and one piece of land belonging to a Brit[ish]. subject has also been registered, tho' by what means is not known. They say it was "machigai" [J: a mistake 間違い] and will not allow that to be a precedent.

The Gov[ernor]. Gen[eral]. [Nogi Maresuke] last night gave a dinner to Midzuno; & the German Consul & I were presented. They are all very genial here; and all are anxious for Formosa to have an independent financial position, so as not to be restricted by Parliamentary votes to the small sums of money doled out to the Island so far.

The papers report your departure for Europe early next month. If such is the case I hope Midzuno will be in time to meet you and that the Concession matter will be arranged, for that will terminate all land arguments.<sup>34</sup> In all mortgages I shall act as you instructed Layard to act re. Rennie mortgage.

Yours sincerely

Henry A.C. Bonar

58. Bonar to Satow [handwritten, p. 175 in file]

[Recd. 29/3/97]

Tamsui

13 March 1897

My dear Sir Ernest,

I cannot avoid, to satisfy my official conscience, reverting once more to the "Regulations for Registration" in an official despatch. I don't think I could say less, but I may of course be mistaken as to the value Registration may have for British Subjects; but that any system is better than the present confusion there can be no doubt. B.S.s. [British Subjects] here have so got into the way of letting everything slide, and of originating nothing that unless it is put in black & white what they may do they will never ask what the should do, and they are (most of them) always going back to old times. I hope you will approve of what I say, for my object is only to get a little order established. Nobody now seems to know what ground rent he should pay or whether he should pay any. The Japanese have no official

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<sup>34</sup> Satow met Mizuno before he left Japan on May 7, 1897. He arrived in England on June 4<sup>th</sup>, and attended Queen Victoria's Diamond Jubilee on June 22<sup>nd</sup>. He left England on October 20<sup>th</sup> and returned to Japan on November 21<sup>st</sup>.

record of the land held, and therefore they can only ‘appeal’ to the good sense of BSS to come forward and pay what is due.

I think I should mention that one man has, on my suggestion to try registration on his own account, gone to the SubPrefecture and registered a lot of land, and he is now registering more. The process is simple enough & the result is satisfactory.

I do not know what view you hold on the subject of the position of foreigners at Twatutia. The majority of them, especially the heads of firms who hardly ever come over to Formosa, are convinced that Twatutia forms part of the open port of Tamsui. It is quite certain that the Chinese did not think so otherwise they would have granted to Foreigners the leases in their own names like they did at Hobe. Of course what rights(?) they acquired by the tacit consent of the Chinese will be or have been tacitly acknowledged by the Japanese, but nothing short of a “Concession” will cause all those rights to be recognized officially, and I have already addressed you on the subject.

On the subject of camphor I cannot do better than send you Merz’ letter to me. Yamaguchi acted for Midzuno, while the latter was on his tour of inspection; he is the next official in rank to Midzuno.

As an instance of the “somnolent condition” of most men here I may mention that my German colleague has not yet tho’ it’s nearly three months since my arrival – come down to call on me officially or otherwise! Other members of the community took more than a month, some required two months before they could bring themselves to do the 8 miles by steam launch. Now that the Tamsui SubPrefect has intimated that he wanted the ground rents paid, residents of Twatutia have become quite excited at having to visit the port. This is but a slight indication of how content people have been to go on sleepily as before.

R. Hughes of Samuel Samuel has been in & about Taipeh & Hong Kong for 3 months or so. What he has done about opium is mysterious; some allege that he must have made a large sum in commissions for the Japanese Gov[ernment]. Only little opium remains in British merchants’ hands, and the Government have offered to pay a fair price, so to all intents & purposes opium is finished with. Camphor remains as before; the arrangements for Tea appear satisfactory and it is only Land which remains to be dealt with.

I am so glad you recommended my proposal re Consulate at Twatutia. It seems almost impossible to get a site.

If you hear that a “Settlement” is decided on for Twatutia, I shall esteem it a favour if you will wire me to that effect.

Satow Papers: PRO 30/33 5/13

Correspondence and Papers (private). Japanese Mission. Consular Staff. Tamsui, Formosa (Taiwan). (February 1896 – April 1900)

Yours very truly

Henry A.C. Bonar

Enclosure: German Consul to Bonar

Kaiserlich Deutsches Konsulat für Formosa [printed letterhead]

Twatutia

9 March 1897

Dear Mr. Bonar,

Mr. Yamaguchi wrote me on the 22<sup>nd</sup> of January that pending negotiations with the German Minister regarding the limit of time in which the buying of camphor by foreigners in the interior was to be allowed, the new regulations proposed by Mr. Midzuno were withdrawn under instructions from Tokio. In the meantime the status quo ante would be upheld. The status quo as understood by us is that foreigners may go into the interior to buy camphor and to have reviewing sections[?] there.

Yours very truly

C. Merz

59. Bonar to Satow [handwritten, p. 180 in file]

Tamsui

2 April 1897

[ans 13]

My dear Sir Ernest

Postal communication between this and Japan is certainly more satisfactory, and about the month of May they say the new cable between Okinawa & Formosa will be finished, and probably a charge of 10¢ instead of \$1.40 per word will be made.

Since my arrival here I have done what I could in the way of getting everything into better order, but as I point out in my official the yearly allowance is quite insufficient, and it should be at least what it is for Tainan. When I state that it costs \$3 to bind one volume of archives (cost about 80 c in Japan) this represents the proportion of Taiwan to Japan prices of most things.

I heard yesterday privately that the Twatutia settlement question had been settled & that official estimation would soon be forthcoming. As soon as it does come I will at once see that all ownership of land at Twatutia is turned into tenure on perpetual lease. As the

community at Twatutia is at all times very helpless I foresee a good deal of extra work, and if it is possible I would ask that some one, I would suggest Griffiths as the nearest and most experienced assistant, to come and assist me. It would at the same time give him an idea as to what should be done in the South about land later on. I understand that the winter is the busy season in the South, so that by the end of April probably Kenny could spare him. The Tea season begins here at the same time and I am sure that Jardine Matheson & the other British firms at Twatutia will be grateful for Consular assistance which single handed I should not be able to give, unless for the time being I forsake the port entirely. The last quarter showed a great increase in fees, mainly owing to extra work on land documents.

I am afraid that you will not view [with favour] a proposal I may have to make later on for an Assistant to reside permanently in North Formosa; but without wishing to make any invidious remark as to the importance of Tainan as compared with this, I have occasionally been told by men who have done business both in the South & the North of the Island that Anping & Takow do not seem to have awakened from their first sleep. As all questions are treated at first hand here by the Government of Formosa, that the trade of Tamsui is double that of Tainan, and the shipping here is more than double that of the Southern Port, I beg you will consider whether the present occasion is not a proper one for deciding once for all that Tamsui shall not be less favored than Tainan, either in the matter of yearly expenditure or assistance. The climate also being the more trying in the North (we are just emerging from yesterday's rain, and fog) instead of increasing the salary of the post as you recommended last year will you not kindly recommend to the F.O. the permanent establishment of an Assistant to reside either here or Twatutia as opportunity may require, the question of expense being covered by my former proposal which you sent home.

Personally I feel quite happy and much interested in my new post. My wife, however, finds it exceedingly dull, as the only society she can get is that of the German Consul's wife who cannot be induced to come down to the port, and I have recommended that she should try a month or two in Japan; we fully intend to build a bungalow somewhere in the hills where we can go to for short spells later on. Lake Chiuzenji would be worth a dollar a foot here, but for fairly cool air I think we may hope to do very well at 1200 feet. The river scenery is extremely pretty on a fine day.

Cowan<sup>35</sup> will do all he can to save us from the rain in future. We saw the site in

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<sup>35</sup> W. Cowan, Inspector of the Office of Works for China, Korea and Japan. On May 17, 1898 Satow talked with him about Tamsui, Kobe and Hakodate consulates, and the Legation buildings at Tokyo. (Diary, Ruxton, 2003, p. 275)

Twatutia (he had not seen your despatch to him which Layard had recommended & which is the best-about, but the Chinese are now refusing to sell at even greatly increased prices & I doubt whether at any figure betw. \$12 or \$15000 they would sell a site. Such a sum of course would never be voted.

Cowan said he thought no Branch or other Consulate would ever be built up river unless there were someone or other to occupy it permanently, as no Consul was expected to furnish and occupy two residences at the same time. Under these circumstances I feel I could not have done better than recommend an allowance which I hope the F.O. will make no question of granting, to cover the expenses of a Consul's (or later on an Assistant's) residence at Twatutia. While on leave I would not ask you to take any particular steps in the matter except again give your verbal approval if it will help.

Yours sincerely

Henry A.C. Bonar

60. Bonar to Satow [handwritten, p. 186 in file]

Tamsui

2 April 1897

[Ansd. 13     ]

My dear Sir Ernest,

I cannot do better than enclose the two cuttings [see next page] showing the relative commercial importance of Tamsui and Tainan, to which I refer in my letter. In 10 years both the total trade and shipping of Tamsui doubled themselves, and there is every sign of still greater increase, while at Tainan, the trade is practically the same & the shipping is considerably less.

I was not aware of such a difference before I came here; but the facts being so clearly in favor of Tamsui will you not assist in obtaining from the Foreign Office the recognition that though Tamsui formerly only a Vice Consulate was only recently made into a Consulate, it has now every claim to be considered more important than Tainan – a view I trust you share.

Yours sincerely

Henry A.C. Bonar

Correspondence and Papers (private). Japanese Mission. Consular Staff. Tamsui, Formosa (Taiwan). (February 1896 – April 1900)

p. 372 TRADE REPORTS AND RETURNS [printed, p.188 in file, retyped]

## TAMSUI

### TABLE No. 5 – VALUE OF TRADE, ETC.

Comparative Table of the Value of Trade, the Import and Export of Treasure, Number and Tonnage of Vessels Cleared, and Total revenue, for the Years 1884 to 1893

TAMSUI											
YEARS	VALUE OF THE TRADE				TOTAL IMPORTS AND EXPORTS	RE-EXPORTS	TREASURE		SHIPPING		TOTAL
	GROSS IMPORTS FROM		EXPORTS TO				IMPORTED	EXPORTED	VESSELS CLEARED	REVENUE	
	Foreign	Native	Foreign	Native					No.	TONNAGE	
	Countries	Ports	Countries	Ports							
	(including Hongkong)										
	Hk. Tls.	Hk. Tls.	Hk. Tls.	Hk. Tls.	Hk. Tls.	Hk. Tls.	Hk. Tls.	Hk. Tls.	Tons.	Hk. Tls.	
1884	825,464	427,295	21,278	2,379,379	3,653,416	23,037	799,875	274,700	116	50,534	297,879
1885	1,243,495	552,671	22,777	2,718,532	4,537,465	38,210	1,444,879	100,581	102	42,098	372,720
1886	1,429,856	620,702	38,513	3,373,432	5,462,503	28,040	1,646,425	193,973	137	59,535	382,156
1887	1,513,889	756,665	44,260	3,327,176	5,641,990	37,184	1,318,162	265,333	125	59,279	534,524
1888	1,677,207	964,654	58,146	3,001,178	5,701,185	34,781	1,011,984	325,383	128	73,952	598,384
1889	1,652,135	556,990	84,150	3,001,521	5,294,796	29,792	1,016,921	373,167	147	88,373	590,945
1890	1,710,557	566,586	131,324	3,171,246	5,579,713	56,458	1,359,775	296,310	134	88,977	584,242
1891	1,729,233	521,955	286,767	2,814,599	5,352,554	51,880	1,068,579	319,023	155	94,084	638,135
1892	1,635,747	732,999	345,884	3,081,654	5,796,284	23,701	1,454,475	104,012	143	83,274	635,080
1893	1,842,092	1,273,383	614,627	4,150,102	7,880,204	30,253	1,766,219	227,107	200	117,050	706,291

## TAINAN

### TABLE No. 6 – VALUE OF TRADE, ETC.

Comparative Table of the Value of Trade, the Import and Export of Treasure, Shipping Entered and Cleared, and Total revenue for the Years 1884 to 1893.



TAINAN									
YEARS	VALUE OF THE TRADE			TREASURE			SHIPPING		TOTAL REVENUE
	Net Imports (deducting Re-exports)	Exports	Total Imports and Exports	Re-exports	Imported	Exported	Tonnage Entered	Tonnage Cleared	
	Hk. Tls.	Hk. Tls.	Hk. Tls.	Hk. Tls.	Hk. Tls.	Hk. Tls.	Tons.	Tons.	Hk. Tls.
1884	1,319,411	1,764,657	3,084,068	11,418	535,509	525,454	74,648	76,306	210,215
1885	1,400,217	1,078,464	2,478,681	34,131	345,466	221,851	49,366	48,297	152,376
1886	1,509,625	1,074,000	2,583,625	42,707	217,674	604,447	51,975	51,101	154,089
1887	1,571,496	1,191,042	2,762,538	26,693	142,332	530,312	52,075	53,512	337,576
1888	1,377,938	1,484,082	2,862,020	55,513	386,668	427,830	54,581	54,154	404,206
1889	1,421,066	1,325,398	2,746,464	16,402	213,279	405,123	57,431	56,971	399,203
1890	1,622,413	1,953,310	3,575,723	48,237	457,117	622,485	66,266	67,039	461,032
1891	1,496,998	1,634,262	3,131,260	56,661	244,697	555,652	56,197	55,750	473,435
1892	1,400,020	1,532,291	2,932,311	50,841	265,147	419,190	59,549	59,996	414,111
1893	1,724,018	1,571,851	3,295,869	35,030	350,211	405,500	53,686	52,443	384,075

61. Bonar to Satow [handwritten, p. 189 in file]

[ans. Sept. 1]

Tamsui

10 May 1897

My dear Sir Ernest,

In a desp[atch]. which I have by this mail forwarded to the Secretary of State I give an explanation for my application for an increase in the Office contingencies allowance. It may be that I am unhappy in my method of making application, but I beg you will remember that it is not for my personal gratification, but in order to perform my Consular duties here in the best possible manner that I ask for this, that & the other. There is not the slightest doubt that we in Formosa have much more responsibility thrown on us by the changes now taking place, & in accordance with your advice, I have after due consideration taken all steps to put British subjects on a right footing with regard to properties held by them here.

I have reported fully to the Legation the new arrangements for mixed residence & it appears to me that British merchants are in a far more satisfactory position than they could even have hoped for; they retain all lands on perpetual lease & are able to make fresh arrangements for other lands & houses. In this respect the Authorities are liberal, and I do not foresee any more bother about land.

On the morning of the 8<sup>th</sup> Twatutia was attacked by about 600 rebels. There was great excitement, but no foreign property was damaged. I am semi-officially informed that 300 rebels were captured and 30 killed, the Japanese had only 3 wounded. As the outbreak occurred at 3 a.m. there was a good deal of indiscriminate firing. Some Chinese houses were burnt & a good deal of damage done. For some time to come the neighborhood won't be safe, and boats or launches on the river had better keep a lookout for shots.

We were preparing for them at Tamsui, but I fancy for the present they will not make a fresh combination.

I beg you will do what you can about assistance here when it can be spared. The clerical work is not great, but there is work which the Chinese linguist cannot be entrusted with. For the present Kenny will not lend me Griffiths.

I trust you will have a thoroughly enjoyable holiday. If ever you are in the neighborhood of 5 Cotsmore Gardens, Kensington I am sure Mrs. Napier will be delighted to see you. She has just taken a house.

Yours very truly

Henry A.C. Bonar

62. Bonar to Satow [handwritten, p. 192 in file]

Private

Tamsui

26 May 1897

[Ans. Sept. 1]

My dear Sir Ernest,

I am sure a recent phase of the Formosa disturbances will interest you, so I send you a copy of the original (Chinese) of a petition sent to us (German Consul & myself) separately by the Rebel leaders, one of whom by the way is reported to have been killed. I have reported on the matter to the Legation & am also by this mail forwarding to the Sec[retar]y. of State copy of my desp[atch]. to the Legation & translation of the Petition, Merz having reported the whole thing direct to the German F.O.

The Rebels openly declare that they mean to burn or attack foreign hong[s] & houses; & Twatutia is full of reports to that effect. That they mean to do something is plain – but I don't think it will be by way of an open attack, so that the Jap[ane]se. can really not be ready for them. The Auth[oritie]s. seem quite satisfied that after the attack of the 8<sup>th</sup>

everything is quiet again, but there is not the slightest doubt that every other coolie in Twatutia or here will readily lend a hand to the rebels if the latter make it worth their while. Since they declare themselves determined to attack the Jap[ane]se. they claim to have the character only of robbers which up to the present I had thought they deserved; plunder will satisfy them of course, but there's more dissatisfaction than the Japanese know of. They are badly informed.

I hope I did right about the petition – for it was I who urged them to do what we did, namely tell the Governor privately about it & ask him at any rate to see that all measures had been taken for the protection of Foreigners.

I am afraid the whole Formosan Admin[istratio]n. is conducted on bad lines – and willing as I was at first to put the best interpretation on everything they did – I find now it takes me all my time to get them to remove the real obstructions to the foreign trade.

Of course it seems impossible that outside advice should be given to the Jap[ane]se. Gov[ernmen]t.; if they would only let things be, all would go right as far as foreigners are concerned. But the natives – ça c'est une autre affaire [F: that is another matter].

Dr. Mackay – the great authority on the feelings of the people – tho' he is given to a little exaggeration – firmly believes the population ready to side with the rebels.

It's strange that the Rebel leaders did not send to de Bondy (French V[ice]. Consul who was here at the time) a similar petition, apparently they discriminate.

Hoping you are having a good holiday.

Yours sincerely

Henry A.C. Bonar

63. E.M. Hobart-Hampden to Gerard A. Lowther [handwritten, p. 196 in file]<sup>36</sup>

British Consulate

Twatutia

Nov. 15. 1897

Dear Mr. Lowther,

Tho' I did not think it worth putting in a despatch I felt I ought to let you know privately that there has been a good deal of brigandage lately in N. Formosa.

On the night of the 5<sup>th</sup> inst. a slight descent was made on the outskirts of Kelung (where

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<sup>36</sup> Ernest Miles Hobart-Hampden (1864-1949) was Acting Consul at Tamsui in 1897. [F.O. List, 1950] Gerard Augustus Lowther (1858-1916) was Secretary of the Tokyo Legation (1894-98) and Chargé d'Affaires from May to November 1897 while Satow was in England. [F.O. List, 1917].

no foreigners live) by a band of robbers estimated by the newspapers at anything from 15 to 100 & it is said that 3 natives were carried off. Accounts vary but it is clear that the robbers are somewhat aggressive in that neighbourhood.

A few days ago I received information (to which I attached little importance) from a Spaniard of Chinese descent that an attack was contemplated on a certain night on the Tamsui Custom House. The Commissioner of Customs & the Commander of the Jap[anese]. gunboat “Sôkô”, now anchored here for a prolonged stay happened to be lunching with me that day & I informed them that I had somewhat untrustworthy information of an impending attack. Nothing occurred that night, but the Japanese seem to have been put on the qui vive, & on the morning of the 13<sup>th</sup> instant at 2 places about 12 miles from Tamsui the gendarmerie & troops had a fight with 2 bodies, 100 & 150 strong, of rebels, who had burnt 8 houses & killed 2 Chinese; the rebels were repulsed without difficulty. Of this I have official information from the Chief of Police who stated that the necessary arrangements for the safety of Tamsui had been made. I understand that yesterday morning another slight encounter occurred some 8 or 10 miles away.

This sporadic dacoity [gang robbery, banditry] seems to me of very little importance, & what with a garrison, a gunboat & the gendarmes the lives & property of foreigners appear to me to stand in no danger whatever. Since the arrival at Tamsui of the Jap[anese]. Gunboat, H.M.S. “Phoenix” has, I understand, ceased to remain within call. We certainly have no need of her presence.

I hope to report in a few days on the prisons question. My short experience here rather prevents my giving information of value. I visit the prisons tomorrow.

I do not know whether it would be feasible, but I think it would be of assistance, particularly to Consular officers of small experience like myself, if decisions arrived at on such questions as the [Nicholas Phillipps] Kingdon<sup>37</sup> nationality question, or the affairs of the Chinese cooks at Hakodate could be circulated. As it is we are left to gather what information we can from the doubtful authority of the newspapers & the result of a case which may have occurred at one Port remains practically unknown to Consular officers at other Ports. I have, for instance, had a case here of suspected smuggling of opium by a

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<sup>37</sup> Nicholas Phillips Kingdon was a merchant/financier of Kingdon Schwabe & Co. of Yokohama, born in London c. 1830. He was also Japanese correspondent for the *Times* 1894-5. The British Museum acquired over 90 Chinese coins from Kingdon in 1865. ([http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/search\\_the\\_collection\\_database/term\\_details.aspx?bioId=31038](http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/search_the_collection_database/term_details.aspx?bioId=31038) accessed August 4, 2014.)

Chinese serving as a seaman in a British vessel, & though I have had a precedent of some sort to guide me I should have been glad to know authoritatively what the ruling in the Hakodate affair finally was.

Tomorrow probably I shall send you Dr. Merz' (German Consul) answer to Mr. Sone<sup>38</sup> in the draft camphor regulations. He apparently feels himself competent to discuss the question locally, but so far as I am concerned, I await instructions as I believe the matter is being fought on by us in South Formosa.

Yours truly

E.M. Hobart-Hampden

64. E.M. Hobart-Hampden to Satow [handwritten, p. 197A in file]

[Recd. Dec. 16/97

Ans. 17/97

Approving. Also hoping he keeps up his Japanese.]

British Consulate

Tamsui

Dec. 8. 1897

Dear Sir Ernest,

I am very sorry to find out from your private letter of the 30 November that the question of Chinese in the articles of foreign vessels is still under discussion. I have, therefore, probably made a bad blunder over the case of Chen Tekch'un, but I shall not defend my action now as I shall probably be called in officially for an explanation. In these cases there is unfortunately no time to obtain instructions from the Legation, and so one has to act on one's own responsibility.

On the subject of your despatch No 25 of Dec 1 on Camphor, Mr. Sone's reply to the German Consul's letter enclosed in my No. 39, was that he was referring the matter to his Government. As Mr. Sone is now in Tokio & there seems no immediate reason for mentioning the subject here, I shall show your despatch to Bonar on his return, myself refraining from saying anything about the matter to the Japanese Authorities, unless special cause should arise.

I have not yet received notice from Bonar of the precise date of his return.

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<sup>38</sup> Sone Shizuo 曾根静夫 (1845-1903). Head of Civil Administration (*Minseikyoku*) in Formosa after Mizuno. Appointed by Governor General Nogi.

Yours truly

E.M. Hobart-Hampden

65. Bonar to Satow [handwritten, p. 199 in file]

[ans. 16/2]

Shanghai

10<sup>th</sup> Dec. 1897

My dear Sir Ernest

I have been waiting here for a week to get a steamer to Amoy whence I proceed to Tamsui. I have had an enjoyable trip up the Yangtse, and am glad to have seen something at last of China & the great river. I hope to reach Tamsui about the 16<sup>th</sup> and shall not detain Hampden, who should be able to find a steamer for Kobe soon after my return.

I have benefited much by the change & am glad to say I have been able to put on a few pounds of flesh which I could but ill afford to lose in Formosa. I see the China association mentions the land question in North Formosa which to all intents and purposes was settled long ago. I trust you approve also of what I have been able to do. I have purposely refrained from writing much on the subject of Formosa, and the various phases of the administration there – all changes originating in Tokio; we were only able to get our news from Japan.

With my new branch Consulate at Twatutia I hope to be able to carry on Consular business more satisfactorily. I hope you have enjoyed the trip out.

This morning & yesterday I had the pleasure of meeting the d'Anethans.<sup>39</sup>

I don't know what the Doctor will recommend my wife to do about living in Tamsui – the local doctor & another naval doctor advised her to spend as little time as possible there. So far I seem to have escaped fever.

Yours sincerely

Henry A.C. Bonar

66. Bonar to Satow [handwritten, p. 200 in file]

Private

Tamsui, 30<sup>th</sup> December 1897

[Recd. 10/1/98]

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<sup>39</sup> Baron Albert d'Anethan, Belgian Minister at Tokyo 1894-1910, and Baroness Eleanora, sister of the novelist Sir Henry Rider Haggard and the diplomat Sir William haggard.

Ansd. 12/1/98]

Dear Sir Ernest,

I hope that officially or otherwise I may have an opportunity of learning your opinion on cases similar to that of Chen Tekch'un, who has got this excessively rigorous punishment administered to him. I suppose the Court considers that it has gone out of its way to let us know the sentence passed. Considering the quantity of opium which finds its way onto the Island owing to the lack of control on the Coast, the Chinaman in question is most unlucky.

Things do not appear to assume a much better look, as far as local disturbances are concerned. Soné [Shizuo] seems to be out of the island a good deal & no particular opinion is entertained of him. Fortunately nothing of any consequence for foreigners seems for the moment to require a good man at the head of the Civil Adm[inistratio]n.

I am glad [Gerard A.] Lowther is coming to visit the Island – it is well worth a visit – tho' it is difficult to point out any particular feature to the casual visitor. The Administration & the climate vie with each other for rapidity of change & mediocrity. It sounds facetious but it is true.

I thank you for your kind note of the other day. For some reason or other I had hitherto felt that what I had considered satisfactory was not equally so much thought of at the Legation.

I am glad my wife is getting well again – but I hope she will be persuaded to stay away from Formosa until the rainy season is over. She tells me how kind you have been to her. I am very grateful.

We have had a change in the German Consulate. It seems extraordinary that they continue to send men from China to Formosa.

Is Kenny likely to remain long in Hawai'i? Tainan is anything but flourishing, I hear, Dr. Myers nevertheless continues to think it a place of first importance. For the present it has reached a pretty low[?] level. In winter however, it appears that the climate is perfect.

A Japanese steamer with 80 lives has been lost on the Pescadores. The Formosa Channel well deserves its reputation, & the journey across at this time of year is not to be lightly undertaken.

I saw a great deal of the Hannens at Shanghai. I don't think they are pleased at the manner in which the division of his post has taken place.<sup>40</sup>

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<sup>40</sup> In 1891 Sir Nicholas Hannen (1842-1900, knighted 1895) was appointed Chief Justice of the British Supreme Court for China and Japan and Consul-General in Shanghai. The appointment was the first and only time the Chief Justice also served as Consul-General. There was much opposition from foreign

You will see that I have been careful to write but few despatches since my arrival here. As a pretty strict control is exercised over the local press one can't get any reliable news from it & for the rest Tokio knows more than we do; since no one of any standing, commercially or socially is to be met with among the Japanese, there is no source.

Wishing you a very happy New Year

Believe me

Yours sincerely

Henry A.C. Bonar

67. Bonar to Satow [handwritten, p. 204 in file]

[Recd. 15]

Tamsui

4. February 1898

My dear Sir Ernest,

It appears to me that the following division of Formosa into two Consular Districts is the most natural one.

	Taihoku	Prefecture
Tamsui Consul	Shinchiku	”
District	Taichiu	”
	Giran	”
Tainan	Kagi	Prefecture
	Tainan	”
	Hozan	”
	Taito (Rūan)	Sub.
	Pescadores	

and no other arrangement, - taking into consideration present means of communication - is practicable.

Kagi [嘉義 C: Chiayi, J: Kagi], Tainan [臺南 or 台南] & Hōzan [鳳山 C: Fongshan, J: Hozan] Prefectures lie together, and if by any chance British subjects should ever reside at the Pescadores or in the Taito Subprefectures, Anping [安平] will for them be

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residents in China to the amalgamation, because it was felt inappropriate for one man to hold a judicial and executive post at the same time. The posts were separated in 1897 and Hannen continued as Chief Justice. (Wikipedia entry for Hannen, accessed 5 August 2014)



most accessible.

As for the North – the railway extends to Shinchiku [新竹], and Taichiu [台中] is not far away. Giran [宜蘭] is reached from Kelung [now Keelung 基隆], so that the grouping of Taihoku, Shinchiku, and Taichiu Ken with Giran Sub-Prefecture practically comprises the Northern part of the Island.

Today I expect [William M.H.] Kirkwood to stay with me. He appears to have been most energetic. I shall hear his news in part & I have no doubt he has been able to form many useful opinions.

Lowther had fine weather while here, but arrangements of steamers did not allow of his going to Anping. I was pleased to have his visit. Our attempt to see savages was a failure. Kirkwood of course saw plenty of them & also – he tells me – was often in the neighborhood of active rebels in the South.<sup>41</sup>

Yours sincerely

Henry A.C. Bonar

68. Bonar to Satow [handwritten, p. 206 in file]

[Recd 15

ans 16/2]

Private

Tamsui

8 Feb 1898

My dear Sir Ernest,

I regret to trouble you with the subject of my despatch. I dislike asking for a sanction or a recommendation of this sort, but I think it is unfair – because there is no precedent – the F.O. should decline to pay an allowance which is laid down as a scale on which official expenses are chargeable. I have not the F.O. despatch on the subject. It seems never to have reached here. Under ordinary circumstances a house allowance should have been made, but continuous residence was not necessary.

You will no doubt hear Lowther's ideas on the subject of the double establishment here. It is not a joy, but seems the only possible arrangement at present. Should you consider

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<sup>41</sup> William Kirkwood was a legal adviser to the Japanese Government, 1885-1902. See F.O. List, 1921; *The Times* obituary (March 30, 1926); *Who Was Who*, 1916-1928. "In 1897 he spent several months among the head-hunting tribes of Formosa, and was engaged to organize the administration of the island when it was ceded to Japan." (*Times*)

later on that an Assistant would be advisable, all difficulty ceases, and no further expense is entailed.

I should be glad to hear also whether other Consulates are applying for an increase of boatmen's and servants' wages. Since my arrival I have found it impossible to get servants at the official rates.

I have seen Kirkwood. He is most energetic, and it is safe to say that no one has up to the present collected so many particulars concerning the Administration, or been allowed to make such minute inquiries and inspections.

Considering that his trip is not connected directly with the Formosa administration he has been allowed great facilities. Baron Nogi distinctly told me his visit was not an official one so far as the Governor General was concerned. The Police & Gendarmes have had a hard time running after him. Kirkwood considers that a large escort should always be within sight!

Yours sincerely

Henry A.C. Bonar

69. Bonar to Satow [handwritten, p. 208 in file]

Ans 2/3/98

Private

Tamsui

18 February 1898

Dear Sir Ernest

I am sending you to go by the "Taichiu Maru" leaving tomorrow two despatches, one on the subject of my expenses at twatutia, the other on the case of Chun Tek Chu'n ex "Hailoong". To speak of the latter first I hope you will appreciate the difficulty I had in obtaining from the Judge his reasons for convicting the man. Very likely Chun Tek ch'un had something to do with opium, but to my mind the evidence was quite insufficient to convict him, and in any case the Judge should have imposed a fine when he became satisfied that there was guilt. The Judge seemed quite disposed to admit that the regulations were anything but what they should be; and now that a case has occurred under them, the weak points are evident.

A few days ago I was invited by the police to allow them to proceed on board another of the Douglas steamers – because a native who had been found with smuggled opium stated

that one of the crew – whose name he could not even give, had handed it to him. I declined on such a statement to give them any facilities, but proceeded on board the steamer myself and made a short investigation, and found that two of the crew had deserted the previous day, before the Police had made a report to me. The Police are therefore at liberty to arrest them, if they find they had any connection with the smuggling of opium. Both in this & the Hailoong's case the offence, if there was one, was committed on board the steamer. As to be convicted smuggler is also an offence against the discipline of the ship (§9(g) of sec. 225 of the M[erchant]. S[hipping] Act), and that in the case of the "Hailoong" indirect loss & damage occurred to the ship, I ought to have the offender before me, also.

Then again, under the Treaty II Regulation having reference to opium smuggling makes an offender liable to a fine of \$15 for each catty of opium smuggled. Therefore, if a case occurs again I shall insist, unless you advise to the contrary, that the individual accused of smuggling be brought before me first, to be dealt with.

Supposing again the offender to be a British subject, I could only punish him with a fine, whereas for a Chinaman a long imprisonment by the Japanese awaits him subsequently. I shall be much indebted if you will give me some instructions as to the extent to which I should assist the Japanese Auth[oritie]s. carrying out the Formosa opium regulations so far as they may concern British subjects, and offences by British seamen, on board the vessel.

With reference to "Twatutia personal expenses" I do not think that under the circumstances the fact that no precedent exists should debar me from an allowance readily made by the F.O. when a Consul is travelling on business connected with trade, or other British interests. When Japanese officials are allowed 3 yen a day in Formosa for "subsistence" money only I should feel at a considerable disadvantage when proceeding to a place where apart from the pleasure I felt at being able to carry on Consular duties more satisfactorily than my predecessors, I had to stay entirely at my expense.

I should not have troubled you on the subject but for the reason that I maintain that the circumstances of N[orth]. Formosa at present are for Consular Officers quite distinct from those on the mainland of Japan, and though perhaps more interesting, exempt from precedent.

I propose to report shortly on Kirkwood's visit to the Island, though I cannot give his views.

Yours sincerely,

Henry A.C. Bonar

70. Bonar to Satow [handwritten, p. 212 in file]

[ans 4/3]

Private

25 Feb. 1898

My dear Sir Ernest,

I have not written at all about Troup's prospective retirement because I felt that you yourself were awaiting for the F.O.'s decision. I hear now that he is to go on sick leave in April, and if that be so and you can make it accord with the interests of the Service I shall be very grateful if I can have the chance of a spell at one of the Japan Consulates. Formerly I remember Hall being brought down from Hakodate to act at Yokohama, & Longford going from Tokio to act [at] Kobe & at Nagasaki I think, as the substantive holders of those posts were on leave. I know there is a question of Expense involved, but I shall gladly go at my own expense if I can have my wife and long residence here.

I am very glad at your proposal to send an Assistant when it can be done. From April on it becomes a great hardship to divide oneself between the two places – up & down river.

Would it be quite impossible for me to act at Yokohama in Troup's absence? Perhaps Hall & Longford would not grudge me that. I say all this with much hesitation but no doubt you will appreciate the reason which prompts me.

Yours sincerely

Henry A.C. Bonar

71. Bonar to Satow [handwritten, p. 214 in file]

[ans. 4/3]

Private

Tamsui

25 Feb. 1898

My dear Sir Ernest,

The Chinaman's escape from jail puts an end to his appeal. The Judge whom I saw yesterday seemed much disgusted. I don't know that my report about Kirkwood is interesting; the only thing I noticed was that the Governor was not anxious to enter into direct conference with him, and had told me that Kirkwood came more as the result of a previous arrangement than for the purpose of a special investigation. All who accompanied

him or who were subject to his ruthless investigations must have been delighted at the prospects of no more questions to be answered.

We hear now that Sone has resigned. The want of purpose or wlse the interference by Tokio with the affairs of the Island will dishearten any one.

Yours sincerely

Henry A.C. Bonar

P.S. My suggestion for the Clerk in question was a way out of the difficulty and I hoped to get at much of his information. Of course there were serious drawbacks. He is leaving the Island shortly for Japan & then proposes returning to America after his book is published.

72. Bonar to Satow [handwritten, p. 216 in file]

[ans 31/3]

Private

Tamsui

24 March 1898

My dear Sir Ernest

I send you a cutting [not in file] from today's "Taiwan Nippo" re Kirkwood. Is there any likelihood of his being appointed? I heard long ago that such was his desire though I could not understand it.

Do you suppose that the new Governor General will inaugurate a new policy – if so, and you can spare me a line on the subject, I shall be much obliged.

I suppose I may take it for granted that you have recommended me for Nagasaki and in that case whom am I to look to as my successor here in view of private arrangements. I understand it's Layard, if so I shall be glad. Having heard nothing direct from you on the subject I am only 'supposing'.

My wife has made up her mind to come back and I trust a month or two may not hurt her, altho' the heat is already making itself felt. The few more months' separation which you suggest are no doubt the wisest course, but might it not be a much longer time?

I hope things will turn out so that we may not be here after July. August and September "dans ces parages" [F: in this vicinity] are impossible months for moving about.

Many thanks for recommending my various applications re allowance & increase of wages.

The incident I relate in the despatch is very sad.

Yours sincerely

Henry A.C. Bonar

73. Bonar to Satow [handwritten, p. 218 in file]

[Ans 14/4/98

No ass[istan]t. till April '99]

Private

Tamsui

4 April 1898

My dear Sir Ernest

I don't know whether you will think it desirable or necessary to enact a special notification respecting Med[ical]. Inspection at Formosa ports. I have no doubt that the British shipmasters will do all they can, but when it comes to disinfecting the ship they may have different views on the method to be employed.

The new Governor Kodama arrived on the 28<sup>th</sup>. I thought it the proper thing to go & meet him at the Station, my German colleague however thought such a proceeding undignified, so he did not go. It's true he is here temporarily only & therefore takes no interest in Formosa [&] holds otherwise curious views; at the same time he is shown much civility by the Japanese.

I presume my French colleague will soon be here again. Would it be possible to ascertain from the French Minister what his position actually is. His can hardly be termed "residence" at his post, so even if he is full Consul it seems to me he cannot claim to be the senior "resident" Consul. In many respects it is undesirable he should claim seniority over me, as French interests are nil, and his methods not of the most refined.

Some time ago you were good enough to say that when it could be done you propose to send the Tainan assistant here; so far as I can see this may not happen for some time but if it is possible during the summer months at all events, - and the busy season commences in May, - for a student or junior assistant to be detached for Tamsui, so as to help me with one of the Consulates, it would be much more satisfactory. Practically there is a steamer in port during summer for five days out of the seven, and I never know what may turn up that requires immediate attention, so that the Twatutia office will have to be left to itself a great deal, & yet it is during the summer more specially that the British Community require some one on the spot, for they are never able to leave their business to come to the port. Leaving

the question of the personal inconvenience of living in two places aside, I think I am not exaggerating the advisability of an extra man as soon as one can be spared.

Britishers here have several times asked me whether the new Treaties will become operative in Formosa. To that I can only reply that I presume so. It is likely however that may wish to make arrangements more especially in regard to Tea. Personally I do not see how the Japanese can afford sufficient protection away from the settlements, and I imagine the officials in the Island are practically all of the opinion that the new Treaties should not be made to apply to Formosa. Foreigners would have to reside and trade here under conditions, both as regards laws and protection, entirely different from those prevailing in Japan proper. The Judicial system moreover is different. It is true that for years past there has been no litigation at all in this Court, but with extension of trade in the Interior claims would be sure to arise. If you think it advisable I will draw up a short memo. on the subject.

Yours sincerely

Henry A.C. Bonar

74. Bonar to Satow [handwritten, p. 222 in file]

Private

Twatutia

May 9. 1898

[ans. 17]

My dear Sir Ernest

I am afraid my Trade Report is both late and lengthy. I could not get all the information I wanted in time, and I have made an attempt, weak as it is, to stir up Britishers here to be a little more energetic in the way of Trade.

For the summer at all events I propose to name a Pro Consul here, who could do the little odds and ends in the way of certifying signatures &c. The man I propose is A.F. Gardiner who represents one of the best Tea firms here, & who is moreover a gentleman.<sup>42</sup> It will be an advantage to have some British subject who won't take advantage of his position to give me the little assistance he can render as Pro Consul.

I think it is time that we looked about for a site for a Consulate. It seems to me sooner or later one will be necessary here. There is sure to be great difficulty about a site, unless a

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<sup>42</sup> A.F. Gardiner of Boyd & Co., Tamsui lunched with Satow on March 2, 1899. (Diary, Ruxton, 2003, p.341)

Brit[ish]. Firm which holds a somewhat doubtful piece of land were to hand it over to us on condition the Japanese gave us a Perpetual Lease.

It is situated next door to the German Consulate. Cowan [of the Office of Works] has been over it, it is the only available place. I think it advisable – since I am about to arrange that particular matter of land with the Japanese – to make some sort of arrangement whereby the Firm in question would relinquish their claim in consideration of our Gov[ernmen]t. paying them the price they paid plus interest. (I believe \$4,00[0?] & interest for 2 years). The ground would be absurdly cheap to the Govt. Another idea would be to buy the German Consulate building & ground. The German Firm owning it would sell, but their price would be a high one. There would be the advantage of a suitable building all ready for occupation. The manner in which German Interests are represented here at this moment is disgraceful I think; & therefore the Germans here think it time that their building were occupied in a more dignified manner.

The six Prefectures are again being reduced to three, & for the present Three Prefectures only are appointed to do the work of six. The last of the Kabayama tribe Hashiguchi Prefect of Taipeh has been ‘retired’ & the Taichiu Prefect has been appointed to the two Prefectures of Taipeh & Shinchiku. Taichiu & Kagi are to be under one prefect and Tainan and Hozan; so Taichiu and Kagi must either be included together in the North Formosa Consular District or in the Southern Division.

The present Gov[ernor]. Gen[eral].<sup>43</sup> is credited with great administrative qualities, but Goto, pleasant as he is socially, seems so far to have done nothing.<sup>44</sup>

Myers is here at work with a scheme for local administration which he is to commence to work upon in the South. The Jap[ane]se. like his ideas, but they say he is not clever like Kirkwood in putting them into a shape which they like. I understand Kirkwood is not to be appointed. I have suggested to Myers he sh[oul]d. take up his headquarters here, he would then retain more influence. But I think he talks too much.

The heat is making itself very severely felt, and has quite knocked me up. My wife is fairly well, but Twatutia is at present quite unsuitable for her, or rather the Quarters are.

Yours very truly

Henry A.C. Bonar

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<sup>43</sup> Lieutenant General Kodama Gentarō 児玉 源太郎 was Governor-General from February 26, 1898 until April 11, 1906.

<sup>44</sup> Gotō Shinpei 後藤 新平 (1857-1929) was the Chief of Home Affairs of Formosa from 1898, appointed by Kodama.



75. Bonar to Satow [handwritten, p. 226 in file]

[Ans 17]

Twatutia

10 May 1898

Dear Sir Ernest

I hear Sugimura is going over to Samsa Bay shortly, though for what purpose have not yet learnt. If possible will you acquaint me with the arrangements, sofar as they are official, about Samsa. For British merchants seem to know nothing, & they might like to have an idea as to whether there is any chance of trading or doing something at the latter place.

[Frank] Leyburn from J[ardine]. M[atheson] & Co. has just come over.<sup>45</sup> He seems particularly aggrieved at the difficulties of bringing over Chinese. As the labor market is very scarcely supplied is there any chance of the prohibition against Chinese landing here being withdrawn, or would it be possible for natives of the Samsa district to be allowed to land here without going thru' the Amoy Consulate. Cheap labor is what os very much wanted.

I hope you will approve of my appointing Gardiner to Consul. His functions will be very much limited.

Yours truly

Henry A.C. Bonar

76. Bonar to Satow [handwritten, p. 228 in file]

[ans 31 May]

Private

Tamsui

19 May 1898

My dear Sir Ernest

I send herewith copy of the form of appointment I used to appoint Gardiner Pro Consul. ※ It is taken from [illegible words] Consular Instructions 1893 p.5 (Annex 3 to Chap. I), the form used I believe for similar appointments in Japan. I remember there were instructions on the subject from the F.O. some years ago but they are not recorded here, I fancy they

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<sup>45</sup> There are letters from Frank Leyburn in the Jardine Matheson archive at Cambridge University Library.

were sent to Japan only.

※ I have not notified the appointment actually to the community, tho' I have handed him the appointment.

Since the new Treaties are to become operative in Formosa any memo. of mine on the subject will seem out of place. I have made an allusion to one point in my Trade Report, viz. that foreign merchants will not be able to go into the interior if present circumstances continue, for the area for travel is becoming more and more restricted. On the other hand the local press has it that foreigners have far too much to do with the trade in Formosa – and extract from the local press on that subject I will send you shortly, it is not quite finished.

Plague is much on the increase, and in Twatutia in one British 'hong' alone there have been 3 cases in the last few days. One sees indication of plague at every corner in the city, and strangely enough Japanese rather than ground troops are quickly affected.

What do you think of my suggestion to take advantage of an "unsettled" bit of land claimed by a British Firm, for a Consular site, the Firm being more or less willing to relinquish the land at an average valuation.

Shortly also I propose to submit for your approval a new form of title deeds in perpetuity (to take the place of the leases duly concluded last year) with the object of doing away with a multitude of Chinese documents, and to fix rentals to be paid in future.

My wife is anything but well tho' she will not admit it. Both Myers & local doctor have given me a certificate to the effect she should leave North Formosa at the earliest date, so I think by the end of the month she will have to go to Amoy – for a change. She is much depressed & she ought not to remain.

Yours very truly

Henry A.C. [Bonar]

77. Bonar to Satow [handwritten, p. 230 in file]

[Recd. June 2]

Twatutia

25 May 1898

My dear Sir Ernest

Will you allow me to substitute this No. 15 for my previous No. 15 forwarding only a copy of the form of appointment used. All telegrams from the mainland arrive in a

mutilated condition, and in the particular instance of your telegram my writer even could not make any satisfactory meaning. It appears some part of the cable does not work properly and only transmits imperfect messages.

I shall be glad to hear about Consular movements as soon as you are able to let me know, for one has to make sundry arrangements.

Twatutia is not a desirable place of residence at this moment, the noise, heat and the plague make it unpleasant. There were 52 cases here and in Taipeh during the week ended the 18<sup>th</sup>. As I occasionally send returns to Hongkong I suppose it is not necessary to send them to the Legation.

Cowan is quite right about the site in question being under water, but no site in Twatutia is an exception, and houses are built accordingly. The F.O. have sanctioned the present arrangement for three years, but I have not made a lease for any particular period, and as a matter of fact had to force myself into present quarters; and I reserve myself the right of leaving them when better quarters offer. In this way my successor will not be inconvenienced by any long lease for what may at any moment turn out most unsuitable premises. In the hills close by there are excellent sites.

Yours very truly

Henry A.C. Bonar

78. Bonar to Satow [handwritten, p. 232 in file]

Tamsui

31 May 1898

My dear Sir Ernest

The emclosed extract from a somewhat violent article is interesting. I fancy it is officially inspired. The facts given are true enough, and though it is satisfactory to find that commercially “Foreigners” are so powerful in the Island, one can’t help regretting that Germans show the most enterprise. They do most of the camphor business, and Butter & Co. direct it all from the North. The question is why do Britishers not do likewise; the answer is because they will not get out of old grooves. Let us hope, however, that instead of interfering with vested interests such as a few Britishers have in the Tamsui river Launch traffic that the Formosa Gov[ernment] will let sleeping dogs lie and not raise any question of foreigners’ right to carry on river traffic (passenger carrying trade) between Tamsui & Twatutia.

Officials are being reduced all round in number but the new Governor General though desirous of reducing expenses cannot carry on the government of the Island on the cheap; and since they seem so anxious to develop trade and industry, the Japanese officials had better spend plenty of money at once in harbor & river and road improvements. That will pay best. Personally I have no great idea of the wonders the new Governor General will achieve. I fancy he will strive for effect in Tokiô and not here.

Yours very truly

Henry A.C. Bonar

79. Bonar to Satow [handwritten, p.234 in file]

[Ans July 1]

Private

Tamsui

24 June 1898

Dear Sir Ernest,

Possibly the last Canadian mail brought no news of the new appointments, but I beg you will forgive me for troubling you on the matter of my private arrangements connected with the prospect, which I trust is almost a certainty, of my transfer from here. If it is possible for you to tell me I beg you will let me know whether the new appointments include my transfer to Nagasaki. (I cannot hope for another post.) A difficulty arises as to house accommodation. The only suitable place is that which Longford occupies, and on payment of a further rent and a lease for it from the 15<sup>th</sup> July. the landlord is willing that I should occupy the house (it is almost a favor on his part.)

If my transfer does not take place till October, - and I believe you appreciate local conditions sufficiently to know that end of August and September are a most unsuitable season for moving from or into this place – I am under the necessity of taking a house for 2 mo[nth]s. or so, to secure it. Should Longford continue to live in it no difficulty occurs; nevertheless my wife must leave here next month for Japan. I must house her. Kind friends have offered her hospitality, but during the summer, when people are away in the hills it is difficult for them to take in friends. I am already obliged to keep up two establishments here, at much discomfort & expense, and that for official reasons; and to have to keep up another, in Nagasaki or elsewhere, is a further hardship.

I am sure you will agree with me that Consuls should live in as good houses as their

rent allowances permit them to do but the possibility now a days of securing proper houses at the different ports is such that I trust you do not consider it unreasonable that we make it a subject for your kind consideration. I believe none of us care very much for the difference in salaries which a delayed transfer to a better post means and in my case it is insignificant, but a number other considerations present themselves which, at the risk of appearing importunate, induce me to ask you when, at the earliest, my transfer from here is to take place. I am aware of your objection to acting appointments, but even at this time would it not be possible for me or my colleagues at Nagasaki or Kobe to be put into the posts which we are to occupy later? A junior, without encumbrance, could easily take my place here for the summer months, and while I went away on leave ostensibly, I could act either at Nagasaki or Kobe, and so allow the incumbent to go on leave if he obtained your sanction. Such an arrangement I believe would prove a great boon to us, and whereas I do not wish to complain of local conditions, none but those living here can appreciate the early prospect of a transfer to Japan, when such a transfer is practicable without inflicting hardships on others.

If I have written lengthily, will you allow the suspense we have felt for the past months to be an excuse?

Yours very truly

Henry A.C. Bonar

80. Bonar to Satow [handwritten, p.238 in file]

[Ans. 6/9/98]

Private

Tamsui

24 August 1898

My dear Sir Ernest

Thank you for your letter of 28<sup>th</sup> July informing me of the proposed alteration by the Foreign Office in the salaries of Kobe, Nagasaki and Yokohama<sup>46</sup> and suggesting the welcome probability of my going to Yokohama as Consul, with which I trust nothing will interfere.

Should this happen to be at your recommendation or as a matter of choice on the part of

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<sup>46</sup> See W.A. Cockerell to Satow, March 31, 1898, No. 19, PRO 30/33 5/2 (Volume One of this series). Cockerell proposed reducing the Yokohama annual salary from £1,000 to £900, and increasing Kobe from £900 to £950 and Nagasaki from £850 to £900.

the Foreign Office I shall indeed feel flattered; but from whatever circumstance it arises I can only express the greatest satisfaction. I am aware the nature of the Consular work at the Japan and Formosan Consulates is somewhat different, but I trust I may be quite fit to carry on the Yokohama work. I note what you say about local leave, and in deference to your wishes will not unnecessarily apply for it; the time I really require it is the present. The summer has been a most trying one, and my health is not what it should be, at this moment.

I hope the post will soon bring me the details I am anxious for, and which you referred to in your telegram of August 12<sup>th</sup> in reply to my enquiry.

The typhoon of 6 & 7<sup>th</sup> inst. has caused endless destruction in Twatutia, & if another sh[oul]d. follow the consequences will be terrible.

My wife returned a few days ago from Amoy much improved in health. We are both anxiously awaiting the news that there can be no doubt about our going to reside once more within the world.

Yours very truly

Henry A.C. Bonar

81. Bonar to Satow [handwritten, p.240 in file]

Tamsui

24 Aug. 1898

My dear Sir Ernest

I have thought it best to mention the Consular boat matter, but as Layard may have other wishes, and that the present is an impossible time to have anything done, perhaps the matter had better stand over for decision.

I have been engaged for some time in arranging a compromise respecting certain lands a British Firm [Tait & Co.] claims in all good faith, but the title to which the Jap[ane]se. Auth[oritie]s. maintain is bad. If the matter has to come up for official discussion it will be very disagreeable, but I have suggested to the British Firm that such a conclusion may lead to a most unsatisfactory result for them, and I hope now, that by giving up one property, the other two claimed both by the British Firm and the Formosan Gov[ernmen]t. may finally be leased afresh (in perpetuity) to the British Firm.

I have written nothing on the subject of submission of Rebels, so far. There is another side to the question which robs the event of any importance. It may be true or not that these fellows are tiding over a period of depression in Rebel finance. As they have been allowed

to retain their arms & have received money payments in addition, it would be extraordinary of one of these days they did not again go back on their submission.

I regret to say that Sugimura is away & that he may not return “on account of private affairs.” Apparently the new “Minsei Cho Kwan” Dr. Goto does not care for him. Sugimura’s substitute is most unsatisfactory. Otherwise everything is going on satisfactorily. The U.S. are appointing Davidson full Consul at Tamsui (Twatutia).

Yours very truly

Henry A.C. Bonar

82. Bonar to Satow [handwritten, p.242 in file]

[Ans 27/9]

Private

Tamsui

16 Sept. 1898

My dear Sir Ernest

Excepting a telegram from you on the 12<sup>th</sup> Aug[ust]. I had heard nothing from you since 28. July, and I was much puzzled to know what had finally been decided on.

From your letter of the 6<sup>th</sup> received yesterday I allow myself to hope that the F.O. will not make any change – notwithstanding Hall’s and Longford’s protests.<sup>47</sup> As you may hear by the next Canadian mail kindly let me have a wire that I may be quite at ease and make arrangements for moving to Yokohama. I presume that for the present there will be no change in the staff there.

I am particularly pleased at receiving your expression of appreciation of my conduct at Tamsui. Since there is no need for me, after your statement, to seek any credit, I should like to say that small as the showing is in the number of despatches sent to Legation, there has been plenty to do here. I have tried to do most of it orally. I am glad to say that only 2 days ago I was able to look upon as finished very wearying negotiations over some land so far held by a British Firm, but to wh[ich]. the Form[osan] Government absolutely refused official or other recognition. I have finally obtained a perpetual lease for the most important of the three properties, yen 3,000 as compensation for another, while the third reverts to the Japanese without question.

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<sup>47</sup> See Longford’s letter from Nagasaki to Satow, No. 71, July 29, 1898 (PRO 30/33 5/10 in Volume One of this series).

Owing to the unsatisfactory attitude of the Foreign Section, I dealt direct with Dr. Goto and it is he who enabled us to arrive at that amicable – & from my point of view – very satisfactory conclusion. The firm – one of the larger in Amoy – desired things to be pushed in the old Chinese style, and wanted no compromise. It would have been most vexing to have had the question forwarded to the Legation, and I feel certain the result would have been less satisfactory to the Firm. I shall report the conclusion of this matter officially, on account of one or two points involved – but of course it is now at an end – for which I am most thankful.

I have found it a great disadvantage being without an Assistant; I have hardly been able to keep myself au courant of all the numerous legislation issuing almost daily from the Governor General's office. I don't know that it is necessary to report on it in detail, as it may all be changed before next year.

I should have been glad to meet Layard as to time of relieving me here, but on the ground of our wanting a change at the very earliest possible moment, I have arranged that he is to arrive by steamer leaving Kobe 18<sup>th</sup> Oct. – so that about 25<sup>th</sup> either via Amoy or Kelung we may be able to get away.

I am sending him for his opinion a draft of a despatch on the subject of new works by the Office of Works.

I trust the latter may see their way to remedy some of the discomforts of this place.

Yours very truly

Henry A.C. Bonar

83. Layard to Satow [handwritten, p.246 in file]

Yokohama

7 Oct. 1898

My dear Sir Ernest

I have just received the following from Bonar by telegraph:-

“The present moment being favourable opportunity for engaging suitable man for Constable on the spot, would suggest dismissal of present occupant with sanction of Minister on ground of inefficiency – wife will arrive Kobe today.” (6.10.98)

As regards the first part of the telegram – I fully concur, and “with your sanction” will do my best to take a man down from here – if I can catch such a rare bird. The present occupant is, as I told you, a bad lot and prone to drink.



Would you kindly ask Paget to let me know what the Tamsui constable's pay may be? if increase is probable etc.?

I draw your attention to the fact that Mrs. Bonar has already left Tamsui; after he health being adduced as an argument for our speedy arrival. I feel rather sore about it, but shall not, unless I find it impossible to do all we have to do, say anything more about it. I begin this afternoon with the dentist, who tells me I have six teeth to be attended to; Christabel 4 and my wife as many if not more.

In conclusion – let me thank you for my wife & myself, for your kindness in having us to the Legation, and in all ways & always.

Yours sincerely

R. de B. Layard

84. Bonar to Satow [handwritten, p. 248 in file]

Private

Twatutia

13 October 1898

My dear Sir Ernest,

Perhaps my despatch may indicate to slight extent how involved Tait & Co's titles were. I am assured they are now thoroughly pleased with the solution.

I have so far not received any official instructions to proceed to Yokohama, and for the sake of formality only I am asking by wire whether I am to receive any so that I may hand over charge to Layard as soon as possible after his arrival, which I hope will be on the 22<sup>nd</sup>. I don't know yet what steamer I shall be able to go by, but I hope it will not cause any inconvenience if I do not arrive or take over charge until the 5<sup>th</sup> Nov. or so, in order to avoid any function there might possibly [be] at Yokohama on the Emperor's birthday on the 3<sup>rd</sup> before I could have time to make my official calls.

I see the Yokohama Consulate is still styled a Consulate General; I suppose properly speaking it ceased to be one from the 10<sup>th</sup>. I presume also the salary was reduced as proposed.

I expect to have some difficulty in securing a house – as I do not wish to bind myself for too long a time. For the next year or so I presume the rent allowance will continue. At last we are having cooler weather. What a joy it will be to see Japan once more.

Yours very truly

Henry A.C. Bonar

85. Layard to Satow [handwritten, p. 250 in file]

H.M. Consulate

17 Oct. 1898

My dear Sir Ernest

We have obviously arrived thus far with a good deal of rushing but considerable enjoyment to ourselves, having done what we could of Kyoto in the time and ruined ourselves at various curio & embroidery shops. My wife was delighted. Yesterday we came down the rapids<sup>48</sup> - and the 16<sup>th</sup> and 15<sup>th</sup> were devoted to seeing temples etc. and visiting the Gosho [Imperial Palace 御所]. The Nijo Palace unfortunately was closed as the Prince Imperial was resident there. We have had perfect weather and have every prospect of a start under the same conditions tomorrow at noon.

Our stay in Yokohama with the exception of our trip to Tokio was a failure. Too much dentist! I was “jewelled in eight holes”, the child in 5 and my wife an unknown quantity over which we draw a veil. I am still vexed with Bonar – and told his wife so – but am getting over it.

Mr. Bembridge M.P. told me he has seen you at Atami. He is much interested in agriculture & wants to know why the Japanese do not cull their rice by the acre with machine reapers & binders. It had not occurred to him that a reaping of the sort might result in a steeplechase over the boundary paths, as the whole country is not on a level.

With kindest regards in which my wife joins – and a salute from the child –

Yours sincerely

R. de B. Layard

86. Layard to Satow [handwritten, p. 252 in file]

[Ans 14/11]

Tamsui

5 Novr. 1898

My dear Sir Ernest,

After many days of discomfort and hard work getting into our new quarters, we begin to feel a little more settled. As usual our goods took a most unheard of time in getting here –

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<sup>48</sup> Probably the Hozu River rapids near Kyoto.

and we were forced, for want of beds, to live upon the charity of friends in Twatutia.

It is borne in on me that I did not thank you sufficiently for my step in the service – and I do so very heartily. Of the fact of its bringing me to Tamsui – although we all grumble – I shall not speak. It is “all in the day’s work” – and many others are worse off – much worse off.

We found everything left by the Bonars – as nice as is possible – but the triple typhoon and freshets [sudden floods] have done a lot of damage. The house walls are wet inside and out – and the boathouse and boats have practically ceased to exist.

Bonar’s new constable is a firstrate worker and very handy. Cheetham, the late one, closed his public career on the 31<sup>st</sup>.

Bonar left all work complete and I expect to have no further trouble with the land question.

I find the ‘city’ greatly improved – good roads (MacAdam) laid with a steam roller – and a cement gutter in place of all the fetid drains and cesspools in front of the houses. Twatutia is in statu quo except that it looks as if it had been bombarded – owing to the freshets. The old bridge has gone. At Hobé the kerosene godowns – about which I had so much trouble formerly – are I am glad to see in working order.

The waterworks are not finished but the pipes are laid – or nearly so – and we shall, I hope, soon have drinking-water. Prof. [William K.] Burton has been two or three months in hospital – but is recovering. I understand he is the sole survivor of some 12 patients attacked by dysentery. His recovery, all things considered, is marvellous.

The entertainment at Gov[ernment] house on the 3<sup>rd</sup> was a much smaller affair than formerly. A stand-up “refection” at 6.30 – unlimited beer and mild claret cup – to the sounds of a band. A setpiece of five works – “Teikoku banzai” – three cheers for the Emperor and home by 8 p.m.

The gentleman who should have performed the Japanese sword-dance (?) was unfortunately, owing to potations [drinking alcohol], incapacitated from appearing.

I found only one former official whom I knew, besides Adm[iral] Kurooka [Tatewaki] who travelled down with me.

We were received by the Gov[ernor] General in the morning, our doyen the Spaniard heading the procession of 3 Consuls, etc. The Govr, to my embarrassment, confined his remarks chiefly to myself, but Ortiz is not easily offended.

There is nothing to tell you on official matters, and I hope things may continue thus.

Owing to bad weather we have had no steamer from Amoy since the 21<sup>st</sup> ultimo.

With kindest regards from us both, and a kiss from the little girl, I remain

Yours sincerely

R. de B. Layard

87. Layard to Satow [handwritten, p. 256 in file]

[ans 2/1/99]

Tamsui

20 Dec. 1898

My dear Sir Ernest

If anything appears vague herein please put it down to sickness as I can scarcely see the paper I am writing on. I won't call it "Tamsui fever" although I have had high fever and sleepless nights for the past 72 hours. Most likely I think a chill on the river. It is painful anyhow.

I wished to know from you if Bonar had arranged anything privately with you with regard to action to be taken in respect of an action to be brought by a Chinese Tea merchant against Boyd & Co's compradore. Gardener [Gardiner] of Boyd's told me Bonar declined to make any official protest, in writing at any rate, and I think wisely as it would take a wizard to tell sometimes who finances a firm. In this case however, it looks so far as if there had been a failure of justice – that is if Boyd & Co. are really responsible as they claim to be.

I have told Gardener if he wants to push it he must put it all in writing - & send it in - but the story is more than many months old. The case has been given against the compradore.

Please let me know as [soon] as possible, because there being nothing here in writing it is rather awkward, as if any more is to be made I should do it quickly.

Yours sincerely

R. de B. Layard

Kindest regards from my wife.

88. Layard to Satow [handwritten, p. 258 in file]

Tamsui

1 Jan. 1899

My dear Sir Ernest

A happy New Year to you from both of us.

I hope my last was not too vague to give you a clue to what I asked for? I had a bad bout of sickness lasting altogether nearly 10 days – three of which were atrocious with splitting heading [headache?], vomiting & fever. It should last me for the next 12 months.

I am all right again now and up to finishing off the routine work for the end of December.

There is nothing special to tell you.

The “rebels” have not raged furiously this New year’s day as they did formerly and are perhaps waiting for the Chinese New Year. H[is].E[xcellency]. The Governor apologized for the ‘inconvenience’ caused by the popping of their guns when they had the skirmish the other day.

We have had a great influx of shipping during the last two months which has stopped now the New Tariff is in force.

The news that Bonar’s suggestions for “new works” are too late for the Estimates is a blow. I never saw the house wetter in spite of the inner walls, which I think are simply a forcing house for mould and putrescence generally. The space between the inner walls and the old wet outer walls must be filling up with mould; and when full, the inner walls will show it equally.

Mr. Simpson, the Assistant Surveyor – should arrive today and will find plenty to do, what with typhoons, freshets and white ants. I suppose most China ports are equally delightful in that respect.

Christobel sends her “duty”.

Yours sincerely

R. de B. Layard

89. Layard to Satow [handwritten, p. 260 in file]

Tamsui

30 Jan. 1899

My dear Sir Ernest

Many thanks for your letter enclosing copy of Bonar’s in reference to the Boyd & Co. tea case.

Not being able to get any definite assurances that any one but the Compradore would suffer by the case going against him, I have declined to take any official action in the matter

– and there it rests. The calm way in which my decision was received shows that I have taken the proper course.

I am much obliged to you – and I am sorry I gave you the trouble.

The Clutterbucks sent on your letter of introduction from Shuri (Loochoo Is.) [Okinawa] asking our advice as to coming here. Unfortunately the Consulate is being painted, so we could not entertain them. Besides which Mrs. Clutterbuck's health had induced them to give up the idea, and they are returning to Yokokama.

With kindest regards from my wife, believe me

Yours very truly

R. de B. Layard

90. Layard to Satow [handwritten, p. 262 in file]

Tamsui

9<sup>th</sup> Feby. 1899

My dear Sir Ernest

The return of Plague cases which I sent you is I think a fairly good proof of what the improvements to the capital have effected.

It may be early yet to say so, but the Japanese have taken so much sanitary care of the city that they stand a good chance of escaping the scourge.

The 3 deaths from pest in the Taihoku ken [prefecture] were all I believe at Tamsui, some distance from the Consulate.

The local authorities say that next financial year's expenditure for improvements, sanitary and other, will be large; and they expect to do great things. I can only say that the fresh-water pipe-line begun when I was here before, is not complete yet.

It will be so soon, I imagine, as the Governor's visit to this port the other day to inspect has hurried them somewhat.

I am sorry to say that our Linguist (a Penang Chinese British subject) seems to be dying. He is invaluable and his loss will mean teaching a new man the work.

Apropos – if I do get an Assistant some day I hope he may be a steady youth. If he lives alone in Twatutia, he will have more temptation to go astray even than in Japan. – and I must say I do not look forward to the responsibility.

Can you tell me what has become of Kenny? Whitaker<sup>49</sup> gives the name of a new man

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<sup>49</sup> Whitaker's Almanack, published by Joseph Whitaker & Sons from 1868 to 1997.

appointed to Hawaii.

Lord C. Beresford's speeches were good reading – but I wish I had been on the spot to see the effect they produced.

Kindest regards from my wife, & Christobel sends her love.

Yours very truly

R. de B. Layard

91. Layard to Satow [handwritten, p. 264 in file]

[Recd. 21 Feb]

Private

Tamsui

13 Feb. '99

My dear Sir Ernest

Pray forgive a further report on Consulate building, but the matter of “new works” having gone through the Legation I thought it best to complete the correspondence.

Mr. Simpson has probably recommended the suggestion of a verandah on 3 sides, (He was astonished that anyone could live in a house in such a state) but it will do no harm to “rub it in” if you will pardon the expression. I put down the attacks of fever to that damp wall near our beds – and it is a constant weight on my mind that the child's cat should be in a similar position at the other side of the house.

As it is, our beds are in the middle of the rooms – but I have explained that in the despatch.

It is perhaps a pity that the Assistant Surveyor did not get fever whilst he was here!

Yours sincerely

R. de B. Layard

92. Layard to Satow [handwritten, p. 266 in file]

[Recd 2 Mar

Ans 9 ]

Tamsui

February 24 1899

My dear Sir Ernest

Your letter of 16<sup>th</sup> is very welcome news.

Should we get an Assistant for this post, I think that Twatutia will have to be his residence as I presume the office allowance for that place will have to be combined with rent allowance for the Assistant. In any case a dwelling place, unless built specially, for a European at Tamsui – is not bad at any price.

I will think the arrangement out, with reference to procuring rooms & office combined, large enough for the Assistant, and have it ready for you when you want it.

The linguist is still alive but, poor man, is I fear getting to an acute stage – with constriction of the throat. He cannot last long.

I hope I may keep my Constable as “Clerk” after July. With a little training he will be the smartest man of that rank in the service. He talks French German & Spanish, & in fact is rather too superior for the position.

[James B.] Whitehead I knew formerly in England, and liked him. Of course you know his sister Countess Hoyos was a great friend of Lady Plunkett’s.

Mrs. Haggard will perhaps remember travelling home from Cairo with my wife’s sister Mrs. à Court, whose husband Brev[e]t. Lieut-Col[one]l. à Court has by the way just been appointed Military Attaché to Brussels.

I spent most of the day before yesterday at the Prefecture in Taihoku, and in talking to the head of the For[eign]. Department. The authorities are anxious to get land titles put on a satisfactory footing from their point of view, with regard to perpetual leases – and I must say there is some reason on their side.

I will send you a Memo. when I have boiled down my notes, but it is not really pressing at this date.

The gist of it is this. Perpetual leases are of two kinds here: one where the foreigner obtained from a Chinese a perpetual lease, remaining himself responsible for ground rent; the other where the foreigner gave the Chinese a lump sum down, leaving the Chinese to pay ground rent ever after. There were, I believe, a considerable number of transactions of the latter sort at the time of the war. Chinese took the lump sum down, on the undertaking mentioned, and then left the country for good and all.

The Japanese are now in the position that these last lands are paying no rent whatever – as they cannot catch the Chinaman. Where the latter remains in this country they have of course their remedy.

At the same time if the transactions received the Chinese Govt. sanction, and former rights are to be upheld under Japanese régime there is a further hitch. This is what the



foreigner here will say.

I simply give you the outline of the question but I cannot put the matter before you in full until I have got a complete list of foreign-held property here – tabulated under the different forms of tenure, and this will take time.

I am glad only that it comes on the cool weather!

I am glad to say we are all keeping well and cheerful. In fact we live in the hope that our tenure of this post is not perpetual.

My wife sends kind regards.

Yours sincerely

R. de B. Layard

93. Layard to Satow [handwritten, p. 270 in file]

Tamsui

March 18. 1899

[Recd 30/3

Ansd 30/3]

My dear Sir Ernest

Thank you for your letter of 9<sup>th</sup> which reached me yesterday. I am very pleased about the proposal to make Shipping Clerks of the Constables. Apropos, my present one has addressed the enclosed despatch to me, but I have told him that I can only ask you privately first whether it may go in officially. As he says, the ¥50 is quite inadequate for a man like himself, who has to dress himself decently, food being very dear. The foreigner in general has been squeezed, together with the Japanese, who were ignorant of prices when they arrived here and paid enormously for everything – and still do so.

I am loth to send in his application unless you think I may do so without fear of a curt refusal from home.

It is pretty nearly impossible to get a man here in any case, without a sufficient inducement of salary.

I am sorry to say that my linguist died the same day as I last wrote to you. I cannot find an official instruction to get sanction for appointing another, but have put his second son in his place.

I shall be delighted if I get Holmes<sup>50</sup> to “assist”. He seemed a very nice young fellow.

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<sup>50</sup> Ernest Hamilton Holmes (1876-1957) was appointed a student interpreter in Japan on February 1,

Dr. Myers left Kelung yesterday en route for Tokio armed with suggestions for the organization of this Island – on which he is to be examined. Bonar he tells me, already gave you the outline of them? The idea is where possible to keep to the Chinese system, but to replace the present ex-Yamên runners who act as intermediaries & interpreters by a properly qualified Japanese staff – a premium being offered for efficiency in the local dialect. I fear that the Japanese are more inclined to force the native into becoming one of themselves in speech and customs: which is impossible.

Thank you for your kind wishes for our good health. I trust and hope we shall “worry” through all right – and as I promised you in Tokio I will not trouble you about leave unless I find it absolutely necessary of course as a preventive as well as, or in place of a cure. If only the “rebels” would cease entirely from troubling we could again use the little shanty up the North Hill where it is 10° cooler but I confess I should not care to leave my family there, & come down to the office daily.

Kindest regards from us both

Yours sincerely

R. de B. Layard

94. Layard to Satow [handwritten, p. 274 in file]

[Recd. April 17. Ans. 22/4]

tamsui

5 April 1899

My dear Sir Ernest

Admiral Seymour has come and gone.<sup>51</sup> He arrived at Kelung on the 28<sup>th</sup> ult[im]o. in the “Alacrity” from the Sothern port, telegraphing to me from So-o on the East coast en route.

This caused me to go at once to Twatutia, where I slept in order to catch the 7.30 a.m. train next morning to Kelung. An A[ide. D[e]. C[amp]. and a Secretary from Government house accompanied me, to make arrangements for his reception by the Governor Genl. They returned from the ship un-fed but the Admiral kept me to lunch and afterwards went ashore for a walk with me. I went back to Twatutia that evening.

The Admiral & staff arrived at 11 next morning at Taipeh. We formed procession in

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1897. [F.O. List, 1958]

<sup>51</sup> See Seymour to Satow, 21 March 1899, No. 77, PRO 30/33 6/10. Seymour informs Satow of his plans to leave Hong Kong on March 23<sup>rd</sup> in HMS *Alacrity* for Formosa, Shanghai and Wei-hai-wei, visiting Japan later in the summer.

chairs from the Station where the local municipal band played him in – and went straight to the Governor's residence; police men lining the road, flags flying and mounted gend'armes skirmishing before and behind.

I had arranged for beds for them at one of the Hongs and, to avoid taking the Governor all the way to Kelung, the Admiral, with 10 minutes start, received the Governor's return visit at that home.

After that a quick change into ordinary clothes and lunch. In the afternoon the Admiral & staff were personally conducted to inspect schools, opium factory observatory & the view of the city from the wall.

In the evening official dinner at Government House, in undress clothes – with one or two speeches. On the Admiral's returning home, he went to bed, and the staff were summoned by the junior officers from Government House to a geisha entertainment.

Next morning they all returned to Kelung intending to bring the 'Alacrity' round to Tamsui but although I rushed down river to prepare for the reception that was the last I saw of them. It appears they found thick fog off the North Point and would probably not have risked picking up an unknown anchorage for that reason. The Admiral has, I believe, gone to Wenchow & Shanghai.

If you will look at the map you will understand what it means to be in attendance on ships and admirals at Kelung when posted at Tamsui. It was lively enough but I was separated from my sorrowing family for three days.

Rumours are current that there is some hitch about the operation of the Treaty – but I am unable to give inquirers any authority for the report.

The first of the Osaka Shosen Kaisha's two boats on the Tamsui Amoy Swatow Hong Kong line left here on Sunday last. As you know they are subsidized and have to make each two trips a month. It is a great question whether they can touch the Douglas S.S. line although they will get the opium import. They have used every means fair and foul to damage the latter – but the British line have plenty of margin on freight to go on and the Japanese find a difficulty sometimes about marine insurance. As a counterblast the new Douglas S.S. "Haiching" for this line arrived yesterday from England.<sup>52</sup>

Things are very quiet here just now; nothing official to note.

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<sup>52</sup> The S.S. *Haiching* was built in Glasgow and launched on November 1, 1898. She was attacked by pirates off Chilang Point between Swatow and Hong Kong in the early morning of December 8, 1929 (see *Blackwood's Magazine*, Edinburgh, May 1930). Requisitioned in 1942, torpedoed and sunk on October 2, 1943.

It is somewhat of a lottery but I am putting an extra room to the old North Hill Bungalow – and am treating for three months hire of a house at Kuliang (Foochow) as a place for the family and/or self to go to later on.

Kindest regards from us both.

Yours very truly

R. de B. Layard

95. Layard to Satow [handwritten, p. 278 in file]

[recd, ansd. 22]

All of my paper is wet through.

Tamsui

14 April 1899

My dear Sir Ernest

Your letters of 27<sup>th</sup> and 30<sup>th</sup> of March have reached me as well as Isabel Carnaby,<sup>53</sup> for all of which my best thanks. I notice that the book is for us – (pl[ural].) and I consequently, being No. 2 in the family! cannot yet say what I think of it. We have neither of us read it before.

Will you please tell me the maiden name of [James Beethom] Whitehead's wife? It has escaped me.<sup>54</sup>

I hope I may have as early warning as possible of the Assistant's arrival. I have got the promise of some quarters, but where quarters are scarce one must make a definite arrangement as quickly as may be.

Bamboos. I have put a friendly official to worry the department of Trees & Forests (?) to get me the names you want and, if possible, specimens. Should you not require the latter, please let me know and I will put them in my own garden.<sup>55</sup>

I have been cutting down much weedy growth of useless trees here diminishing chances of fever thereby – and have put in sundry handsome tree-ferns, palms, ylang-ylang<sup>56</sup> and fir trees all of which absorb moisture.

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<sup>53</sup> Ellen Thorneycroft Fowler, *Concerning Isabel Carnaby*. A romance novel of a clever and witty young woman in London's high society.

<sup>54</sup> She was the Hon. Marian Brodrick. They married in 1896. (*Who Was Who*, 1916-1928)

<sup>55</sup> Satow read his paper on the cultivation of bamboos in Japan to the Asiatic Society of Japan on June 21, 1899. It was published in the *Transactions*, Volume 27, Part 3, 1899.

<sup>56</sup> *Cananga odorata*, commonly called ylang-ylang, is a tropical tree which originates from the Philippines, valued for its perfume.

Our kitchen garden too has been a great success. We imported the usual assorted box of seeds from the “Stores” and all the English vegetables did excellently. We are having peas, vegetable marrows etc. I am also gradually clearing the compound of graves, of which we had a selection comprising Chinese, Macao Portuguese, Swedish & Danish!

I took a trip down the line to Shinchiku/Tekcham last Saturday and was much interested.<sup>57</sup> The line climbs the hills in the S[outh]. of the Taipeh plain and runs for more than half its length over a fine level plateau to Shinsha where it ends abruptly and one looks over another plain in the centre of which lies Shinchiku a picturesque old walled town of 6 or 7,000 inhabitants. The police looked after my welfare and I found a clean tea house (converted from an old Chinese residence) just outside the walls, where food – Japanese – and accommodation were first rate, although in the former there is little variety. The charges – as everywhere – were exceedingly high.

My friend the Chief of Police asked me particularly to bring a gun – and his promises of sport were fulfilled by my getting five pheasants under the guidance of a sporting ‘Bobby’. I am ashamed of myself for shooting them in April – but I spared hens. The country round there abounds in pheasants & I shall certainly go again next Autumn if I am here. This is not a feeler.

The cultivated land is used for Tea – especially the upland rice, sugarcane and daikon. The hills do not seem to carry such rank jungle as up here and I fancy it must be cooler & healthier in summer – certainly so on the plateau. A feature of the hillsides was a kind of spikey palm which I have never seen on this side and of which I obtained 3 or 4 for my garden. I saw no tree-ferns.

They have had very little, if any plague at Shinchiku, though they get malaria in the dirty town – and everything points to it being healthier than the Tamsui ‘river’ district.

Beyond Shinsha all the girder bridges etc. have been washed away by the freshets last year and the trolley-tram runs to the town – about 1 1/2 [one and a half] hrs. Thence South a de Lanville (?) line runs through, with miniature cars which must be extremely

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<sup>57</sup> “One of the main forces behind the establishment of the North-South Railway was Hasegawa Kinsuke (1855-1921). He was appointed by Goto Shinpei, the chief civil administrator of the Taiwan Governor-General’s Office, to take the post of head technician in the ‘Provisional Taiwan Railway Construction Department’ in 1899. He took charge of planning the North-South Railway, supervising various railway affairs, and stayed in Taiwan until the completion of the North-South Railway in 1908.” (The History of the North-South Railway [http://culture.teldap.tw/culture/index.php?option=com\\_content&view=article&id=2302:the-history-of-the-north-south-railway&catid=156:lives-and-cultures](http://culture.teldap.tw/culture/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=2302:the-history-of-the-north-south-railway&catid=156:lives-and-cultures) accessed August 12, 2014)

uncomfortable. The girders I spoke of as washed away are some 100 feet long and the whole structure in one case lies its length down stream upside down, and 50 or 60 y[ar]ds away from where the supporting piers once stood. Lighter things like rails lie a quarter of a mile down – the sleepers having perhaps helped them along. Pole-tressle bridges have been put up temporarily but any flood will wipe them out utterly.

As you know one can get through to the Southern port by means of this trolley – but it takes days as the cars are pushed by coolies. The railway regulations ask passengers to be good enough to help if any difficulties arise in their progress!

I wish you could manage to come and see the Island. I cannot of course say, but I think you would find it a novelty. The general configuration strikes me as more like Japan than anything else.

I hope the request for 80 yen for the Constable will not appear excessive – but a point which I might have laid stress on, is that it requires an extra strong inducement to bring any good man to live in this Island, where he is entirely out of the way of any chance of bettering himself. That of course we consider unnecessary but the service does not offer much chance to a young man if he can see his way to something more lucrative. The pension is a very distant prospect in any case. Apropos – I took it for granted until quite recently that Croskey was a British subject. I find that his father was a naturalized U.S. citizen. Would he be able to qualify for his pension? I do not see any regulation as to a Constable being a British subject, but should be glad if you can tell me.

There is far less to do here now than there was 3 years ago. I have been canvassing B.S.S. [British Subjects] separately about that question of groundrent for perpetual leases – and I do not think there would be any uproar if it came to levying it on the leasehold. I am undecided, though – about the amount per tsubo – which it might could or should be fixed at.

Christobel sends a hug – I am not responsible. Kindest regards from us both.

Yours sincerely

R. de B. Layard

96. Layard to Satow [handwritten, p. 284 in file]

Tamsui

May 4. 1899

My dear Sir Ernest

A wave of slackness seems to be passing over the Japanese offices and I am in despair about getting answers to either despatches or private letters – among the latter my enquiry about the names of bamboos. These fits of dilatoriness seem to be periodical – both they may just now be busy with annual statistics.

You will think I am constantly asking for Things – e.g. my present despatch – but I hope that this request may have good results.

As Bonar's despatch did not require notice at the time, as he suggested the postponement of the purchase of a boat – I have not taken notice in mine of his reasons – which I do not endorse but would like to discuss privately.

As to native built boat. The cost is less certainly – but I would submit that the reason given is weak. I have had no difficulty whatever in getting men who can handle the European oar. In fact all my old boatmen of 1896 have come back to me – although I think Bonar had some difficulty in keeping them. For what reason I know not. They pull well and are in constant training as I bought a small rowing boat cheap from a wreck as a temporary measure.

Cost. As Bonar says, it w[oul]d. be high for a native built boat which I take to mean a kind of sampan – or house boat; a horrid contrivance and most uncomfortable and slow.

Gig There are one or two at this port in use by the Customs and water-police, so they can scarcely be said to have “gone out of use”; now at any rate.

Preservation of new boat. The new boathouse is built throughout of stone blocks – and not of unfaced boulders and mud as before, so that I do not think a freshet will disturb the building even if flooded. It is also raised higher as to its foundations; and, at my own expense, I have put down rails on the slip at the entrance, so that we could get the boat out at a moment's notice and bring it up the hill very quickly, if necessary.

Building the boat. There are plenty of competent boatbuilders in Hong Kong who are constantly building gigs – which are much used in that harbour – and I have had estimates from builders specially recommended by the Douglas S.S. officers who have had dealings with them.

If you wish to have them there are plenty of reasons for asking for the new boat; but besides the usual reasons I will only mention one which is a local one. There is no prospect so far of getting any other means of conveyance to Twatutia than a steam launch, and when I have had to go up river suddenly – I have sometimes had to take the trip in a Chinese passenger boat. These are crowded from bow to stern full of smelly coolies and are

absolutely dangerous from the weight of humanity which makes them roll most alarmingly. The gig could always be towed astern – or if the tide served the men could pull to Twatutia under the three hours. Perhaps another local reason is that the gig might be needed for a refuge for this small community – but I trust & think it is not probable. At such a time the Sampans would be useless.

Many thanks for your letter of 22<sup>nd</sup> April. Croskey is very grateful for the recommendation. In mine of 5<sup>th</sup> April, did I ask you about Contsable's pensions? I made a note of it, but perhaps omitted it. The question was as to whether the Constable must be a Brit[ish]. subject to qualify for pension.

Let us hope [John T.] Wawn will be 'rangé' [well-behaved] by the time he gets here. He will be older in any case - & probably more discreet.<sup>58</sup> He is a young man who should, with his wits, be well able to take care of himself – and the Twatutia Consular office.

We are having glorious weather and the plague does not decrease. The Houseboy of the Chief of Customs at the old Chinese Commissioner's residence some 400 y[ar]ds. away died of it a few days ago, and as the house is on the hill in a line with ours, it is unpleasant. Fever is prevalent – the Constable also having it – but my household have kept free of it since December.

My wife who is a slow reader, is still in the midst of Isabel Carnaby and likes it much. I am waiting for it. She sends her kind regards.

Please excuse smudges & too much fluency of ink. Paper is damp.

Yours very truly

R. de B. Layard

97. Layard to Satow [handwritten, p. 288 in file]

Tamsui

20 May 1899

My dear Sir Ernest

I hasten to send you what the Sotokufu [Governor General's office 総督府] have procured for me about Bamboos. I trust it will be of service – but I cannot say as I have not had a moment to study it. Mr. Boyce<sup>59</sup> being here, I left it to my writer to copy – whilst I

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<sup>58</sup> John Twizell Wawn (1877-1948) had had an affair with a Eurasian woman, and Satow had sent him to Kobe to separate them. See Satow to Cockerell, No.56, March 29, 1897 (PRO 30/33 14/9).

<sup>59</sup> Robert H. Boyce, Surveyor, H.M. Office of Works, London. He was the architect of the Consulate-General in Shanghai, according to the foundation stone laid in 1872.



went up river with the former. I send you the original.

Mr. Boyce seems inclined to secure a site if possible at Twatutia – the position being that chosen by both Bonar and myself. It belongs to Cass of Amoy and Mr. Boyce will talk it over with him when he gets there.

I have carefully refrained from making any suggestions to Mr. Boyce, but I can see he does not require it. He has not taken much interest apparently in the question of a verandah, but he has seen the state of the walls.

I am much worried about a foreshore reclamation scheme to which the Sotokufu have declined to give their sanction. I shall have another go at them before reporting the whole matter to you but briefly it is this

2 yrs. & more ago Ashton got leave to fill in his foreshore. He postponed doing so till quite lately, & of pure good will for that reason wrote through me to know if there were still no objection. The sanction [permission] was repeated & he filled in as stated. Tait & Co. who hold the next piece of foreshore applies for the same permission – and the application is refused, on the plea[?] that until the projected “harbour works” have been definitely settled upon, they are unable to give permission to private individuals to fill in. I am writing to explain that the foreshore reclamation will be absolutely identical &, as to frontage, in line with Ashton’s retaining wall – but it looks like an invidious distinction between Tait & Co. & Ashton.

I also want to know when the harbor works scheme will be published.

Yours very truly

R. de B. Layard

98. Layard to Satow [handwritten, p. 290 in file]

Tamsui

26 May. 1899

My dear Sir Ernest,

Thank you much for your letter of 11<sup>th</sup>. I could not answer before, as it arrived in the midst of Queen’s Birthday festivities.

Thanks to our Pro-Consul I was able to “lunch” the officials – with Band & a most excellent juggler show after to which the British Community came as one man. I think everyone was well pleased – and I am told that the non-official section all retired to bed before dinner time, so they I presume were pleased also.

I am glad it only comes once a year.

Your despatch about the boat is assuredly all that I wished for – and I shall at once order the gig at Hong Kong.

Again, thank you for promise of “Aylwin”.<sup>60</sup> I seem to have read the critique on it – but have not read the book. Isabel Carnaby was good reading. By the way do you wish me to keep for you or return these books?

I have no news to give you – but on the contrary am rather ‘rushed’ just now. All the British subjects come to lunch at the Consulate tomorrow – as it was impossible on the 24<sup>th</sup>.

This is the way we keep ourselves alive & defy the plague & other local maladies.

Yours very truly

R. de B. Layard

99. Layard to Satow [handwritten, p. 292 in file]

[ans 20]

Tamsui

7 July 1899

My dear Sir Ernest

I trust you received the list of Bamboos and that it is what you required.

I have been very busy pushing British interests here in the way of foreshore reclamations and have helped Mr. Ashton to bring his arrangements as to frontage to a satisfactory conclusion.

He is starting a wharf & godown [warehouse] company on the foreshore reclaimed lot that is if we can get the Japanese to allow examination at the godowns – which he wishes to have under “joint-lock” or dual control, and the Authorities are I think about to agree. It will make shipping facilities much better for the port not to speak of the security to shipping by “tying-up” in “taifun” [typhoons] & freshets.

I hope also to have some success with Tait & Co’s adjoining foreshore lot – which I wrote to you about.

Have you heard anything about my assistant? Isabel, child and nurse, are off on the 25<sup>th</sup> to Kuliang (Foochow) where I have taken a hill bungalow - & if it were possible I should like to take them there or join them later of that is not feasible.

We are well into the heat now 92° & under (say 87°) and it is very trying.

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<sup>60</sup> A popular prose romance by Theodore Watts-Dunton, published in 1898.

However, I must ask you to let me know your wishes about my staying on whilst the Treaties are hatching out.

I have heard nothing from Boyce about building up river - & cannot find a decent place for an assistant to live in. it seems hopeless.

The British merchant is of course in a great state of mind on the approach of the new régime. His chief dread seems to be that his whist parties will be periodically raided and that, as 70,000 suits “of foreign clothing” have been ordered by the Japanese Government for prisons, he will spend most of his time there, i.e. in prison.

Another rumour which is widespread, is that the Formosan Government intend to enforce Export duties after the revised Treaties come in – except as for goods sent to Japan – whence they will be exported free.

I have had written queries about this, and should be glad to hear if you know anything of it? I am awaiting an answer also on the same point from the Auth[or]ities at Taipeh.

We are all well enough considering the heat – which, nevertheless we feel very trying. Christobel is a disgraceful sight with prickly heat & bumps all over her face. Fortunately she is a cheerful child.

Please give my best greetings to Whitehead, and with best remembrances in which my wife joins to yourself.

Believe me yours very truly

R. de B. Layard

Stickiness spoils handwriting.

100. Layard to Satow [handwritten, p. 296 in file]

[ans 20]

Tamsui

13 July 1899

My dear Sir Ernest

The Foreign Section of the Local Government inform me that when the Treaty comes into force it is their “Mi-Komi” [proposal, intention 見込み] to impose export duties on goods exported hence – abroad that is, on Formosan products and port clearance charges also for the like shipped to Japan proper.

The scheme however has not yet received Imperial sanction.

What is your opinion of this proposal? It seems to me to be a straight bid for the over

Japan tea trade – and will fall of course almost entirely on the foreigner shipping to Amoy.

I should be glad to know if anything can be done, but without being in possession of full details, which are not forthcoming. I do not like to do more than let you know privately.

The heat is great and a little more will exhaust us.

Yours very truly

R. de B. Layard

101. Layard to Satow [handwritten, p.298 in file]

[Ansd. 5 Aug.]

Tamsui

15. July. 1899

My dear Sir Ernest

10 minutes conversation would be worth a dozen letters. I am sending you by “Tainan” maru of 17<sup>th</sup> a translation of the new Export duties. I have not heard what the Amoy people have to say on the subject but, as one man here – the general cry is “violation of Treaties.”

I am not by any means prepared to endorse that sentiment but it seems a pity that some agreement was not come to subsequent to the signing of the Treaty with regard to this Island.

The Formosan Gov[ernmen]t. appears to apply the Treaty or not as they please.

My U.S. colleague wants to raise a point about the port clearance duties being nothing more than transit dues – but I do not see it in that light, and will not join him unless you wish it?

The Amoy people and the Douglas S.S. Co. between this & Amoy are most nearly concerned in the matter, but Kelung plus the railway will have to afford much greater facilities even after the 17<sup>th</sup> to divert the trade. The railroad capacity is insufficient for large orders at short notice and there is much more handling of the frail package in transitu. Tamsui to Kobe might do.

Please give me anything further you can supply me with concerning the encouragement of Tea export via Japan from this Island. How can Oolung compete with the Japan teas, and are there to be export duties from Japan proper?

Yours very truly

R. de B. Layard

102. Layard to Satow [handwritten, p.300 in file]

Private

[Ansd 5 Aug]

Tamsui

20 July 1899

My dear Sir Ernest

The enclosure is a draft form of perpetual lease which the local authorities wish to substitute for the former Chinese perpe[tua]l leases.

They have asked me to treat it as entirely unofficial for the moment so I write to you privately on the subject.

It seems almost unobjectionable in general but I would be glad of your opinion.

The position is that in nearly all cases so the Japanese tell me, the Chinese lessor has bolted, and as the lessor, for a lump sum rec[eive]d. from the foreign lessee made himself responsible for payment of ground rent in perpetuity – they don't see their way to levying ground rent except on the foreigner.

I anticipate little trouble about it – except on two points – viz. (1) the cutting of an average for ground rent on the basis of adjoining properties, and (2) the proportionate value of leasehold property left waste & other of the same kind occupied.

As instances – (1) – a bund lot in Twatutia – with a restaurant one side and a vacant space on the other – facing the river – with inferior buildings at the back. How is the ground rent per tsubo to be calculated? Is it irrespective of frontage width simply on area? taking an average from the ground rents of lots at back and sides? This is a hypothetical case tho' the following is a real one. (2) Land leased many years ago lies unoccupied – but is surrounded by (a) a fine piece of Canadian mission property with good position overlooking the river (b) rice land (c) government property. The lessee has sunk his money in giving a lump sum to free himself from the ground rent obligation – and has lost the interest. It will be hard on him if he has to pay ground rent on unremunerative land (a back lot) on the same basis as the surrounding property.

Under “2ndly” of the Draft Lease – of course the full value is hardly to be anticipated. Neither do I like the term “Japanese Government” unless Japan and Formosa are to be accepted as one country, which does not seem the fashion. The “increase or decrease” should not be understood to mean the amount at the time of alteration – if an average on the preceding 15 years fell below that amount. At least I suggest that a calculation of that kind

might be “cooked”.

The “3rdly” I object to – a non-treaty subject would come under Japanese law - & I cannot see why a distinction sh[oul]d be made – nor why a Consul need intervene in the matter.

I understand that the question was discussed between Bonar and the ‘hiesige’ [G: local] Foreign Section – but as it was done orally – I have only this draft to show which they produce as the one discussed. They wish me to discuss it also – and I told them I sh[oul]d. of course report to the Legation. This they begged me to do unofficially until we got the thing into some sort of trim.

If Bonar can recall any special points of agreement or disagreement, it would aid me materially – and I should be grateful if you would advise me on the points I have given - & also as to the modus operandi of enforcement on foreigners.

If only the titles showed how much was cost of land and how much in lieu of ground rent in perpetuity – it would be easier to make some compromise, but they do not, I may say of course not.

There is a great agitation at Amoy, I hear, about the new Export duties. You will probably get their protest thro’ Peking, if it is forwarded. I believe some of them think it is my fault! I was on the point of calling the Japanese attention to the short notice and the date sh[oul]d. not at earliest be sooner than 4<sup>th</sup> Aug[ust]. when they announced it for the 14<sup>th</sup> and then apologized for the clerical error – as they meant the 4<sup>th</sup> August! I was up-river when the 1<sup>st</sup> notice came round at Tamsui or I should have got my protest in in time.

Isabel is, or was, bad with fever for 3 days. & is not yet out of the wood. Christobel is a sight not to be seen with prickly heat & boils. I shall be glad for them when they are off.

This in the summer, is a pernicious climate.

Yours very truly

R. de B. Layard

Enclosure:

Copy of draft [handwritten, pp. 304-304A in file]

This Indenture made the ---- day of the ---- year of Meiji (---- 189-) between the Prefect of the ---- Ken, acting on behalf of the Japanese Government, of the first part, and -----

----- subject (or citizen) of the second part witnesseth that

Whereas by an agreement dated the --- 189..... aforesaid did obtain from..... the perpetual lease of a certain piece or lot of ground (or land) situated at ..... and known as ..... measuring ..... feet ..... and being bounded on the North by .....

on the East by .....

on the South by .....

on the West by .....

and now ascertained to contain ..... tsubo or thereabouts, and Whereas the ownership in the piece of land above described has now reverted to the Japanese Government, the Prefect of ..... aforesaid, acting on behalf of the Japanese Government, does hereby lease in perpetuity unto ..... his heirs executors administrators and assigns the herein before described piece of land on the conditions hereafter stated.

1<sup>st</sup> That the said ..... his his heirs executors administrators or assigns shall pay or cause to be paid annually in advance on the 31<sup>st</sup> day of the first month of each and every year the sum of yen ..... as the rent of the hereinbefore described piece of land.

2<sup>ndly</sup> That according to the rise or fall in the value of the adjoining lands, and in accordance with the rent that may at the end of every period of 15 years be exacted by the Japanese Government for land situated in the neighborhood of the piece of land herein before described and now leased in perpetuity to the said ..... , the Japanese Government aforesaid may at the expiration of every period of 15 years from the making of this lease be entitled to alter the rental to be paid annually for the 15 years next succeeding such period the amount of such rental to be calculated in accordance with the increase or decrease in the rentals imposed by the Japanese Government on its own subjects.

3<sup>rdly</sup> That the lessee in perpetuity shall have the right to transfer the perpetual lease of the whole or any part or parts of the lot of land herein before described, but such transfer can be made only to a subject or a citizen of a power having a Treaty with Japan. Such transfer must be registered at the office of the Ken wherein the land is situated; the application therefore shall be made through the Consul of the nation to which the said ..... belongs.

4<sup>thly</sup> That the lessee in perpetuity, his heirs, administrators and assigns shall be subject to the Land Regulations of the Imperial Government and shall conform to any arrangements hereafter entered into by the Japanese and any of the Treaty Powers and having reference to the tenure of land leased in perpetuity by the Japanese Government to the subjects or

citizens of Foreign Powers.

In witness of the above the said Prefect of the ..... Ken, acting on behalf of the Japanese Government as aforesaid, and ..... (lessee) aforesaid have hereunto set their hand and seals to this agreement made on the day and date first above written in duplicate.

103. Layard to Satow [handwritten, p.305 in file]

Tamsui

31 July 1899

My dear Sir Ernest,

Thank you for yours of 20<sup>th</sup> instant and what information you have about assistant. I will of course stick on as long as I can, but one has to be constantly fighting feverish symptoms – although not absolutely disabled.

Isabel was pretty bad just before leaving but I am glad they got off safe. They leave Amoy today for Foochow.

When you get my No. 15 you will see that I telegraphed because too late to rectify Japanese errors by mail. It was fortunate.

I send you 2<sup>nd</sup> issue of the “Formosan” [not in files] – a bumptious rag by a person eking out a livelihood on this kind of charity – 50 c[en]ts. for a copy! It has to do with the T-duty but you need not read it through, except as a side-light, unless you wish.

Please do not think I am “grizzling” – about leave. It is only that I fear to break down and, with no one to take my place, it makes me anxious. Better prevention than cure.

Yours sincerely

R. de B. Layard

Governor-General back 2 days ago.

104. Satow to Layard [handwritten copy, p.307 in file]

Copy

Tokio

August 5. 1899

My dear Layard,

I enclose to you some observations of Bonar’s on the draft lease, many of which are good.<sup>61</sup> But of course they do not bind your own judgment and I send them merely as his

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<sup>61</sup> Bonar’s notes (or a copy of them) are not in the file. Layard refers to them in his reply.



ideas.

On the draft lease I make the following remark on my own account, in general.

It is apparently a cento [patchwork] of the leases under which land was granted to foreigners at various open ports in the beginning of time and therefore out of date.

On 1<sup>st</sup> “heirs, executors, administrators or assigns” is nonsense. A grant to heirs makes it real property, a grant to executors makes it personal property. Now it cannot be both. It should be either to A.B. his heirs and assigns, or to A.B. his executors, administrators and assigns. “Or assigns” is evidently a mistake for “and assigns.”

On 2 I remark that the agreement to raise the rent, or re-assess it every five years, is objectionable. Foreigners ought to be treated in the same way in this respect as Japanese subjects.

On 3. As you say, what has the Council to do with it under the new Treaties. On 4. the same remark.

Before saying anything as to any idea of the form a future lease should take I should like to see one of the present leases.

But the present draft is no good at all now – tho’ it might have been two years ago.

I shall draw the attention of Viscount Aoki to the notification No. 63 which you have sent me. It appears to me that the 2<sup>nd</sup> clause is a violation of the Treaty.<sup>62</sup>

Yours very truly

(s[igne]d.) Ernest Satow

105. Layard to Satow [handwritten, p. 310 in file]

[ans. 4/9]

Tamsui

25. August. 1899

My dear Sir Ernest

Thank you much for your letter with copy of Bonar’s notes on the lease question. The whole matter is one of which the Japanese might really have spared me the bother (and you to[o]) until they have a definite idea of what they mean or how they hope to arrange it. I

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<sup>62</sup> On the same day Satow noted that he went to the Vice Minister of Foreign Affairs Takahira “and gave him a copy of the [Formosa] Govr. Genl’s notification about leasing of land to foreigners, which had come from Layard, and pointed out that it was an interference with freedom of contract. Asked him to consider it, and let me have the answer through Lay.” (Satow’s Diary, August 5, 1899) The notification is in Nagaoka, vol. 2, appendix 12, pp. 387-88.

have retaliated in some degree by telling Master Otori of the Foreign Section that he must give me a complete list of lands held by foreigners which are not paying groundrent and also proof that they cannot squeeze any out of the family representatives of the original lessor. That sort of thing could I imagine easily be done with Chinese with the solidarity of the “family” that one hears so much about. Anyhow I think Otori is in rather a fix.

This post is the most unsatisfactory one I have been at – for the “fluffiness” of the official staff – excepting Prefect Murakami. No one seems to be able to give crisp information, or to have discretionary powers. Everything appears to have to be discussed by all the heads of departments – who collectively might be a feather-bolster for all the satisfaction one gets out of hammering at them.

I had a ridiculously severe tussle to get the Chief of Customs to let go of ships’ papers – although the Chief of the Foreign Section came down river to tackle him. No! he had to telegraph to Yokohama and elsewhere (to see if I was telling the truth I suppose), for information – otherwise his regulations (save the mark) did not permit of it.

I am having plenty of work, so shall not report the case of the petition filed ag[ain]st. a foreigner on 19 July at any great length – especially as you have answered my telegram. The foreigner is an undesirable person too.

My answer to your long circular asking for opinion on transfer of registers must I fear, hang fire, until I hear from the local Government. I may be able to settle that they do not require copies. I hope and trust they do not – the labour of copying will be enormous, and worse kept books I have never seen.

Can you please tell me if, in (say) Yokohama, ships can, instead of paying tonnage dues on each entry, frank themselves for the whole year by paying a lump sum in advance? I heard that the tonnage dues were 5 sen per ton each time or 15 sen per ton for the year. In this place there is no such privilege. Properly there should be no duty at all if the money goes to improvements for shipping. These are nil. A buoy washed away about 3 miles on the 6<sup>th</sup>, during the typhoon has not been replaced yet.

I must credit them though with a new lighthouse which is being built on Paksha point – south of the Tamsui estuary – a “long felt want”.

Amoy is fuming about the differential tariff on teas, and I hope that the Law Officers will give us a favorable answer.

Compared with other peoples’ losses we suffered little from the typhoon – at the Consulate, but the garden is a wreck.

My poor wife had a terrible time at Kuliang, roof stripped off and not a dry spot anywhere but in the room of the “boy” in whose bed Christobel was put to sleep; whilst Isabel [Layard’s wife] and Nurse sat up all night on chairs with an umbrella apiece. Some missionaries were able to give them shelter in one room next day – but since the 9<sup>th</sup> I have had no news whatever of them. The wife also had fever on the top of it all. I wish to goodness F.O. would sanction the Assistant. I am getting anxious to go and see what they are up to.

At present my time is fully taken up with coaching the foreign community as to what they should do or should not do as to registrations and we are all of us nearly crazy – some more so than others – owing to the lack of definiteness in official information locally.

I have another question to ask you which I nearly forgot. What proofs are necessary for us to register *lex loci* marriages? For instance if a man says “I married a Japanese girl in Japanese fashion three or four years ago” and wants the fact registered in our *lex loci* register. What papers will be sufficient proof and what was the *lex loci* at that time? I confess I am very hazy about it. There is such a man here now – and he hopes to legalize his child by this means. I have declared *pro. tem.* But why shouldn’t he do it if [F.] Brinkley did?

Please accept my apologies for a long letter with little in it - but there is no one to talk to here & one becomes garrulous therefore in writing.

Believe me yours very truly

R. de B. Layard

May I give the local Chamber a copy of Gubbins’ Memo. comparing different Treaties?

106. Layard to Satow [handwritten, p. 316 in file]

Tamsui

4 Sept. 1899

My dear Sir Ernest

A day or two more and I hope to send you an answer about the transfer of land registers. The German Act[in]g. Consul and I having put our heads together have discovered a pretty mare’s nest [a situation of great disorder].

Although I ascertained that the Imperial Ordinance about Immoveables registration applies to Formosa, and have that assurance in writing the District Court registrar’s office has decalred that they are as yet incompetent to undertake the registration of mortgages! In

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a couple of days I can give you documentary proof as to this I hope, but Je vous demande un peu.

Yours truly

R. de B. Layard

107. Layard to Satow [handwritten, p. 318 in file]

Tamsui

4 Sept. 1899

My dear Sir Ernest

I am well nigh baited to death between the British merchant and the Japanese official.

If I am right in protesting against the police action (No. 21) I owe them one. In my No. 22 you will see why we Consuls jointly complained about the failure to give publicity to notifications officially through the Consuls.

The Douglas Co. have their own translator but the ship masters were bluffed out of any reference to such a notification which they may have heard of by the action of the Jap[ane]se. Consul Mr. Uyeno in Amoy. I don't know what he does not deserve. I believe he pockets the money – so Otori of the For[eign]: Section gave me to understand – and it is common talk in Amoy that unless the passenger goes with a letter to the Consul from a foreigner – he has to pay the Chinese in the office a squeeze before he can get this passport which isn't a passport. I have given up believing most things I hear – but why didn't he stop issuing on the 20<sup>th</sup> August.

As to the police – can you tell me if a summons may be issued at any time during the 24 hours – under Japanese law? I know perfectly well of course that they waited until that hour so as to lock him up.

My hardest experience here is with the merchants who are intolerably prejudiced against the Japanese system, and show it – whilst I am trying to make out they are delighted to come under it!!

Yours very truly

R. de B. Layard

108. Layard to Satow [handwritten, p. 320 in file]

Tamsui

15. September 1899

My dear Sir Ernest

I received your letter of 4<sup>th</sup> with despatch of same date on the 11<sup>th</sup> but had no time to acknowledge it properly. Please accept my best thanks. The “Shipping Constable” is very grateful, and I hope now to be able to keep him.

Your promise to send Harrington<sup>63</sup> filled me with joy. I am glad in ( ) that it is he & not that other.

I have also received yours of 6<sup>th</sup> announcing his approaching departure, and feel ever so much the better for it. I will be careful to put him up to the ropes -; but shall not waster any time in following my family.

I am getting all necessary documents ready to hand over, & have asked Kobe Consulate to telegraph his departure so that I can meet him at Twatutia, induct him personally to the various offices and hand over at Tamsui on short order.

Many thanks again for all trouble taken about different matters.

Yours very truly

R. de B. Layard

109. Layard to Satow [handwritten, p. 322 in file]

Tamsui

BRITISH CONSULATE. [printed letterhead]

23<sup>rd</sup> Sepr. 1899

My dear Sir Ernest

I have to acknowledge receipt of one assistant in “good order” and to thank you much for arming him with the means of taking over at once.

Having everything ready for Harrington up to date I am able to get away tomorrow by an outgoing steamer to Amoy, where however, I fear there will be some detention.

The Broadbents are kindly going to put me up en attendant.

Today being my wife’s birthday, I was able to telegraph my departure & I think she will appreciate the birthday present.

Harrington, to show you he is in harness, is going to send you an account of the tonnage due here. I do not see why shipping should pay more here than in Japan proper and seeing that the Japanese vessels get it all back in their subsidy it is a direct tax on foreign, &

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<sup>63</sup> Thomas Joseph Harrington (1875-1953) was appointed a student interpreter in Japan in 1896. Promoted to 2<sup>nd</sup> Assistant, 1898. Acting Consul at Tamsui in 1899, and Pro Consul in 1900 and 1901. [F.O. List, 1954]

therefore the Douglas, shipping.

Thank you again for the timely help and also for Harrington in whom I feel confidence.

My telegraphic address will be, so far as I know, “Stevens Pagoda Anchorage inform Layard” etc. but when I get there I shall leave my name at the telegraph office if possible. I heard from Lady Plunkett fr[om]. Switzerland, this mail, saying she is picking up strength.

Yours sincerely

R. de B. Layard

110. Layard to Satow [handwritten, p. 324 in file]

[ans. 24/11]

Tamsui

10 Novr. 1899

My dear Sir Ernest

We are back in our old quarters, all very much the better for our holiday and grateful to you for enabling me to join the family.

There was no steamer between that on the first of the month which we just missed in coming from Foochow to Amoy and that by which we travelled so I hope I shall be forgiven for the short excess of time over the six weeks leave.

Going North I was detained eight days in Amoy for lack of a steamer! I found Kuliang very chilly, the thermo[meter]. going down to 55° Fahr[enheit]. at night.

We stayed there about a fortnight – and then took 2 houseboats up the Yuen foh river, which runs into the Min – to the S.W. of Foochow.

It was a delightful trip and I shot a fair number of pheasants & partridges.

After 3 days at Foochow, staying with friends, we got to Amoy and were kindly welcomed by the Broadbents of the H[ong Kong]. & S[hanghai]. Bank – who have always taken us in.

Apart from typhoons, the only disagreeables have been heavy seas at all times. On my trip to Foochow, we lost a man overboard, and although he was a strong swimmer we saw him drown in the mountainous sea that was running.

I will write again soon, but do so now, hurriedly, to thank you much for the holiday.

Kindest remembrances from my wife, & love from Christobel.

Yours sincerely

R. de B. Layard

111. Layard to Satow [handwritten, p. 326 in file]

[Ans. 24/11]

Tamsui

November 16, 1899

My dear Sir Ernest

Understanding from Señor Ortiz – that Griffiths by his request had asked your sanction to take charge of Spanish interests, I have followed suit as the Señor is leaving the country & Spanish interests are now almost a minus quantity.

I send this explanation in addition as postal delay may cause a little confusion. Ortiz was Consul for all Formosa, I may add, or you might wonder why Griffiths and I should both relieve him of his duties.

I have arranged to take over as office and dwelling for Harrington the quarters hitherto occupied by the Spanish Consul but, as we can only get them on a short notice to quit, at a pretty high rental; I trust Mr. Boyce may have been doing something at home to push the question of building.

I found in Amoy that he and Cass, the prospective landlord of the lot we chose, had not come to terms – but I am writing to the latter to see if I cannot get out of him what is wanted. He is rather “difficult”. When I have something definite to go on I will report officially.

I am glad to say that a wharf scheme, with godowns attached for temporary storage, & relief of ships waiting to load or discharge cargo – started by a British subject here has received official sanction; and will make for the prosperity of this harbour. After a little talk and arrangement of details, the B.S. Mr. Ashton will no doubt be able to float it as a Company with British capital. I began negotiations for him last April or May, and think he ought to be congratulated seeing that the “Shell” line took 2 years to get their sanction for oil-storage at Aden.

The plan for a general reclamation of the foreshore of this harbour appears to be complete and the scheme an excellent one. But how long will it take? The contractors are looking about for material to fill in with. The officials say that concerns the contractors but if only there had been a dredger on the spot, how cheaply they could have carried out the works, deepening the channel and using the “spoil” on the foreshore, at the same time.

The contract prices, I am told, are enormous, and my informant, a European, says he

would be glad to undertake the works at half the cost.

I find also that a contract has been given out to a Japanese firm to bund up the whole river front of the Twatutia. They have begun work and have an enormous stock of faced stone ready at hand, so it is to be hoped they may finish it before the next freshets.

Thank you much for the instruction about rights of police over British shipping. They, the police, drive things rather to extremes, over running the ships like a disturbed ant's nest for numbers but there is no complaint as to their manners.

A point however, which is not quite clear to me, is whether they have a right of search Ex officio, or with a special search warrant, and of arrests on the same terms – unless an offender is caught flagrante delicto [red-handed]. I hear there is a good deal of plague round Taipeh but perhaps the present continuous rain will wash it away.

The district around, and especially this side of the city, seems to be in a quiet state, although a policeman was badly wounded lately not far away. They should shoot a few of the men they catch – if they want to cure the “rebel” disease quickly, inste[a]d of sending them to hard labour.

I find the subordinate offices of the local administration again altered – on my return. Calling partakes of the nature of snark-hunting – and one finds familiar faces turning up in most unexpected places – of office. I should say that the average of the class of lower officials is a good deal higher now than it used to be, but their number is surprizing. The Customs are again building extensive accommodation for their staff just below our little hill, but the apparently feverish site chosen necessitates an increase in strength of numbers – perhaps!

The last Asiatic Soc[iety]'s issue is very interesting. Can you tell me when Saris's (?) journal will appear and where?<sup>64</sup>

I wish I could write anything for the “Proceedings” but what I do know – and it is very little – does not seem worth printing or writing even. I never possessed the initiative faculty of research and composition was always positive pain to me. Perhaps you can scarcely appreciate it, but I always preferred rather to listen than to talk, and to read rather than to write. Charity would suggest that it is only modesty!

Yours sincerely

R. de B. Layard

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<sup>64</sup> Satow's *The Voyage of Captain John Saris to Japan, 1613* was published by the Hakluyt Society in 1900.



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P.S. Do not say laziness.

112. Layard to Satow [handwritten, p. 332 in file]

Private

Tamsui

29 Nov[embe]r. 1899

My dear Sir Ernest

I am sorry I did not take a copy of the certificates which were accepted as passports for the Chinese passengers (my desp[atch]. No: 37). They were confiscated. I will try however what they can do for me in Amoy although it is like stirring up a hornet's nest to open the question with the agents there.

That the Japanese Consul was responsible is certain, but he probably never saw either the applicants nor the certificates and one knows what goes on if a Chinaman guards the entrance to an office, when interpreting is necessary.

I presume the matter is closed now, and the actual money loss to the Company is trifling although they complain that they have "lost face" with the Chinese.

They also assert that the opposition have "special facilities", but they have not yet produced proof although I have asked for it.

As a matter of fact the passengers of both lines are enormously reduced in number. The yarn runs that the Consul now only issues passports to Chinese who are personally known to him! His visiting list must be a curiosity.

The Red Cross Society's function went off with great success. 9 a.m. till 4.30 p.m.

The British Residents are sending money to the Cape [South Africa] for widows & orphans. I have already collected over \$450 and there are only 18 of us just now.

Yours sincerely

R. de B. Layard

My apologies for failure to sign No. 35.

113. Layard to Satow [handwritten, p. 334 in file]

Private

Tamsui

12 Decr. 1899

My dear Sir Ernest

Thank you for your letter of 24<sup>th</sup> last. I will get the tonnage particulars wanted to amplify Harrington's despatch No. 32.

I have now received your despatch – enabling me to take over Spanish interests.

I am sending you by this same mail a mi-age [omiyage, souvenir] which I bought for you from Foochow – a paper weight. It is meant for Christmas faring but will arrive when the post pleases. I hope you will like it. I did, and got one for myself.

That you are going home, is news to me; I hope you may be going only for pleasure or relaxation. I fear that the lady of your name, whose death I saw noticed, may have been your mother, and I offer my sincere sympathies if such is the case. I only saw the notice so recently - & so long after the event that I hesitated about doing so.<sup>65</sup>

Christmas greetongs to you from all three of us.

Yours sincerely

R. de B. Layard

114. Layard to Satow [handwritten, p. 336 in file]

[Ansd. 26 Dec.]

Tamsui

December 19, 1899

My dear Sir Ernest

On the opposite sheet [see below] I have copied for your information an account sent to me by Lapraik Cass & Co. of Amoy, asking me to present it to the Japanese Government.

In my reply I declined to do so pending news about the preferential duty from F.O.

Of course this is Cass's doing but on the subject of the Japanese he is simply crazy.

Do you think we shall ever hear anything more from F.O, about the legality or otherwise of this duty?

We thirst for telegrams. Nothing since 12<sup>th</sup>. Gatacre's 596 men & 9 officers missing.<sup>66</sup>

There is a British ship from Amoy (S.S.) ashore about 30 miles from Anping – a Japanese vessel standing by to help – the Captain missing – rest of crew, 2 foreigners & remaining Chinese apparently safe.

A foreigner (Hastings?) has gone thither from Anping but I cannot identify the ship in

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<sup>65</sup> Margaret Satow, Sir Ernest's mother, died on September 10, 1899. (*Family Chronicle of the English Satows*, p.35)

<sup>66</sup> Major General Forbes William Gatacre was defeated on December 10, 1899 at the Battle of Stormberg in the Second Boer War.

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the “Kana”.

Yours sincerely

R. de B. Layard

Enclosure:

Copy

The Government of Formosa

Dr. to

Lapraik Cass & Co.

Excess duty charged on 3841.91 Piculs of Tea shipped from Tamsui to Amoy between the dates of August 4<sup>th</sup> 1899 and November 30<sup>th</sup> 1899 at 60 sen per picul.

Yens 2,305 ch

Amoy, December 4, 1899

(sd.) Lapraik Cass & Co.

115. Layard to Satow [handwritten, p. 338 in file]

Private

Tamsui

February 6. 1900

My dear Sir Ernest

Our friend Mr. Otori of the Foreign Section is a difficult person to deal with but I trust that with this arrangement we shall bring things into line.

I have telegraphed to Kenny what I propose doing so that we may act together.

It is absurd that full copies of deeds should have been asked for, & I hope they will not back down after all.

In no Consulate, in Japan at least, do I remember a register having been kept in the fashion of the hiesigen [local one] i.e. as triplicate of deeds.

Yours very truly

R. de B. Layard

116. Layard to Satow [handwritten, p. 339 in file]

[Ansd. 15/Feb./0]

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Private

Tamsui

5 February 1900

My dear Sir Ernest

Your letter of 22<sup>nd</sup> caused much joy to the family and I at once telegraphed to you that I was eager to obtain home leave. Thank you much for letting me know about it. The old furniture question again comes up, and seeing how disastrous it would be to pack anything away except in tin[?], I would ask you if I might write to Forster and enquire if he will use ours pro tem. It might be convenient for him also. Can you give me his address?

I was under the impression that he was due in Japan before the 28<sup>th</sup> Sept[embe]r. next; if so and he could come direct here I should raise no objection to making room for him!

I must apologize for placing in your hands my bulky No: 4 – the Japanese are obdurate – simply because the military department are all-powerful, and the latter are keen to get control of Kelung harbour. I am not sufficiently strong to back my opinion as to sense of Chinese terms – but local custom would prove low-water mark to be accepted as the boundary – and Mr. Little's trans[lation]. supports the meaning. With regard to this the question of suggestion might enter into the calculation – as the deeds were probably discussed before he set to work to translate them. I am thus compelled to ask your advice, tho' I am loth to bother you.

Yours sincerely

R. de B. Layard

117. Layard to Satow [handwritten, p. 341 in file]

[ansd. 16/2/00]

Private

Tamsui

4 Feb. 1900

My dear Sir Ernest

Your telegram makes me fear that you expected news of the Ordinances sent on the 6<sup>th</sup> before I had brought them into shape. Before doing so I wanted to consult my colleagues who were not all available at the moment – one being up-country.

I see that the Kobe Chronicle & Japan Mail both noticed them – but what does Brinkley mean by saying the Civil Code is not in force in this Island?

It is however sometimes difficult to know what is and what is not.

I am not sure whether the German property referred to in my No: 6 is the only instance in the Island – but we at any rate, up here – have had no such luck – and I don't quite know how the Chinese managed it for the German.

Yours very truly

R. de B. Layard

118. Layard to Satow [handwritten, p. 343 in file]

Tamsui

22. Feb. 1900

My dear Sir Ernest

Your telegram set me rather a puzzle to work out.

I think the Bank's claim to the ground need not be considered. Whether when they bought the lease or land they knew that a prior title deed existed is a matter of opinion – but everyone knows that there was a general rush and grab when Kelung was taken – and possibly fictitious deeds were palmed off on them. Time no doubt will show. The present occupant on the East side not only says he claims down below the refuse heap, but that he wishes to build on it. Here however the authorities step in, & dispute it, as well as the stretch beyond to low-water.

I cannot gather how the original proprietor of the back lot S.W. of Dodd's came off, but I do not suppose for a moment that he was asked how he liked having the water-police reclamation stuck in front of him.

I do not deny the general right of the Government to decide as to the expropriation of the foreshore for necessary harbour works – but to put their claim on the basis of a forced meaning or interpretation of the title is another pair of shoes.

I am anxiously awaiting their method of evading Boyd & Co's claim the wording is I believe different but is translated at Amoy as "low water mark" also.

A sidelight is thrown on their method by the Sec[retary]. of the Prefecture having written privately to Harrington asking if Boyds could produce proof to show that the Chinese lessor was really the owner – his land tax receipts, etc!

I need only say that the title was the ordinary genuine document registered at this Consulate in our register, the validity of which they are prepared to admit. Harrington, at my request, answered that I wished any communication of the sort to be official & directed

to myself.

You will perhaps remember that 3 years ago they were trying to rake up the past histories of titles fully endorsed by the Chinese authorities. I cannot away with them – and as I, with everyone else, am suffering from severe influenza, I am additionally miserable.

Believe me yours sincerely

R. de B. Layard

119. Layard to Satow [handwritten, p. 345 in file]

Private

Twatutia

Tamsui

7 Apr. 1900

My dear Sir Ernest

The Prefect has got his heels in about the Dodd[?] foreshore. Nothing verbal or written will induce him to take any other view of the matter. One does not like to say that it is wilful obstructiveness but I confess it looks like it.

You have of course heard all about the Camphor monopoly. I have been waiting to report on it for the good of the Archives, until I could get some statistics I wanted, but as I have failed to do so, the report of facts shall go forward immediately.

There is plenty of talk here about it & much grumbling. The first successful tenderer is said to have only been put in to make the running for the others. The fact remains that he backed out with some lame excuse as soon as he was announced to have got the contract.

There were numbers of intending competitors gathered to the slaughter but the terms laid down scared them, and finally to the disgust of Dr. G. [Grunenwald?] only 3 entered, in spite of verbal urging.

After the event they were all invited to what they called a ‘consolation tiffin.’

Harrington tells me that, a few days ago, Otori, Chief of Gaijika [Foreign Affairs Section 外事課] brought him rough draft of an article in English he is sending to the Japan Times – for help in the English. H[arrington]. says that it represented (?) the local Govt’s point of view as to the monopoly -: that this was only stated from philanthropic motives & so on. You will I suppose see it – but we do not get the paper here.

Please forgive the writing. Harrington only has a stylograph<sup>67</sup> handy.

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<sup>67</sup> Stylograph: a fountain pen that has a thin hollow tube or needle instead of a nib.

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We have got over the influenza here – and are well but the wet weather we have had has been very depressing.

Yours very truly

R. de B. Layard

[End of file]