

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 One

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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 19th century Japan may be gained by all readers. Annotations have been added to assist the reader's comprehension.

The letters in this book are almost all addressed to Satow. The first two files are of official letters from superiors at the Foreign Office in London, including the only one Satow received from Lord Salisbury. The third file contains letters from the Office of Works about legation and consular buildings and their upkeep. The remaining files, except for the sixth, are chiefly from subordinates. The fourth is from J.H. Gubbins, the Japanese secretary, and shows what kind of work he was engaged in, chiefly the monitoring of Japanese newspapers. The fifth file contains various letters from Tokyo legation staff, the sixth some of Satow's own memoranda, and the last four contain letters from consuls and consular staff at the treaty ports of Hakodate, Kobe and Nagasaki.

All and any errors in transcription are apologised for in advance.

Ian Ruxton
September, 2005

By the same author:

- *The Diaries and Letters of Sir Ernest Mason Satow (1843-1929), a Scholar-Diplomat in East Asia* (Edwin Mellen Press, 1998) selected and edited by I. Ruxton, available on amazon.com and [translated into Japanese](#) as *A-nesuto Satō no Shōgai*. This is an overview of Satow's life.
- *The Diaries of Sir Ernest Satow, British Minister in Tokyo (1895-1900): A Diplomat Returns to Japan* ([Edition Synapse](#), Tokyo, 2003), edited by I. Ruxton. These are the unabridged diaries for Satow's period as Minister in Tokyo.

Satow Papers: PRO 30/33 5/1

Correspondence and Papers (private). Japanese Mission. Foreign Office (official).

(June 1895)

1. Foreign Secretary Lord Kimberley's letter of appointment to Sir E.M. Satow K.C.M.G.

Foreign Office,

June 1, 1895

Sir,

I have to inform you that the Queen [Victoria] has been graciously pleased to appoint you to be Her Majesty's Envoy Extraordinary, Minister Plenipotentiary and Consul-General in Japan and to assign to you in that capacity a Salary of four thousand Pounds [Margin: £4,000] a year.

I have to add that a further Sum of One thousand four hundred Pounds will be issued to you as an Outfit Allowance.

I am, with great truth and regard,

Sir,

Your most obedient humble Servant,

Kimberley

2. Kimberley to Satow [very faded, barely legible]

Foreign Office,

June 25, 1895

Sir,

The Queen having been graciously pleased to select you to be Her Majesty's Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary at Tokio, I transmit to you herewith a letter which Her Majesty has addressed to the Emperor of Japan accrediting you in that character, and I am to desire that you will deliver the letter in the usual form.

A copy of your letter of introduction is also enclosed.

I am, with great truth and regard,

Your most obedient humble Servant,

Kimberley

Satow Papers: PRO 30/33 5/2

Correspondence and Papers (private). Japanese Mission. Foreign Office (official).

(Sept 1895 – June 1900)

1. Assistant Under Secretary F. H. Villiers to Satow's predecessor as Minister, Hon. P.H. Le Poer Trench

Private

Jan 25, '95

My dear Trench,

Pressure of work has, I am sorry to say, caused much delay in dealing with your despatches Nos. 27 and 28 Consular of last year.

Your recommendation that Student Interpreters, when Acting Assistants, should be considered qualified for the Interpreter's Allowances has, however, been carefully considered.

On the whole the Authorities are of opinion that it would be undesirable to alter the present rule. There are only 3 Students ¹ and the length of service, according to your computation, preceding promotion has varied from less than 2 to more than 6 years which even in the latter case is not a very formidable period.

The proposed change might also, it is feared, result sometimes in hardship where one of the 3 Assistants not in receipt of an allowance should, from causes beyond his control, have been unable to qualify as soon as one of the Students. [First Class Assistant at Yokohama Raymond de B.M.] Layard and [E.M.] Hobart-Hampden is a case in point.

The present system, however, seems to afford the best inducement to the Students to keep up the Study of the language, until they become Assistants, and similarly to the 3 Assistants in waiting for a vacant allowance.

Another point is that if the change were made in Japan it wd. [would] probably also have to be introduced into China where no such alteration has been suggested and where in a larger or more scattered Service, the difficulties which it might cause wd. be more likely to occur.

Beyond this it is proposed to lay down the rule that a certificate of qualification for an Interpreter's allowance can only be obtained by an Actual Assistant, i.e. men will not be allowed to pass the examination until they are Assistants.

Before, however, making this regulation we want to have your opinion privately.

Yrs very truly

F. H. Villiers ²

¹ In 1895 these were Ernest M. Hobart-Hampden (Tokyo); John B. Rentiers and Harold G. Parlett (Yokohama). (F.O. List, quoted in M. Kuwata, Bulletin of Kobe International University, 1995, p. 153).

² Rt. Hon. Sir Francis Hyde Villiers (1852-1925). Entered F.O. 1870. Asst. Under Secretary for Foreign Affairs, 1896-1905.

2. Wylde to Satow

Sept. 17, 1895

Dear Satow,

Your No. 236 re [military attaché to Tokyo Legation Capt. Noel] du Boulay's despatches. We do not print them but send them in orig[ina]l to War Office. We have asked for copies and W.O. have promised them.

Yrs truly

G.W.[?] Wylde

3. Foreign secretary (& prime minister) Lord Salisbury to Satow

Private

Oct. 3, 1895

Dear Sir Ernest,

In your letter of August 15³ you ask me to give you "some directions as to what line you should take". Of course, at such a distance I can only do so in very general terms. My impression is that our strategic or military interests in Japan can easily be over-estimated. She may no doubt be of use in hindering Russia from getting an ice-free port. But how long would her obstruction be effective? Japan might hinder her getting access to it by water, but by the hypothesis the ice-free port, to be of any use to her must be accessible by land. What chance would Japan have of preventing her from taking the port in [the] rear, and even if Japan could do it – would she? Russia could always find some bribe in those seas for Japan: and it is very doubtful whether, as several powers are in greater or less proximity in those seas, the addition of another would be seriously to the injury of Japan. My impression is that the shrewder Japanese ministers will not be sorry to see enough Russian power in those latitudes to counterbalance the power of England.

I would not therefore thrust upon them any advice – or the hint of any naval or military cooperation [e.g. an alliance] either against Russia or China. But this will in no way hinder you from maintaining a most friendly attitude to the Japanese Government. The great advantage for which we should look in their [recent?] development, is undoubtedly improved trade; and if, as is sometimes thought, they can be used for obtaining greater facilities from the Chinese, the result would be very valuable. I think you should give great attention to the commercial part of your duties. In recent years the old doctrine of entire abstinence from any succour or support to particular English firms has become antiquated – especially in view of the action of the Germans. In our efforts to observe perfect neutrality as between competitors of our own nation we have given assistance to none of them. The Germans unfettered by any such scruples have pushed particular favourites. The net

³ See PRO 30/33 14/8 (Satow's letter book). Also I. Ruxton, *Diaries and Letters of Sir Ernest Mason Satow*, Edwin Mellen Press 1998, pp. 205-7.

result has been that the contracts have gone to Germany and not to England: and the fact that we have helped to disappoint all the English competitors with perfect impartiality is a very poor consolation. I am well aware that the German practice may lead to great abuses; and probably we could not ever go as far as they do in this policy. But while trying to be fair among various English rivals, it is of the highest importance to prevent contracts [e.g. for ships, armaments etc.] going to Germany which might go to England.

What you tell me about the apparent disinclination of the Japanese Government generally to cultivate our exclusive friendship, rather confirms the impression that in the end they will be convinced that it is in rather their interest to join with Russia and perhaps with France in cutting up China, than to exchange platonic assurances of affection with us. Of course you should watch carefully for any such symptoms and let me know of them. I do not know what motives we shall devise for operating on the Japanese: we must find them when the time comes if we can. But I am quite sure their conduct will not be biased, when the time for decision arrives, by any recollection of what we or Russia or France may have done for them or against them in the past.

Believe me,

Yours very truly

Salisbury⁴

4. Sir Arthur J. Bigge, private secretary to Queen Victoria, to Satow

Balmoral Castle [purchased for Queen Victoria by Prince Albert in 1852]

Octr. 5, 1895

Dear Sir Ernest,

The Queen and the Prince of Wales [later Edward VII] have both seen your letter of the 15th Augt. and are much gratified at the kind manner in which His Imperial Highness Prince Yosihito [the future Taishō Emperor]⁵ had alluded to his visit to England in 1893.

Yours very truly,

⁴ “The ambivalence of Satow’s position in Japan during 1895-1900, prior to the signing of the [Anglo-Japanese] alliance [in 1902], is evident from the fact that he could obtain no explicit instructions from London despite his own best efforts. All he ever received from Lord Salisbury was one personal letter phrased very much in generalities, four months after his arrival in Tokyo.” (N. Brailey, introduction to *The Diaries of Sir Ernest Satow, British Minister in Tokyo 1895-1900*, ed. I. Ruxton, Edition Synapse, 2003. Hereafter cited as “Ruxton, 2003” with page numbers.) This is the letter.

⁵ Emperor Taishō (1879-1926) reigned 1912-26. He was the third son of Emperor Meiji. Soon after birth he contracted what appeared to be meningitis. His health remained poor. Although he was deemed competent to ascend the throne in 1912, by 1919 he had become unable to perform basic state ceremonies. In 1921 Crown Prince Hirohito became regent (*sesshō* 摂政) for his father, and succeeded him in 1926.

Arthur Bigge

P.S. I hope that my brother commanding the [cruiser] “Pique” will have the pleasure of meeting you again.⁶ I heard from him a few days ago at Hong Kong.

5. H.G. Bergne to Satow

Oct 17, ‘95

My dear Satow,

We will publish the trade statistics of Mr. [Joseph Henry] Longford [then Vice-Consul, Tokyo] in our Foreign Office Series. It seems quite suitable for the purpose – and then there is no need to hand it over to the B. [Board] of Trade.

I’m sorry to hear you don’t like the climate of Japan – but suppose it is only unpleasant during a short period of the year, as I have always thought it was a good climate on the whole.

Nothing stirring here in the way of news.

By the way it would be a good thing if you could by any means get protection for British Trade Marks in Japan before the new Treaty comes into force.⁷ It is a measure of honesty which ought not to be delayed.

Yrs ever

H.G. Bergne

6. E.W. Wylde to Satow

[Answered 9 March 1896]

January 29, 1896

Dear Satow,

I have been asked by Sir G. Dallas – in whose hands the matter is placed – to tell you that [F.O. Librarian Sir Edward] Hertslet [1824-1902]⁸ is retiring almost immediately and that the Office are giving him a testimonial. It is thought that some of his many friends in the Diplomatic Service might wish to join in it.

⁶ Satow met Henry C. Bigge on March 16, 1896 and several times thereafter. (Diary, Ruxton, 2003, p. 75 et seq.)

⁷ The Anglo-Japanese Treaty of Commerce and Navigation was signed in London on July 16, 1894 by Lord Kimberley and Aoki Shūzō. It abolished extraterritoriality for British subjects with effect from July 17, 1899. (See I. Ruxton ‘The Ending of Extraterritoriality in Japan’ in *Turning Points in Japanese History*, ed. Bert Edstrom, Japan Library, 2002, Chapter 7, pp.84-101).

⁸ Edward Hertslet was son of Lewis Hertslet, Librarian at the F.O. 1810-57. “Of Swiss/Lombard origin, the Hertslets made the management of Foreign Office records virtually a family business. Brothers, nephews and sons were employed, and the Librarian’s Department, which had custody of correspondence and treaties, became the Office’s collective memory, providing detailed information and guidance on the major international issues of the day.”

(Source: <http://www.diplomacy.edu/Books/knowledge/Hamilton.htm> Accessed April 18, 2005)

Would you communicate this to [Gerard A.] Lowther.

We quite agreed with you about the Formosa Consuls and would have replied earlier only business pressed. I hope that before this reaches you you will have arranged matters with [W.] Beauclerk.

We are also stirring in the matter of your military attaché.

Yours truly

Everest [?] W. Wylde

[P.S.] Please remember me to Lowther and [John H.] Gubbins.

7. H.G. Bergne to Satow

[Recd. March 19]

Jan. 30 '96

My dear Satow,

I should think it would be satisfactory if Japan could join the Int. [International] Convention of 1883 for the Protection of Industrial Property. I presume, however, that until extraterritorial jurisdiction is abolished they could only do so in regard to infringements by Japanese Subjects. But in any action on the subject which they could contemplate, the same remark would apply till the new Treaties come into force. Therefore for the present, in some points of view, perhaps the extension to foreigners of the protection granted by Japanese law to Japanese Subjects only, against infringement by Japanese Subjects – would seem preferable – leaving infringements by foreigners to be dealt with by the Consular Courts till the new Treaties come into force – when the whole matter could be dealt with by the Japanese law – and by Japan joining the Union.

As to the question of a Comm[ercial] attaché, I understand from the American Depn [deputation ?] who have the matter in hand – that Mr. Brennan's mission ⁹ is intended for the present to take the place of any such appointment.

By the time you get this you will have heard that your suggestions as to Consuls in Formosa have been approved. I am glad you like Japan and find the climate pretty good now.

Yrs sincerely

H.G. Bergne

8. William E. Davidson (law officer) to Satow

Private [Ans. May 7, '96]

March 12, '96

⁹ Byron Brennan ? He was instructed to visit officially the principal Treaty Ports of China, Japan and Korea to report on British trade, November 22, 1895.

My dear Satow,

The claims arising out of the bombardment of Takow [in South Formosa] have been referred to me and you will gather my general opinion from the despatch in which it is briefly embodied and which will reach you with this letter.

There seems to be ample evidence of looting and wanton destruction of British property by the Japanese sailors, and wherever this can be brought home in individual cases I do not doubt that the Japanese government will pay an indemnity.¹⁰

I don't see how they can be expected to replace, or indeed how they can replace, Dr. Myers' barometers and rain gauges "in statu quo" and he would in my opinion have been better advised had he made a moderate monetary claim in the first instance in respect of the damage done to them.

There are one or two slight amounts claimed for damage done by shot and shell during the bombardment itself: these claims are in my opinion not tenable unless it can be established beyond all doubt that the Japanese were wilfully and deliberately firing a property which they knew to be that of neutrals and also to be unoccupied by the forces of their enemy [the Chinese], whether for purposes of offence or defence or for protection and shelter – or otherwise. I am sure these items of claim which are insignificant in amount had better be dropped.

It is of course otherwise in regard to the great proportion of the cases of damage done to the fabric and furniture of the houses in which the Japanese sailors wantonly smashed and destroyed (apparently for the mere pleasure of destruction) long after hostilities were over.

If the matter can be settled in a friendly and informal manner between the Japanese Govt. and yourself (as I believe it can be) so much the better. If not then we must consider the propriety of making a formal official demand and before we do this we shall in ordinary course consult the L.O. [Law Officers of the Crown].

I want to say to you privately that the way in which the long enclosure to your despatch was put together by the Consul at least doubled the amount of time and labour necessary to deal thoroughly with the case. There are 73 or 74 pages of writing – none of the sheets were paged or numbered – and I had therefore to do this for myself for purposes of reference before I began. Sometimes both sides of the sheets were written upon – sometimes only one side. Half sheets of foolscap and whole sheets of foolscap – ruled paper and plain paper were indiscriminately used, and it was extremely difficult after going through the enclosure – as I endeavoured to do pretty carefully – to be quite sure that one hadn't missed one or two minor points.

I don't mind saying this to you because you know that I have a pretty considerable amount of work to do here and that you will give me the credit of being desirous so to do it as to be of the best assistance I can to my colleagues and will appreciate that it is difficult for me to give any individual case the attention which it

¹⁰ 8,000 yen was paid by the Japanese Government. See PRO 30/33 5/11, Longford to Satow no. 20.

merits if it comes to me altogether in this state. As a matter of fact when I went through this long enclosure the little circles of paper [chads] which had been punched out to provide holes for the green attaching ribbon to run through fell out of the sheets as I opened them !

By the way the Consul seems to maintain that the Japanese sailors had no right to enter any land over which the British red ensign is flying – this is of course putting the thing much too high. But I know that you are not likely to advance any claim of this kind with regard to the residences of neutrals holding no diplomatic or consular rank which are situated in the town of one belligerent bombarded by the fleet of the other belligerent.

With kindest regards and all good wishes, Believe me,

Yours always

W.E. Davidson

9. Francis L. Bertie to Satow

Sept 1, 1896

My dear Satow,

What is your view as to Troup's arguments in favour of his being made a Consul General. There are cases where there is a Consul General notwithstanding the existence of the superintending Consul General in the shape of the Minister. One example is Shanghai.

Yours sincerely

Francis Bertie ¹¹

10. Eric Barrington to Satow

Foreign Office,

Sept. 29, '96

My dear Satow,

Lord Salisbury was very sorry not to be able to comply with Mr. [John Harrington] Gubbins' ¹² request on your recommendation of him, but as soon as Soul was pronounced vacant it was also decided to appoint Mr.

¹¹ Francis Leveson Bertie (1844-1919) entered the F.O. in 1863. Head of the Asiatic Department, 1898-1902. Ambassador to Rome, 1903-05. Ambassador to Paris, 1905-18. (See I. Nish, *The Anglo-Japanese Alliance*, pp. 153-54.)

¹² John H. Gubbins was Japanese Secretary at Tokyo, 1889-1900. Employed at the F.O. from February to July 1894 in the negotiations which resulted in the Treaty signed on July 16, 1894. Was a British delegate on the Tariff Commission appointed to negotiate the supplementary Convention with Japan of July 16, 1895. Acting Chargé d'Affaires in Korea, May 1900 – November 1901. Given the local rank of Secretary of Legation in the Diplomatic Service, June 1902. Retired 1909. (See also I. Nish, 'John Harrington Gubbins 1852-1929' in *Britain & Japan: Biographical Portraits*, Vol. 2, Ch. 8, pp. 107-119.)

[John Newell] Jordan to it and Sir C. [Claude] Macdonald was so informed. The latter seemed to attach an importance to an immediate decision being arrived at and after consultation with [Sir Nicholas R.] O'Connor Mr. Jordan was affirmed. I only hope Mr. Gubbins whose great service we are all aware of will get something that suits him in the future.

Your letters are most interesting and you must not suppose they are not appreciated because you do not get answers from Lord Salisbury. At present H.M.G. seem to lie low as regards the Far Eastern Question, their attention being a good deal occupied by the eternal one nearer home of which no one has yet suggested any practical solution.

Yours very sincerely,

Eric Barrington¹³

[P.S.] Pray say something to Mr. Gubbins from me.

11. W.A. Cockerell to Satow

Private

October 2, 1896

My dear Satow,

I have just seen on my return from two months' leave your letter to me of the 17th of August. The purely Consular matters of Japan (and of course of China and Siam also) have been made over to the Consular Dept. and I therefore deal with them. I find that the questions to which you refer have been dealt with in our No. 31A Cons. of the 8th of August, which had not reached you at the date of your writing to me. A reply to your No. 57 Cons. of Aug. 17 is being drafted to the effect that the decision already made known to you must be adhered to.

Your letter to [F.L.] Bertie of the 20th Aug. has been passed to me in his absence. I am afraid that [Consul in Formosa Joseph H.] Longford will have to wait, for [Consul at Nagasaki J.J.] Quin has written to say that his health is improving, and that the Drs. have succoured [?] him in so far as the serious character of his ailment is concerned. He has to therefore be reckoned with. In great haste as I am overwhelmed with work.

Yours Sincerely

W. A. Cockerell

¹³ Barrington, Hon. Sir (Bernard) Eric (Edward), K.C.B. 1902. Born 1847, educated at Eton. Entered F.O. 1867. Private secretary to Lord Salisbury, 1878-80, 1887-92, 1895-1900; and to Lord Lansdowne, 1900-05. Retired 1907.

12. H. Foley to Satow

Oct. 13, 1896

Dear Sir Ernest,

Eric Barrington is away and I have therefore opened your letter of the 10th ultimo. There will of course be no objection whatever to your coming home next May for six months [for Queen Victoria's Diamond Jubilee], unless indeed the Japs. undertake another war !!

[Second secretary at Tokyo] Ralph Paget is here, but his thoughts always travel back to Japan and his first question is always whether there is any dreadful project for transferring him elsewhere !

Believe me, Sincerely yours,

Henry Foley

13. Cockerell to Satow

Private

March 16, 1897

My dear Satow,

I enclose copy of a Minute by [W.E.] Davidson, for your own private information, in fact Despatch No. 11 Cons. of Feb. 5 last, in regard to the Carew case ¹⁴; in order that you should not wonder why a formal approval had not been written.

We shall be sending you out the new Student, for whom we have obtained Treasury sanction, very shortly.
¹⁵

We are in the midst of political excitement between Crete and South Africa, though happily the Consular Dept. is outside the current, and is not harassed with constant telegrams and "fusses".

Yours very sincerely

W.A. Cockerell

Enclosure: Sir E. Satow No. 11 Cons. Feb 5, 1897

He [Satow] says he hopes what he did will meet with Lord Salisbury's approval and so I think it really will, but I am not sure that H.L. will consider it desirable formally to express his approval as in cases where a Minister is acting directly under his instructions.

¹⁴ Walter R. H. Carew was secretary of the Yokohama United Club. He was poisoned by his wife Edith and died on 22 October 1896. Preliminary hearings took place in the Yokohama consular court 11-19 November. The trial commenced on 5 January 1897 and ended on 1 February. Edith Carew was convicted and condemned to death, but Satow had this commuted to life imprisonment by virtue of an Imperial pardon for criminals proclaimed on 11 January 1897.

¹⁵ Edward L.S. Gordon was appointed Student Interpreter attached to the Tokyo legation on March 23, 1897 (Kuwata, 1995, p.158).

The exercise of the Prerogative of commutation was, in this case, vested by Order in Council in the Minister himself – he was not exercising that prerogative as representing the Secy. of State but absolutely on his own discretion and responsibility.

I do not think anyone will doubt that he exercised that discretion most wisely – and that he also made a most advantageous use of the act of clemency in connexion with “the funeral”¹⁶ which had been extended to all Japanese criminals then lying under death sentence by the Emperor of Japan. As the Carew murder was apparently a very vile one it is fortunate that so opportune a reason for a commutation presented itself, and that Sir E. Satow at once adopted it – for it might have been difficult to discover on the merits of the case itself any sufficient ground of mercy.

But as Sir E. Satow (quite correctly as it seems to me) abstained from asking for Lord Salisbury’s instructions by telegraph at the time, I think that there is no occasion to approve the exercise of his absolute and untrammelled [sic] discretion, through the formal official channel.

(signed) W.E.D.

14. Satow to Davidson

Copy

127 Mount St.,

June 9, 1897

My dear Davidson,

I return herewith the F.O. letter to the L.O. [Law Office] of Jan 21 and their reply of Feb. 10 about Troup’s position as Assistant Judge of the Court for Japan, with your minute.

It seems to be agreed that it would be undesirable to let it be known that Troup has not been hitherto appointed Asst. Judge.

If he is now appointed A.J. in the Commission conferring on him the rank of Consul-general, which will have to be sent to the Japanese F.O. for exequatur, [official and formal recognition of a consular appointment by a foreign government] will not the Japse. who are advised by that very acute American lawyer Mr. [Henry Willard] Denison¹⁷, notice the difference between this commission and his previous one as Consul ?

Also will they not perhaps imagine that we are asking practically for exequatur for him in the double

¹⁶ The Empress Dowager died on January 11, 1897. (Satow’s diary, Ruxton, 2003, p.151)

¹⁷ Henry Willard Denison (1846-1914). Came to Japan as a U.S. consular official. Adviser to Japanese government on treaty revision from 1880 (Meiji 13), engaged by then foreign minister Inoue Kaoru. Employed for 34 years as aide to each successive foreign minister. He was influential in the negotiations that led to the Anglo-Japanese Commercial Treaty of 1894; relations with Russia before and after the Russo-Japanese War (1904-05), and planning the Anglo-Japanese Alliance of 1902 and its subsequent revisions in 1905 and 1911. (Kodansha’s Illustrated Dictionary of Japan, p.279)

capacity of C.G. [Consul General] and A.J. [Assistant Judge] whereas they can only claim the right to grant or refuse exequatur to him as Consul-general.

If there were a warrant separate from the Commission no one outside the Legation and the Court would be aware that no Assistant Judge had ever been appointed.

y.v.t.

E.S.

15. Francis Campbell to Satow

June 21, '97

Dear Sir Ernest,

May we ask for your views on the 2 papers enclosed ?

As regards adhesion of Colonies to our 1894 Treaty you will see the Legal Adviser [W.E. Davidson ?] wishes to hear what you have to say before expressing an opinion.

2. As regards your Consular Convention draft, it appears the modification you wished to introduce would not square with English Law.

Yours very truly,

Francis Campbell

[P.S.] The Colonial Office have been guilty of fearful delay over the adhesion of the Colonies matter.

Memo [June ? 1897. In Satow's handwriting]

As to the position of Colonials in Japan whose govts. have declined to adhere to the Treaty of 1894, I am unable to say what the views of the Japanese Govt. may be. I have thought it inadvisable, by putting a question on this point, to suggest that their position would be different from that of other British subjects.

It is my impression however that if the possessions named in Art. XIX do not adhere to the Treaty, the Japanese Govt. will regard such Colonials as possessing no rights under the Treaty.¹⁸ However, the Civil Code of Japan as at present worded, provides that foreigners shall have all the civil rights enjoyed by Japanese subjects, except such as are denied to them by legislation, e.g. the right to hold land in fee, the right to own and publish newspapers.

¹⁸ The foreign possessions of Her Britannic Majesty named in Article XIX as being excluded from the Treaty were: India, The Dominion of Canada, Newfoundland, The Cape, Natal, New South Wales, Victoria, Queensland, Tasmania, South Australia, Western Australia, New Zealand. "Provided always that the stipulations of the present Treaty shall be made applicable to any of the above-named Colonies or foreign possessions on whose behalf notice to that effect shall have been given to the Japanese Government by Her Britannic Majesty's Representative at Tokio within two years from the date of the exchange of ratifications of the present Treaty." (Louis G. Perez, *Japan Comes of Age*, Associated University Presses, 1999, p. 183)

With regard to tariff, an examination of the new Japanese General Tariff (see despp. from Tokio no. 64 of March 30 and 80 of April 23) with the conventional tariff negotiated in 1895 by Mr. [then Chargé d’Affaires & Legation Secretary Gerard A.] Lowther would show whether the Colonies would suffer in this respect by remaining outside the Treaty of 1894.

16. Cockerell to Satow & the latter’s reply

Private

July 5, 1897

My dear Satow,

We are not quite sure whether in the Despatch which I inclose you intend to say positively that you adhere to your original proposal to abolish the Tokio Vice Consulate and with it the District Court, notwithstanding [Judge for Japan at Yokohama R.A.] Mowat’s adverse opinion. We certainly think that you do, but we wish to make sure before proceeding in the matter. We shall, I make no doubt, accept your view.

I am submitting your private letter to me about the division of work between Judge and Assistant Judge to [William E.] Davidson. I may observe parenthetically that we have already approved [Hiram S.] Wilkinson’s acting appointment. Am I right in thinking that you have unofficially suggested Wilkinson’s appointment to the substantive post, subject to an understanding as to [Judge of Supreme Court for China and Japan Nicholas J.] Hannen’s succession ? I cannot find that the proposal has been put forward officially.

Yours very Sincerely,

W. A. Cockerell

Satow’s reply (copy noted on Cockerell’s letter)

127 Mount St.

6 July ‘97

My dear Cockerell,

I intended to suggest that my original proposal to abolish the Tokio V-C should be adopted notwithstanding Mowat’s objection, and [Consul-General at Yokohama James] Troup I know is of the same opinion as myself.

Abt. Wilkinson succeeding Mowat as Judge I wrote to Bertie privately only (Mar 11) as the matter had not come before me officially. I suggested at the same time that if Hannen retired about 1899 when the Court for Japan ceases to exist H.S.W. would be a fit man for the Judgeship at Shanghai.

Apropos of the abolition of the V.C. at Tokio, I should be very glad if [Arthur Hyde] Lay’s appointment as Acting Asst. Japse. Secretary could be changed to a substantive post as Asst. Japse. Sec. Then the number of First Assistants would be diminished by one.

Yours Truly, E.S.

17. F.H. Villiers to Satow & the latter's reply

Private

Oct 1, '97

My dear Satow,

We have had under consideration for some time certain changes in the examinations for Student Interpreterships in the Levant and Far East.

We had practically decided that the examinations for the two services should be assimilated, when a Memorandum arrived from [Consul-General in Korea John N.] Jordan recommending the adoption of the system in force for the Civil Service of India and for Eastern Cadetships, the object being to attract University men.

Lord Salisbury, however, feels some doubt as to whether a University training is that best adapted to provide the class of man we want.

I shall be much obliged if you will look through the collection of printed papers which I enclose and help us with an opinion derived from your experience in Japan.

Yours Sincerely,

F.H. Villiers

Satow's reply:

My experience in Japan and Siam leads me to think there is every reason to be satisfied with the class of men we have obtained in Japan and Siam. I have not observed that any difference in capacity is to be traced to an Irish or Scotch University degree or that any marked advantage is derived from a partial training at Oxford or Cambridge. The most able of our Consuls in Japan has no academical degree whatever. One of the best scholars in Japanese whom we ever had, the late Mr. T.R.H. McClatchie joined the service just after leaving school. ¹⁹ Of two who joined about 8 years ago, one an Oxford graduate, the other almost directly from a small school it would be difficult to say which is likely to be the more useful public servant, both being a good deal better than the average.

The only alterations that I should like to see made in the Draft regulations on p.4 of the draft is that (1) the upper limit of age should be lowered to 22, and (2) that Latin, French and German should be made obligatory, Latin as a foundation of scholarship, the other two languages because they are of practical utility in Japan. Italian would be of no use in the Far East and might be excluded I think in the case of students intended for

¹⁹ Thomas Russell Hillier McClatchie, appointed Student Interpreter in Japan, 1870. Appointed Registrar of the Japan Court, October 1883. Acting Consul at Yokohama September-November 1883, and September 1884. Died at or near Penang, February 23, 1886. (Kuwata, 1996, p.91) A nephew of Sir Harry Parkes.

China, Japan and Siam.

(1) A man who passes as a student interpreter at the age of 24 has probably tried several things before and failed, he is already disposed to be discontented with his lot, and if he finds himself still a student interpreter at 28 or 30, as has sometimes happened, he becomes a confirmed grumbler.

The younger a student is, the easier he adapts himself to the rules of the Service. The man who succeeds in the competitive exam at the age of 19 is likely to be of better general ability than the other who gets in at say 23.

(2) Linguistic power is of the first importance, and a good colloquial knowledge of French and German would afford a fair test of capacity for acquiring colloquial Japanese. The classical scholar will not necessarily be good at colloquial, but he will probably be apt to acquire the Chinese written symbols, which the Japanese use in writing.

E.M.S.

18. Davidson to Satow

Foreign Office [date not clear]

My dear Satow,

In sending this back to me at your convenience you might perhaps allude to the point about the exequatur.

It will be well to have it on record though I think myself, as at present advised, that having regard to all the circs. and to the impending total surrender of our Consular jurisd'n [jurisdiction] in Japan, it is not important compared with the objection to giving Troup a separate warrant which I explained to you.

I am going down to the Attorney General in Surrey (Winterfold, Cranleigh, Surrey) till Wednesday after which I shall be back at the F.O. again.

Yours ever,

W.E. Davidson

P.S. Excuse a 'slip' and much haste herewith.

19. W.A. Cockerell to Satow

Private

March 31, 1898

My dear Satow,

I submitted to Bertie your letter to me of the 24th ultimo in regard to the rearrangement of the salaries of Yokohama, Kobe and Nagasaki, with the result that we sent you yesterday a "private" telegram asking you to keep the question of salaries open for the moment. We are however reluctant to apply to the Treasury for the

increase which you suggest owing to the very large drafts which have recently been made upon them in connection with the China Service. We think however that a readjustment of the salaries of the Posts named would perfectly meet your views. Bearing in mind what you say as to the increased importance of Kobe as compared with Yokohama, I had after consultation with Newman [?] suggested the following:

	Present salary	Proposed salary
Yokohama	£1000	£900
Kobe	900	950
Nagasaki	<u>850</u>	<u>900</u>
	£2750	£2750

Sanderson is of opinion that the simplest course will be to take £50 from Yokohama and add it to Nagasaki. The net result is the same, but I have no doubt that any proposals that you may submit will receive respect and consideration, promising always that they are unaccompanied by any demand for an increase in the Vote. Believe me, yours ever, W.A. Cockerell

20. Davidson to Satow

May 11th 1898

My dear Satow,

The Commissioners for Oaths Act 1889 (52 Vict. Cap 10) says (secn 6(1)) that ‘every Secretary of Embassy or Legation exercising his functions in any foreign country’ may administer an oath.

[Ralph S.] Paget, by the terms of his Commission as 2nd Secretary, to which rank he was promoted on January 24th 1895 was appointed to be “a Second Secretary of Embassy or of Legation in any of our Legations or Embassies abroad” etc etc.

It is quite clear, therefore, that he is a Secretary of Legation (though he does not yet belong to the highest sub-class of Secretaries of Legation, that of First Secretaries of Legation) and he is exercising his functions in the foreign country of Japan. He is clearly entitled to administer oaths under 52 Vict. Cap 10 in Japan which is the foreign country where he is at present authorised to perform his functions.

He is not of course entitled to administer oaths etc. in any other country than Japan so long as he remains 2nd Secy. at Tokio, and if he were placed ‘en disponibilité’ [on the reserve list] he would not, so long as he remained in that suspended condition of animation, be entitled to administer oaths etc. at all. For although he would still be a 2nd Secretary of Embassy or Legation in the Diplomatic Service he would not be authorised to perform his functions in any foreign country.

You were of course quite right in your view that Paget should have administered the oath and I have only gone into some detail in my answer because under the wording of the Commissions issued before 1892 the

point was not so clear. In consequence of a doubt which Sir J. Pauncefote expressed at Washington, and which I shared when the matter was referred to me. I got the wording of 2nd and 3rd Secretaries' Commissions altered so as to put the matter beyond any kind of doubt. The phraseology now employed was invented by me specially to meet the very point and to make it clear beyond all dispute that a 2nd or 3rd Secretary could administer an oath.

Ever yours,
W.E. Davidson

21. Bertie to Satow

Private

June 6, 1898

My dear Satow,

It is rather late in the day for Troup to raise the question of remuneration to him for work done on the Tariff Commission in 1895. Nevertheless we will go into the matter if we can trace the precedent which you quote viz that of Sir N. Hannen in 1887 who, you believe, got £300 or £400 for Treaty Revision labours.²⁰ We cannot find anything about such a gratuity in the Chief Clerk's Books. Can you help us by giving the date of the F.O. authority for the payment.

Yours very truly
Francis Bertie

22. Barrington to Satow

July 15, '98

My dear Satow,

Sir C. Mitchell Governor of the Straits Settlements called the other day, and talked a great deal of your kindness to him when staying at Tokio²¹ and of the marked courtesy with which he was treated by the Emperor of Japan. He wanted you to be authorized to tell the Japanese Govt. officially that the reception accorded to him was much appreciated by H.M.G. Lord Salisbury thinks this is unnecessary and would be unusual, but suggests you should take some opportunity of unofficially mentioning the fact that H.M.G. had heard of the Emperor's kindness and were pleased.

²⁰ Hannen was one of the British delegates to the conference at Tokyo for the revision of treaties, from December 1886 to July 1887. (Kuwata, 1996, p. 78)

²¹ Sir Charles and Lady Mitchell arrived after midnight on April 23, 1898 (Satow's diary, Ruxton, 2003, p. 270). Satow mentioned the above letter to Komura Jutaro at the Japanese F.O. on August 16, 1898 (Ruxton, 2003, p.298).

Yrs very truly
Eric Barrington

23. Barrington to Satow

July 15, 1898

My dear Satow,

Your letter of May 24 as to Gubbins's position. I do not think the Authorities are disposed to reverse the decision arrived at in the F.O. desp[atch] No. 2 Consular of Feb 13, 1890 to [then Minister Mr. Hugh] Fraser, where it was laid down that the Dip[lomatic] rank was [a] rank [which] was given to him personally, and that he should come after the 2nd Secretary but before a 3rd Secretary.

Yrs very truly,
Eric Barrington

24. Martin Gosselin to Satow

F.O.

Aug. 25, '98

Dear Sir Ernest,

Your letter of the 28th ulto. to Mr. Bertie has been passed on to me., as I am for the present dealing with the Consular correspondence.

I am informed that you have already been made aware by telegraph that the crucial [?] appointments referred to you in your letter (Hakodate, Yokohama, Tamsui) have been made in accordance with your recommendations, the appointments to date from the 10th inst.

With regard to Hawaii, nothing is yet settled. Now that the U.S. have definitely annexed the group I suppose the post of Consul-General will be abolished – and the Consulate General reduced to a Consulate – at a reduced salary; but till it is decided what is to be done with Mr. Kenny ²² it is impossible to say anything definite as to Mr. [Ernest Alfred] Griffiths.

I will keep you informed as to what is being done. Until Lord Salisbury returns from [illegible – Contrexe Setle ?] nothing will be settled.

Believe me

²² William Joseph Kenny (1859-1910). Appointed student interpreter in Japan, 1880. Called to bar (Gray's Inn) 1896. Promoted to be Consul for Hakodate and Niigata, August 21, 1896 (did not proceed). Transferred to Tainan (Formosa), December 1896. Appointed Acting Consul-General at Honolulu, October 1897 and had charge of that post November 1897 – February 1899. Appointed Consul-General at Manila, May 1903. Retired June 1, 1908.

Yours truly
Martin Gosselin

25. F. Campbell to Satow²³

[Satow's note: Wrote to [J.C.] Hall 14 Feb. to put facts and judgment in his trade report.]

January 6, '99

My dear Satow,

We are telegraphing to you today about the forgery by a Jap. of Wills' cigarette labels. The enclosed letter from Mr. W. Wills (M.P. for Bristol) explains a further request viz that mention of the matter [be made] in a Consular Trade Report.

We have at last got off a reference to the Law Officers on your request for instructions as to position of non-acceding Colonies when the new Treaties come into force.

The difficulty was supposing the right of the Japs to discriminate to be allowed, what is the amount and nature of such discrimination which you could allow and beyond which you should protest, and what should be the test or criterion of disability. "Residence" "domicile" both seemed open to objection. However as we have now fixed it up I think we are bound to get a report which will be of use to you.

Your last mail (recd. Monday Jan 2nd) was rather a caution. We will try to get the information you want in re Insurance Cos. and Navigation Cos. but you must not expect it immediately !

Yours very truly,
Francis Campbell

Enclosure: Eastcourt, S. Laurence-on-Sea, Ramsgate

5th August 1899

Dear Mr. Campbell,

Let me thank you for your kind attention to my request. I wrote last evening to Mr. Broderick and suggested exactly what your note conveys. Still I should very much like the case mentioned in the next Consular Trade report from Japan if possible.

Yours faithfully,
Wm. H. Wills

26. W.E. Davidson to Satow

Private [Answered 16/3/99]

January 16, 1899

²³ Satow's answer to this letter is in PRO 30/33 14/10, item no. 52, dated February 14, 1899.

My dear Satow,

Many thanks for your letter of December 1st last, and for the seven ivory carvings of small groups or figures which reached me “per bag” at the same time.²⁴ I think they are beautifully done and I am sure that having regard to the excellence of the work they are by no means dear. I have calculated up the value of Yen 58.50 to be about 119 s[hillings]/7d [pence] or say £6.00 for which I enclose a cheque but if this isn’t right pray let me know as I am not strong on rates of exchange. If it doesn’t bore you and you would keep on the look-out to the extent of £10 or £15 when any really good opportunity arises I should be much obliged. I prefer the larger netsukes. I know of course that the small ones with their microscopic finish represent a higher degree of carving skill. Having however thanks to you now obtained several good specimens of the smaller type I should like – unless of course some small group turns up which you consider a quite out of the way “occasion” [bargain] to confine myself to the larger sort i.e. 2½ to 3 inches or so – such as the large netsuke of manzai [?] dancers which you sent me the other day. If you should happen to come across [] of other bronze birds in the style of the Japanese pigeons which you sent me about 10 months [?] ago and which have been much admired I would like to have them.

I had delayed writing to you until I should have gone through such of your despatches as concern “department” (in other words myself) of which the principal was that which contained Wilkinson’s memorandum on the domicil question. Like all his memoranda it displays great industry and care but, between ourselves, I don’t think that any of his suggestions are of much practical value.

The idea of separate legislation in respect of the domicil of British subjects in Japan, in a sense contrary to the English law with regard to domicil generally, is to my mind altogether untenable; while even if we did so legislate this wouldn’t affect the Japanese law of domicil which, as soon as our extraterritorial jurisdiction ceases, will govern the domiciliary status of British subjects in Japan for the purposes of such matters as are within the purview of the Japanese courts. If the law of domicil in one country differs from the law of domicil in another there must of course from time to time be a conflict of law. But this does not usually lead to any serious complication in practice as each court deals with such matters as are within its competence, and also within its practical grasp, according to its own law. Even in the United States of America where every state of the Federation is in such matters a law unto itself – and a man may consequently be a married man in one state, a divorced person in another and a bigamist in a third, and I daresay all sorts of other things in a fourth and fifth – these little difficulties somehow “soluater [?] ambulando”.

Although the Domicile Act of 1861 has been in force now nearly 40 years there has never yet been a Convention concluded under it ! With best wishes to you for a most prosperous year in 1899.

Ever yours truly,

²⁴ Satow hunted for curios for Davidson on December 18, 1897. (Diary, Ruxton, 2003, p.225)

W.E. Davidson

27. F. Campbell to Satow

Feb 9, '99

My dear Satow,

We ought to have got off to you tonight the instructions to you founded on the Law Officers' Report in re position of non-acceding Colonies and Colonists under the new Treaty, but I'm afraid we shall not now be able to do so.

So I send this line as you may like to know what they will be.

The L.O. opinion is that the Colonies, i.e. goods the manufacture or produce of non-adhering Colonies, may be discriminated against, but not persons. A Victorian, or a West Australian is a British subject wherever he may be "residing" or "domiciled" and is entitled to the benefits of the new Treaty. No discrimination is practically possible, they bowl over all our suggested tests, such as residence, domicil, and also Farnall's – that persons should be treated like goods ! and regarded, quā Japan Treaty, as if their Colony did not form part of the British Empire, but was an independent Country not having a Treaty with Japan.

Lord S [Salisbury] has approved of your being instructed in the sense of the L.O. Report without modification, so that you can rely on the above as being the instructions you will receive.

Your No. 204 is a great relief (Shipping and Insurance Cos.). We are awaiting a statement from the Treasury as to what is done here, but when we get it probably it will only be necessary to approve your view and action seeing that the Japanese do not intend to go beyond their Treaty rights.

Yrs very truly, Francis Campbell

28. Gosselin to Satow

F.O.

Apr. 25 '99

Dear Sir Ernest Satow,

I have been away for a few days holiday – so have not acknowledged till now the receipt of your letter of the 22 Feb. re proposed arrangements of Consular Staff.

We have had a tabular statement prepared, showing the exact financial effect of the proposed changes, and are sending it in to the Treasury for their information.

I tell you this lest you should think the matter had been overlooked. I may add that the work at the F.O. has been rearranged, and the Consular Dept. has gone back to Villiers. I getting instead the Commercial [?] Dept. A real case of 'out of the frying pan into the fire'!

Yours very truly

Martin Gosselin

29. Villiers to Satow

May 14/99

My dear Satow,

Your letter of March 3 was handed to me by [Sir Thomas] Sanderson.

There are no fixed rules as to Court mourning. On the death of Royal Personages the Queen's pleasure [?] is taken, and H.M. [Her Majesty] issues orders, after considering the circumstances of each case.

Thinking, however, that you would wish to give Baron Sannomiya ²⁵ a definite answer, I asked Bigge to submit the matter on the Queen's return from abroad. I have just heard from him that H.M. approves of 3 weeks Court mourning in the case of the death of the Emperor of Japan.

Yours very truly,

F.H. Villiers

30. Gosselin to Satow

F.O.

May 26 [?], '99

Dear Sir Ernest Satow,

I duly received the other day the duplicate copy of your letter of January last, respecting the new instructions to Consuls in Japan, and I have drawn the attention of the Consular department to your suggestion that the 'Instructions' should be issued as from the Secretary of State.

I have now given up the Consular Dept. and have received in exchange the Commercial business – "out of the frying pan – into the fire"!

Mr. Villiers has now the Consular work in his charge.

Believe me,

Yours very truly,

Martin Gosselin

31. F. Campbell to Satow

June 1, 99

²⁵ Sannomiya Yoshitane (1844-1905). Grand Master of Ceremonies (shikibuchōkan) of the Imperial Household. He was married to an English lady, Alatheia Yaeno. (see Ch. 33, *Britain & Japan: Biographical Portraits* Vol. IV by N. Koyama).

My dear Satow,

Many thanks for yours of Feb.14 which I ought to have ackd. [acknowledged] before this, but when it reached me I was away on sick leave, having broken down from overwork. The Dept. had become impossible owing to the stress [?] of the China work. However this was a blessing in disguise as America (we did the whole of S. and Central) has been taken away and constituted a separate Dept. so [?] we got another Senior Clerk and 2 new juniors out of the Treasury. We (China dept.) now deal with China, Japan & Siam only, which is quite enough. Larcom [?] got his promotion by it, and is now head of the American Dept.

Thanks for what you did about Messrs. Wills and the forgery of the cigarette label. We informed Sir W. Wills (MP for Bristol and I suppose head of the firm) who duly expressed his gratitude.

We were, I know, a terrible long time in sending you any instructions about the taxation of the Shipping and Insurance Cos. under the Business Tax Law, but I thought (or wd. have written to you about it) that you wd. see in the Confidential Print what we were doing.

The Companies did write here to us (as you will also have seen) and we put them off by telling them what you had done; and saying that the matter was under consideration. In this instance we could hardly say we had called on you to report, as you advised, as we had received your reports. But when we get these sorts of conundrums this is the course we almost always do pursue. It is the simplest for us, and you may therefore depend on its continuance !

We got your two mails, including duplicate of that lost in "Labrador" on the same day as a large China mail, and the experience was really painful.

We hear very poor accounts of [Sir Claude M.] MacDonald now at Milan. I do hope he will be able to return to Peking but it seems rather doubtful.

Yrs very truly

Francis Campbell

32. Campbell to Satow

June 10, 99

My dear Satow,

I am very glad you wrote to me about your No. 153 of Sep 30 (memo comparing the revised Treaties for Consuls).

We had it printed as you suggested at once, but by some unaccountable lapse all the copies were put by in the cupboard, instead of being sent out to you, and might have remained there till doomsday.

We are sending you 50 copies by this bag.

The Japs appear to be making a lot of unnecessary difficulty about the protocol for the accession of India.

Yrs very truly
Francis Campbell

33. Foley to Satow

June 28/99

My dear Satow,

You will have heard before this letter reaches you of [Eric] Barrington's somewhat serious illness which will put him out of action for some considerable time to come. Mr. Madden has already been placed in Lord Salisbury's list of Candidates for Consular Employment, with special reference to Morocco. The reports we receive of him are very good. The question is whether we can find a billet for him. But in any case I will take care that he is not forgotten, and that Lord Salisbury is made aware of your good opinion of him.

Sincerely,
Henry Foley

34. Campbell to Satow

June 30, '99

Dear Satow,

Your desp. No. 91 of May 13. Japanese Income Tax Law.

Our Librarian observes: "I observe that no date is given to the Law in the translation, although it is stated in a footnote on p.10 that it takes effect retrospectively from Jan 1, '99.

It would be desirable in view of its probable publication in State Papers etc. to know what is the date of the Law, if it has one, or at any rate the date of its approval or promulgation."

Can you oblige ?

Yrs. very truly
Francis Campbell

35. George Fairholme to Satow

Foreign Office

Sept. 8, '99

Dear Sir Ernest Satow,

Sir T. Sanderson has asked me (as acting head of the Japan Dept.) to write to you about an unfortunate omission in connection with your despatch No. 51 of March 11.

On receiving it we at once wrote to the War Office proposing to reply that all proper facilities would gladly

be afforded to Colonel Mitsuomi when he visited England.

The War Office mislaid our letter and never answered it, and the consequence was that we never answered your despatch. The War Office have now found our letter. They will be happy to give all possible facilities to Colonel M. if he comes over.

Yours sincerely,
George Fairholme

36. Villiers to Satow

Sept. 25/99

My dear Satow,

I have informed Bigge, for the Queen, that the Emperor [Meiji] ²⁶ was much gratified on learning the honour which will be paid to his memory at the Queen's Court. I considered it more tactful to refrain from any mention of the reciprocal compliment.

There can be no objection here to your note to Baron Sannomiya being considered as official. You will of course judge whether the Min. for F.A. [Aoki Shūzō] is likely to make any difficulty. If so you might communicate officially with him, for the Baron's information.

Yours very truly
F.H. Villier

37. Villiers to Satow

[11 Dec. Wrote contents to Hall and Longford. E.S.]

Sept. 29/99

My dear Satow,

Various reasons have caused delay in my answer to your letter of June 30.

I am afraid that the grounds which you adduce would not suffice to obtain Treasury sanction for personal allowances to Messrs. Longford and Hall. The real justification for these allowances is the desirability in the interests of the public service of retaining an officer at a special post and thus depriving him of promotion to which he is entitled.

But the question of deductions from salaries of Consuls on leave has been under consideration for some time, and we have a scheme nearly ready, the result of which will be – if the Treasury agree – an advantage to Consuls of some 27%. This on the salaries of Messrs. L. and H. would be at the rate (during their leave time

²⁶ For a lengthy and comprehensive biography of Emperor Meiji see Donald Keene, *Emperor of Japan: Meiji and His World, 1852-1912* (Columbia University Press, 2002).

of course) of more than £100 a year.

There is another benefit for which we might ask on their behalf, [] they are coming away, namely, an increase in the amount of passage allowance taking into consideration the long period which has elapsed since they have taken leave.

At any rate we will do what we can, but we have to depend on the Treasury.

Yours very truly, F.H. Villiers

38. Gosselin to Satow

F.O.

Nov. 8, 99

Dear Sir Ernest Satow,

In Mr. Villiers' absence I opened your letter of Oct. 2. respecting Mr. Wilkinson – and the establishment of a Consulate at Shimonoseki, and as soon as Mr. Villiers returns, before the end of the month, he will deal with both questions which I gather are not, either of them, urgent.

Yours very truly, Martin Gosselin

39. Campbell to Satow

Nov 17, 99

Dear Satow,

I wanted to write to you by the last bag and now I can't remember what I wanted to say, so conclude it was of no great moment !

Now we hear from [Chargé d'affaires John Newell] Jordan [in Seoul] that he wants to come away on leave for 15 months from April 1 next, having only had 2 spells of leave in 24 years. There is no one there to take his place, and an approved minute of the Private Secretary states "Consult Sir E. Satow as to sending a Consul from Japan to take charge."

This despatch and minute has only just come back to the Dept. and as the hour for closing your bag has arrived, I have no time to get a despatch off by bag but will send one dated today by post.

But please accept this in the meantime as official (E. Barrington's minute having been approved by an Under Secy.) and telegraph whether you can arrange anything.

When Jordan's predecessor came away a Consul was sent from China²⁷, but Corea was then under China, and moreover on account of new ports opened MacDonald is now very short-handed, and has to send juniors to quite important places.

²⁷ Sir Claude MacDonald, residing at Beijing, was minister to Korea (1897-98).

The Law Officers were in doubt as to the Protocol and Treaty of 1894 being separate arrangements or one and indivisible, and before reporting the Attorney General wanted to confer personally with Bertie. Hence his telegraphing for your opinion. Farnall wrote a minute strongly in favour of separation and I wrote one in the opposite sense, both of which were sent to them with the papers.

Yrs very truly

Francis Campbell

40. Barrington to Satow

Foreign Office

Dec. 18/99

My dear Satow,

We have now heard from the W.O. of [military attaché at Tokyo] Col. [Arthur G.] Churchill's selection for Sth. Africa. I rather doubt their giving a more favourable reply to him than they have given to many other officers employed abroad who have made similar applications. If they ask us for the loan of him, it would be for them to decide whether a remplaçant [replacement] shd. be sent, temporarily or permanently. The appointment exists to gratify the W.O. and not the F.O. I am sure we should not wish to put a spoke in his wheel unnecessarily.

When Col. Iditti [Ijichi]²⁸ presented your letter I was ill. Then he was ill so that we did not meet until at last I asked him to dine with us. To my horror I found he cd. only speak German, but my wife and I were able to get on with him in that language, and Mrs. Francis Villiers who was on the other side of him also joined in. But why send a man here before he has learned English ? He seems a nice fellow but in very bad health. I wondered what an Englishman would feel at a party of nine Japanese !

Yrs. very truly

Eric Barrington

41. Campbell to Satow

Jan 12, [19]00

Dear Satow,

Bertie sent privately to Sir A. Godley at the India Office a copy of your letter to him about India and the Treaty [of 1894]. He asked that a copy should not be sent to India as you might not like that, but that the Govr. of India²⁹ might be given a hint as to your views on the subject. An answer has just come, saying that this will

²⁸ Satow was present at a farewell dinner on 6 February 1899 in Japan for Ijichi Kōsuke who was going to England as a military attaché. (Diary, Ruxton, 2003, p. 333)

²⁹ George Nathaniel Curzon was viceroy of India, 1898-1905.

be done and that they are writing unofficially to India.

I write this myself as Bertie is terribly overworked just now with the War ³⁰ - questions of contraband and the seizure of German steamers about which the German Govt. are making themselves as nasty as they know how, which is saying a good deal.

We have just heard that [General Sir Redvers] Buller has commenced his movement for the relief of Ladysmith and are in a fearful state of anxiety as to the result.

[John H.] Gubbins seemed very glad of the chance to take charge in Corea and we have got Jordan to postpone his departure till the middle of May, so G. will get a clear 3 months here before having to start. ³¹

Yrs very truly,

Francis Campbell

42. Villiers to Satow

Private Feb 6/00

My dear Satow,

I am sorry that we have had to worry you about the Court business, but various arrangements depend upon the close of work and consequent termination of salaries. We only want information though I may say privately that we shall be glad to see the doors shut. Winding up seems to take a very long time.

We are passing thro' a sad and anxious time, but there is no change in the public spirit, or in the almost unanimous determination that the War must be brought to a successful close. The Amendment to the Address is not in contradiction to this. The real meaning of it is, or at least the meaning of such men as Edward Grey ³², that a declaration in conformity with the general feeling was required from the Govt. That was given last night by Mr. [Joseph] Chamberlain. Let me also commend to your notice Ld. Rosebury's speech at Chatham. Evidence seems to be accumulating of the exhaustion of the Boers. It is not from this cause that one would have wished collapse but it will indeed be a mercy when this dreadful contest is over. The hostility to us abroad is intense, but hitherto the language of all foreign Govts. has been quite friendly.

Yrs very truly

F.H. Villiers

³⁰ The Anglo-Boer War, or South African War (October 11, 1899 – May 31, 1902).

³¹ Gubbins was Acting Chargé d'Affaires in Korea, May 1900 – November 1901.

³² Sir Edward Grey (1862-1933). From 1885 to 1916 he sat in the House of Commons. When the Liberal party divided over the South African War, he sided with the Liberal imperialists led by H.H. Asquith. Foreign secretary 1905-16.

43. Salisbury to Satow (very faint, copy of telegram handwritten by Satow in pencil ?)

“29 March, 1900. Peking is likely to be vacant soon, as Sir Claude MacDonald’s health cannot be relied on. I should be very glad to appoint you there, as I am sure I could not leave [it] in better hands. In that case MacDonald would not improbably take your place. Salisbury.”

44. Satow to Salisbury

“Greatly pleased at this mark of Your Lordship’s confidence, and accept. Would it be necessary to take up post at once, or can I go on leave as proposed ?”

45. Salisbury to Satow

“Private. Thanks for your private telegram yesterday. No objection to leave.”

46. Campbell to Satow (Note: Satow was on leave in England, May 31 – August 25, 1900).

June 11, 1900

Dear Satow,

We have received from the Colonial Office a further protest from the Hongkong Chamber of Commerce (dated April 28) against the Formosa duties on tea exported. They say the discriminating duty is still being levied.

The latest we have on the subject is our No. 9 to you of Jan 20 – of which a copy is annexed. Did you consider “the present moment inopportune” for further representation or was any action taken ?

We wd. like to know in order to frame our answer to C.O.

Yours very truly,

Francis Campbell

End of PRO 30/33 5/2.

Satow Papers: PRO 30/33 5/3

Correspondence and Papers (private). Japanese Mission. Office of Works.

(December 1895 – November 1899)

1. Satow to [F.J.] Marshall (Shanghai representative of the Office of Works) ³³

Private

Tokio,

December 11, 1895

Dear Mr. Marshall,

Just a line or two in addition to the official letter sending you a copy of a despatch to the F.O. recommending the employment of Mr. [Josiah] Conder ³⁴ to look after the public buildings here. I send you my despatch in order that you may tell the Chief Commissioner what you think of the proposal. Judging from the past correspondence wch. I have perused I am inclined to think it might be personally agreeable to yourself to be relieved of the immediate superintendence of works in Japan, and I am inclined to the opinion that the public interest would be promoted if there were a permanent Office of Works in this country. Of Mr. Conder's personal fitness you have no doubt had opportunities of judging (experience), and the terms on which he is willing to undertake the work do not seem to be unreasonable.

There is an alteration to the First Secretary's house which seems extremely desirable, namely the construction of a covered way on the south side of the backyard to the isolated bedroom. At present it can be reached only by passing through another room, which is very inconvenient to the occupant. I am thinking of making an official recommendation that this work should be undertaken.

From Kobe I have had another request for a grant of part of the consular site for a church ³⁵, but I have replied that the matter having received full consideration cannot now be re-opened. In my own opinion, it would be regrettable if the value of the property were diminished even by a sale of a small portion. Later on when it becomes necessary to rebuild, the funds required could I suppose be most easily be procured by a sale of the portion not needed for building on. I should like to say that it appears to me desirable at Kōbe that the consul's residence should if possible continue to be in the same block as the offices, and it is to be requested

³³ On the Office of Works, a separate government department to the Foreign Office, see *Embassies in the East* by J.E. Hoare (Curzon Press, 1999).

³⁴ Josiah Conder (1852-1920) was in Japan from 1877-1920. Often described as the Father of Japanese modern architecture. Taught at Imperial College of Engineering. See *Westerners in the Modernization of Japan* by Teijiro Muramatsu (Tokyo: Hitachi Co. Ltd. 1995). See also 'Josiah Conder (1852-1920) and Meiji architecture' by Dallas Finn, Ch. 5, *Britain and Japan 1859-1991: Themes and Personalities*, ed. Cortazzi and Daniels (London: Routledge, 1991).

³⁵ See Enslie to Satow, letter No. 8, 28 November 1895, PRO 30/33 5/8.

in the interest of the public convenience that the consuls at Yokohama and Nagasaki have obtained rent allowances, instead of occupying public buildings in a readily accessible part of the foreign settlement. If an opportunity presented itself I should be glad if the arrangement which prevailed in former times could be reverted to.

y.v.t.

E.S.

2. Marshall answers Satow

Shanghai, 16 Jan. 96

Dear Sir Ernest,

Thanks for your kind note of the 11 ulto., which would have been replied to earlier only that I've been ill, and in bed for a month with typhoid fever. I certainly thought years ago that at my age I was proof against any fever.

I'm sorry that I can't look upon your recommendation for the appointment of a local architect as a resident Asst. Surveyor in the same light as you do, for I believe it would have just the reverse effect of efficiency and economy in the public service to what you think.

Of Mr. Conder's fitness for such a post I have not of course the smallest doubt, and so far as I am concerned, personally, I should not regret parting with my official duties in Japan.

As to the covered way you suggest at the Sec'y's house, small as the outlay [expense] would be, it would require, as it is a "new work", authority [authorisation] from home before the outlay could be incurred. Moreover, as this particular portion of the building was altered by Mr. Mounsey ³⁶, many years ago and has since been adapted to meet the requirements of his successors, it is I think doubtful if the cost would be allowed. Should you make official application I will of course forward it to London.

At Kobe I do not think there is a chance of another residence being built for the Consul when the present one is taken down – the tendency is to have as few Govt. buildings as possible in Japan. In my official [despatch] on [Kobe consul] Mr. Enslie's application for a rent allowance I mentioned that I would remind the Board as to future arrangements. On further consideration I propose to wait to see if you have anything to say in regard to his non-occupation of his official quarters.

Believe me,

Yours sincerely

³⁶ Augustus Henry Mounsey was promoted to be Secretary at Yedo (Tokyo), February 10, 1876, and transferred to Athens, July 22, 1878. (Kuwata, 1996, p. 93). Mounsey was the author of *The Satsuma Rebellion* (London: John Murray, 1879).

F.J. Marshall ³⁷

3. Marshall to Satow

Private

Shanghai, 28 May/96

Dear Sir Ernest Satow,

I have received your note of the 19th as to the Consul's residence at Kobe. ³⁸ Considering that it has been shut up and unoccupied for several years past, it is not surprising there were so many dilapidations, for a house suffers far more in these circumstances.

But it is not now worth spending much money on, and so far as I can judge without a further examination, it may be best to do nothing more than patch up the structure until new Offices be built. The idea in London is to dispose of say half the lot and build offices only, and they need not be on an extensive scale, as when H.M. Consuls are relieved of judicial functions [when extraterritoriality ends in August 1899] no Court room will be required, and the staff may possibly be less.

I quite agree with you that the Consul should be required to reside in his official residence. Most of the troubles at Kobe have arisen in consequence of the Consul refusing to do so. And further, if some of these gentlemen would take a small interest in looking after petty repairs, and co-operate in the general public interest, none of these squabbles that occur now and then would arise.

I am leaving for Chemulpo [Inchon, Korea] where a new V. Consulate is to be built at once. At present it is not possible for me to fix the exact timing of my visit to Japan, but I will give you ample notice. The mail is closing. I will write separately as to Takow [in South Formosa]. ³⁹

Yours very sincerely,

F.J. Marshall

4. Marshall to Satow

[Recd. & ans. 21 June]

S.S. Satsuma Maru

11 June 1896

Dear Sir Ernest Satow,

³⁷ The signature seems to be 'F.J. Marshall' in this and subsequent letters. In the index of *Embassies in the East* it is listed as 'R.J. Marshall'.

³⁸ See Playfair to Satow, letters no. 25 and 26 (June 18 and 23, 1896) in PRO 30/33 5/8.

³⁹ See Longford to Satow, no. 8 (April 27, 1896) in PRO 30/33 5/11. "An official letter goes to you on the state of the house. I hope you will forward it to Marshall with a request that it may be attended to."

Your note of the 2nd reached me on the eve of my departure for Chemulpo, to which place I am now bound. As to building a Consulate at Twatutia or Taipei:-

The Consul in /91 made a representation to the same effect, suggesting that instead of rebuilding our Consulate at Hobe it should be erected in Twatutia. The question was referred to O.W. London when it was decided that as Hobe was the port, close to the Customs and shipping, where there must always be a Consular Officer, the Consul's house should be there, and it was suggested that possibly an Assistant could perform the duties at Twatutia.

Sir John Walsham [envoy to China, 1885-92] was of opinion that the house should be at Hobe, quite independently whether a Consulate would be eventually required elsewhere.

I think it would be a pity to dispose of our property at Hobe until it be seen how matters will shape themselves in the course of a year or two. The site is the best in the place on a hill (say 80 ft.). In addition to the residence is a splendid old Dutch Fort, with brick walls 6 ft. thick. The roof is casemated or arched over. This building is fitted for Offices, Gaol and Constable's Quarters. It is true the two latter may not be necessary in a few years time. There are some very fine banyan trees in the grounds, which are quite picturesque.

My opinion is that if an officer must reside at Hobe the property should not yet be sold, and that it would be better in the first place to hire, if practicable, a house in Twatutia.

This place is a more desirable one than Taipeh for a residence, for it is the home of the foreign merchants.

I consider the property at Hobe to be worth \$17,500 to \$20,000. A new Consulate at Twatutia or Taipeh would cost, exclusive of site, about the same amount.

You will have recd. my note I hope telling you of my intended visit to Japan: it will not come off till late in the autumn I fear, as just now there is a considerable pressure of work in China, and I expect to be retained in Corea till the middle of July.

The Asst. Jap. Secy's house is not in an actually dangerous condition I trust.

You are quite right as to the difficulty of compelling occupants keeping their gardens, grounds etc. in order: some think as the Govt. is their landlord they should not be called upon to pay a cent out of their own pockets for this or any other maintenance. I have for years suggested that the Regulations in regard to the care of the Govt. property should be revised and made much more stringent, so that H.M. Minister should have power to compel officers who neglect their duty to pay the cost of their neglect.

From the deep interest you take in these matters I feel sure we shall see a great improvement in the future and that officers will not be allowed with impunity to evade these duties. Kobe is undoubtedly an instance of what I am afraid is wilful neglect.

Believe me,

Very sincerely yours

F.J. Marshall

5. Marshall to Satow

S.S. Satsuma Maru at sea

9 July 1896

Dear Sir Ernest Satow,

I received your note of the 21st ulto. at Chemulpo, where I have just started the building of a new V. Consulate.

I am now on my way to S'hai via Nagasaki. If possible I would go on to Kobe at once, but some other important matters render it necessary for me to get back to China as early as possible. There is not much doubt but that Mr. Playfair will get a certificate for rent allowance, for the exterior of the Consul's house at Kobe is in such condition as to render it unfit for occupation. Whether the full amount of the dilapidation is due to ordinary wear and tear, or to neglect, is a question that will not I think affect that gentleman. And as to the interior, you have very properly if I may be allowed to say so, told him to call on [the late Consul] Mr. Ensle's executor to make good the repairs under Clause 22.

Apart from this I think it will be found that the building is not worth spending much money on. I propose being in Kobe during September, so that if the house can be again restored at a moderate cost, there will be time enough to have the repairs completed by the end of October when Mr. [J.C.] Hall is to arrive there.

Tamsui. If you recommend the building of a Consulate at Twatutia, or Taipeh, will you please send me a line officially to that effect, so that the project can be included in the estimates for 97/8, which I send home in August.

This is an untidy note written in a rolling ship. I hope you'll excuse it.

Yours sincerely,

F.J. Marshall

6. Marshall to Satow

Shanghai, 22nd July, 1896

Dear Sir Ernest Satow,

Your two despatches – one referring to the proposed additional two rooms at Takow – the other to the condition of the Asst. Japse. Secretary's house in the Legation, I have not replied to officially, as there seemed no special necessity for doing so in view of my early visit to Japan. If it be inconvenient for you to be in Tokio in September I can doubtless confer with you at Nikko or [any] other place you may be staying at. If possible, I shall remain but a few hours in Kobe on my way through.

Yours very sincerely,

F.J. Marshall

7. Marshall to Satow

[Recd. 21/8/96] Shanghai, 13/8/96

Dear Sir Ernest Satow,

If it be really expedient to give up our Consular site altogether at Tamsui (Hobe), then I consider the offer of \$56,000 for it a liberal one. I presume the Japanese would erect a Fort there as it commands the entrance to the harbour.

But before yielding this site we should be quite sure of one at Taipeh. It may be that a large sum might be demanded for it.

I am very sorry that I cannot be in Japan quite so soon as I anticipated owing to most pressing and important matters at Peking on which Sir C.M. [Claude MacDonald] urges me to go there at once, so I leave this [place] about 20th and may not reach Kobe before the middle or 20 Sept. This will not inconvenience you I hope.⁴⁰

Should you wish to write, a letter would find me c/o H.M. Consul Tientsin. You are fortunate in having such a lovely summer resort as Chiusenji.⁴¹

Yours very sincerely

F.J. Marshall

8. Marshall to Satow

Y'hama 2/9/96

Dear Sir Ernest,

I have arranged to meet you in Tokio on the 8th, having put in hand some small repairs to the Asst. Jap. Sec's house. Mr. [John H.] Gubbins has written to you his views as to the servants' quarters of his future residence. I am afraid I shall have to pass by Hakodate. Tomorrow I am going to Ikao [?] for a few days, and then return to Tokio.

Yours sincerely,

F.J. Marshall

9. Satow to [William] Cowan

⁴⁰ The word 'not' seems to have been added by Satow !

⁴¹ See Satow's Lake Chuzenji diary, PRO 30/33 17/16, reproduced in Ruxton, 2003, pp. 451-482.

Copy

Tokio

23 July 1898

Dear Mr. Cowan,

I am sorry that a misunderstanding has occurred about the gardeners' wages, but you will see from my official letter that our charging 22 yen for the gardener is justified by your own handwriting.

It is a small matter, but as you have put it on record officially, that we are, in your opinion, in error, I am obliged to reply to you officially that the mistake is not on our side.

If you can see your way to cancelling your official letter I will meet you halfway, but it must not remain on record that I have made an overcharge. It would be absurd to suppose such a thing possible when I am spending a hundredfold out of my own pocket on the gardens.

y.v.t.

E.S.

10. Cowan to Satow

H.M. Office of Works

Shanghai 1st Aug. 1898

Dear Sir Ernest,

Thanks for your private letter about the Gardners [sic] wages. My mistake about the sum agreed on – the 22 yen per month is correct as noted on paper left with Mr. Peacock ⁴² by me – signed and dated 31st May.

Sorry my official letter was sent, to give you further consideration of the matter. I took the figures in my note book, which have been altered in ink in a mysterious manner, over the pencil figures we agreed on, and [which] I noted at the time.

I send you herewith an official letter, which puts the mistake on my side, and I have written to London that Yen 22 is the correct amount, and not Yen 20 as formerly reported.

Please accept my apology for the mistake made, and regrets for the trouble given.

Yours faithfully,

William Cowan

⁴² Inspector Peter Peacock MVO (Member of the Royal Victorian Order), formerly of the Metropolitan Police, worked initially as a legation escort, and is mentioned in *A Diplomat in Japan* (p.359) as leading the procession from Chion-in temple to meet the Emperor in Kyoto in 1868. He joined the legation in 1867 and died age 67 in Tokyo in May 1906, 'still working for the embassy, though in later years as a clerical officer.' (J. E. Hoare, *Embassies in the East*, p.114).

11. Cowan to Satow

H.B.M. Office of Works,

Shanghai, 20th March 1899

Dear Sir Ernest,

When at Yokohama I duly examined the Consulate building to ascertain if it was practicable to lower the ceiling of the present Supreme Court Room so as to give more height to the ceiling of the two upper rooms, and I came to the conclusion, after seeing the large structural beams forming the floor of the upper rooms, and now secured to the inner wood framing of main walls, that it is not practicable to lower the floor, without destroying the stability of the building.

The ceiling of the two rooms over Court are 9 feet 8 inches high from floor. One room is now occupied for storing archives, and the other room by the assistant as a box room, with the bath room enclosed at one end of the room. It will always be necessary to have a store room for Archives, and a bath room for Assistants' Quarters and when used as stated the ceiling is high enough.

When the Supreme Court is abolished I propose to use the court room and the 2 rooms in the extension of the Consular Office, as shown in the accompanying plan.

Providing	Consul's Room	24'0" x 24'0"
	Vice Consul's office	18'3" x 16'2"
	Assistant's office	18'3" x 16'2"
	Waiting Room	18'3" x 16'2"
	Lobby & Shipping Office	26'0" x 24'0"
	Spare Room	18'3" x 16'2"
	Archive Room	24'0" x 22'0"
	Lavatory etc.	

The plan also shows an addition to [Acting Consul] Mr. Forster's house of two rooms on Ground floor. The Assistants' Qrs. [Quarters] remain the same as at present i.e. Bedroom, Sitting room, Box Room and Bathroom.

I also inspected Mr. [George] Hodges' ⁴³ House in Gaol Compound. This house is an old one, and the woodwork of verandah is decayed but can be repaired, the 6 rooms occupied are in fair condition. 4 bathrooms on verandahs are slightly constructed in wood.

⁴³ George Hodges, 'had joined with Peacock in 1867...and died in 1916'. (*Embassies in the East*, p. 114) Hodges was born in 1844. Member of the Metropolitan Police, London, from 1862 to 1867, and of the Legation Escort at Tokyo, 1867-73. Then transferred as Constable to the Yokohama Consulate. Acting Usher of the Court for Japan, 1879-86. Acting Chief Clerk, 1888-89. Shipping Clerk to Yokohama consulate, 1899. Retired in January 1914. Died at Yokohama, May 22, 1916. (Kuwata, 1996, p.80).

The house was originally planned for 2 officers, but as now occupied seems to exactly suit Mr. Hodges and his family, and he wishes to have no alteration. One set of servants' quarters are used as store rooms. I am of opinion that a new house with less accommodation would not suit the present occupants.

I recommend that the Compound should now be raised, and necessary repairs executed. Should the Old Gaol not be given up to Japanese for the accommodation of Foreigners, the building can be removed and space used for a Garden.

Yours very truly

W. Cowan

12. R.H. Boyce to Satow

Hong Kong Hotel

Hong Kong 1st April 1899

My dear Satow,

Today I got yours of the 2nd February with others sent down by [William] Cowan – very cheery and gratifying to read your letter – and needless to say I accept with the greatest delight.⁴⁴ I shall do all I can to arrange to stay as long as possible in Japan before crossing to America.

I have already been down to Pak Hoi and Hoi How [?] – and unless I have to run up to Shanghai to meet Sir Claude MacDonald I go up to Canton and West [] then up ports to Shanghai. I am afraid that I shall not be able to visit Anping or Takow as Hong Kong has declared them infested, but I shall do Tamsui. After Peking and Corea I come to you.

I daresay I shall find Japan wonderfully changed but so it is here – indeed Hong Kong as a Tropical Settlement is a credit to Englishmen – and Singapore is fast becoming ditto.

I shall keep you informed of my movements and should you want to write it is safest to [write] direct to the Office of Works Shanghai.

So sorry for the death of [H.S.] Wilkinson's wife.

Faithfully yours,

R.H. Boyce

13. Satow to Cowan

Copy

⁴⁴ R. H. Boyce of the Office of Works built the Tokyo legation compound in the 1870s. See *Embassies in the East*, p. 111-116. Satow visited him at his office in London (16 June 1897) and socially. Satow also invited Boyce to Lake Chuzenji, 6-14 August 1899 (Ruxton, 2003, pp. 475-76), which may well have been the invitation Boyce was accepting here.

Tokyo

20 April 1899

Dear Mr. Cowan

Mr. Hall has written to me about a sum of \$53.00 charged in his accounts for survey of the servants' quarters at the Kobe Consulate, the condition of which was not known until the repairs that had been ordered had been begun. I daresay there is no precedent for the Consul getting the opinion of an expert and that Mr. Hall should have written to you first, but I should be glad if you could see your way to recommending privately to the Office of Works to allow this item. On the whole it seems that the result of Mr. Hall's action in general, especially in not taking advantage of your authorisation to him to hire temporary Offices for the Consulate while the repairs were being executed, has been a saving of public money. I will make it clear to Mr. Hall that this sort of thing should not be done again.

y.v.t. (sd) Ernest Satow

14. Cowan replies to Satow

H.B.M. Office of Works

Shanghai, 27th April 1899

Dear Sir Ernest,

Replying to your letter with reference to the claim of Mr. J.C. Hall, of \$53.00 for the survey of the Servants' Quarters at the Kobe Consulate I have already reported fully on this question on two different occasions to my Board, forwarding copy of Mr. Hall's despatch on the subject, but at your desire I will detail the circumstances of the case to Mr. [R.H.] Boyce when he arrives in Shanghai and see whether he can recommend privately to the Board, to allow the item in my accounts.

I was obliged to authorize Mr. Hall to hire a temporary Office while the repairs were being done, to allow of the work being begun, as at the last moment when signing the Contract he protested that the noise would so disturb him, as to stop all work in his Office, but as I anticipated this did not require to be done.

Glad to know that you will make it clear to Mr. Hall that he should not do so again.

When last in Tokio, I refrained from mentioning to you the circumstances of this case, believing Mr. Hall would not pursue his claim.

Yours faithfully,

W. Cowan

15. Boyce to Satow

Shanghai

30th May '99

My dear Satow,

At last I have got up to this – arrived on the 28th and tonight I go up to Hankow and as far up as Ichang but not to Chung-King it would be too long – on my return I go up at once to Peking and Corea and then over to Japan. I have drafted out my reports on Takow, Anping, Tamsui and Twatutia. I shall send them over to you on my return in about ten or twelve days. I congratulate you on having two men in Formosa [W.J. Kenny and R. de B. M. Layard] who are not grumbling or fault-finding, and that keep their houses in proper order.

I am delighted to say that up to this the weather has been kind to me – and now that I have finished with the South I hope to escape really hot weather. I lost time, for I had to come up here to catch Sir Claude [MacDonald], and in order to discuss points with him. I went back in the German mail to H. Kong. I have hopes that he will be able to return [to his post at Peking] in November next.

My best wishes, faithfully yours, R.H. Boyce

16. Boyce to Satow

Sunday 25th June/99 [Shanghai ?]

My dear Satow,

I have been delayed by Steamers. It is only now that I am able to go to Peking. I leave this forenoon – shan't stop then over two or three days – then Corea, back here and over to Japan. I will write when I return and explain all proposed movements.

I am having copies made of my reports on the Formosan posts. W. Cowan will send them to you this week. They are: Tamsui, Twatutia, Kylung, Liuking, Takow & Anping. Kindly [act on ?] reports until I come. Very hot and muggy here, faithfully yours,

R.H. Boyce

[P.S.] It will be all [?] the middle of July before I can hope to get back here again. A few days here and then a day or two at Kobe will certainly bring it up to any date up to 29th.

17. Cowan to Satow

H.B.M. Office of Works

Shanghai, 29th June 1899

Dear Sir Ernest,

With reference to official correspondence for the renewal of Window Curtains for the ante room of your residence in Tokio in the year 95 and 96, you purchased "Art muslin" curtains for these windows in October 96 from Messrs. Lane, Crawford & Co., evidently after receiving sanction to do so from Mr. Marshall, but I

cannot find any official or private correspondence giving the sanction, and I should be glad if you could send me a copy of any correspondence on this point, or your remembrance of how it came about that you at length purchased same in Yokohama, instead of the curtains being sent from London as first proposed.

As you are aware "Muslin" curtains are mentioned in the Regulations as not to be supplied and after the lapse of more than 2 years since the purchase and repayment was made I am now sent the following minute from my Board:

"Mr. Cowan

An amount of \$46.85 in respect of the cost of renewing curtains at Tokio which was included in your account for January 1897 was disallowed by the Board. It is requested that you will debit yourself with this Sum in your next accounts.

Sgd. Reginald B. Brett

26th May 1899"

This question having been dealt with before I took over charge of the Office from Mr. Marshall, I do not see why I should be made responsible for amount.

If you have no record of the facts of this case, I am sure that Mr. Boyce who is now in China will remember the circumstances, and I will ask him on his return to Shanghai.

Sorry to trouble you with this business. I am, Yours faithfully,

W. Cowan

18. Cowan to Satow

H.B.M. Office of Works,
Shanghai, 17th July 1899

Dear Sir Ernest,

It is quite evident that Mr. Boyce's letter giving the implied sanction of the Board to purchase the curtains in Japan has [had ?] been overlooked when the memo I received was written.

I am obliged by your sending me copy of Mr. Boyce's letter, and I have no doubt when my Report is read by the Board the question will be settled.

Yours very truly

W. Cowan

19. Cowan to Satow

H.B.M. Office of Works
Shanghai, 18th July 1899

Dear Sir Ernest,

With reference to the June Quarter's a/cs for wages of Extra Gardeners 200 Days = Yen 100 at 50 Sen per day. This item is so much larger than usual, that I fear the Finance Department will question the payment of same, and I will be glad if you will kindly give me your explanation for this expenditure so that I might forward same with the accounts in support of repayment to you.

I note the returfing of the lawn in front of Secretary's Entrance, but if anything further was done I should be glad to know.

Yours very truly,

W. Cowan

20. Satow answers Cowan (copy of letter)

Legation,

Tokio

24 July 1899

Dear Mr. Cowan,

With reference to your question about the charge of Yen 100 in the June quarter's accounts for Extra gardeners. This charge arose mainly in consequence of our not having a machine to cut the grass lawns. We had been authorized to get one from Lane Crawford & Co. They had none in stock, and we could not borrow one. Consequently in preparing for the garden party wch. I gave on the Queen's birthday⁴⁵ all lawns had to be cut by hand, which is a slow process requiring a large number of labourers. All the shrubberies in like manner had to be trimmed for the occasion.

You will find the charge for Extra Gardeners very much less this quarter. I believe in the winter months it has been almost nil.

y.v.t. E.S.

21. Boyce to Satow

The Oriental Hotel, Yokohama

Wednesday Morning, 16th August/99

My dear Satow,

I got down splendidly, the journey [from Lake Chuzenji] was not at all bad. I ambled most of the way the road being good – so also the day, how fortunate ! I had lunch at the Hotel then made a call on the [Legation

⁴⁵ The party for Queen Victoria's 80th birthday was held at the Legation on May 24, 1899. (Ruxton, 2003, p. 361). It was a fine day and the party was 'well attended'.

Secretary James B.] Whiteheads and left [Nikko] by the one o'clock – but what a train – three changes – from three quarter to an hour at each so we did not get to Yokohama until 9.45. I am told here at the Hotel that no train comes from Nikko under nine hours. However, here I am safe and sound, packing up for Friday.

Incidentally speaking to [George] Hodges, and after to Wheeler ⁴⁶, I remarked how well Hodges looked. Wheeler then said that he had to send him away so many times for a change as he was living in one of the worst situations in Yokohama...not fit for any European. I, on the contrary, pointed out how long he had lived in the place and that on the whole it was as good as any back St. dwelling.

It occurs to me to tell you all this, for at any time Wheeler, or another medico, may condemn the place as a residence. I know these gentlemen and how easily a certificate for such a thing can be got. You know what I say in my report, that you wish it retained for a residence for the Shipping Clerk and I concur. Do you see any reason to modify this ?

Yesterday was rather hot, but as we had a small storm last night today promises better.

Your great kindness in having me to delightful Chiuzenji [August 6-14] causes me to leave Japan with much regret. I shall look forward to meeting you at home in excellent health. Goodbye.

Faithfully yours,

R.H. Boyce

P.S. May I ask you to express my regret that I did not see [the German minister] Count Leyden to say goodbye in the evening before I bid goodbye to the [Belgian minister] Baron and Baroness d'Anethan. ⁴⁷

22. Cowan to Satow

H.B.M. Office of Works

Shanghai, 20th Nov. 1889

Dear Sir Ernest,

With regard to the renewal of the Curtains to the Staircase window of your residence, the necessity for their being replaced was duly noted on my last visit to Tokio, and I expected your official application for same to include them in the annual estimates. But your usual yearly demand was made through Mr. Boyce this year and I have received no intimation from him of the different works he [?] proposed for Japan. However I noted

⁴⁶ Probably Edwin Wheeler (1840-1923). Former British naval doctor, and attached to legation. Worked at Japanese Ministry of Works (Kōbushō), then for many years head of Yokohama General Hospital (Nagaoka, Vol. 1, p.51).

⁴⁷ Baron Albert d'Anethan, the Belgian minister since 1894. With his wife, Baroness Eleanora Mary d'Anethan (a sister of the noted British novelist Sir Henry Rider Haggard) Satow's closest friend during this period. See G. A. Lensen, tr. and ed., *The d'Anethan Dispatches from Japan, 1894-1910*. (Florida: The Diplomatic Press, 1967). See also Baroness d'Anethan's *Fourteen Years of Diplomatic Life in Japan* (published in 1912).

this in my annual estimates submitted to London in September, and referred to Mr. Boyce for your requirements.

In the circumstances I would advise you making an official application for the renewal of the Curtains direct to the London Office (to save time) giving the height and width of the window, and the shade and description of material required.

I have replied officially regarding the construction of the Squash racket Court proposed to be erected on the Legation Compound. Formal sanction from the Board is a necessity. I presume however the Court is wanted for play during the winter, and as I see no grounds for refusing sanction, you might well anticipate same, and allow its erection at once if [you are] so disposed. At Peking Legation there are [Eton] Fives Court ⁴⁸ & Bowling Alley and Theatre. ⁴⁹

In reporting to London I will name the site at end of Godown [storehouse] to be most suitable, which I trust will meet with your approval. Such a high wooden building would be rather unsightly from the road if placed on the lawn at Constable's old House. The remarks I have made as to the plan and sizes of the Court are for your information so that the building may be all that is required for the game. Yours very truly,

W. Cowan

(End of PRO 30/33 5/3).

⁴⁸ The game of fives was first played by peasants in the Middle Ages who hit balls against chapel walls. The first court at Eton College was at the bottom of the college chapel steps. The first four purpose-built courts were built at Eton in 1840.

⁴⁹ See *Embassies in the East*, p. 26-27. Mr Boyce lists the buildings on the site of the Peking/Beijing legation. The bowling alley seems to have been opened in 1892.

Satow Papers: PRO 30/33 5/4

Correspondence and Papers (private). Japanese Mission. Legation Staff. J.H. Gubbins ⁵⁰ (Japanese Secretary) (July 1895 – October 1899)

1. John H. Gubbins to Satow (p.2)

31 July, 1895

Dear Sir Ernest,

I enclose a précis of the Jiji's [Jiji Shinpō] ⁵¹ article wh. [which] I mentioned to you this morning. What it says is on the whole fairly true I think.

Fukuzawa's paper is the most serious I think of all those published – and the article translated is a fair specimen of the tone of the paper.

The point in question, namely, the management of Japanese business concerns is one in wh[ich] we are more or less interested, and it is also one on wh[ich] opinions amongst foreigners is sharply divided. Some people maintain that the business capacity of the Japanese, in so far as large enterprises is concerned, is small, and that there is an absence of honest management. Others say the Japanese have made great strides in this respect, and that the management of many of their mills and manufactories is very creditable.

Yours

J.H. Gubbins

Précis of Article in Jiji Shimpō of July 30, 1895. (p.4)

Under the somewhat misleading title “Vigilance is useless” the Jiji deprecates Government interference with commercial and industrial enterprises, and recommends that so long as existing laws are not infringed, promoters and shareholders of unsubstantial companies and business concerns of all kinds should be left to their own devices. According to the “Jiji”, during the years 1886-89 there was a remarkable outburst of commercial and industrial activity. The year 1890 was a year of commercial depression, and in the crisis which then occurred heavy losses were sustained and some of the business associations formed during the previous period became bankrupt. But the number of failures was nevertheless small, and the cause in each

⁵⁰ John Harrington Gubbins (1852-1929) was appointed student interpreter in the Japan consular service in 1871. Appointed English Secretary to the Conference at Tokyo for the Revision of the Treaties after Satow left Japan in 1883, and on June 1, 1889 became Japanese Secretary at Tokyo. Employed in London at the Foreign Office from February to July 1894 in the Aoki-Kimberley negotiations which resulted in the Anglo-Japanese Treaty of Commerce and Navigation of July 16, 1894. A close friend of Satow, especially in retirement. See ‘John Harrington Gubbins, 1852-1929’ by Ian Nish, Ch. 8, *Britain and Japan: Biographical Portraits*, Vol. 2, ed. I. Nish. (Japan Library, 1997). See also the private correspondence from Gubbins to Satow, 1908-27, PRO 30/33 11/8, 11/9 and 11/10.

⁵¹ 時事新報 Jiji Shinpō. A newspaper started by the educator Fukuzawa Yukichi in Tokyo in 1882.

case was either the absence of a solid basis, or a mistaken estimate as to the working results of the companies concerned. Most of the commercial and industrial concerns in question emerged from the ordeal sounder and more substantial in every respect; for economies were effected, the expenses of management being curtailed wherever possible, and they were reorganized on a sound financial footing. From that time forward the recklessness which characterized the earlier enterprises has disappeared, and the business associations now formed are established only after careful enquiry has elicited beyond doubt the profitable character of the businesses to be conducted. The intervention [on April 23, 1895] of the three powers [Russia, France & Germany] in connection with the retrocession of the Liaotung peninsula [from Japan to China] gave a momentary check to all enterprise, but the peaceful solution of the difficulty has been followed by a renewed business activity.

The article concludes by urging upon the Govt. the undesirability of hampering the progress of general enterprise in Japan by introducing greater [] into the laws relating to business associations.

2. Gubbins to Satow (p.5)

Karuizawa

Aug. 16, 1895

Dear Sir Ernest,

The letter of the local committee of the China Association refers to certain statements made by Mr. Hayashi. It might be well to know what these statements are before answering the letter.

In the middle of October last the question of the lease of land by foreigners was dealt with by [Secretary of Legation Maurice] de Bunsen and [H.S.] Wilkinson in two memoranda which were forwarded at once to the F.O. in the same despatch. Both de Bunsen and Wilkinson seem to have taken it for granted that by Japanese law leaseholds are limited to thirty years. What authority they had for their view I do not know. I have always understood that under existing Japanese law, land may be held under perpetual lease. Whether the Dft. [Draft] Civil Code contains a provision limiting the period of leases, or not, I cannot say without reference to the archives. In any case the Code is still under revision, so that any argument based on its present provisions would be premature.

As to the intention of the Japanese Government to legislate specially with regard to the tenure of real property by foreigners, all that we know is that they object to the ownership by foreigners of real estate. In the matter of leaseholds I have never heard of any intended discrimination against foreigners, nor do I think it [at] all likely.

With regards to Itō anything is possible. As long as what is known as the Satchō [Satsuma and Chōshū] combination exists there will always be much discontent. Possibly there had been what the “Mail” calls a

palace intrigue, but it is quite likely that Itō declined the honours conferred upon him for other reasons.

The Memoranda I allude to were written before my return, and while disagreeing in the main with what was said I thought it was best not to write anything on the subject. Some action was taken in the sense of de Bunsen's suggestions for working with the Germans to obtain further concessions especially in regard to the tenure of land. The Japanese Minister at Berlin [Aoki Shūzō] heard of it and telegraphed to his Govt. full details, but was only snubbed for his pains.

You must have found it very hot in Tokio the last week: and I have felt selfish in being away in the hills. You will soon however I hope be away at Chiuzenji.⁵²

With your permission I propose to have the [Legation] writers up here in turn for ten days holiday. I am writing to [1st class assistant A.E.] Wileman to know if they can be spared.

Believe me, Yours sincerely,

J.H. Gubbins

3. Gubbins to Satow (p.7)

Karuizawa

Sept. 22nd

Dear Sir Ernest,

We have been tempted by the fine weather to spend a few days longer here and I hope it will be quite convenient to you if I do not return till Thursday the 26th. The last few days the weather has been perfect for riding and walking excursions.

Karuizawa cannot for beauty or scenery compare with either Chiuzenji or Nikkō, but the country round it is very pretty and the extensive plateau enables one to make many riding excursions w[hich] are not possible in most hill resorts in Japan. There are several passes leading down into the valleys below from this place and the views from the edge of the plateau of the broken hill country beyond are charming. It is quite a riding country and this is its charm.

I feel quite ashamed of my long holiday and shall feel ready when I return for any work you may have for me. I've hardly opened a book or put pen to paper since I left Tokio after your arrival.

There is an attack in the 'Jiji' of yesterday. It's on the old topic of clan government. The [Sino-Japanese] war has considerably strengthened the Satchō combination as everyone thought it would, seeing how largely both clans are represented in the Army and Navy.

Believe me, yours sincerely,

J.H. Gubbins

⁵² Satow went to Lake Chiuzenji for the first time August 20-29, 1895. (Ruxton, 2003, p. 450).

4. Gubbins to Satow (p.9)

Karuizawa

Sept. 23rd/95

Dear Sir Ernest,

Our letters have crossed. I hope Thursday, the day I named in my note of yesterday, will suit you for my return.

I have not seen the pamphlet on the relations of Eastern countries which you mention. If you think it advisable I will look through it on my return.

I was wrong as to the drift of the Jiji Shinpō's article on Clan Govt. in its issue of the 21st. When I wrote I had only glanced at the heading and first part of the article. The writer is undoubtedly correct in all that he argues is that the general progress of Japan has tended to diminish clan feeling. But he is wrong I think in ignoring the fact that the recent war has strengthened the position of the Cabinet and has consequently increased the influence of the Satsuma and Choshu men in the country at large. To me the article reads as if the writer were describing the position not as it really is but as he would wish it to be. His remarks as to Yamagata [Aritomo]⁵³ being a soldier only and no politician are quite opposed to fact.

Believe me,

Yours sincerely

J.H. Gubbins

5. Gubbins to Satow (p.11)

Sunday, 13 Oct. 1895

Dear Sir Ernest,

I had a few minutes conversation with [H.W.] Denison yesterday before dinner. He mentioned that [British Consul-General in Korea Walter C.] Hillier had telegraphed for a man-of-war and said that 17 marines were guarding the U.S. Legation and a larger number of Russians the Russian legation at Söul. He also told me that the U.S. Minister had received yesterday a long telegram from Corea in connection with which he had gone with Denison to the Foreign Office .

The American Consul General in Söul had reported amongst other things that the Queen [Min] had been deposed by official decree in order to avoid the necessity of three years mourning. It is suspected that a certain

⁵³ Field Marshal Yamagata Aritomo (1838-1922) of Chōshū was twice prime minister (December 24, 1889 to May 6, 1891; November 8, 1898 to October 19, 1900), Chief of the General Staff during the Russo-Japanese war, and for the last twenty years of his life a Privy Councillor and the most influential of the elder statesmen known as *genrō*.

Japanese named Okamoto [Riunosuke] an ex-officer [illegible] in connection with the mutiny [?] of the Artillery in that year, and has an employé of the Korean War Office, was concerned in the recent coup d'état. Denison was going on to tell me of an interview he has had with the Marquis Saionji [Kinmochi] when our conversation was interrupted.

I gathered from him that the situation in Korea was regarded as somewhat obviously [?] the Jap. Govt.

Mr. Kusaka [Yoshio] Ex-Prefect of Fukushima who is now en disponibilité as Min. Resident would like to call on you some day when you are at liberty to see him. ⁵⁴ I told him I would speak to you on the subject and let him know your convenience in the matter.

Wilkinson did speak to me about his leave, but mentioned 5 days. He has I think deserved a few days holiday for he was a long time in Tokio during the hot weather.

Believe me, Yours sincerely,

J.H. Gubbins

6. Gubbins to Satow (p.13)

17 Oct. 1895

6.25 pm

Dear Sir Ernest,

I am sorry to have been so long in preparing the Memo you wished for. It has taken me longer than I expected. [Harold G.] Parlett tells me he is waiting to copy it.

Mr. Watanabe [Shujirō] who called yesterday told me what Denison had previously hinted at that Okamoto [Riunosuke] the ex-officer is suspected of having had a hand in the murder of the Queen and he added that Count Inouye was responsible for the presence of both Okamoto and [General] Miura in Korea. ⁵⁵

It was General [William M.] Dye I believe and not [General Charles] Le Gendre who was at the palace on their learning of the attack. A Russian architect is also reported to have been there; but this you have probably heard.

Believe me, Yours Sincerely,

J.H. Gubbins

P.S. The paper makes a mistake I think in describing Hong-Ké-Lun as the commander of the neatly drilled troops. He is in one paper described as one of the Queen's faction and I think he must have been the commander of the Old Palace guard.

⁵⁴ Kusaka called on Satow on October 26, 1895 and May 7, 1896. (Diary, Ruxton, 2003, p.89)

⁵⁵ On October 18, 1895 Satow went to Saionji "who said that Miura was concerned in the plot to enter the Palace." (Ruxton, 2003, p.31). On the assassination of Queen Min, see D. Keene, *Emperor of Japan: Meiji and his World*, pp. 513-521.

The expression “Military State” in one of the Proclamations is curious. The characters are 軍国 [gunkoku] and it is possible that there is a misprint – but the same term occurs in all the papers I have consulted.

7. Gubbins to Satow (p.15)

Shiba [Tokyo]

19 Oct., ‘95

Dear Sir Ernest,

Today’s Official Gazette, which failed to reach me this morning, contains a notice of the recall of General Miura [Goro] and of Mr. Sugimura [Fukashi] Sec’y of Legation in Söul, and of Komura’s appointment [].

I had to leave the Legation in a hurry as I recd. a telegram to say Mr. Layard would be at Shimbashi at 12.15. The smaller packet of Conf. [Confidential] Print which I left on your desk I have looked through – and one paper I took out and placed apart from the others, thinking you might possibly like to refer to it. I marked one or two passages in it. The other packet I have not had time to look through. So far I have not found the passage referring to Ct. Inouye’s relations with the Taiwon-kun [Korean regent] which you were looking for.

Believe me, Yours sincerely,

J.H. Gubbins

8. Gubbins to Satow (p.17)

Shiba

20 Oct/95

Dear Sir Ernest,

Motono [Ichirō, Saionji’s secretary] writes in to say the term ‘gwaikoku – tsū-kō-sen’ means what we supposed, namely ‘foreign-going Japanese vessels’.

The “Kokkwai” [?] has an article this morning saying the public are aware by this time that Japanese civil and military officials in Corea were implicated in the recent conspiracy [to murder Queen Min], deploring the fact as injuring Japan’s honour and credit, and stating that the only thing to be done now is to show the world by a strict and public trial and the rigorous enforcement of the law that the shameful act of a few is repudiated by the majority of the nation.⁵⁶

The ‘Asahi’ of yesterday says that the officers of the Garrison at Söul are to be replaced by others, and it has a paragraph on the subject of the rumours concerning Ct. Okuma. In spite of the reported interviews

⁵⁶ On January 14, 1896 a court-martial was held for the Japanese army officers participating in the murder of Queen Min, but the defendants were released on January 20th for lack of evidence that any of the accused committed the crime. General Miura, far from being punished, went on to have a distinguished political career. (Keene, pp. 520-522).

between Saigo [Tsugumichi], Yamagata [Aritomo] and Ito [Hirobumi] respectively and Okuma, the 'Asahi' disbelieves in the likelihood of Okuma's re-entering the Cabinet. "He has himself repeatedly declared that his life of quiet seclusion has advantages that official life has not, and it is not easy to see how the policies of the two statesmen can be reconciled."

The 'Nichi Nichi' of today speaks again in very strong terms of the events in Korea. "The Japanese implicated in the affair of the 8th were" it says "doubtless sincere in the belief that the Queen was working mischief in the administration, they were doubtless indignant at the prospect of the disbandment of the troops drilled by Japanese officers, and they were doubtless also mortified at the complete failure of all efforts in the direction of reform. Still the Korean Govt. is not a Japanese Department of State, Korea is not a dependency of Japan, and it was no part of our duty to interfere with her progress. If she chose to disregard our advice and nullify our efforts on her behalf she would have been responsible for her own ruin. And then we could have intervened either alone or in concert with other friendly Powers. We have no right to interfere with party warfare in Korea" etc.

The "Kokumin" considers that the responsibility for the appt. [appointment] of such a person as Miura rests with Itō and Mutsu [Munemitsu], and that both should resign.

The number of the Japanese implicated are given in one paper the 'Hochi' as:

Officials: Miura, Sugimura – Sec. of Legation, Major Kussé of the infantry, Kohnbu an interpreter, Kusakabe [] de langues, Hagiwara inspector of police.

& Okamoto adviser to the Korean Ministry of War

and more than forty others.

Believe me, Yours sincerely,

J.H. Gubbins

9. Gubbins to Satow (p.20)

21 Oct '95

Monday

Dear Sir Ernest,

Denison could not tell me whether the Memorandum had been signed or not on Saturday. [Acting foreign minister] Saionji does not apparently consult him in regard to the present Liaotung negotiations. I asked him if it was true that Miura committed suicide. He said he did not believe it. Count Inouye [Kaoru] had been with him two hours that morning and had said nothing about it. They had he said talked at great length on the question of the necessity for a permanent successor to Mutsu [who was seriously ill]. Denison's own view is that there are only two men for the post Inouye and Okuma [Shigenobu] but this is hardly likely to be the

view of the Japse. Govt.

Believe me, Yours Sincerely,

J. H. Gubbins

New honours conferred and reported in today's Official Gazette:

Viscount Hijikata for services rendered to the State to be Count.

Marquis Tokudaiji – Naidaijin [Home affairs minister]; Count Inouye – Envoy Extraordinary etc. [to Korea] to receive the Grand Cordon of the Rising Sun and Collar bearing Pawlonia flower.

1. Marquis Ito
2. Count Kuroda
3. Count Mutsu

For services rendered in the years 1894 & 1895:

1. to receive the Grand Cordon of the Chrysanthemum
2. to receive the Grand Cordon of the Rising Sun and Collar bearing Pawlonia flower.
3. to receive the Grand Cordon of the Rising Sun.

Baron Ito Mioji, Baron Nishi Tokujiro, Viscount Watanabe Kunitake Minister of Commerce & Agriculture, Minister for Finance

For services rendered in 1894-95, to receive the 1st Class of the Order of the Sacred Treasure.

(The names of Marquis Tokudaiji and Count Inouye appear again in a second paragraph as having received the rewards already mentioned for services rendered in 1894-95).

Chinese War Indemnity

1st instalment for 50,000,000 taels to be paid on 8th November in London in gold, the rate of exchange being fixed at 2.23% [unit illegible] or in other words 6.078 Kuping taels to the pound sterling. The sum to be paid in London will therefore be £8,225, 2455.

The whole of the indemnity of 8,200,000,000 Kuping taels represent in pounds sterling £32,900,000.

New Min. of Communications

Shirane Senichi became V. Minr. of the Interior in 1891, and in the following year was appointed Court Councillor and Superintendent of [] in the Household Department. Previous to his appointment as V. Minr. of the Interior he was employed as Private Secretary to the Min. of the Interior.

10. Gubbins to Satow (p.26)

[undated]

Dear Sir Ernest,

The Consul General at Shanghai has charge of Japanese interests at several other ports amongst which is Amoy. There is therefore no regular Consul at the latter ports.

Yrs Sincerely

J.H. Gubbins

11. Gubbins to Satow (p.28)

Thursday

Dear Sir Ernest,

I enclose a short précis of the portions of the “Nichi Nichi” which you asked for. I have omitted any reference to the manufacture of Saké in Japan, but if you think it necessary I will add it afterwards.

In yesterday’s Official Gazette there was an announcement that Ct. Inouye had been relieved of his position as Envoy Extraordinary, so that he will go to Corea in the capacity of a Special Commissioner. He is to be accompanied by Mr. Nagasaki [Seigo/Michinori] of the Imperial Household.

My wife presumes for dinner at 8 o’clock and if we do not hear from you to the contrary we shall understand your dinner hour as being that time.

Believe me, Yours Sincerely,

J.H. Gubbins

12. Gubbins to Satow (p.27)

28th October/95

9.45 pm

Note: This letter is very faint.

13. Gubbins to Satow (p.31)

Tuesday

29 Oct ‘95

Dear Sir Ernest,

I enclose the précis of Hillier’s despatches.

The draft of the note to the Japanese Foreign Office in the “Turbo” case ⁵⁷ I have placed with the other

⁵⁷ In May 1895 the Imperial Japanese Navy cruiser *Naniwa* collided with the British steamer *Turbo*

papers in the portfolio you will find on your desk. It occurred to me that you might wish the statement of account supplied by Messrs. Samuel (which is a very rough one) to form one of the enclosures to your note.

Believe me, Yours Sincerely,

J.H. Gubbins

14. Gubbins to Satow (p.33)

Private. 9 Nov. 1895

Saturday

Dear Sir Ernest,

Denison told me today that the rumours with regard to Cabinet changes had he thought much foundation. Ct. Ito had he said endeavoured to persuade his colleagues to let him go to China to negotiate the Liaotung Peninsula retrocession Convention and other matters, but he had failed, Count Mutsu [Munemitsu] threatening to resign if he went. Ct. Ito had then suggested that he should go to Corea instead of Count Inouye but his colleagues again dissented. This looks as if Ito were afraid to meet the Diet.

Denison also told me that Ct. Inouye and Ct. Yamagata were responsible for Miura's selection as Minr. to Corea. He added that he had heard that Miura had conceived the idea of carrying out a coup d'état before he left Japan. This I think unlikely. He seemed to think that the Govt. would find it hard to clear themselves altogether from blame in the appointment of Miura.

I have been reading a leading article in the "Jiji Shimpō" on Corea's trade with Japan. It quite confirms what has been said before with regard to the ability of the Japanese merchants to compete with the Chinese but it does not give the true reasons. It ascribes the position gained by Chinese merchants in Corea entirely to the influence exercised by the Chinese Govt. both directly through its officials and indirectly through China's prestige as the suzerain country and it asks why since Japanese influence has lately preponderated in Corea Japan's trade has nevertheless remained stationary. The answer it gives is that too much attention has been given to politics, and not enough to commercial extension. At present Chinese merchants are flooding back to Corea, and are threatening to recover the position they had before the war, while Japanese merchants are anxious about the political future and hesitate to do business. It urges Japanese merchants to make some effort to compete in trade with the Chinese, whether Japan retains her present political influence on Corea or not.

Believe me, Yours Sincerely,

J.H. Gubbins

owned by Samuel Samuel & Co. in Nagasaki harbour. The matter was settled by an out-of-court payment from the Navy Department to the company of 1,510 yen. (Kajima Morinosuke, *Nihon Gaikō Shi*, vol. 4). Satow discussed the case with Saionji on November 19, 26, 27 and wrote to Samuel Samuel & Co. on December 3, 1895. (Diary, Ruxton, 2003).

[P.S.] You have of course seen the special article on China in the Times of the 25th and 26th September.

15. Gubbins to Satow (p.35)

1/12/95

Sunday

Dear Sir Ernest,

Yesterday's "Official Gazette" [Kanpō, 官報] contains both an Imperial Decree notifying the ratification of the Supplementary Convention, and the text of the Convention, and also a Departmental notification announcing the adhesion of Natal and Newfoundland to the T[reaty] of July 1894. The text of Article 19 of our Treaty which provides for the adhesion of the Colonies is also given.

The same Gazette also announces that the Cholera inspection stations in Tokio and in the Prefectures of Niigata, Akita etc. are not closed. I do not know if we have been in the habit of communicating the closing of such stations either to the F.O. or elsewhere, but [Ralph] Paget will be able to tell you. There are cases of cholera of course still under treatment at Ujina.

Denison gave me some information yesterday afternoon with regard to the progress of Ty. [Treaty] Revision at Berlin and Paris. This I will write out for you, either today or in the course of tomorrow. India it seems, and I remember our looking up the question during the [Treaty revision] conference of '86-'87, never has so far acceded to any of our treaties. Her importation into Japan being chiefly raw material which under the General Tariff will be dutiable on a 5% basis, her non-accession should not be prejudicial to British-Indian interests, but, if you think it advisable, I will go into the matter carefully, so as to ascertain what her position should be vis à vis the new tariffs in the event of her standing outside the new treaties.

A telegram to the "Kokkwai" dated the 29th ult. from Söul says that some further startling developments may occur. And it adds what has already been told to you that in the last Émeute⁵⁸ the officials of a certain Legation [Russia ?] are understood to be implicated.

Believe me, Yours sincerely

J.H. Gubbins

16. Gubbins to Satow (p.37)

11th Decr.

Dear Sir Ernest,

The 'Kokkwai' of this morning has the two notes verbales wh[ich] appeared in the "Official Gazette" yesterday. They are prefaced by a short statement not unlike what was in the "Nichi Nichi Shimbun"

⁵⁸ Emeute (French). A seditious rising or a small riot. (Brewer's Dictionary of Phrase & Fable, 1898).

yesterday.

Viscount Aoki has received 3000 yen and Vt. Kawasé [Masataka] 500 yen “for services rendered in connection with the affairs of 1894-95.”

Believe me, Yours sincerely

J.H. Gubbins

17. Gubbins to Satow (p.38)

13th Decr/95

Dear Sir Ernest,

I enclose a translation of General Takashima's remarks ⁵⁹ on Formosan administration together with the paper in which they appeared.

You will have noticed the changes in the Korean Ministry. The “Chiu-gwai” suggests that since the reforms reported the Russian and American RR [Representatives] have shown their dissatisfaction and seem disposed to recognize the present Cabinet.

Believe me, Yours truly,

J.H. Gubbins

18. Gubbins to Satow (p.39)

Sunday

18 Decr, '95

Dear Sir Ernest,

I am reading some of the recent articles wh[ich] have appeared in the Tokio press with reference to Corea and the policy of the intervening Powers.

The “Jiji Shimpō” in an article of the 13th entitled “We must not divide trouble with another when our task is half accomplished” (Chiū to ni shite mendō wo ta ni wakatsu bekaradzu) repudiates the idea, favoured [?] it says, by some politicians at the present time, that Japan's best policy is to come to an amicable understanding on the Korean question with Russia. It alludes to Japan's steadily pursued policy with regard to Corea which it represents as being based solely on the motive of civilizing Corea and opening up markets for Japanese commerce. Japan should henceforth in her treatment of Corea proceed on the lines of English policy in Egypt and carry out patiently the task of regenerating Corea, not shrinking at rendering her when necessary financial assistance, and disregarding, as Gt. Britain now disregards, the attempts of other Powers to interfere. The education of Corea lies with Japan and Japan only.

⁵⁹ Takashima Tomonosuke, Minister for Colonial Affairs.

The “Nichi Nichi” has a series of articles which are translations of articles written by a writer called “Makushimano” (probably a Russian). Two have been published so far, and they purport to be a narrative of the relations between Korea and Russia since the year 1858. Article 2, however, is mainly devoted to the relations of Korea with Japan. As they are simply translations perhaps you will not require a précis of them.

Another series of articles entitled “Relations between Japan and Germany” has lately appeared in the same paper. The last (No.5) appeared in the issue of the 11th inst. and the concluding lines appear worth quoting.

“We regret extremely that Germany’s foreign politicians should have been induced by the views put forward by Mr. von Brandt ⁶⁰ to conduct an unjust crusade against Japan at the present important juncture. The writings of Mr. von Brandt have given umbrage to Japanese and have greatly intensified the bad feeling entertained by Japan towards Germany in consequence of the intervention of the three Powers. We, however, and the numerous German community in Japan trust that the present bad feeling between the two countries will be only temporary and that the old friendship between us will shortly be restored. Public feeling in Japan of late years has tended increasingly in the direction of love for Germany. Germans as compared with English and French have more largely [?] sentiments in common with our own. The influence of German education is daily increasing in Japan and the development of our national institutions is in the direction of German customs. Especially is this the case with our military system which is based on the thorough system of Germany. Germany is in fact the university in which Japan is being educated. Under these circumstances if Germany desires to preserve her influence in Japan she must show a friendly disposition towards us. If a long interval should elapse without the friendship of the two countries being restored, as Japan is a country rich in national sentiment, the result will be injurious to German commerce and prejudicial to the progress of German education in Japan, and in the end in politics, in commerce and in education Japan will fall under the control of England who already shows signs of seeking to extend her influence.”

This is rather strong language, especially as it appears in the “Nichi Nichi Shimbun”. If it is meant as a bid to Germany to detach herself from the three-power coalition [Germany, Russia and France] it will probably miss the mark.

Looking hastily through other papers I cannot find anything wh. [which] here immediately bears on the paragraph in the Mail [Japan Mail, ed. F. Brinkley] which by the by I have not seen though I looked for it yesterday at the Club.

Believe me, Yours Sincerely,

J.H. Gubbins

P.S. The accompanying portfolio contains the dft I have made on the Anping [Formosa] Kerosene question. I

⁶⁰ Max August Scipio von Brandt (1835-1920). German diplomat. In 1862, Prussia’s consul in Japan. In 1867 chargé d’affaires. Appointed Minister for Germany in Japan in 1872. Transferred to China in 1875. (Nagaoka, vol. 1, p. 53)

think it covers the points you mentioned. The “Kokkwai”’s last number appeared today. In taking farewell of its readers it mentions the “Asahi Shimbun” as its successor. The two papers have latterly had the same correspondent in China.

I had hoped to have finished to-day the first instalment of information respecting the new ports in China but this must wait until to-morrow. You will I fear find it very uninteresting and you may think it unnecessary for me to continue making précis of the whole series of letters from correspondents.

19. Gubbins to Satow (p.43)

Memo Dec. 16/95

I saw Mr. Nakada [Takanori] this morning at the Foreign Office and he explained that the expression “the authorities concerned” which occurs in the Note addressed by the Marquis Saionji to H.M.’s Minister on the 13th December on the subject of the Meteorological Reports wh[ic]h the HongKong Observatory wishes to receive from Formosa refers to the Office of the Commander in Chief in Formosa. He added that he had recently met Mr. Midzuno [Jun] the Chief of the Civil Administration in Formosa and that he had learnt from him that the rebels had destroyed most of the instruments at the places mentioned in the Foreign Minister’s Note. J.H.G.

20. Gubbins to Satow (p.44)

Tuesday

17.12.95

Dear Sir Ernest,

I have seen Denison and he thinks that it will be difficult to get a definite reply from the Japanese Govt. on the question of their joining the Copyright and Industrial property Unions until their Treaties with France and Germany are concluded. When these Treaties are ratified he thinks they may very likely be disposed to give a favorable [sic] reply to an enquiry on the subject.

As regards Canada Denison suggests that a communication from you to Saionji would draw a reply from Count Mutsu and that this may not be favorable.

I write in haste so as not to keep your messenger waiting.

Believe me, Yours sincerely

J.H. Gubbins

21. Gubbins to Satow (memo dated 21 Dec. 1895) (p.46)

Mr. Denison yesterday speaking of Ct. Ito’s health said: he is really ill and is anxious to retire. They speak

of his going with Prince Fushimi to attend the coronation of the Czar [in May 1896] – but I don't think it is likely.

I suggested Ct. Ito's being worried at the prospect of having to meet the Diet, and added that he was deprived of Ct. Inouye's assistance just now. He admitted that there was a complete rupture but said the cause was due not to the alliance speeches between the Cabinet and the Jiyuto but to the difference of opinion wh[ich] had arisen between Ct. Inouye and the Govt. as to the employment of the Japanese troops in Söul to restore order and protect the King [Kojong]. Ct. Inouye considered it was advisable that the Jap. Govt. should accede to the request of the Foreign Powers and assume the responsibility of maintaining order. It was asserted as one of the reasons for this request that Japan had created the situation and that therefore it was for her to deal with it. Whether this was true or not Ct. Inouye thought that Japan ought to accept the invitation, stating at the same time that she was prepared to withdraw her troops whenever, in the opinion of the Powers, the situation admitted of this being done. If Japan would not move she would simply make room for another Power who was quite ready to assume the rôle of Corea's protector [Russia ?]. Ct. Inouye seemed very angry at his views not having been endorsed by his Govt. and said: "Do they take me for a child ?"

Mr. Denison afterwards remarked with reference to the reported conversation between Mr. [Aleksei] de Speyer ⁶¹ and a reporter of the "Chiu-wo" – which he did not believe in – that he failed to see what understanding between Japan and Russia was possible short of Japan's absolute retirement from the Peninsula. I pressed him hard on this point but he adhered to his opinion.

21 Decr '95 J.H.G.

22. Gubbins to Satow (p.47)

5.15 pm [undated]

Dear Sir Ernest,

I have an appointment for 5 o'clock and it is already past that time so with your permission I will keep the extradition papers until tomorrow.

The Treaty Revision negotiations despatch is in Parlett's hands. I have made the necessary alterations and struck out the reference to the Anglo-French Convention of 1836 – as there is sufficient discrepancy between the provisions of that treaty and the text [?] of the former Draft Trade Regulations to render the reference perhaps unsatisfactory.

Yrs Sincerely, J.H. Gubbins

[P.S.] I enclose 3 copies of the Liaotung (or Ho-ten) promontory retrocession wh. [which] I recd. from

⁶¹ Aleksei de Speyer, in 1895 Russian Minister in Korea. In March 1896 he became temporary Chargé d'affaires in Japan. In September 1897 he returned to Seoul, replacing K. I. Waeber.

Nakada.

23. Gubbins to Satow (p.48)

Shiba

Wednesday

18.12.95

Dear Sir Ernest,

I explained to Denison the real meaning of the aide-memoire wh. [which] you left with Marquis Saionji on the 18th Oct, ⁶² and said you did not wish it to be misunderstood as referring to an announcement of intention on the part of Canada to accede conditionally to the new Treaty. What was intended to be conveyed was simply an enquiry whether there would be any objection on the part of the Japanese Govt. whenever Canada acceded to the Treaty to make that accession subject to a reservation similar to that which appeared in the Treaty between the U.S. and Japan. It seemed to you desirable, I added, that the enquiry should also be taken as extending to all the colonies mentioned in Art. XIX of the new Ty, and not as limited to Canada.

He said he had understood the aide-memoire wh. he had already seen as intended to sound the Japanese Govt. as to its acquiescence in the views entertained by the Govt. of Canada. The Japanese Govt. had he said considered the question not only in its relation to Canada but with relation to other British colonies and which in regard to immigration were on the same footing. And their desire was to regulate the question in an uniform manner for all.

He thought the wording "including artisans" might be modified with advantage and suggested the words "skilled and unskilled labourers". I said I thought you would prefer the wording which was simplest and left least room for controversy in the future.

I ventured then to say that you intended, I understood, to write to Marquis Saionji an official note asking for a reply to your aide-memoire of the 18th Oct., and I added that perhaps in that Note it might be mentioned that the enquiry of H.M.G. related to other Colonies besides Canada.

He said he thought that such a Note would meet the case and that if on the matter being referred to him, as it probably would, he found that there existed any misunderstanding arising out of the wording of the aide-memoire he would undertake to give any explanation which might be necessary.

I gathered from him that the Japanese Govt. were inclined to the view that the question shld. be settled by a protocol rather than by an exchange of notes.

I left with Mr. Denison a copy of the extract from the F.O. despatch.

⁶² This note is mentioned in Satow's diary for October 18, 1895. (Ruxton, 2003, p. 30) Satow was in Canada on his way back to Japan October 29-November 8, 1897 and discussed Canadian accession with Sir Wilfred Laurier, prime-minister of Canada on November 2nd. (Ruxton, 2003, p. 213)

Believe me, Yours sincerely,
J.H. Gubbins

24. Gubbins to Satow (p.50)

Tokio

28th Dec. /'95

Dear Sir Ernest,

I enclose translation of a note which is addressed to you by the Marquis Saionji. The form is that of a private letter. The information contained appears in today's "Nichi Nichi Shimbun".

Today's Official Gazette contains a Notification regarding the establishment of a special standard time for Formosa, the Pescadors etc.

The Emperor's speech which was made at the opening of the Diet this morning has appeared. Brinkley⁶³ who (as you may have heard has received the 3rd Class of the Rising Sun) is now to publish a translation of the speech in the [Japan] Mail. I will compare it with the original.

The papers are discussing the division and position of parties. So far the attitude of the Kokumin party seems doubtful.

Believe me, Yours sincerely,
J.H. Gubbins

25. Gubbins to Satow (memo dated 9 January 1896) (p.52)

I told Mr. Fujii [Saburō] the Director of the Commercial Bureau when I saw him yesterday at the Foreign Office that H.M.'s Minister [Satow] had followed with interest the movements of the Japanese Commission in its visit of inspection to the new open ports of China [gained by Japan after the Sino-Japanese war] and that I was instructed to ask him whether he could give me any information regarding the proceedings of the Commission and the future prospects of trade at any of the places in question. It was, I added, desirable to know whether any definite site for the settlement at Suchow had been determined.

Mr. Fujii said the question of the site of the Settlement at Suchow was still undetermined. Mr. Chinda [?] the Chief Commissioner had reached Shashin on the 30th Ultimo, and was probably now either at Chungking or on his way there. He had explained that he would defer making any report on the proceedings of the Commission until his return to Shanghai. The Foreign Office had therefore received no information at all and he knew nothing of the prospects of trade at the new ports. He admitted that the experts sent by the

⁶³ See J.E. Hoare, 'Captain Francis Brinkley (1841-1912); Yatoi, Scholar and Apologist', Chapter 9, Vol. III, *Britain & Japan: Biographical Portraits*, pp. 99-107.

Agricultural & Commercial Department who had accompanied the Commission had returned, but he said he had not met them nor had he been informed of the nature of their reports.

On leaving him I mentioned that perhaps Marquis Saionji might be able on the receipt of Consul General Chinda's Report to communicate such information in it as was not of a confidential character to H.M.'s Minister. Mr. Fujii replied that he thought this might be done and said he would mention the matter to the Minister for Foreign Affairs.

9 Jan '96

J.H.G.

26. Gubbins to Satow (p.53)

Tokio

Jan 10, 1896

Dear Sir Ernest,

As it seemed doubtful whether our messenger would be able to get on board the "Edgar" in this gale I wrote to [J.C.] Hall asking him to take charge of your despatch for Captain Henderson in case it was too rough for our messenger to reach the "Edgar".

I have asked [A.E.] Wileman who has worked up the Formosan question on previous occasions to make some notes on the recent disturbances in the N. of the island, and I have suggested that it might be useful for him to ascertain how many troops were in this part of the island when the troubles occurred and where they were posted. He may be able to get this information from Colonel Murata [aide-de-camp of General Kawakami Sōroku].

The motion to memorialize the Emperor was lost yesterday by 67 votes – the [Diet] members being 103 to 170.

Believe me, Yours sincerely

J. H. Gubbins

27. Gubbins to Satow (p.55)

Monday

13.1. '96

Dear Sir Ernest,

Having noticed that in the "Nichi Nichi Shimbun" the amount of the appropriation in the new budget for the seven new Consulates in China and Corea was stated as being Yen 74,977 I wrote to Mr. Nakada asking him for the correct amount, mentioning that I had seen two different amounts stated in the Japanese press. I enclose his answer which will I hope be in time for the rectification of the statement made in the despatch you

wrote before leaving Tokio.

I have just finished translating Marquis Ito's speech and will give it to you tomorrow. [See letter 24 above.]
The "Mail"'s translation is a rough précis only and very inaccurate.

Believe me in haste, Yours Sincerely,

J.H. Gubbins

28. Memo: Today's Proceedings in Lower House (dated Feb 1, 1896) (p.57)

1. The transmission of the question of the Imperial Decree No. 144 from the Upper House for the approval of the Lower House. This is the decree published by the Govt. on the 14th October last prohibiting Japanese under penalties from visiting Corea without permission of the Japanese Govt.
2. The selection of a Committee to whom the subject will be referred for examination.
3. The Draft of a Law relating to the period of studies for persons who are probationers in the judicial service. (Introduced by the Govt. and transmitted from the Upper House).
4. The selection of a Committee in connection with the above and first reading.
5. The Report of the Committee appointed to examine into the question of the Imperial Decree No. 92 already submitted for the House's approval. This relates to provisional courts martial.
6. Draft Law relating to the salaries of the Committee managers (理事) etc. introduced by the Govt. Report of Committee etc. following upon first reading.
7. Draft Law providing for the increase of the capital required for the purchase of materials for Govt. Railways. Report of Committee following upon first reading.
8. Draft law providing for the payment of ready [?] money in the payment of the above materials. First reading and Committee's Report.

29. Undated memo (p.58)

Home Office Estimates

Yen 161,408 For extension of landing place at Kobe.

This expenditure is rendered necessary by the development of trade in recent years at Kobe and the increased shipping and increased imports and exports.

Finance Department Estimates

Yen 104,290 For Custom House sheds and other new works.

Much inconvenience has been caused to both Japanese and foreign merchants by the fact that the accommodation, as regards warehouses and other buildings, provided by the Customs has, owing to the immense development in recent years of foreign trade, become

insufficient. (This estimate covers work of different kinds at Kobe, Ozaka, Shimonoseki, Otaru and Hakodate - but how the money is to be apportioned is not stated.)

30. Gubbins to Satow (p.59)

Sunday

Feb 10th

Dear Sir Ernest,

I enclose a 'Kwampō Gogwai' [extra edition of the Official Gazette, 官報号外] publishing the decree closing the Diet for ten days. The Imperial message was read in the Lower House yesterday during the speech by Mr. Takenouchi [Takenouchi Tsuna ?] a member of the 'Kokumin Kiōkwai' ⁶⁴ on the interpellation brought forward by him as to the Govt's policy with regard to the retrocession of the Liaotung Peninsula and Korea, - and the proceedings at once terminated. The full text of the interpellation does not appear in the "Asahi Shimbun" which explains that the document was taken away by Mr. Takenouchi after his speech was interrupted.

The "Asahi" thinks that the intention of Mr. Takenouchi's party was to propose urgency for the interpellation and that the Govt. knowing this prorogued the House.

Believe me, Yours Sincerely

J.H. Gubbins

31. Gubbins to Satow (p.61)

18 Feb. '96

Dear Sir Ernest,

Nakada told me that all the news recd. at the Foreign Office was practically the same as that published in today's 'Nichi Nichi Shimbun'. They had heard nothing new of any importance.

He asked me if you had heard anything since seeing Marquis Saionji yesterday. I said nothing. ⁶⁵

Believe me, Yours Sincerely

J.H. Gubbins

P.S. I asked Parlett to hand you the despatch on the Bu from the F.O. I don't understand how, if injustice, according to the Bd. [Board] of Trade has been done only to Japanese producers and consumers, and not to

⁶⁴ Kokumin Kyōkai, 国民協会 (Nationalist Association). A pro-government political group organized in 1892 by Shinagawa Yajirō, Saigō Tsugumichi and others, with the aim of countering opposition parties such as the Jiyūtō and Rikken Kaishintō, that obstructed the government's legislative program. (See Kodansha's Illustrated Encyclopedia of Japan, p. 818).

⁶⁵ Satow recorded seeing Saionji in his diary for February 17, 1896. (See Ruxton, 2003, p. 65).

British merchants, we can receive for our people any compensation wh. [which] may be awarded to German merchants. J.H.G.

32. Gubbins to Satow (p.63)

Feb. 19th

8.30 A.M.

Dear Sir Ernest,

If quite convenient to you I should like to go to Yokohama this morning to say goodbye to the Pownalls⁶⁶ and do some other calls.

The “Asahi” of this morning suggests one of three policies for the Govt. in regard to Corea:

1. To concert measures with the other F.R.R. [Foreign Representatives] in Söul for the non-recognition of the new Cabinet and the removal of Russian control.
2. To arrange with other For. Powers to form [?] a joint protectorate of Corea.
3. To abandon Corea and follow the policy adopted after Takezoye’s [?] failure.

Yours Sincerely, J.H. Gubbins

33. Gubbins to Satow (p.65)

Feb. 24th 1896

Dear Sir Ernest,

Nakada gave me to understand that the application of the existing Treaties’ Tariff and other arrangements were already in operation in Formosa. The departmental notification wh. appeared in the [Official] Gazette the day before yesterday was issued, he said, only for the information of Japanese Subjects. Foreign Govts. had already been notified of the decision taken by the Japse. Govt. by the Japse. diplomats [?] abroad who had been instructed to communicate officially the “declaration”, a copy of which you recently received. No enquiry he explained was made of any Foreign Govt.; the communication made was a simple declaration.

I said that as far as I was aware no report had reached H.M.’s Minister from either of our Consuls in Formosa as to any intimation having been made to them by the Governor General of Formosa on the subject. He said that he felt sure some intimation must have been given, but he promised to make immediate enquiries at the Taiwan jimukioku [office] and let me know their answer.

I will send you Nakada’s note as soon as I receive it.

⁶⁶ Charles A.W. Pownall. British railway engineer, invited to Japan by the Ministry of Public Works (Kōbushō) in 1882. Mainly involved in designing bridges in the Kobe and Tokyo areas until his return to England in 1896. Satow attended a farewell dinner to him on February 10, 1896 which Gubbins did not attend. (Ruxton, 2003, p. 60)

Believe me, Yours Sincerely

J.H. Gubbins

P.S. My hands are so cold that I fear my handwriting is hard to read [?].

34. Gubbins to Satow (p.67)

29 Feb.

Dear Sir Ernest,

I am not feeling very well today so I will ask you not to expect me in the Chancery. There is really nothing the matter with me except rheumatism. I am writing a line to [1st class assistant A.E.] Wileman to tell him I am staying at home.

The 'Jiji' of the 26th and 27th advocates an international understanding on the subject of Corea, and suggests that Japan might send a special envoy to various foreign Courts to sound [i.e. find out the opinions of] the Powers.

Perhaps the best way to deal with the proceedings of the present Parliament would be for me to write a short memo on the work of the session after it is closed. I did this for the Foreign Office when I was at home.

The Corean telegrams in the 'Asahi' are not interesting. The U.S. Minister is reported to have said he will haul down his flag if the present ministers continue to persecute their political opponents. Some of the Russian marines have been withdrawn to Ninsen [?].

Believe me,

Yours Sincerely,

J.H. Gubbins

35. Gubbins to Satow (p.69)

29 Feb. /96

Dear Sir Ernest,

When I called at the Foreign Office yesterday Mr. Midzuno [Jun] the Civil Administrator in Formosa was with the F. Minister who was discussing with him the matter of the arrest of Messrs. Lapraik's comradore [Chinese agent].

Mr. Hara [Kei/Takashi] said in an answer to your memorandum wh. I left with him that they had already written to the Authorities in Formosa but that as some time would necessarily elapse before the letters could arrive they would, in accordance with your request, telegraph at once calling for a report on the case and instructing the Authorities to delay the execution of the sentence of the Court-martial, supposing it to have been already given. He added that as the matter was in the hands of the judicial authorities he could not

guarantee the result of the Foreign Office's intervention but that no effort would be spared to meet the wishes expressed in your memorandum.

He also said that Admiral Kabayama [Sukenori] the Governor General had arrived at Ujina and was presumably repudiated with all the circumstances of the arrest of the accused, in regard to which the Foreign Office were still without detailed information. He had no doubt that Admiral Kabayama would be able to explain the reasons for the arrest.

I will consult you on Monday as to the exact kind of report you would like me to write. I only suggested a general report as various incidents of the Session [of the Diet] have already been treated separately. Believe me,

Yours Sincerely,

J.H. Gubbins

36. Gubbins to Satow (p.71)

6/3/96

Dear Sir Ernest,

I explained to Mr. Hara the gist of [R.W.] Hurst's telegram ⁶⁷ and told him of your note to the Foreign Minister in answer to his enquiry as to the names of the steamers.

Mr. Hara [Vice-minister for Foreign Affairs] said that he had imagined that the Customs officials wd. have received instructions to exempt from the new rule cargoes of opium shipped without knowledge of the notice of prohibition. However he would at once telegraph to Formosa and enquire and then inform you of the answer received and confer with you as to what should be done.

I said a Steamer like the 'Thales' would not be likely to stay long at Anping, and if the Customs had not allowed the opium to be landed and stored pending further action, it was presumably on its way back to China in the "Thales".

He said he thought it was probable that permission to land and deposit it [illegible] the Customs had been given. It was usual for opium landed at Anping to remain in any case some time in the Customs go-downs [warehouses].

Yours Sincerely,

J.H. Gubbins

⁶⁷ Richard Willett Hurst of the British China consular service was appointed Consul at Tainan in Formosa on December 1, 1893 before the island was transferred to Japan as one result of the Treaty of Shimonoseki. Hurst was transferred to Pakhoi (near the Vietnam-China border) on February 4, 1896. Joseph Henry Longford of the Japan consular service took over as Consul from Hurst (see PRO 30/33 5/11).

37. Gubbins to Satow (p.73)

Shiba

March 7th/96

Dear Sir Ernest,

I saw Professor Terao and he told me that the places in the Hokkaido for the observation of the eclipse had not yet been settled. Three places were spoken of but the final decision would be made only after the printed report of the weather observations conducted in Yezo [the older name of Hokkaido] for the last 3 years had been published. This report would be ready in a few days and he would send me a copy for your information as soon as it was in his hands.

He added that it would probably be found convenient for the various Commissions to travel overland to Awomori and thence by sea to Otaru, taking their instruments etc. with them, as the railway journey would be safer on the whole he thought for the instruments than transport by steamer from Yokohama.

A reception committee was being formed in Tokio but it was not yet settled whether the superintendence of all the arrangements would be managed by the Education Dept. or by the Foreign Office.

The Foreign Office he also said had already been informed some time ago through their Minister in London of the dispatch of the British Commission.⁶⁸

Believe me,

Yours sincerely

J.H. Gubbins

38. Gubbins to Satow (p.75)

Saturday,

1.30 p.m.

Dear Sir Ernest,

I handed the Memorandum to Mr. Hara, and asked him to deal with the question in the same way as the case communicated by you to the Minister for Foreign Affairs on Thursday last.

He said he would do what was necessary. Everything he added was just now in confusion owing to the creation of the new department wh. had as yet no V. Min[ister].

Believe me, Yours Sincerely

J.H. Gubbins

⁶⁸ William Christie (1845-1921) the British Astronomer Royal was a member of the British Commission. He left Yokohama for Hokkaido on July 29, 1896. (Satow's diary, Ruxton, 2003, p.113)

39. Gubbins to Satow (p.76)

23 Mch/'96

Dear Sir Ernest,

I enclose the dft. [draft] on T.R. [Treaty Revision] negotiations wh. [which] you asked me to write.

Denison told me he had heard that the German Govt. had pressed the Japanese to place some shipbuilding orders in Germany and he seemed to connect this request with the progress of negotiations. He also said that the J. Govt. attributed the recent somewhat unfriendly attitude of Germany to the cessation of the official support given by the Japanese Govt. to German trade in the years 1884-88.

He also told me that an extradition treaty was being negotiated between Mexico and Japan. The negotiations had arisen in consequence of a request made by Mexico for the surrender of a Mexican fugitive offender. It seemed to be doubtful he added whether the fugitive was in Japan or not, but the Japanese Govt. had refused under any circumstances to entertain the demand and had suggested an extradition treaty wh. Mr. [M.] Wollheim [the Mexican minister resident] had now received instructions to negotiate. He asked me not to mention the matter on trade as the Japanese were anxious for obvious reasons to keep it quite secret.

Believe me,

Yours Sincerely

J.H. Gubbins

40. Gubbins to Satow (p.77)

24 March

Dear Sir Ernest,

I enclose my translation of the Upper House Budget Debate of the 29 Feb., together with the original; also for convenience of reference I add the Japan Weekly Mail in which translations of the Budget appear.

The debates are insufficiently edited so that, as you have yourself noticed, the remarks of members are sometimes difficult to follow and mistakes occur in the figures quoted.

Believe me,

Yours Sincerely

J.H. Gubbins

41. Gubbins to Satow (undated memo) (p.78)

Japanese troops in Corea

Osaki's statement correct so far as numbers of troops are concerned. Early next month the three battalions of

the Reserves now in Corea will be replaced by one battalion of the active army. The 4 Chiū-tai composing the battalion will be distributed as follows:

2 Chiū-tai in Soul

1 “ in Fusan [Pusan]

1 “ in Gensan [Wonsan]

Mr. Nakada said he would enquire from the War Office whether the battalion for garrison service in Corea would be taken from what is known as the Wei-hai-wei brigade or from elsewhere. He would also find out if the number of gendarmes was rightly stated at 150. J.H.G.

42. Gubbins to Satow (p.79)

Monday

31 Mch.

Dear Sir Ernest,

I enclose the Memorandum on the Kobe Hill Lots. I found it harder to write than I expected and it seems to me still rather abruptly worded. At first I was inclined to say that “H.M.’s Minister before submitting the modification he thought desirable wd. like to know whether the J. Govt. would be prepared to discuss the question” – but it is better I think to take this for granted.

The first objection tho’ not the most important seems to me to be the one best founded. The second would disappear on the receipt of an assurance from the J. Govt. that there is no intention of altering the character of the leases in the future. Art. III of the Agreement says that “the leases shall in all respects be subject to any arrangement hereafter concluded between the Powers wh. are parties to this agreement with reference to the future tenure of land leased in perpetuity by the J. Govt. to the subjects or citizens of Foreign Powers.” (I am not quoting from the signed agreement and it might be well to refer to this before the Memorandum goes in.)

Now although Art. XVIII of the new Treaty refers only to property held in the Settlements under leases in perpetuity, it may I think fairly be held that the Kobe Hill Lot leases being also leases from the Govn. [Government ?] in perpetuity are entitled to be treated identically. It is possible that the J. Govt. may take this view and if they do all difficulty in this direction is removed. On the other hand if the J. Govt. contend that the Hill Lot leases cannot be dealt with as coming under Art. XVIII then it is difficult to see how they can resist the argument that these leases having been granted in perpetuity and their character as such having been confirmed in express terms by the agreement of 1888 it is not open to the Govt. to alter them in the future. You will see that I have modified the opinion wh. I expressed before on this point.

In the agreement it was evidently anticipated that in the revision of the treaties the whole question of leases in perpetuity would be dealt with. That this was not done is partly due to carelessness and partly to the fact

that Art. XVIII is a modification of several previous draft articles and that it deals with two questions: the merging of the Foreign Settlements into the respective Japanese Communes, and the leases in perpetuity in those settlements.

The intention of the Agreement was not carried out and the question has now to be regarded under the new conditions created by the new T[reat]y.

I hear from Denison that the J. Govt. has notified the Chinese Govt. that they consider the new ports as already opened to trade, and that Arakawa formerly Consul at Tientsin is on his way to Suchow. The J.G. have said they will hold Chinese responsible for any contretemps which may occur. In one of Jordan's memos he speaks of the 8th Novr. (I think) as the date fixed by Treaty for the opening of the new ports. The date is the 17th Octr. being 6 months after signature and not after ratification.

James ⁶⁹ tells me the Russians have contracted with the Yezo tanko-sha [Yezo coal mining company] for the delivery of 150,000 tons of coal in Vladivostock before the port is closed by ice. This will mean transport by 50 steamers each carrying 3000 tons. This information comes from Visct. Enomoto [Takeaki]. Believe me,

Yours Sincerely

J.H. Gubbins

43. Gubbins to Satow (p.81)

31/3/96 The Club

Monday Evening [?]

Dear Sir Ernest,

It occurs to me that it wd. be well to emphasize a point wh. [which] I made to you in my letter of this afternoon. It is this. In referring to the changed conditions introduced into this question [?] of the Kobe Hill Lots by the conclusion of our new Treaty, I did not say as I might have done, that the intentions of the parties signing the agreement were based on the expectation that [Treaty Revision ?] wd. involve the ownership of real estate by foreigners. This is the true meaning of the 3rd Article [?] of the agreement. The decision of the J.G. to withhold from foreigners the right to hold real estate was [] to the Agreement.

This makes the argument for bringing all leases in perpetuity under the same treatment all the stronger I think.

Yrs Sincerely

J.H. Gubbins

⁶⁹ Probably John Matthews James (1839-1908). British naval officer who came to Japan in the early Meiji period and advised the Japanese naval ministry (Kaigunshō). Also captain of a lightship, the Meiji Maru. Died in Yokohama, 1908. Or maybe Admiral Thomas H. James, who was employed by the Kaigunshō (Meiji 9-15) and as an inspector of N.Y.S.K.

44. Gubbins to Satow (p.83)

Tokio

April 5/96

Dear Sir Ernest,

Since my letter of this morning I have learnt that the law of 1890 to which I refer – the operation of which was to take effect from January /93 – the date originally fixed for the operation of the Codes – never came into operation and is still under revision. It may be therefore taken for granted I suppose that the Civil Code ⁷⁰ will come into operation on the 1st Jan/97.

Believe me,

Yours Sincerely

J.H. Gubbins

45. Gubbins to Satow (p.84)

Tokio

Apr. 28, 1896

Dear Sir Ernest,

The day that you left an extra of the Official Gazette appeared (dated the 23rd) containing a decree promulgating the Civil Code. The decree says nothing as to the date of operation of the Code, and it does not seem to be clear whether the resolution of the Diet postponing the Code's operation till after the 31st Dec/96, or the provisions of the Law issued on the 6th Oct. 1890 wh. enacted that laws shd. have effect, in cases where no fixed dated of operation was named, 20 days after publication, will determine the point. [Secretary of Legation G.A.] Lowther has written to Motono on the subject and you will probably hear from him.

Hoshi Toru's appointment to Washington and Kurino's transfer to Rome are in this morning's Gaxette.

The "Kokumin Kiō-kwai" is apparently much exercised over the admission of Itagaki [Taisuke] into the Cabinet and the "Nichi Nichi" of today continues its criticism of the Kokumin party's Report which condemns the Govt's action.

⁷⁰ The New Civil Code (*Shin Minpō*), closer to German than French law in both structure and content, was translated into English by J. H. Gubbins and published in December 1897 as *The Civil Code of Japan* (Tokio: Maruya & Co.; Yokohama: Kelly & Walsh Ltd. 1897). The code was passed by the Diet in March 1896, and promulgated on April 23. (The date of its operation was left for subsequent determination by Imperial Decree, see letter no. 46 below.) In the preface to his translation Gubbins acknowledged assistance received from Mr. R. Masujima, *Hōgaku Hakushi* (LL.D.) of the Japanese Bar, and Barrister of the Middle Temple, and Judge G. Akiyama, President of the Yokohama *Chihō Saibansho* (District Court). He also wrote that he had consulted Dr. Ludwig Lönnholm's German translation of the Code, and the Commentary written by Messrs. Kakizaki and Yamada.

We shall probably leave for Karuizawa the day after tomorrow the 30th. I have asked Hampden to report to you any news which there may be in the papers.

Believe me,

Yours Sincerely

J.H. Gubbins

46. Gubbins to Satow (p.86)

Tokio

28 Apr/96

Tuesday Night

Dear Sir Ernest,

I find I have made a stupid mistake in both letters I have written to you on the subject of the date of operation of the Civil Code. On looking again at the Official Gazette I see that the [Imperial] Decree is followed by a Law wh. states that the date of operation will be determined by Imperial Decree.

The small type in which this Law appears is the reason of my not having noticed it before.

Believe me

Yours Sincerely

J.H. Gubbins

47. Gubbins to Satow (p.88)

[undated]

Dear Sir Ernest,

I think that the Board of Trade mean what you do but they speak of it as a drawback on exportation. This is also the phraseology of our new Treaty see Art. VIII ⁷¹ and is that, I see, also of the draft Treaty of the Conference of 86/87. [Margin: where it does not mean drawback on re-exportation.]

I have waited to see you till now 2.30 but will return later.

It might be advisable to get from the Japanese Govt. the wording of the clause re drawbacks in the German treaty. In Haste,

Yrs Sincerely,

⁷¹ Part of Article VIII of the 1894 Treaty reads: "In the same manner there shall be perfect equality of treatment in regard to exportation, so that the same export duties shall be paid and the same bounties and drawbacks allowed in the dominions of either of the high Contracting Parties on the exportation of any article which is or may be legally exported therefrom..." (Perez, *Japan Comes of Age*, 1999, p. 179). The full treaty text is reproduced in George N. Curzon, *Problems of the Far East*, London: Archibald Constable & Co. 1896, pp. 70-78.

J.H. Gubbins

48. Gubbins to Satow (p.89)

Shiba

Sunday [undated]

Dear Sir Ernest,

You will probably have received the Official Gazette Extra of last night announcing Count Mutsu's resignation and the appointment (as Ken-nin [兼任 – concurrent holder of two posts]) of Marquis Saionji.

Two days ago I heard that he [Mutsu Munemitsu] was so unwell that there seemed to be little chance of his being able to remain in office, but we have heard the same statement before.

Today's "Asahi" says that the Govt. have decided to allow the railways in Formosa to be bought by a private company who will proceed to extend the line. The line is not to be subsidized but the price to be paid for the existing rolling stock etc. will be small. It adds that [Governor General] Kabayama's plan [?] was to develop the railways as a Govt. property but that he was unable to find funds for this purpose.

Believe me,

Yours Sincerely

J.H. Gubbins

49. Gubbins to Satow (p.91)

Monday 5.30 pm. [undated]

Dear Sir Ernest,

Mr. Nakada has just sent Mr. Sasano of the Foreign Office to say that a telegram was received yesterday from the Prefect of Chiba stating that "HMS Centurion had arrived (when is not stated) off the coast of Awa [安房] and anchored opposite the village of Hōjō 北條 near but a little north of Tateyama and is reported to be staying till the 20th. There appears to be an intention to land."

As no permit to visit an unopened port has been applied for on behalf of the "Centurion" Mr. Nakada asked to know if you had any knowledge of the movements of the "Centurion".

I said I would report his message to you.

Mr. Sasano was also instructed to say that Marquis Ito had made a communication to the Foreign Office relative to a complaint you had made to him respecting the sugar and camphor question, in Formosa. As the communication was not very clear Mr. Nakada was anxious to be informed of the tenor of your statements to the Minister President.

I said you were out and that I could only charge myself with the delivery of the message and take your instructions later on.

Mr. Nakada also returned thro' Mr. Sasano the Japanese papers sent by Mr. Denning and left by me this morning with him, and he explained that the Departmental Authorities were empowered by a Decree issued (I believe) last year to levy taxes on foreigners, that this had been done already in several cases, and that therefore the Prefect of Miyagi Ken was only acting according to instructions.⁷² Mr. Sasano could not give me the date of the Decree, so I asked him to ask Mr. Nakada [Takanori] to furnish me with the necessary particulars.

Believe me

Yours Sincerely

J.H. Gubbins

P.S. Mr. Motono was not in this afternoon at the F. Office nor was he at his private house, and as he was not expected back till 8 o'clock this evening I sent word that I wld. call tomorrow morning. I shall come tomorrow morning at 9 o'clock to the Chancery before going to the Foreign Office.

50. Gubbins to Satow (p.93)

Karuizawa

2nd May 1896

Dear Sir Ernest,

The "Mainichi Shimbun" of the 29th had a long article on Corea. It is inclined to credit the rumours of an approaching understanding between Japan and Russia on the Korean question giving as its reasons the recent utterances of the official organ (the "Nichi Nichi Shimbun") and the well-known proclivities of Marshal Yamagata who has gone to Russia. It assumes that the understanding between the two Powers will be based on general assurances as to non-interference with the internal affairs of Corea, and that they are to cooperate for the joint support and joint development of the peninsula. It argues that the policy must be a failure. Japan

⁷² Walter Denning was teaching English in Sendai, far from the foreign settlements. He refused to pay prefectural and city taxes. Denning's tax bill amounted to 10 yen 68 sen 5 rin. Denning thought his demand higher than other foreigners, and was told by the British consulate that there was no obligation to pay before the new treaty came into effect, so he refused. The Japanese Foreign Office investigated the case through the governor of Miyagi prefecture, and found that Denning had been asked to pay 40 times more than an American missionary William Edwin Hoy, Vice-principal of Sendai Tohoku Gakuin, whose demand was only 26 sen 3 rin. But Denning's annual income was 2,400 yen, whereas Hoy had at first received 600 yen but later gave it all to the school. The other foreigners in Sendai all paid tax. (Nagaoka, vol. 1, p. 297, summarized from Japanese F. O. archives). See Satow's diary for November 25, 1897 (Ruxton, 2003, p. 216) in which he complains about Denning's treatment to Nakada Takanori and Komura Jutaro.

has tried three policies already. First of all Korea was left to herself; then Japan and China took the work in hand together; this policy failed because China broke her agreement with Japan. Thereupon Japan decided to take Korea in hand alone and went to war with China on that issue. Now instead of waiting patiently to see the full effects of that policy she is disposed to abandon it and try what can be done by joint action with Russia. But as Korea unlike Switzerland or Belgium has proved her incapacity to govern herself the policy wh. it is now proposed to try must clearly be fatal to her independence. What in fact will joint action mean ? It must mean the quartering of both Japanese and Russian troops in Seoul, the appointment of both Japanese and Russian advisers, the lending of both Japanese and Russian capital, the joint superintendence of Korean finances by Japan and Russia and the interference of the Japanese and Russian Ministers in the administrative affairs of Korea. It must therefore mean competition, rivalry, ill-will and ultimately collision and war. The same result must in fact follow from joint Japanese and Russian control as was produced by the former understanding between Japan and China. Joint action with Russia means war sooner or later and if Japan is prepared to fight Russia, it would be better for her to discard all idea of joint action, proceed resolutely with her work in Korea and, if Russia obstructs this work, fight her. And if Japan is not prepared to go to war with Russia it is useless for her to agree to joint action, for the agreement would have no real force and Korea would be annexed by Russia.

I called Denison's attention to this article before I left Tokio and I gathered from him that some such understanding as the article speaks of was in contemplation and that it would amount to a "hands off" policy on both sides. He confirmed the statement as to Marquis Yamagata being in favour of an arrangement with Russia.⁷³

The "Official Gazette" of the 1st publishes the Report of the Commissioners sent by the Nōshōmushō [Ministry of Agriculture & Commerce] to the new ports in China, so far as it relates to Suchow. There does not seem to be much in it. It appears to contain in a condensed form much of what was communicated earlier by newspaper correspondents.

The Japanese Consul at Vancouver telegraphs that there is an idea of instituting a Customs supervision of tea importations in order to stop the importation of cheap and bad teas, but he seems to doubt if the measures in contemplation can be worked satisfactorily.

We are having beautiful weather and it is not too cold.

Believe me,

Yours Sincerely

⁷³ Yamagata Aritomo "skilfully engineered his appointment as special emissary to the coronation of Nicholas II in June 1896...Some days before the ceremony, he negotiated with Lobanov, the Russian foreign minister, the protocol which later came to be called the Yamagata-Lobanov agreement." (Ian Nish, *The Anglo-Japanese Alliance*, p. 44)

J.H. Gubbins

51. Gubbins to Satow (p.95)

Karuizawa

May 4, 1896

Dear Sir Ernest,

The “Asahi” of yesterday speaks of an understanding between Japan and Russia as a fait accompli, and says that the question of joint garrisons is one of the points which Marquis Yamagata is to discuss at St. Petersburg. It adds that this point is one wh. is likely to be troublesome. It will be difficult to prevent collisions between the respective garrisons, and it remains to be seen whether Great Britain will approve of the arrangement.

The same paper says that Shige-ura near Kominato in the Awomori Ken has been chosen as one of the sites for the two Govt. Iron Foundries which are projected. The other is to be established somewhere in Kiushiu.

Speaking of political parties the “Asahi” states it is not the case that the Kokumin Kiō-kwai were dissatisfied at the admission of Itagaki into the Cabinet. At the interview wh. took place, before the alliance with the Jiyūtō was made public, between Hayashi [Yūzō ?] and Shinagawa [Yajirō], the former informed Shinagawa of the intentions of the Jiyūtō and pressed him to induce the National Party to join the alliance. This Shinagawa declined to do on the ground that his Party was too young to cooperate successfully with the Jiyūtō, and said that the Jiyūtō might count upon the support of his party on the three measures of military and naval extension, industrial development and educational reform.

Believe me,

Yrs Sincerely

J.H. Gubbins

52. Gubbins to Satow (p.97)

Karuizawa

May 5th/96

Dear Sir Ernest,

Hampden has just written to me that you returned to Tokio on Sunday. I am afraid that the letter I wrote to you from here on the 2nd may be still on its way. I addressed it to Kobe c/o HBM’s Consul.⁷⁴ It contained a précis of an article in the “Mainichi” of the 29th April, condemning the policy of an understanding with Russia,

⁷⁴ Satow left Tokyo for Kobe on 27 April 1896, and returned to Tokyo on 3 May. (Diary, Ruxton, 2003, pp. 85-87)

on the ground that it could only be followed by the same results that attended the previous understanding with China. If Japan was prepared to fight it would be better to fight on the issue of Russian obstruction to her work of reform, than to wait until she was forced into it later on by disagreements arising out of an attempt to work with Russia in Korea. The alternative of Japan's abandoning Korea was not mentioned.

We have made our arrangements to return on Thursday by the train leaving at 9.20 a.m. I hope this time will be convenient to you.

Believe me,

Yours Sincerely

J.H. Gubbins

53. Gubbins to Satow (p.99)

Wednesday

17 June

Dear Sir Ernest,

I enclose a re-draft of the Kobe Hill Lot form of lease which embodies all recent alterations. In one place which you will notice I have left it for you to decide whether the wording of the temporary leases already issued namely "heirs, executors etc." or the new wording agreed upon shall be inserted.

I notice one or two irregularities of wording which might perhaps be altered: for instance the use of the word Prefecture in one place and of the word Ken in others, the writing of tsubo (plural) with and without an s, and the way in which the ri [?] fractions are expressed.

The new German Ty [Treaty] is interesting. The immediate operation of the article relating to patents which is fuller than our article – will be welcomed by those of our own countrymen who have been clamouring for so long for a recognition of their patents and trade-marks.⁷⁵

By the interchange of notes the hiring of land is made to include emphyteusis,⁷⁶ but what use will be made of this privilege remains to be seen. Foreigners will be unlikely I should think to take up land for farming or stock rearing purposes.

The same notes place beyond a doubt the question of taxes in respect of land in the foreign settlements.

Sir Thomas Sanderson's note to the Colonial Office of the 10th April states that in the case of the adhesion of Natal and Newfoundland to the new Treaty "the J. Govt. have merely taken note of the fact that those

⁷⁵ The most favoured nation clause would confer this benefit on British as well as German subjects.

⁷⁶ emphyteusis and superficies: in Roman law, these were leases granted either for a long term or in perpetuity with most of the rights of full ownership, the only stipulation being that an annual rent be paid and certain improvements made to the property. Both were initially granted by the state, the former for agricultural purposes, the latter for building on land.

Colonies have applied to be admitted as participators in the stipulations of the Treaty and that the terms of Marquis Saionji's Note of the 28th Nov. do not appear to amount to an acceptance of their adhesion."

The Colonial article [Article XIX] of our Treaty provides that "the stipulations of the present Treaty shall be applicable to any of the above-named Colonies or foreign possessions on whose behalf notice to that effect shall have been given to the J. Govt. by H.B.M.'s Representative at Tokio within two years from the date of exchange of ratifications of the present Treaty."

It seems clear that all that the J. Govt. are called upon to do in the matter is to accept notice of the fact ; thus acceptance of the adhesion of a Colony is not required. It may of course be usual for a foreign Govt. to whom the notice of adhesion is given to signify its formal acceptance: but the Treaty itself says nothing on this point, and it is certain that the J. Govt. read [i.e. interpret] the Treaty as we do.

Believe me

Yours Sincerely

J.H. Gubbins

P.S. If you think it undesirable for me to proceed with the translation of the Code I will give it up. I have only done 35 [135 ?] articles so far.

54. Gubbins to Satow (p.101)

19 June 1896

Dear Sir Ernest,

It may save time if I report to you at once the result of my interview with Mr. Nakada. Mr. Sazaki had evidently reported to him accurately what happened between the former and myself this morning and I found Mr. Nakada quite prepared for the message which I gave him by your instructions. I said that you appreciated highly the consideration shown by the Naval Authorities in consenting to modify their decision as regards Awomori communicated to you in Marquis Saionji's despatch of a few days ago, and also to suspend in favour of our ships engaged in the eclipse expedition the rules previously communicated to you against frequent visits being paid by vessels of war to unopened ports. At the same time in order to prevent any possible misunderstanding in the future which might be caused by the visit of any British man-of-war to Awomori in the face of the refusal contained in the Note of the Min. of For. Affairs to you, you were anxious that the permission it was now decided to grant should be recorded in some definite shape. It appeared to you, I added, that the point might be best arranged by altering the wording of the passage in Marquis Saionji's Note to you which referred to the port of Awomori, and that if the passage in question were altered so as to make it clear that though under ordinary circumstances permission to men of war to visit Awomori was withheld the Naval Authorities would consent under the special circumstances of the case to the application

made by you on behalf of the Admiral.

Mr. Nakada said he quite understood your view of the matter and I then handed him the Japanese original of Marquis Saionji's Note in which he gave me to understand the alteration proposed by you would be made.

He pressed me in regard to the suggestion of the Japanese Admiralty that only one ship of war should visit Awomori, and that the name of this ship should be stated at once in order that the necessary permit might be issued. I said you had not instructed me to give a definite reply on this point, and that it might be necessary for you to report to the Admiral again. But the wishes of the Japanese Naval Authorities in this matter would be borne in mind.

Believe me,

Yours Sincerely

J.H. Gubbins

55. Gubbins to Satow (p.103)

Shiba

July 2nd/96

Thursday Evening

Dear Sir Ernest,

As my telegram will have told you, I have recd. the news I was expecting which takes me to Karuizawa and I am starting tomorrow by the first train with Dr. [Davidson] MacDonald ⁷⁷ – [Dr.] Baelz ⁷⁸ being detained here in consequence of the Crown Prince's health. You will I trust excuse my hurried departure in view of the circumstances.

Paget will give you a letter to me from Motono and my reply on the subject of the Queen's telegram. I confined myself in my answer [no. 56 below] to a simple acknowledgment of the communication of the Min. for F.A., merely expressing my regret that I did not receive it in time to communicate it to you before your departure for Chiuzenji. ⁷⁹

The final Memorandum in the case of the Kobe Hill Lots will be handed tomorrow to Hampden. I left the Chancery today at 4 o'clock, 5 minutes before Mr. Yoshida who was bringing it arrived – and ten minutes afterwards I saw him at the Foreign Office. I understand from Denison that it is an acceptance of your final

⁷⁷ Dr. Davidson Macdonald (1836-1905) was a medical doctor and missionary in Japan, 1873-98.

⁷⁸ Erwin von Bälz (1849-1913). German physician resident in Japan 1876-1905. Physician to the imperial household and professor at Tokyo University Medical School. His diary *Das Leben eines deutschen Arztes im erwachenden Japan* (1931; translated into English as *Awakening Japan: The Diary of a German doctor*, 1932) is insightful. He was also medical officer to the British Legation from 1882 to 1905, and attended to the British minister Mr. Hugh Fraser before he died in 1894.

⁷⁹ Satow was at Lake Chuzenji July 1-4, 1896 and July 14-25. (Ruxton, 2003, p. 451)

draft with the simple substitution in two places of the word “or” for the word “and”. Denison has explained to me that, from a legal point of view the word “or” ought in both cases to be substituted for “and”. The lots he says are leased to the person named, his heirs etc. and assigns but in the two cases in question – one of which refers to suits to be instituted in default of compliance with the conditions of the lease – the word “or” is inserted.

I am sorry I did not meet Motono on Tuesday but he could have found me easily had he wished to do so. Denison thinks that the Marquis [Saionji] has not forgotten the intervention of Marquis Ito which frequently happened during his period of acting ad interim , and is inclined to be unduly sensitive as regards his position as Min. for For. Affairs.

Nothing of any importance has occurred in the newspapers, except this unfortunate incident of the train interfering with the Imperial procession [?] – which may lead to one or two minor resignations.

I shall be back in Tokio on Tuesday unless I am detained by my wife’s illness in wh. case I will telegraph.

Believe me

Yours Sincerely

J.H. Gubbins

56. Gubbins to Motono (in French) (p.105)

Dft [draft]

Legation d’Angleterre

le jeudi

2 [?] Juillet, 1896

Cher Monsieur

Je m’empresse de répondre à votre letter d’hier.

Je regrette beaucoup de ne vous avoir pas rencontré lorsque vous avez eu la bonté de me faire une visite. Ce ne fut qu’hier matin que Sir Ernest est parti pour Nikkô et j’aurais bien voulu lui faire part avant son départ du sujet de votre lettre.

Mon chef revient le samedi prochain et je tacherai [?] de lui transmettre le plutôt possible dès son retour le communiqué de S.E. le Ministre des Affaires Etrangères.

Agréiez Cher Monsieur mes civilités empressées.

J.H.G.

Translation: Draft.

British Legation, Thursday 2nd [?] July, 1896

Dear Sir,

I hasten to answer your letter of yesterday's date. I greatly regret that I could not meet you when you were kind enough to pay me a visit. Sir Ernest left for Nikkō only yesterday and I would have liked to inform him of the subject of your letter before he left. My boss will be back next Saturday and I will try to convey to him as soon as possible after he returns the communication of His Excellency the Minister for Foreign Affairs.

Believe me in haste, Yours Sincerely, J.H.G.

57. Gubbins to Satow (p.107)

July 25th

Dear Sir Ernest,

There is little to-day in the newspapers. The "Asahi" has a telegram to the effect that the murderer of Kim Ok-Kiun has been appointed to a post in the Corean Govt.⁸⁰

The "Jiji" discusses rumoured changes in the Cabinet and thinks that Okuma, Matsugata and Goto may all return. Beyond the fact that both Matsugata and Goto are on good terms with Okuma I don't know that there is any ground for the statement.

Both the "Jiji" and the "Nichi Nichi" of yesterday discuss the signature of the China-Japan Commercial Treaty on the 21st inst. at Peking. The former says that some of the principal points are as follows:

1. The M.F.N. [Most Favoured Nation] clause operates as regards Japan but not as regards China.
2. Japanese in China will be subject to their own jurisdiction but Chinese in Japan will be subject to Japanese jurisdiction.
3. Japanese in China are allowed to buy and lease land and houses in all the open cities and ports of China within a certain fixed area, but there is no provision regarding Chinese in Japan.
4. Japanese may engage freely in manufacture at all the open cities and ports of China and the question of what taxes shall be levied will be determined solely by the Shimonoseki Treaty.
5. The same Customs Duties and transit tax will be paid by Japanese as are paid by subjects or citizens of the M.F. Nation.

"Our country", the "Jiji" adds, "has probably secured other special privileges in questions of detail but it is impossible to learn what these are now. In any case the Treaty we feel sure contains the best portions of all the treaties made between China and other countries and consequently places Japanese rights on a solid footing. Except for the fact that the regulations respecting the manufacture of goods in China have been omitted there is nothing that can be regretted in the Ty. [Treaty]

The duration of the Ty. is ten years from the date of ratification wh. is to take place at Peking in the three months from date of signature."

⁸⁰ See Keene, 2002, pp. 472-5.

I will look at the “Nichi Nichi” this afternoon. The Jiji’s remarks are not very instructive and show that its information is vague.

Believe me,

Yours Sincerely

J.H. Gubbins

[P.S.] I understand from Denison that the Tariff attached to the dft. Commercial Ty. was abandoned.

58. Gubbins to Satow (p.109)

Karuizawa

August 8th 1896

Dear Sir Ernest,

I am ready to accept any decision in regard to the house question which may be arrived at at home.

The Office of Works do not seem to understand that it is the arrangement of the rooms, and not the inadequacy of accommodation, to which I have objected. The same number of rooms differently arranged would have given us all the accommodation we require, and in this case the additions asked for would have been comparatively trifling.

It might perhaps be well to explain this to the Office of Works who appear to think me unreasonable in the matter, and are possibly unaware that in deferring to your wishes as regards moving into the Legation I shall be put to considerable expense.

May I point out that the arrangement recommended by you and the counter-proposal of the Office of Works both rest on the assumption that quarters in the Legation are needed for only two and not three students.

In returning the correspondence you have kindly sent for my perusal I would suggest that the final decision as to the alterations might be postponed until Mr. Marshall’s arrival. The position of the new bedroom marked on the plan is exactly over the main drain box, and this question and that of the servants’ quarters, which need better ventilation, would, I think, be best dealt with by an expert on the spot.

Believe me,

Yours Sincerely

J.H. Gubbins

59. Gubbins to Satow (p.111)

Karuizawa

August 24th [1896]

Dear Sir Ernest,

I am glad you were able to find the Ty Print [Treaty Print?].

It is a triumph to have secured the inclusion of the word “artisans”⁸¹ and I shall be interested to hear how it was arranged. When Komura last spoke on the subject to Denison he said the Cabinet were determined to make no alteration in anything negotiated by Count Mutsu. And from this I gathered that it was hopeless to press the matter.

The late For. Min. [Mutsu ?] has I hear returned from Honolulu much better for his trip.

I feel selfish to have remained up here when you have been so busy in Tokio. Your mail home seems to have been heavier than you expected.

If Matsugata enters the Cabinet it will very likely cause a split in the “Kokumin Kiōkwai”. I do not understand why if Okuma has no chance of being included in the impending Cabinet reconstruction a well-informed paper like the “Asahi” should look upon his acceptance of a portfolio as almost certain.

Our dysentery scare is I am glad to say passing away. The only two remaining patients are now out of danger.

Is there any chance of your making an expedition which will bring you to Karuizawa ? I am anxious to show you my garden, and there are one or two expeditions in the neighbourhood which are well worth doing.

Believe me

Yours Sincerely

J.H. Gubbins

60. Gubbins to Satow (p.113)

Tokio

Sept. 1st/96

Dear Sir Ernest,

Your telegram authorizing me to return to Karuizawa reached me this morning at eleven o'clock and I intended taking the afternoon train from Uyenō. But the house inspection occupied us some time and there were other things to be attended to so I am not leaving till tomorrow morning.

I pointed out to [F.J.] Marshall the position of the drain-trap and he says it can be removed without difficulty. He also thinks something can be done to improve the ventilation of the back yard and the servants' quarters.

The ‘Kwampo Go-gwai’ of yesterday confirmed the news of Ito's resignation and his replacement temporarily by Kuroda. It does not seem likely that the latter will be premier in the new Cabinet. Most of the papers agree that Matsugata will be the man, and that Okuma [Shigenobu] will be Minister for Foreign Affairs.

⁸¹ See Satow's diary, August 19 & 20, 1896. (Ruxton, 2003, pp. 116-117).

You will have noticed the reported resignations of six other Cabinet ministers and the statement of their having withdrawn them at the Emperor's request. The general impression seems to be that it will be some days before the new ministry is formed. Yamagata and Matsugata are returning from Kioto and the former maybe asked to form a Cabinet but he will probably resign.

It is impossible at this moment to say how the portfolios will be distributed in the new combination. All we know at present is that Hayashi and Watanabe will not remain. It is said also that Oyama will insist on resigning. Possibly Nomura⁸² may return as Home Minister, but I have not seen it suggested.

The "Yomi-uri" of yesterday notes that Ito Miōji has practically joined the Jiyutō and commands as many votes as Itagaki. I do not think he will retain his position under Matsugata especially if Okuma becomes Minister for Foreign Affairs.

You will I hope have understood that it was only exceptional circumstances which made me ask your permission to return to Karuizawa. Denison was to have come to us on the 16th but he was prevented by an attack of rheumatism so that he only joined us on Sunday. I went to the Station to meet him and on returning to the house found your telegram ordering me back to Tokio. It was too late to start that day, but I left the next morning, and I did not telegraph to you till after I had received your letter of instructions which only reached me that evening. I shd. mention that there is no train after 3.20 p.m. from Karuizawa.

[J.N.] Jordan⁸³ has I hear received the Sōul appointment.⁸⁴

[British military attaché Colonel E.H.] Sartorius is looking unwell still and has just started for Miyanoshita where Baelz is.

I met yesterday a Mr. Seki [?] whom you knew a long time ago as Mr. Yamamoto. He said he would take an opportunity of calling on you on your return from Chiuzenji the date of which I gave him.⁸⁵ He is now out of office but has held various important posts, having been Prefect of three different Ken [prefectures] and a judge of the Supreme Court. He is an anti-Ito man.

The new students⁸⁶ seem nice. I have not given them a writing teacher yet. Perhaps it will not be necessary. One of their teachers was formerly a writing master.

Believe me,

⁸² Viscount Nomura Yasushi.

⁸³ John Newell Jordan (1852-1925). Appointed student interpreter in China, 1876. Asst. Chinese Secretary to the Peking legation, 1889. Chinese Secretary, 1891. Consul-General in Korea, 1896-98. Chargé d'affaires, 1898-1901. Minister resident at Court of Korea, 1901-06. Minister at Peking after Satow, 1906-20. His semi-official papers are at the Public Record Office, FO/350.

⁸⁴ Gubbins had asked to become Consul-General in Seoul, and Satow had recommended him to Lord Salisbury. See Eric Barrington to Satow, letter no. 10, September 29, 1896, PRO 30/33 5/2.

⁸⁵ Satow was at Chuzenji August 24 – September 5, 1896, and September 11-21. (Ruxton, 2003, p. 453).

⁸⁶ John Twizell Wawn and Thomas Joseph Harrington were appointed student interpreters on June 3, 1896. (F.O. List, 1897. See Kuwata, 1995, p.156.)

Yours Sincerely

J.H. Gubbins

61. Gubbins to Satow (p.116)

Karuizawa

Sept 6/96

Sunday

Dear Sir Ernest,

I have decided to return to Tokio on Tuesday by the 9.23 am train. I hope you will not have expected me earlier.

You will see by the papers that the political situation is still very unsettled. Your information is later [more recent] than mine but I see that the last “Asahi” (yesterday’s issue, a private copy of which reaches me while I am here) looks upon Yamagata as the possible successor of Ito. His appointment will mean I presume the exclusion of Okuma and it remains to be seen whether Matsugata⁸⁷ will care to come in alone. If Okuma is excluded, the Cabinet will not I think last long, unless Inouye comes to its support and accepts a portfolio, and this contingency seems imponderable. Nomura’s name is I see at last mentioned, as also Shinagawa’s. One of the two in any case is very likely to come in.⁸⁸

The ‘Nippon’ of the 2nd had a rather venomous article against Ito in which it denounced what it calls the ‘evil of party Govt.’ and stated that Ito’s resignation was inevitable and only the logical result of his incapacity to direct the affairs of the nation as evidenced by his failure to carry out the administrative measures rendered necessary by the [Sino-Japanese] war, his inability to grapple successfully with the situation in Formosa, the disorganization of finance, the retrocession of the Liaotung peninsula, and Japan’s defeat in Korea. Japan it said had lost all the prestige gained by her victory over China, and the situation which enabled her before to assume an offensive policy must be regained.

If Yamagata is appointed premier the position will be similar to that in 89 when he replaced Kuroda

⁸⁷ Matsukata Masayoshi (1835-1924). He became minister of finance in 1881, at a time when the Japanese economy was in critical inflationary trouble. The deflationary measures he undertook established confidence in the currency and financial institutions, thus creating the conditions under which modern economic growth could begin. When the cabinet system was created in 1885, Matsukata continued as finance minister and served in seven out of the first ten cabinets, occupying this position for 18 out of 20 years between 1881 and 1901. He was prime minister twice (6 May 1891 – 8 August 1892 and 18 September 1896 – 12 January 1898). In 1898 he was named an elder statesman (*genrō*) and in 1905 promoted from count to marquis. In 1922 he was made prince, the highest noble rank. (Kodansha’s *Japan: An Illustrated Encyclopedia*, p. 934)

⁸⁸ In Matsukata Masayoshi’s second cabinet (18 September 1896 – 12 January 1898) Viscount Nomura Yasushi was Minister for Communications (Tsūshindaijin).

[Kiyotaka] on his return from Europe⁸⁹ and Okuma resigned the portfolio of foreign affairs to Aoki.⁹⁰ His administration then was a weak one. Now if neither Matsugata nor Okuma is included it will be still weaker, and it is not likely that in the face of two powerful political parties it can last long. If Okuma came in, there would doubtless be great changes in the Ministry, but I think his would be a strong one in spite of the Jiyuto's hostility – and the personal opposition of many of the leading men of the country.

The position is so complicated that it is difficult to make any forecast. Goto, Oki [?] will probably remain out and Itagaki, Watanabe, Saionji and Oyama will retire in any case. Saigo [Tsugumichi] may they say go to the War Department, and Kabayama [Sukenori] succeed him as Minister of Marine. The three portfolios of finance, foreign affairs and home affairs seem to present the greatest difficulty.

I have talked over the question with Denison but he is as much in the dark as I am.

Believe me,

Yours sincerely

J.H. Gubbins

62. Satow to Gubbins (memorandum—very faint) (p.118)

Notes on the political situation founded on a conversation with Mr. Furuya the sub-editor of the “Kokumin Shimbun”

The agitation which ended in the retirement of Ito was fomented by the proprietor and editor of the “Jiji Shimpō” who took a prominent part in the overthrow of the late Cabinet.

The original idea of the cabinet-makers (the persons now engaged in the formation of a new Ministry) was to make Yamagata premier and bring in Matsugata and Okuma. Yamagata's health made this impossible. The next idea which is attributed to Yamagata chiefly was to make Saigo prime minister and bring in Shirane [Senichi] as a counterpoise to Matsugata and Okuma.

Efforts are now being made to effect this combination but the difficulties are twofold. In the first place it is doubtful if Saigo will accept the post and in the second place it is uncertain whether Matsugata and Okuma would consent to come under Saigo.

The probable result according to my informant will be the formation of a Matsugata cabinet with Okuma as Minister for F.A. [Foreign Affairs] and Shirane as Home Minister, in which case the Ministry will have the support of the Shimpōtō and the Kokumin Kiōkwai and will also be assisted by several of the “Gen han” [?]. Kabayama is almost sure of a portfolio and if Saigo remains out of the new Cabinet he will take his portfolio.

⁸⁹ Yamagata Aritomo (1838-1922) was named prime minister for the first time December 1889-May 1891. His second term was from November 1898 to December 1901.

⁹⁰ See ‘Aoki Shūzō (1844-1914)’ by Ian Nish, Ch. 12, Vol. III, *Britain & Japan: Biographical Portraits* (ed. J.E. Hoare. Japan Library, 1999).

On the relations between Okuma and Matsugata my informant spoke very positively, saying they would come in together or not at all. Goto ⁹¹ is very busy and may possibly be included in the new administration.

9 Sept.

J.H.G.

63. Gubbins to Satow (p.120)

[Recd. 14 Nov {?}.]

Tokio

Friday Evening

11.9.96

Dear Sir Ernest,

The “Tokio Shimbun” has published an extra tonight in which it announces the composition of the new Cabinet as follows:

Prime Minister & Finance Minister	Matsugata
Home Minister	Kabayama
Foreign Minister	Okuma
War & Colonies	Takashima
Navy	Saigo
Education	Tani
Justice	Kiō-ura
Communications	Shirane
Agriculture & Commerce	Shinagawa

This will probably prove not to be authoritative like the Kokumin’s announcement of last evening and we may be prepared for many similar conjectures until the Cabinet is finally formed. But I give it to you as showing what is in the air. ⁹²

If the final combination is one resting on an alliance between the Kokumin Kiōkwai and the Shimpōtō it seems not unlikely that Shinagawa as well as Shirane will be included in the reconstruction.

The “Hōchi Shimbun” today gives what professes to be a short history of the pour parlers [French:

⁹¹ Gotō Shōjirō of Tosa (1838-97). Politician of Late Edo and Meiji periods. Satow first met him in September 1867 (*A Diplomat in Japan*, p. 265). In 1881 he formed the Jiyūtō (Liberal Party) with Itagaki Taisuke. Communications minister in the Kuroda, Yamagata and Matsukata cabinets. Named agriculture and commerce minister in the second Itō cabinet (8 August 1892 – 18 September 1896) but resigned when implicated in a scandal.

⁹² Matsukata’s second cabinet was as above except that: Hachisuka Mochiaki was Minister for Education; Nomura Yasushi was Minister for Communications; and Enomoto Takeaki was Minister for Agriculture & Commerce. Photographs of the nine members of the cabinet are in *Taiyō* (Meiji 29, vol. 2, no. 21) and they are reproduced in Nagaoka, Vol. 1 (front).

conversations or discussions preliminary to negotiation for an agreement] wh. have taken place. From this which tallies [agrees] with much we have heard elsewhere the post of premier was offered to Matsugata after Yamagata declined it and refused – was then offered to Saigo who also refused and finally again to Matsugata who accepted.

The “Tokio Shimbun” says Okuma has agreed to enter the Cabinet unconditionally wh. on the face of it seems doubtful.

I have arranged with Peacock for the defaulting messenger to be dismissed. He will leave tomorrow. Etsu [?] your servant pleaded for another day. I said he might think himself lucky not to have been handed over to the police. I have told Peacock to say nothing on this subject to Marshall.

Believe me

Yours Sincerely

J.H. Gubbins

[P.S.] I fear you will have had an unpleasant journey to Chiuzenji. ⁹³ Münter ⁹⁴ tells me the roads are badly damaged.

64. Gubbins to Satow (p.122)

Tokio

12th Sept.

Dear Sir Ernest,

There is nothing in the papers this morning of any importance. Nothing more is known of the constitution of the new Cabinet. The “Nichi Nichi Shimbun”, which is now edited (as well as owned) by Itō Miōji ⁹⁵, continues to occupy itself very much with the question whether Okuma will come into the new Cabinet or not; and the “Hōchi” has a spiteful paragraph on the subject of the Household Department which needs it says men like Prince Konoye and Viscount Tani to reform its administration.

Mr. Peacock asks me to mention that the 16th is the Mexican fête day.

Believe me

Yours sincerely

⁹³ See Satow’s diary for his account of the trip through flooded areas to Chuzenji from Tokyo on September 11-12, 1896. (Ruxton, 2003, pp. 453-454).

⁹⁴ Balthazar Münter, the Danish representative of Armstrong Co. Ltd. In Japan 1886-98.

⁹⁵ Itō Miyoji (1857-1934). Bureaucrat and politician from Nagasaki prefecture. He accompanied Itō Hirobumi to Europe in 1882 and later, with Inoue Kowashi and Kaneko Kentarō, assisted him in drafting the Constitution of the Empire of Japan. He served as Itō’s chief cabinet secretary (1892) and as his minister of agriculture and commerce (1898). In 1899 appointed privy councillor. President of *Tokyo Nichinichi Shimbun* (now *Mainichi Shimbun*) 1891-1904.

J.H. Gubbins

65. Gubbins to Satow (p.124)

Tokio

13. Sept. /96

Sunday morning

Dear Sir Ernest,

No extra was published last evening as far as I am aware nor is there any news in this morning's "Asahi". The latter says however that negotiations are being carried on between Matsugata and Ōkuma through certain leaders of the Shimpotō ⁹⁶, and that the Kokumin Kiōkwai have suddenly developed great activity and are trying to bring Soyeshima ⁹⁷ into the Cabinet. The latter's health may prevent him from accepting a portfolio.

Believe me

Yours Sincerely

J.H. Gubbins

66. Gubbins to Satow (p.126)

Tokio

14 Sept /96

Dear Sir Ernest,

The situation remains unchanged and the papers publish only rumours as to the views of leading men. Nothing seems to be known for certain. One of the rumours is that Ito will return, no other Statesman being able to form a Cabinet. The "Nichi Nichi" of yesterday says that Saigo [Tsugumichi] has refused to join a Matsugata Cabinet, while the "Hōchi" says that Ōyama ⁹⁸ is being urged to remain as War Minister, and that

⁹⁶ Shimpotō (Progressive Party). Political party established in March 1896 through a merger of the Rikken Kaishintō, the Rikken Kakushintō and several minor Diet parties; it sought to counterbalance the temporary alliance between Itō Hirobumi and the rival party Jiyūtō. Shimpotō leader Ōkuma Shigenobu joined the second Matsukata Masayoshi cabinet in September 1896; after a disagreement he resigned in 1897. In June 1898 the Shimpotō allied itself with the Jiyūtō to create the Kenseitō. (Kodansha's Illustrated Encyclopedia of Japan, p.1374)

⁹⁷ Soejima Taneomi (1828-1905) of Saga.

⁹⁸ Ōyama Iwao (1842-1916). General and field marshal. One of the *genrō* (elder statesmen) of the Meiji period. Born in Satsuma domain, participated in the *Satsuei sensō* of 1863 and the Boshin civil war of 1868. Army minister (*rikugunkyō*) in the Grand Council of State (*Dajōkan*) in 1880, and in the first modern cabinet of 1885. Commanded the Second Army in the Sino-Japanese War (1894-95) and became Chief of the Army General Staff Office in 1899. In the Russo-Japanese war of 1904-05 he was in command of the armies in Manchuria.

Kabayama ⁹⁹ has made it known that unless Matsugata's Cabinet is one of reform he will not join it, which from all we know of Kabayama reads like nonsense.

The Hōchi likewise devotes a long paragraph to an indictment of Ito's financial measures.

The 'Kokumin' preaches peace between parties and amicable arrangements and at the same time sneers at the veteran statesmen whom it recommends to cease intriguing against one another and retire from political life if they are not prepared to accept the responsibilities of office.

Okamoto tells me of a rumour that Fukuzawa's reason for his crusade against Ito's Cabinet was that he was in financial difficulties from which Okuma extricated him.

The "Official Gazette" of this morning publishes some bye-laws respecting the land tax in Formosa and also some notices on the subject of post and telegraph offices which have been established at several places in that island.

Believe me

Yours Sincerely

J.H. Gubbins

67. Gubbins to Satow (p.128)

Tokio

14th Sept /96

Monday afternoon

Dear Sir Ernest,

I omitted to mention in my letter to you of this morning that the Japanese papers report the signature on the 8th Inst. at the Itayai [?] of the new Treaty between Holland and Japan.

I am glad to say I have finished the Code.

Believe me

Yours Sincerely

J.H. Gubbins

68. Gubbins to Satow (p.129)

Tokio

⁹⁹ Kabayama Sukenori (1837-1922). Admiral and politician from Satsuma. Distinguished himself on the government side in the Satsuma Rebellion of 1877. Kabayama served as navy minister in the first Yamagata cabinet (1889) and the first Matsukata cabinet (1891). After active duty in the Sino-Japanese War he was appointed admiral and first governor-general of Taiwan. Home minister in the second Matsukata cabinet (1896).

15th Sept/96

Dear Sir Ernest,

Your letter of Sunday reached me this morning. I have telegraphed to the Hannens¹⁰⁰ giving your message.

The papers are full of gossip about the political situation but nothing definite is known. From the way the papers talk it would appear that the post of Minister of War [Army Minister, *rikugun daijin*] is the one which is giving the most difficulty. The Matsugata Cabinet if it is formed will it is said be pledged to retrenchment and the scheme of army extension will accordingly be cut down. This will cause much dissatisfaction as the “Nichi Nichi Shimbun” says. Katsura [Tarō] is, as you will see, now spoken of as the new Minister of War. It seems still uncertain whether Saigo will remain or not.

The “Nippon Yū-sen Kwaisha” shares have fallen very much owing to the supplementary regulations respecting navigation and shipbuilding subsidies which were recently issued. The regulations in question nullify in a great measure the original enactments.

I hear Lowther is washed out of his house. The damage to the road between Chiuzenji and Nikkō must be very inconvenient. Here it has rained hard all day.

Believe me

Yours Sincerely

J.H. Gubbins

69. Gubbins to Satow (p.131)

Tokio

Sept. 16, 1896

Dear Sir Ernest,

The Cabinet is still unformed. The “Nichi Nichi” of this morning condemns Matsugata and Okuma for attempting to form a joint Cabinet when their views as to party Govt. are divergent, for calling upon the Ministers in the previous Cabinet to remain in office and help them to carry out a policy of radical reform which will aim at undoing much of what was done by Ito’s Ministry, and for intriguing with Clan Govt. statesmen in order to form an anti Clan Govt. Ministry. This is the gist of a long leading article most of which is quite interesting.

The “Mainichi” in the second of two articles on the situation entitled ‘Tai-sei (大勢) sude ni sadamaru’ – which is not easy to render into English¹⁰¹ – speaks of the present crisis as a second of evolution, and urged all true liberals to recognize that the day of the older generation of statesmen is past, and that now is the

¹⁰⁰ Nicholas J. Hannen, Judge of Supreme Court for China and Japan, and Consul General at Shanghai (appointed 1 April 1891).

¹⁰¹ ‘The general situation is already determined/established/settled.’

moment to carry their principles into practice and establish the system of the government of the people by the people.

Both the “Mainichi” and the “Asahi” mention the subject of the portfolio of War, the former saying that the idea of making Katsura ¹⁰² Minister of War has been abandoned, while the latter insists he will be appointed as being a Chōshiu man in order to prevent too great an ascendancy of Satsuma men in the Cabinet.

The “Mainichi” also states [as translated here into English by J.H. Gubbins] that “Matsugata protested against Ito’s budget some time ago, and pointed out that the industrial and commercial speculations into which all Japanese were rushing were beyond the resources of the nation. Itō would not, however, listen to him. If Matsugata is not able to form a Ministry on the basis of financial retrenchment he will not take office, and it will then be necessary to reinstate Itō as prime minister.”

The “Kokumin” in its leading article says it understands that the formation of a new Cabinet is impeded by Satsuma and Chōshiu jealousies, and that the Chōshiu party are indignant and refuse to come to terms. “They are not honest men” it says “who talk at the same time of carrying out a second Revolution and of the balance of power between the two Clans, who speak of the necessity of introducing radical reforms and in the same breath say they are afraid of Chōshiu opposition, who recognize the critical condition of affairs in the Far East and yet occupy their time in discussing the rise or fall of Chōshiu influence. We care not whether Shirane and Shinagawa come into the Ministry or not but if they come in let it be as political allies and not as Chōshiu representatives.”

The same paper says a Cabinet has been formed which includes neither Shirane nor Shinagawa - but in which Prince Konoye ¹⁰³ becomes Education Minister and Katsura Minister of War, Saigo remaining Minister of Marine and the portfolios of Finance, Foreign Affairs and Home Affairs being assigned to Matsugata, Okuma and Kabayama respectively.

Sakuma [?] is mentioned as Katsura’s successor in Formosa supposing the latter to become Minister of War. It does not seem as if Okuma was being directly consulted in the present deliberations which are

¹⁰² Katsura Tarō (1847-1913). Army general and politician of the Meiji period who held key positions in the army command and served as prime minister in three cabinets (1901-06, 1908-11, 1912-13). Born in Hagi, the castle town of the Chōshū domain (now Yamaguchi prefecture). Served as general of the Third Division under command of his mentor Yamagata during the Sino-Japanese war 1894-5. Appointed governor-general of Taiwan in 1896; army minister (‘Minister of War’) in successive cabinets from 1898 to 1900.

¹⁰³ Konoe Atsumaro (1863-1904). Political leader and Pan-Asianist; scion of the Konoe family established in the late Heian period by Fujiwara Motozane (1143-66). Konoe Atsumaro was born in Kyoto and studied at Leipzig. He received the title of prince under the peerage system instituted in 1884 and was named to the House of Peers in 1890. He openly criticised the monopoly of power by Satsuma and Chōshū in the early 1890s. In 1895 Konoe became head of the Peers’ School, and the following year chairman of the House of Peers. In 1898 he founded the Tōa Dōbunkai to promote a pan-Asian movement to end European influence in East Asia. (Kodansha, p. 825)

represented as taking place daily at the houses of the four Satsuma and Chōshiu leaders, and it is not easy to ascertain what his exact position is. ¹⁰⁴ His organs say that communications have passed privately between him and Matsugata but no details are given.

One difficulty appears to be the disinclination of nearly all the members of the late Cabinet to join a new administration the first work of which will be to curtail the extensive programme adopted by them under Itō's direction.

It is raining still and the thermometer registers only 73°.

I notice Kusaka's resignation in today's "Official Gazette".

Believe me

Yours Sincerely

J.H. Gubbins

70. Gubbins to Satow (p.135)

Tokio

17 Sept. 1896

Dear Sir Ernest,

There is no change in the situation and little or nothing in the papers.

The "Nichi Nichi" in its leading article entitled Tai-sei (大勢) mitei [Situation not settled] replies to the articles in the Okuma organs of yesterday and charges them with inconsistency.

The "Jiji" says that Matsugata has been on the point of giving up the attempt to form a Cabinet, and that the question as to whether Katsura or Takashima [Tomonosuke] shall be Minister of War has been decided in favour of the Satsuma man [Takashima]. It also adds that the Emperor having sent to Kuroda to learn the names of at least some of the new Cabinet Kuroda went to the Palace and reported progress. ¹⁰⁵

The "Asahi" condemns the action of Inouye, Kuroda and Yamagata "in not letting Matsugata have a free hand in the formation of the new Ministry. Unless Matsugata frees himself from their interference the situation, even if he succeeds in forming a Cabinet, will be very like that of a few years ago when the Cabinet had no power and affairs were entirely controlled by the [Kuro-made ?] daijin."

¹⁰⁴ Ōkuma Shigenobu (1838-1922) was born in Saga, so he was outside the Satsuma and Chōshū cliques. Foreign minister 1888-89. In 1896 he returned to politics at the head of the newly created Shimpotō. He served again as foreign minister and in 1897 he also took the post of minister of agriculture and commerce. In 1898 he formed Japan's first party cabinet with Itagaki Taisuke.

¹⁰⁵ Kuroda Kiyotaka was president of the Privy Council and interim prime minister between Itō's resignation on August 20th and Matsukata's reluctant acceptance of the post one month later. (See Donald Keene, *Meiji and His World*, pp. 527-528).

Suyematsu Kenchō¹⁰⁶ says the situation will remain as it is for at least a week longer.

Believe me,

Yours Sincerely

J.H. Gubbins

[P.S.] There is a good article by Boulger on China in one of the last “Contemporaries”.

71. Gubbins to Satow (p.137)

Tokio

Sept 18th /96

5.30 p.m.

Dear Sir Ernest,

The “Asahi” and the “Tokio Shimbun” publish extras tonight stating that Matsugata has finally received the appointment of Prime Minister having had an audience [with the Emperor] for this purpose this morning. The “Asahi” adds that Watanabe’s resignation has been accepted while the former asserts that Takashima is to be War Minister.

The most contradictory rumours are in circulation and nothing definite seems known.

The “Nichi Nichi” still continues its violent attacks upon Okuma and Matsugata, and hints at the latter’s inability to form a Cabinet even with the assistance of the former Itō Cabinet.

The “Kokumin” states that a rupture has occurred between the Satsuma and Choshiu parties over the question of fitting up the portfolio of war and that Katsura threatens to resign. It adds that Matsugata has abandoned the task of forming a Cabinet and has asked Kuroda to inform the Emperor of the fact.

The “Jiji” also confirms this latter rumour but says that the Emperor has prevailed upon him to reconsider his decision.

Lady Hannen wrote to me regarding your movements having been puzzled by your telegram of the 14th which she received before mine of the 15th. I have written to her that I understand you will return [from Chuzenji] on Tuesday.

You will have seen in the paper the sale of the mines of Ikuno and Sado and the Ōzaka works to Iwasaki Hisaya.¹⁰⁷

¹⁰⁶ Suematsu Kenchō (1855-1920). Politician and scholar, born in what is now Fukuoka prefecture. In 1878 Suematsu went to England to work in the Japanese legation and studied at Cambridge University. He won a seat in the first Diet elections of 1890 and later served as communications minister in his father-in-law Itō’s third cabinet (January-June 1898) and home minister in Itō’s fourth cabinet (1900-01). (See *Britain & Japan: Biographical Portraits* Vol. V, 2005).

¹⁰⁷ Iwasaki Hisaya (1865-1955), eldest son of Iwasaki Yatarō. President of Mitsubishi Co. Founder of Tōyō Bunko (The Oriental Library) in 1917.

Believe me

Yours Sincerely

J.H. Gubbins

P.S. 7 p.m.

Your letter of Wednesday has just reached me. I will inform Hampden and Mr. Peacock of your movements. Tomorrow I will communicate with [J.C.] Hall about the building in course of erection in front of Jardine's and then see Nomura the same day if possible. If I cannot get the information from Hall in time I will see Komura on Monday.

Other newspaper extras have appeared confirming the news of Matsugata's and the other appointments and I think this time the news may prove to be correct. If so, Hampden will telegraph to you early tomorrow, as soon as we hear definitely. I think it is best to send this letter to meet you at Nikkō. J.H.G.

72. Gubbins to Satow

Tokio

19 Sept /96

Dear Sir Ernest,

I saw Komura [Jutaro] this morning and pressed him on the subject of the building in front of Jardine's lot [at Yokohama]. He said that their investigations were almost completed and that a reply would be given to you in a few days.¹⁰⁸ [Acting consul at Yokohama Arthur Hyde] Lay informs me that the building is finished, having been completed last night. Komura did not lead me to think the reply when it came would be favourable, for he said their information so far went to show that the term "water-lot" was used simply to distinguish a lot on the bund from other lots and could not be construed as meaning a lot with right of undisturbed water frontage.

I asked him who the new Foreign Minister would be and he replied "Okuma", and added that his appointment would be notified in the course of the evening or tomorrow.

The "Kokumin" adheres to the distribution of portfolios which it previously published. From what I can hear Shirane will be perhaps the only Chōshiu man in the Cabinet. Most people imagine that Saigo's remaining as Minister of Marine is due largely to the influence of Admiral Yamamoto Gombei who is the leading man in the Admiralty.

The "Nichi Nichi" states that Shirane will not remain in the new Cabinet.

¹⁰⁸ See Satow's diary for October 2, 1896. (Ruxton, 2003, p. 122)

The “Mainichi” reports that Midzuno is going to resign his post in Formosa and that his place as Director of the Civil Bureau [Minseikyoku] of Formosa will be filled by Komatsubara the Prefect of Shidzuoka.

I have telegraphed to you to let you know that my letters to you of yesterday and today are addressed to Nikkō. Believe me, Yours sincerely,

J.H. Gubbins

73. Gubbins to Satow (p.141)

30/9/96

Wednesday

Dear Sir Ernest,

I asked Denison about the paragraph I marked for you today in I think the “Mainichi Shimbun” with reference to the reported ratification yesterday by the Emperor of [?] the Treaty with China. He said the statement was probably correct as he knew for certain that the Ty had been approved by the Sūmitsu-in [Privy Council].

The writers have not been able to find anything in the... [rest of letter not visible]

74. Gubbins to Satow (p.142)

30/9/96

Wednesday

Dear Sir Ernest,

I have marked two or three things in the papers, and have handed Lowther a note from Okuma announcing the discontinuance of medical inspection. The notice in yesterday’s Kwampō escaped my attention.

General Takashima’s private Secy. has replied that he will let Sartorius know directly when the Minister can see him.

Yours Sincerely

J.H. Gubbins

75. Gubbins to Satow (p.143)

8th Oct

Dear Sir Ernest,

I enclose translations of 2 Notes and a Memorandum from Ct. Okuma. In the latter there is I think an error wh. [which] I have noted in the margins of the translation and original and I send for the latter for reference. The writer was probably thinking of the expression “Import and Export duties” and began to write them and

finished up with “entrance and clearance fees”.

A Note has also come in from Ct. Okuma declining to interfere in the matter of the Observatory erected on the Bund in front of Jardine’s premises. Unless you want it this evening I will translate it tomorrow so that it will be ready for you when you return on Monday.

I have enquired again but can find no English text of the Criminal Code. There is a French text of the Commercial Code wh. I have obtained.

Believe me

Yours Sincerely

J.H. Gubbins

[P.S.] There is an official translation of the Criminal Code which Masujima has lent me. I might perhaps ask Komura if he can get us one for the Legation. It is a poor translation and Masujima has suggested to me a revision of it.

76. Gubbins to Satow (p.145)

Saturday Evening

31/10/96

Dear Sir Ernest,

Mitsubishi [Nobutaka, F.O. Secretary] writes to say that Ct. Okuma has gone to Waseda – and that he will enquire on Monday as soon as Ct. Okuma comes to the Office and send a reply to the Legation to your note requesting an interview on that day.

Archdeacon Shaw ¹⁰⁹ writes to me asking that an invitation may be procured for his sister Miss Shaw for the Ball. May I send in her name to Mitsushashi and may I also ask for a Kioto palace permit for a Mr. Grant a traveller who has brought me a letter of introduction ?

Denison told me that very sharp telegrams had been exchanged between Ct. Okuma and Visct. Aoki on the subject of the restriction by the German Treaty of the Japanese right to modify the Japanese Statutory Tariff. He said they were afraid here that Visct. Aoki would be able to do nothing in this matter at Berlin. I do not think the Japanese wd. [would] be at all willing to give way on the point of the date of ratification in return for a concession on the Tariff matter – but the Germans may try to gain an advantage over us in the registration of patents etc. in this way; and if the Tariff question is of sufficient importance to them they might give way.

Believe me

Yours Sincerely

¹⁰⁹ Alexander Croft Shaw (1846-1902). Born in Canada, came to Japan as an Anglican missionary in 1873. Founded St. Andrew’s Church at Shiba, Tokyo. Became archdeacon in 1889. Known for making Karuizawa popular as a resort. Honorary chaplain to the British legation. Died in Tokyo.

J.H. Gubbins

77. Gubbins to Satow (note in pencil ? Very faint p.147)

Sir E. Satow

With reference to the instructions to Midzuno to withdraw his letter to Longford and substitute another Mr. Nakada said that Midzuno had evidently regarded the verbal instructions he had received from the official who arrived in Formosa more than a month ago as not binding [?] upon him and had therefore talked [?] to Longford as if he was still without [?] instructions. The Colonial Dept. made a mistake in not sending written instructions. These had now been despatched to Midzuno [?]. He sent me the telegram dated the 4th November [?] which instructed Midzuno to withdraw his letter and substitute a new one explaining the nature of the understanding arrived at in Tokio [?].

Mr. Nakada added that the Notes [?] embodying [?] the arrangement had been [] and communicated to the Colonial Dept. so that it could not say it had never heard of it [?].

I asked Mr. Nakada to communicate to you the answer that [illegible phrase] Mr. Sasano to request the Col. Dept. to telegraph an answer.

With regard to Ct. Okuma's Note of the 28th Oct. on the subject of the maintenance of the status quo in respect of camphor for [] Nakada said he would enquire from the Colonial Dept. if the gist of Ct. Okuma's Note had been telegraphed and if the local authorities in Formosa had been instructed to notify H.M.'s Consuls.

J.H.G. Nov 6/96

78. Gubbins to Satow (p.149)

Saturday

Nov. 7th '96

Dear Sir Ernest,

The Director of the Post and Telegraph Bureau Indo Narimitsu will by direction of Viscount Nomura call at the Legation to see you on Tuesday the 10th Inst. at 11 a.m. He called today after you had left for Nikkō. ¹¹⁰ I said if this hour was inconvenient to you we would send word to the Dept.

Yrs Sincerely

J.H. Gubbins

P.S. The decree summoning the Parliament for the 22nd Decr appeared in today's "Kwampō". It is dated

¹¹⁰ Satow left for Nikkō on the 9 am train on November 7, 1896. He returned to Tokyo on November 9th and met Indo Narimitsu as arranged on November 10th. (Diary, Ruxton, 2003, pp. 134-135)

yesterday. The “Asahi” has another long article on the German Treaty. J.H.G.

79. Gubbins to Satow (p.150)

Monday

9th Nov /96

Dear Sir Ernest,

Nakada told me today when I went to the Foreign Office that they had just been informed by the Colonial Dept. that Midzuno had withdrawn his letter to Longford and substituted another on the 6th Inst., the telegraphic instructions to him having been despatched on the 26th [?]. He also said that they had learnt from the Colonial Dept. that the gist of Ct. Okuma’s Note to you of the 28th Ult. on the subject of the maintenance of the status quo as regards camphor had been telegraphed to the Formosan Authorities and that the latter had notified our Consuls accordingly. In the telegram from Formosa reporting this fact it was stated that the instructions as to the period of maintenance of the status quo were not quite clear and that consequently only provisional notice had been given to the Consuls (kari-ni tsūchi wo [wa?]tashita). Nakada explained that the Colonial Dept. had no cypher code and had telegraphed in Romaji and that this had presumably led to some misunderstanding.

Admiral Oxley’s telegram had he said been communicated at once to the Naval Dept. who had sent word to the local authorities at Ōtsuchi.

The enclosed letter came this morning. Okamoto thinks the writer must be mad as the letter is quite incoherent.

I have marked some paragraphs in the papers. It looks as if Aoki would be made responsible for the patent stipulations in the German Treaty. In any case however I think he would have been recalled for his conduct if the whole negotiation had displeased Mutsu very much. He was as you know given a free hand towards the close of the Berlin negotiations.

It never occurred to some of us at the last Asiatic [Society of Japan] Council meeting that Wednesday the day fixed for the paper of Dorman [?] was the Garden Party day. Five of the Council Green, Divers, McCauley, Mason and myself have agreed to the postponement of the meeting till Wednesday the 18th. I presume there will be no difficulty and I have written to both Droppers¹¹¹ and Gardiner. But it was only agreed to postpone yesterday afternoon and by that time Droppers had issued his notices.

I have told Hampden I shall not be in the Chancery tomorrow as I am lunching in Yokohama and going

¹¹¹ Garrett Droppers (1860-1927). American professor of economics at Keio University, in Japan 1889-98.

afterwards to the pony auction. You will remember my mentioning this matter to you before you left.

Believe me

Yours Sincerely

J.H. Gubbins

P.S. The Garden Party list has gone in. Mrs. Bonar's [?] name and [Byron] Brennan's were included. J.H.G.

80. Gubbins to Satow (p. 153)

Decr. 9/96

Dear Sir Ernest,

I saw Nakada (who left his lunch to see me) and left the draft with him. He said he would let me know later in the day whether the draft satisfied them or not. But he raised a fresh point, that of the operation of protection to Japanese Patents etc. in Gt. Britain. He said the operation should on both sides be simultaneous. I remarked that the practical side to the question was the protection of Br[itish] patents in Japan, that an arrangement for the protection of Japanese patents etc. in Gt. Britain had no practical value. He quite agreed but said he thought for the sake of form the operation shd. be simultaneous. In answer to an enquiry from him I said I did not know whether an Order in Council would be necessary for the enforcement of the understanding as to the protection of Japanese Patents, or if it were necessary what interval of time would be required for its [approval ?].

Nakada spoke as if he had had the conduct of this patent question from the first.

Yrs Sincerely

J.H. Gubbins

81. Gubbins to Satow (p.155)

Monday

28 Decr. /96

Dear Sir Ernest,

The enclosed card was brought today by Mr. Yoshida [Yōsaku] of the Foreign Office with a message from Ct. Okuma to the effect that he would be glad if you would give Dr. Aoki a letter of introduction to our Consuls at Sao Paulo and Santos. Dr. Aoki was going to Brazil in connection with the emigration of Japanese to that country. I said you were at Nikkō but were returning today¹¹² and that I would write to him after I had seen you.

The box contains:

¹¹² Satow returned to Tokyo by the 10.50 train from Nikkō. (Ruxton, 2003, p.149)

1. Your Note to Ct. Okuma of the 25th and his reply of the 28th about Patents.
2. A translation of the Emperor's speech opening the Diet.
3. The proceedings in the Diet on the 26th wh. [which] I have marked. Two laws only, both introduced by the Govt., have been passed, one sanctioning a state funeral for Prince Mori ¹¹³ and the other postponing the promulgation of the hitherto inoperative portions of the Civil Code and Commercial Code till the 30th June 1898. This is within a few days of the furthest limit of postponement compatible with the operation of the Revised Treaties.

I had a long talk with Yanagiya this morning at the Patent Office. He explained to me the reason of the discrepancy between the original and the [Japan] Mail's translation. It seems that the Registration Law of April this year conflicts with the Patent Regulations and that the stipulations of the latter as they appear in the text have to give way. This makes a confusion. It will be best I think to give a correct translation and then explain in a footnote that the Registration law introduces a modification. It will not be possible for me to finish the correction of all the Regulations by the next Canadian Mail. The great number of minor errors makes the work of correction very slow.

I will translate this afternoon Count Okuma's Memorandum re Consuls' Powers.

Hoping you have a pleasant trip

Believe me

Yours Sincerely

J.H. Gubbins

[P.S.] The Official Gazette of this morning contains the notification regarding Patents, the issue of which has followed upon y[ou]r arrangement with Ct. Okuma.

82. Gubbins to Satow (p.157)

Monday afternoon [December 28, 1896]

Dear Sir Ernest,

I enclose in original and translation the memorandum of Ct. Okuma on the subject of the duties conferred on German Consuls by the Consular Convention between Germany and Japan.

A note has just come in from Ct. Okuma stating that the State funeral of Prince Mori is fixed for 12 o'clock on the 30th Inst. The service will take place at the temple of Zai-shōji [?] in Shirokane-dai-machi. I will give you a translation of the note tomorrow.

¹¹³ Satow attended the funeral of Mōri Motonori of Chōshū on December 30, 1896. (Ruxton, 2003, p. 149)

You will notice perhaps in the Kwampō [Official Gazette] that besides the Govt. Bills I mentioned in my note of this morning a Supplementary Budget for this year was also passed, and that in the Lower House Bills for the amendment respectively of the Press Law and the Law relating to public meetings and political parties were introduced.

The Budget for the year 1897 is published.

The notification respecting Patents etc. is signed by Ct. Okuma and is very short. It is dated today and says simply that from the 4th [?] Jan/97 Japanese Subjects in Gt. Britain will in accordance with the 17th article of the new Treaty receive the same protection in the matter of Patents etc. as Br. Subjects.

Believe me

Yours Sincerely

J.H. Gubbins

83. Gubbins to Satow (p.159)

[Dec. 30, 1896]

Dear Sir Ernest,

I enclose the translation of the Decree & [?] Law relating to the Codes. I have thought it useful to add in a Note the subjects of the Chapters & Book [?] of the Commercial Code the operation of wh[ich] is postponed.

Jinji I have rendered social status as this is the term usually given to the Book [?] in question.

I have underlined in pencil the words acquisition of property. I have always understood that the other book [?] dealt with the subject of succession (or inheritance) and not with acquisition.

Perhaps the words principal portions of the Commercial Code are too strong. It is difficult to judge of the length of the missing portions till we see them in their revised form.

Yrs Sincerely

J.H. Gubbins

Decr. 30/96

84. Gubbins to Satow (p. 161)

Sunday

Dear Sir Ernest,

I enclose Ct. Okuma's Note in reply to yours of the 30th Decr. You will see that he says that the Minr. of Communications states that he cannot move in the matter without a request from the Yo-shin [Go-shin?] hanji [judge] of a Japanese Court, there being a provision of the law to this effect, and that consequently he is unable to accede to your request.

Yrs Sincerely

J.H. Gubbins

85. Gubbins to Satow (p.162)

Jan. 25/97

Dear Sir Ernest,

I ascertained from Denison on my way back from the Legation that the statement in the Japanese Press that the Gutschmid incident was closed was quite correct. ¹¹⁴ He hinted that had the German Minister [Gutschmid] moved in this matter sooner in the direction now taken it would have been made much easier for him, that his action was evidently influenced by his Govt's telegram, and that he was prepared when he did move to go further than was actually necessary.

I am returning the [Coutont Biron ?] Memoirs with many thanks. They are very interesting.

Believe me,

Yours Sincerely

J.H. Gubbins

(Note: Satow was away from Japan to attend Queen Victoria's Diamond Jubilee, May 7 – November 21, 1897.)

86. Gubbins to Satow (p.163)

26/3/98

Dear Sir Ernest,

I have made two short notes on your draft despatch.

I gathered from Denison:

1. That the Russians had made no overtures with regard to Port Arthur or Talienwan, so far as he was aware.
2. That [Aleksei] de Speyer's latest action in Corea was in consequence of instructions recd. from St. Petersburg; and that he will shortly leave for Russia and not go on to Peking at once; this is confirmed by Rosen.
3. That he (S) is considered by a competent Russian critic, the Manager of the Siberian Railway in the East,

¹¹⁴ On 30 December 1896 Gutschmid held the reins of his horses in his carriage in Koji machi and was going up a slope when he met the two students of Seijo Gakko coming down. He struck one with his whip. The students went to the Foreign Office to complain, but nobody was available to deal with the case as it was the end of the year, so they took their complaint to Koji machi police station. The Foreign Office was later attacked by newspapers for avoiding the issue. (Nagaoka, vol. 1, p. 214).

to have seriously blundered; which is probably not merely an individual opinion.

4. That the Japanese Govt. have no intention of doing anything whatever. Their attitude is not merely passive but, as you were saying the other day with reference to Corea, one of complete indifference to whatever happens in the East.
5. That, so far as he is aware, nothing is known here as to Russian designs on Weihaiwei.
6. That the present Chōshiu men are not very fond of England but not really anti-English in the sense of being hostile. Denison referred to Ito's love of decoration, and his preference on principle for German models for Japan. They would not object to German occupation of Weihaiwei but would prefer Gt. Britain to be there. To this I answered nothing.
6. [should be 7] That Japan would not be inclined to say yes to any proposal for the partition of Corea. But that she is anxious to have the principal share in the modelling of Corean affairs.
7. [should be 8] That the J. Govt. think transfer of Chinese capital further South possible in the event of Russian control of Liaotung peninsula.

Denison also mentioned that the German Supplementary Convention wh. [which] awaits signature (not ratification) reduces [?] by 3 months date of operation of new Tariff; that the Japse. Govt. read stipulation in German Protocol as to notice of change of Tariff as applying to changes in the future and not to present revised Treaties and supplementary Conventions.

He added very confidentially that it was decided to include Formosa in purview of revised Treaties Tariff and Codes.

I have put this letter into a very abrupt form. But I thought it would make the points clearer.

Yrs Sincerely

J.H.Gubbins

P.S. I send "First Sword in the Soudan" [?] wh. has been returned today from the person [?] to whom it was lent.

Par. 3 ¹¹⁵ Was not the King of Corea already at the Russian Legation when Yamagata signed the Moscow protocol ? It is known that the wording of this was strongly disapproved in Tokio but Yamagata signed so quickly that no change was possible.

Par. 6 I am very likely wrong but I think the idea of intercepting Russia in the Liaotung peninsula only gradually developed itself with the success of the war. But the idea of Russia seeking a terminus for her railway near Port Arthur or on the mainland opposite to Newchwang was present with them before the war.

¹¹⁵ It is not clear to what document these comments refer.

The original idea, if I remember rightly, was that Russia would certainly endeavour to shorten the route of the Siberian line to the sea and that she wd. [would] obtain some rectification of the Manchurian portion for that purpose. Later on it occurred to them I think that a much bolder plan might be in Russia's mind.

87. Gubbins to Satow (very faint p.166)

British Legation, Tokio

8 April, 1898

Dear Sir Ernest,

Would it be worth while adding that the Japan Times is believed to be drawing [?] its inspiration from Marquis Ito. Its tone throughout and Zumoto's present position seems to indicate this.¹¹⁶

Today's "Hochi" gives one the idea of almost "calculated extravagance", but two things are possible I think, as the upshot is that the real underlying intention must be to impress upon the J. Govt. the necessity of making a move South, while at the same time deceiving the public generally, including foreigners, by mentioning a whole string of places both N. [North] & S. [South]. And the object of the calculated extravagance looking at this matter from this point of view wd. be to produce the impression of unseriousness ...[illegible]... Very likely I am trying to read too much into the article. I merely throw this out as a suggestion.

Perhaps it may be useful if I note down what D [Denison] said as to the draft preparation of the answer.

The original draft was a little longer than the Note you recd. and a little more emphatic [?]. Support was mentioned in the first para. and the object [illegible] of the Br. G. [Government?] was asked was simply stated, the question of Japan's expenses [?] being left out.¹¹⁷

The 2nd draft [] the Cabinet [] for the [] majority [] and the third para was omitted.

Denison objected to both points. The third draft which is the Note you recd. reverted [?] to the original draft. But support was left out in the first para, and the phrase about [] was inserted in the [].

It is possible that the wording for the Codes [?] might have originated from Denison or even been inserted by him on General Grant's [?] [] with the idea of getting a [] from the Japanese Govt. in what he thought their [?] real intentions were [?].

The minority [ministry ?] of the J.G. in their 2nd draft in order to [] in the event of some future

¹¹⁶ Zumoto Motosada started the Japan Times in 1897. It had no connection with the earlier newspaper of the same name started by Charles Rickerby (1865-70). Zumoto joined Itō's third cabinet in January 1898.

¹¹⁷ See Satow's diary, Ruxton, 2003, p. 263. The Japanese government expressed concurrence to Britain taking over from Japan at Wei-hai-wei, and hoped for Britain's sympathy and support in the future for any measures necessary for Japan's security. See Kajima Morionsuke, *Nihon Gaikō Shi*, Vol. 6, p. 55 for the text of the Japanese Note handed to Satow by Komura on April 2, 1898.

contingency was whether this meant support in the contingency of war with Russia or support for a possible eventual expansion South his answer seemed more that if a person asked for an explanation of his own [?] meaning than that of the views of someone else. He seemed, tho' he said little, rather over-anxious [?] to disclaim any concrete intention of the J.Govt. anywhere and the reading of any special meaning into the words [?].

Yours Sincerely

J.H. Gubbins

88. Gubbins to Satow (p.169)

Tokio

Apr. 23/98

Dear Sir Ernest,

Unless you think it necessary to send in the additional names at once, I will wait till Monday and send them in then with a note in Japanese. I was out when your note came.

Denison tells me that negotiations regarding Corea are going on with Russia, but he does not think they are serious. He has had a long talk with Suyematsu [Kenchō].¹¹⁸ The latter says the attack of the opposition will be aimed at Inouye [Kaoru, finance minister] and not Ito. Ito is, as you thought, going to make capital out of the Russian withdrawal from Corea. Ito Miōji [minister of agriculture and commerce] has resigned. If the attack on Inouye is successful, Katsura [Tarō, army minister] and Yoshikawa [Akimasa, minister of the interior] wd. [would] also be involved. If necessary, the Emperor's influence will be used in order to pass the Laws, but it is thought improbable that the Cabinet will be obliged to resort to this.

The line to be taken re Corea will be that Japan conveyed a hint to Russia wh. [which] preceded this [their?] action. This Denison assures me was not the case.

Ito [Hirobumi, minister president] is evidently working a good deal through [his son-in-law] Suyematsu just now.¹¹⁹

Nishi [Tokujirō, foreign minister], Denison thinks, will not retire. He is quite contented to take the post [?] formerly filled by Saionji.

[Minister to the U.S.] Hoshi [Tōru] telegraphs that a blockade of Havana is expected¹²⁰, and that the U.S. Govt. have announced their intention to adhere to the three principles enumerated in the Paris Convention.

Yrs Sincerely

¹¹⁸ Suematsu was Minister for Communications in Itō's third cabinet (January 12 – June 30, 1898).

¹¹⁹ A photograph of Itō's third cabinet is in *Taiyō*, Meiji 31 (1898) no. 3. It is reproduced in Nagaoka, Vol. 2 at the front of the book.

¹²⁰ On 25 April the U.S. announced that a state of war had existed with Spain since 21 April, 1898.

J.H. Gubbins

89. Gubbins to Satow (p.171)

Karuizawa

13 July 1898

Dear Sir Ernest,

The “Hochi” of the 10th publishes an interview with Sasa Tomofusa of the Kokumin Kiōkwai. The latter said he was perfectly well aware that his party was accused of forming the centre of the opposition to the new Constitutional Party. Nothing wd. however be done before the elections. An opposition would in the nature of things be formed before long. At present the new Government were in possession of the field. What gave him some annoyance was being accused of having brought with him from Europe as a “miage” [souvenir] a plan for suspending the Constitution and it was even said that Marquis Yamagata was the patron saint (honzon [?]) of the movement. This was totally incorrect. The marquis was a strong supporter of the Constitution and he himself had now advocated the suspension of the Constitution. At the same time he saw nothing unconstitutional, though there were people who thought differently, in dissolving the Diet as often as might be necessary in order to appeal to public opinion throughout the country. But it did not follow that because there were repeated dissolutions of the Diet it was necessary to suspend the Constitution. Other countries furnished instances of repeated dissolution of Parliament. He regretted to observe that the two Counts [Okuma and Itagaki ?] appeared to be unable to maintain harmony amongst their followers and he was sorry to notice Mr. Inukai’s ¹²¹ disappearance from active politics on the plea of sickness. He did not consider that what the country wanted was one large party. He preferred to see politicians divided into several groups, as was the case in Europe everywhere, even in England, and these groups could combine and form themselves for the time being into two parties – the Govt. and the Opposition – whenever any big question occurred such fusion necessary.

The annexation of Hawaii [by the U.S.] is discussed in the “Yorozu” of the 12th Inst. The line it takes is that the Japanese Govt. ought not to let Japan’s protest against annexation be ignored by the United States. The matter ought to be pressed firmly and the opportunity be utilized by Ct. Okuma to maintain the dignity of Japan. At the same time it is quite clear that Japan cannot prevent annexation.¹²² She must therefore

¹²¹ Probably Inukai Tsuyoshi (1855-1932). Statesman and prime minister (1931-32). From Okayama, he studied at Keio University. Involved in the formation of the Rikken Kaishintō party in 1882.

Consistently critical of the Satsuma and Chōshū cliques. Assassinated in the May 15th incident, 1932.

¹²² In 1851 King Kamehameha III placed Hawaii under U.S. protection. In 1887 the U.S. obtained rights for a naval base at Pearl Harbor. Many Hawaiian and U.S. interests favoured annexation but this was resisted by President Grover Cleveland and others. A coup resulted in the overthrow of the monarchy and the establishment of a republic in 1893. In 1898 the republic and the U.S. agreed to annexation, and

endeavour to withdraw from the position assumed by her with credit to herself; simply to let her protest drop and do nothing would be injurious to her prestige.¹²³ The “Yorozu” dwells incidentally on the possibility of foreign intervention in Manila, compares America’s position to Japan’s when she was forced to give back the Liaotung peninsula, and advocates an alliance between Japan, Gt. Britain and the United States.

You will have noticed the article in the “Jiji” of the 12th which asserts that the Sat-chō [Satsuma & Chōshū] clan feeling though still predominant in the Army and Navy is already on the decline and will eventually disappear and denies that there is any reason to apprehend that the Army and Navy will be an obstacle to the development of party government in Japan or to fear a collision between the Army and Navy and Party Cabinets.

A law has been passed revising an old law respecting the adoption and marriage (as hiūfu [?]) of foreigners wh. [which] was issued in 1873.¹²⁴

We have had it very hot here but today is showery and cool.

The death of the Editor of the Gazette is very sad.¹²⁵

Believe me

Yours Sincerely

J.H. Gubbins

[P.S.] The Korean conspiracy does not attract much attention so far in the papers.

90. Gubbins to Satow (p.173)

Karuizawa

July 15, 1898

Dear Sir Ernest,

The only things I notice in the Japanese papers of the 13th and 14th are allusions in the ‘Hōchi’ and ‘Jiji’ to

in 1900 Hawaii became a territory of the U.S. (Encyclopedia Britannica)

¹²³ When Satow saw Lord Salisbury in London on October 6, 1897 they discussed Hawaii briefly. “Lord Salisbury on Hawaii. As long as the Japanese did not fight the U.S. about it we need not consider our position. I suggested that perhaps I should counsel the Japanese to give way to the U.S. He smiled grimly, and said there was no harm in their having a little dispute together about it.” (Diary, Ruxton, 2003, pp. 205-206)

¹²⁴ See N. Koyama, ‘Three Meiji Marriages’ in *Britain & Japan: Biographical Portraits*, Vol. IV, Ch. 33, pp. 383-396. “Under Decree No. 103 of 1873 Japanese wishing to marry foreigners had first to obtain permission from the Japanese government, and foreign women who married Japanese men had to give up their own nationality and become Japanese nationals. The decree also prescribed that foreign men, who were adopted as *yōshi* (sons-in-law) of Japanese through marriage to Japanese women, had to acquire Japanese nationality and abandon their own.” (p.384) The 1873 decree ceased to have effect in July 1898. (p. 395)

¹²⁵ Henry Tennant, editor of the Japan Gazette 1894-98 committed suicide in July 1898. (J.E. Hoare, *Japan’s Treaty Ports and Foreign Settlements*, p. 152)

the consent of Austria-Hungary to the operation of the new treaties, and an article in the latter paper of the 14th professing to come from a military man on the question of clan policy in the Army & Navy. The article shows that opinion is divided on the subject (reference is made to an article on the same subject in the Jiji of the 12th) but the mention of the direct dependence of the Army & Navy on the Emperor may possibly imply an idea of incomplete subordination to the Ministry of the day.

Believe me,

Yours sincerely

J.H. Gubbins

91. Gubbins to Satow (p.175)

Karuizawa

July 18/98

Dear Sir Ernest,

I have noticed little in the papers the last two days of any interest. [Army minister] Katsura [Tarō] has been interviewed and confirms the report that he only retains office in deference to the Emperor's wishes.¹²⁶ Takashima also has been interviewed and speaks very guilelessly [?] as to his intention at present to abstain altogether from interfering in politics. The Korean troubles do not seem to attract much notice, though the Jiji's Sōul correspondent refers to them at some length in his letter.

You will have noticed Itagaki's remarks about prisons in his recent speech.

I presume the Jap. Govt. must have given notice to Foreign Govts. in regard to the operation of the new treaties through its representatives abroad, but nothing has appeared yet on the subject in the papers I have seen.

Mr. Watanabe whose letters I enclose wants me to copy or translate messages from some [?] Latin books of yours. He asked me to do the same thing some two years ago and I then declined. I shall defer my answer till I return to Tokio on Saturday the 23rd.

I hope you are having as good weather at Chiuzenji as we are having here.

Believe me,

Yours sincerely

J.H. Gubbins

92. Gubbins to Satow (p.177)

¹²⁶ Katsura asked to resign again on October 20, 1900 but Emperor Meiji again refused him. (Keene, *Meiji and his World*, p.563)

Tuesday Night. Karuizawa

July 19/98

Dear Sir Ernest,

The “Jiji” of today has an article on German policy in regard to the Phillipine [sic] Islands – and a letter from Söul reporting what the telegraph confirms – that the Independent Party in Söul are implicated in the recent conspiracy.¹²⁷ Otherwise the papers confine themselves to two topics, the disciplinary dismissal of Baron Sonoda, and the Takano [?] question. In regard to the latter opinion seems divided. There seems to be a reluctance to reopen a question already decided by the Matsugata Cabinet, but at the same time it is pointed out that an awkward precedent wd. be created if a question like this wh. affects the Constitution is to be considered as closed because a former Ministry has decided it in a certain way.¹²⁸

The ‘Hōchi’ is full of the Sonoda question and the ‘Jiji’ devotes two separate columns to it. The late Prefect’s action is condemned by both papers, but the ‘Jiji’ points out that the Ministry now attacked contains curiously enough one Minister who was punished for an offence similar to that of which Baron Sonoda has been guilty. Saito in his article in today’s Chiugwai seems to take the best view of the matter. He dwells on the fact that the conduct of Baron Sonoda is especially reprehensible owing to the position he occupies as Chief of Police.¹²⁹ For an official in that position to incite his subordinates to disaffection agst. [against] the Govt. of the day is a thing wh. [which] no Govt. could afford to overlook.

Believe me

Yours Sincerely

J.H. Gubbins

93. Gubbins to Satow (p.179)

24 July 1898

Dear Sir Ernest,

I am glad to say that [F.W.] Playfair has passed. I shall be able to give him for despatches about 323 out of 400 (the minimum being 300) and for newspapers about 260 out of 300 (the minimum being 200).

May I telegraph the result to him ?

¹²⁷ The departure of Russian minister in Seoul Aleksei de Speyer in the spring of 1898 “uncorked a half-fermented jug of political rivalry long stoppered by foreign pressure. Plot and counterplot came bubbling out. The deepest lines of conflict were drawn between the relatively conservative ministers who controlled the cabinet and the returned reformist exiles like Sō Chae-pil, Yun Ch’i-ho, and Yi Sang-jae, who had formed the Independence Club in July 1896.” (P. Duus, *The Abacus and the Sword*, p. 130)

¹²⁸ This may be a reference to Takano Fusatarō (1869-1904) who in 1897 with Katayama Sen and other labour leaders formed the Shokkō Giyūkai, Japan’s first significant labour organization.

¹²⁹ Sonoda Yasukata (1850-1924), the superintendent general of the Metropolitan Police.

Yours Sincerely

J.H. Gubbins

94. Gubbins to Satow (p. 180)

25 July

Dear Sir Ernest,

I have made a few notes on the correspondence between the two versions of the Harbour Regulations. There is no important discrepancy, nothing that is to say that could give rise to a misunderstanding.

Inoue [] the Japanese translator was evidently puzzled by the expression 'come to'.

Yours Sincerely

J.H. Gubbins

Harbour Regulations for Open Ports

Article II. For 'Ensign' read 'national flag' (unless the word 'ensign' has this meaning)

" V. For "as regards anchorage etc" read "as regards the movements of vessels the proper condition of their moorings and anchorage."

" VIII. For "get ready" read "prepare to put out"

" IX. For "come to" read "come"

" XII. 1st para. For "declaration" read "notification"

For "contagious" read "infectious"

Last para. For "cattle disease" read "infectious cattle sheep or other animal disease"

Article XVIII For "render the offender liable" read "be punished"

Articles XIX, XX The translation is rather free.

" XXIV In the Japanese version the last sentence appears as a separate paragraph.

95. Gubbins to Satow (p.183)

Saturday Night.

Karuizawa

30 July 1898

Dear Sir Ernest,

I enclose part of the Chiū-gwai wh. contains two or three paragraphs of interest. You will have noticed the article in the 'Jiji' on the Philippine question. This and the rumoured Cabinet dissensions are the principal

topics in the papers. The suggestion that Hoshi Toru ¹³⁰ has some understanding with General Takashima is not new. It appeared when Hoshi came back from Washington on the previous occasion. The Hochi reproaches the General Committee of the Kenseitō ¹³¹ for their action.

Believe me

Yours Sincerely

J.H. Gubbins

96. Gubbins to Satow (p.185)

Karuizawa

Aug. 1/98

Dear Sir Ernest,

You will have noticed in the 'Jiji' of the 31st the paragraph referring to the attitude of the Upper House; Genl. Takashima's reported remarks; and the Article on the Philippines. It appears from a telegram in the same paper that the 3rd detachment of U.S. troops reached Manila on the 25th July.

The Chiū-gwai deplores the fact that the return of Hoshi Toru to Japan and the despatch of Mr. Stevens to Hawaii will leave the Washington Legation without any official of experience. It refers to the rumour that Komura is to go there ¹³² and suggests that it might be better to re-transfer Kurino [Shin'ichirō] from Paris to Washington.

In another paragraph the same paper states that it is believed that the outstanding question between Hawaii

¹³⁰ Hoshi Tōru (1850-1901). Politician. Born in Edo, he studied law in England (1874-77) and became a barrister at the Middle Temple. Under the patronage of Mutsu Munemitsu he entered the government, working as a lawyer for the Ministry of Justice. He joined the *Jiyūtō* (Liberal party) at its founding in 1881. Critical of the domination of politics by han cliques (*hambatsu*), Hoshi was twice jailed for antigovernment activities. Elected to House of Representatives (1892) and named chairman, but soon ousted for receiving bribes. Appointed minister to U.S. in 1896, but in 1898, hearing of the formation of the Ōkuma-Itagaki (*Wai-Han*) coalition cabinet, he rushed back to Japan without permission. He later helped Itō Hirobumi form the *Rikken Seiyūkai*, and was rewarded with the post of communications minister in the fourth Itō cabinet (1900). Implicated in a financial scandal and forced to resign after two months in office. Named head of the Tokyo municipal assembly. Assassinated in 1901 by Iba Sōtarō (1851-1903) who blamed him for corruption in Tokyo's city government. (Kodansha's *Japan: An Illustrated Encyclopedia*, pp. 566-7).

¹³¹ The Kenseitō (Constitutional Party) was formed in June 1898 by an alliance of the Jiyūtō (Liberal Party) and the Shimpōtō (Progressive Party) with Ōkuma Shigenobu as president.

¹³² Komura Jutarō (1855-1911) from Obi, now part of Miyazaki prefecture. Studied law at Daigaku Nankō (later Tokyo University) and graduated from Harvard Law School in 1878. In 1893 first secretary of Peking legation. Drafted Japanese peace demands in Sino-Japanese War. In 1896 signed the Komura-Waeber memorandum allowing joint interference of Japan and Russia in Korean internal affairs. Vice-foreign minister until September 1898, when he was named minister to Washington. Foreign minister, 1901. Appointed ambassador to England, June 1906. Foreign minister, August 1908.

and Japan ¹³³ will be shortly settled by the payment of 400,000 Yen by the United States.

It seems that Lönholm ¹³⁴ has gone on leave after all. He told Divers ¹³⁵ a month ago that he had changed his mind.

Believe me

Yours Sincerely

J.H. Gubbins

97. Gubbins to Satow (p.187)

Karuizawa

3rd Aug. 1898

Dear Sir Ernest,

The 'Yorozu Chōhō' of the 1st had a paragraph stating that in view of the excise on sugar wh. the Govt. were about to levy the Gov [Government?] had decided to approach Germany with the object of obtaining her consent to the modification of the duty on imported sugar in the sense of the clause relating to that subject in the Protocol attached to the Treaty with Gt. Britain. The same paper of the 2nd announces that the candidature of Ito Mioji ¹³⁶ for the post of Minister for Foreign Affairs has been withdrawn owing to the opposition of the majority of the Cabinet and that there are indications that the Kenseito will agree to the post being given to Hoshi Toru. It also mentions the idea of a conference on the Philippine question being held at Berlin.

The Jiji of the 2nd has a strong article criticizing Hoshi very severely for leaving his post at Washington at the present moment when very important affairs are under discussion between the United States and Japan.

The 'Hōchi' of the same date publishes an interview with Yano [Fumio, Japanese minister at Peking] in which he expresses himself as filled with admiration of the intelligence and energy of the Chinese Emperor.

The 'Chiūgwai' of the same date states that the Authorities are considering the question of prison

¹³³ The Hawaiian question was one of compensation to Japan for Hawaii's refusal to accept Japanese immigrants. (See Ruxton, 2003, p. 177 and p. 283.) Hawaii was annexed by a treaty signed on June 16, 1897, ratified by the U.S. Senate on July 6, 1898.

¹³⁴ Dr. Ludwig Hermann Lönholm, German jurist. Graduated Leipzig and Halle. Regional judge in Leipzig, 1885. Came to Japan in 1889, taught German law at the Imperial University and advised Justice Ministry. Revised Japanese Civil and Commercial Codes and translated them into German.

¹³⁵ Dr. Edward Divers (1839-1912), invited to Japan in 1873 to teach chemistry at the Imperial College of Engineering (Kōbu Daigakkō). He returned to England in 1899.

¹³⁶ Itō Miyoji (1857-1934). Bureaucrat and politician from Nagasaki prefecture. He accompanied Itō Hirobumi to Europe in 1882 and later, with Inoue Kowashi and Kaneko Kentarō, assisted him in drafting the Constitution of the Empire of Japan. He served as Itō's chief cabinet secretary (1892) and as his minister of agriculture and commerce (1898). In 1899 appointed privy councillor. President of *Tokyo Nichinichi Shimbun* (now *Mainichi Shimbun*) 1891-1904. During the financial crisis of 1927 he brought about the collapse of the first Wakatsuki Reijirō cabinet.

accommodation and diet for foreigners in view of the operation of the new Treaties.

The same paper publishes an abstract of the estimated expenditure of various Departments for the Budget for the financial year Apr. 1/99 to March 31, 1900.

Karuizawa is badly off for police this year owing it is said to want of funds in the police department. A very good inspector was here last year but the villagers complained of his strictness and he was consequently removed. There is no police patrol at night as there has been in former years. Several young trees in my garden were broken, the tops being smashed off, by some miscreant last night. I have communicated with the police but I don't suppose they will do anything. Several men of the sōshi [壮士, political bully] class are staying in the village and probably some of these are the culprits.

I am addressing this to Tokio to await your arrival.

I propose to return to Tokio by the first train on Monday the 8th so as to be ready for the examination of [John T.] Wawn and [Thomas J.] Harrington on the following day.

Believe me

Yours sincerely

J.H. Gubbins

[P.S.] Mr. Edgar Leavik [?] a [illegible] missionary [?] has been writing to the 'Yorozu' suggesting the publication in that paper of an Article in Romaji. The Editor replies that the experiment was tried by a Tokio daily paper some years ago but without success, and he adds what some of us have always maintained – that nothing in this direction can be done unless the Govt. takes the matter up.

98. Gubbins to Satow (p.189)

Karuizawa

4 August 1898

Dear Sir Ernest,

Many thanks for yours of the 1st. You will find two of my letters awaiting you in Tokio for I wrote yesterday and addressed my letter to the Legation thinking it better not to trust to postal facilities between this [place] and Chiuzenji.

I enclose the 'Yorozu' of yesterday, not being sure if there is another copy at the Legation. The leading Japanese and English articles are of some interest as showing the tendency of public feeling so far as it is represented by the paper in question. The only portions of the Japanese article which are worth reading are the opening ten lines or so and the two last paragraphs. Germany is evidently meant by the 或強國 [aru kyōkoku – “a certain strong country”].

The 'Chiūgwai' of the same date has two paragraphs on the Hoshi [Toru] question. In the first it says that

Ct. Okuma does not consider him a good person for the post of For[eign] Min[iste]r; in the second it says that Hoshi has no idea of becoming For. Min. but has other views; and hints that these 'other views' may be the desire to direct the policy of the Cabinet from outside.

The same paper has four paragraphs about the Philippines. Its allusion again to a Conference on the question finds an echo in the 'Yorozu'. Very likely the wish is father to the thought. Japan has always favoured the idea of a Conference on Eastern Asian questions and apart from any advantage she may think she will gain thereby, she would like I think for the sake of her dignity and in order to be recognized as having a voice in affairs in the Far East to take part in a Conference.

The only interesting articles in the 'Jiji' are one on the instability of the present Govt. and one on the proposal to abolish the Depts. of Education and Justice.

I am very glad to be able to remain here till the 8th [August]. When you return to Tokio on the 13th I shall have finished my report on the examination of Wawn and Harrington.¹³⁷

The same night that my trees were injured [see previous letter] two men of sōshi appearance visited the premises of a Mrs. [?] Sale who lives not far from us – frightened the women servants and did some damage to trees and garden seats. As a Japanese house was also visited the same night and a sign board torn down and broken it is probably simply a case of sōshi rowdyism. It is a pity that we have no police officer in the village. The nearest is at Shin-Karuizawa a village near the station, wh. is a mile from us.

Believe me

Yours Sincerely

J.H. Gubbins

[P.S.] I have seen the police and given them a clue we found in the shape of a meerschaum cigarette holder which was dropped near the largest tree broken, and I have offered a reward for the discovery of the offenders. They have been civil about it and think they have some chance of finding the men who they say evidently do not belong to the lower classes. J.H.G.

99. Gubbins to Satow (p.191)

Karuizawa

7 Aug. 1898

Dear Sir Ernest,

The 'Jiji' of the 6th has a paragraph which agrees almost word for word with one wh. appeared in the 'Japan Times' of the same date on the subject of the post of Minister for Foreign Affairs. Evidently the fact that an

¹³⁷ Satow went back to Tokyo on August 13th, returning to Nikko on August 19th. (Ruxton, 2003, pp. 297-299).

agreement has been arrived at by the Cabinet on this point has been communicated to the press.

The 'Yorozu' has a similar paragraph, though the wording is different. The name of the new nominee is not mentioned, but clearly the portfolio is not to be given to Hoshi – perhaps because he does not wish to take it.

The 'Hochi' states that the new Tariff is expected to go into operation on the 1st January next and repeats the rumour that an arrangement has been effected with Austria.

In a paragraph about German designs in Manila the same paper talks of Germany's hostility to England and says that she is evidently bent on acquiring a coaling station somewhere in the Philippines and that her action ought to be carefully watched by Japan and other Powers.

Believe me

Yours Sincerely

J.H. Gubbins

[P.S.] I am leaving this for Tokio by the first train tomorrow.

100. Gubbins to Satow (p.193)

Tokio

8 Aug. 1898

Dear Sir Ernest,

I have just returned from Karuizawa.

There is very little in the papers of yesterday. The Hōchi has a paragraph on the Philippines question stating that it is understood that the Govt. are in communication with the German Govt., Britain and the United States on the subject.

Nothing seems to be settled yet as to who is to be Minr. for For[eig]n Affairs.

Yours Sincerely

J.H. Gubbins

101. Gubbins to Satow (p.195)

Tokio

9th Aug. 1898

Dear Sir Ernest,

Your letter of the 8th with its enclosure, and the two covers from the Admiral wh. were at once sent to Yokohama reached me a little before twelve o'clock today. I at once went to the Foreign Office taking with me a copy of the statement of facts drawn up by the officers of the "Narcissus", and saw Mr. Komura.¹³⁸

¹³⁸ On 16 August 1898 Satow went to Komura and showed him a copy of a letter from Admiral Seymour

I asked him what he knew of the occurrence at the river fête, and said that you regarded the matter as very serious.

He was very guarded in his reply, simply stating that a Japanese had been arrested on Sunday and was now under examination. He was a gentleman whose surname was Kōsai 香西. His other name he did not know, but he was manager of the Hokkai Life Insurance Company.

I said I should be glad to receive for your information any particulars he might be able to learn on the subject. He replied that the preliminary examination of the accused was being conducted by the Yoshin Hanji [予審判事 examining judge] and that these proceedings were of course secret. He would, however, communicate at once with the Chief of Police, and if he could obtain a written report of the occurrence he would send it to me as soon as possible (perhaps in the course of tomorrow) for transmission to you. He added: "I understand that the people in both boats were very drunk." I said that we were confident that our people were quite sober. He then said: "Well – the Japanese who was with them was drunk."

I then remarked that you had received a statement of facts drawn up by the five officers concerned, and handed it to him. He read it and returned it with the remark that some of the facts reported did not agree with what he had heard. For instance the Japanese was not arrested till Sunday as the Police could not trace him before.

He seemed inclined to criticize the document, and did not ask if he might keep it. So bearing in mind what you said in your letter as to me leaving a copy with him or not, as might seem best to me, and the fact that the enquiry by the Admiral [Seymour] might elicit more detailed information, I thought it best not to press the copy of the statement upon him.

[Edward T.F.] Crowe is now recyphering for transmission to you a telegram from Lord Salisbury with reference to the operation of the Codes in Formosa.

You will have noticed in the 'Times' a translation of an Order issued by the Home Minister with reference to the operation of the new treaties. It appeared in today's Kwampō [Official Gazette].

Wawn and Harrington have both passed in colloquial [i.e. spoken Japanese], the former well, the latter only pretty well. Harrington has a good vocabulary but he does not string his sentences together properly and his pronunciation is not good.¹³⁹

Believe me

Yours Sincerely

about a fracas on the Sumida river on August 6th at Ryokoku in which officers of the cruiser H.M.S. 'Narcissus' (5,600 tons) were engaged. Lieutenant Herbert C. Pocock was injured when hit by a bottle thrown by a drunk. (Satow's diary, Ruxton, 2003, p.298. See also Tokyo NichiNichi Shinbun report, summarised in Nagaoka, Vol. 2, p.147).

¹³⁹ As Japanese Secretary to the Legation (a post formerly occupied by Satow, 1868-83) Gubbins was responsible for testing the progress in learning Japanese of the student interpreters.

J.H. Gubbins

102. Gubbins to Satow (p.197)

Tokio

9 Aug. 1898

Dear Sir Ernest,

The Hōchi of today has a short notice of the occurrence at the river fête, in which it states that the quarrel arose through the throwing of a glass. It gives the name of the Japanese who was arrested as Kōsai Yōsaburo. It merely mentions the affair as one of several incidents reported in connection with the fête.

The 'Jiji' speaks of Yehara [Yebara ?] and Yano as possible candidates for the post of Minr. of For. Affairs.

The 'Chiūgwai' says that both Ōkuma and Itagaki have had audiences of the Emperor in connection with the filling up of the post of Minr. for For. Affairs; that the Emperor approved of neither of the persons whose names were proposed for the post, but has given his commands for the appointment of a certain person whose name was not submitted to him by either of the two Ministers.

You will have noticed in the 'Times' of this morning the short paragraph referring to the reason for Prince Henry's not visiting Japan.¹⁴⁰

Believe me

Yours sincerely

J.H. Gubbins

103. Gubbins to Satow (p.199)

Tokio

10 Aug. 1898

Dear Sir Ernest,

The 'Jiji' reports the receipt in Tokio of a telegram dated San Francisco 8th Inst. which announces the intended departure on the 10th from that Port for Honolulu of the three American Commissioners who are being sent there to arrange in conjunction with two Hawaiian delegates the details of the annexation.

The same paper states that Yebara [?] has declined the post of Minr. for Foreign Affairs but has at the same time expressed himself as willing to accept some other post in the Ministry. Consequently it has practically been decided to give the portfolio to Ozaki [Ozaki Yukio] the Minr. of Education and to appoint Ozaki [Yebara ?] as his successor. But nothing will be done until after the result of the Elections is known. It adds,

¹⁴⁰ In fact Prince Henry (Heinrich) of Prussia, younger brother of Kaiser Wilhelm II and commander-in-chief of the Germany navy in the Far East, did visit Japan the following year, June 29 – July 22, 1899.

somewhat in confirmation of what the Chiūgwai said yesterday as to the Emperor's attitude, that the post of Minr. for Foreign Affairs is not one which the Cabinet are free to dispose of at their pleasure and that a hitch has occurred in an unexpected quarter.

The same paper referring to its statement in yesterday's issue regarding the occurrence at the river fête in which it reported the arrest of 5 men – namely Kasai (香西) Yōsabrō, Manager of the Hokkaidō Life Insurance Co. , Kondo Masao a printer of Fukiya chō in the Nihonbashi Ku, Kōjiya Katsurō, a police sergeant attached to the Prefecture of Police, Kawada Rikio, an official of the Central Life Insurance Co. and Watanabe Seisuke, a Geisha attendant of Atagomachi in Shiba, says that two of these, namely Kōjiya and Kawada were released on the 8th Instant on the ground that they were not concerned in the affair. The other three were charged with assault and sent to the procurator's bureau of the Tokio District Court, where they were examined yesterday by Judge Ōzawa. It is said, it adds, that Kataoka Masayuki, an interpreter, Inano Kanekichi, a "boy", Takane Sen [?] the proprietress of the Omuraya (a boathouse) and the Geisha who were in the boat were summoned to the Court as witnesses or for the purposes of reference.

The 'Chiūgwai' hears that Yebara will after all be appointed to the post of Minr. for Foreign Affairs.

I have suggested to Lay that he should send you the papers in which he has marked references to the river fête affair.

So far I have heard nothing more from Mr. Komura.

Wawn and Harrington's examination finishes this afternoon.

Believe me

Yours Sincerely

J.H. Gubbins

104. Gubbins to Satow (p.201)

Tokio

Aug. 10, 1898

Dear Sir Ernest,

I enclose Lay's translation ¹⁴¹ of the Report of the Prefect of Police. You will see that it is stated that the quarrel was provoked by the officers of the 'Narcissus'. The statement of their behaviour seems highly coloured; it is unlikely that any foreigners not knowing Japanese wd. [would] use the expression 'baka yaro' ['You idiot!']. I have in order to save time not had a copy made of the translation.

The 'Mail' today states that Mr. Kōjiya the policeman in the Japanese party has been dismissed but I notice

¹⁴¹ Arthur Hyde Lay was transferred to the Legation at Tokyo from Yokohama on February 6, 1897 and was ranked First Class Assistant at this time. (Kuwata, 1995, p.158)

no confirmation of this in the Japanese papers.

Believe me

Yours Sincerely

J.H. Gubbins

P.S. Lay has obtained extra copies of the English version of the Harbour Regulations. J.H.G.

105. Gubbins to Satow (p.203)

Tokio

Aug. 15/98

Dear Sir Ernest,

Mr. Komura has just sent me in Japanese the Report of the Prefect of Police upon the incident wh. occurred at the river fête. Lay is translating it as I am busy with examinations, and I will forward his translation to you as soon as it is finished.

Yours Sincerely

J.H. Gubbins

106. Gubbins to Satow (p.204)

Tokio

Aug. 10, 1898

Dear Sir Ernest,

I enclose a letter which has come from the Office of Works with a despatch enclosing a cheque for disbursements made by the Legation on Office of Works account.

There is nothing of importance in the papers this morning. The Elections appear to have passed off very quickly.

As I presume you will return [to Tokyo] on the afternoon of Saturday the 13th I shall not write again but keep anything there may be until your return. ¹⁴²

A new volume of State Papers (No. 83) has come.

Believe me

Yours Sincerely

J.H. Gubbins

P.S. [1st class assistant Ralph G.E.] Forster came up yesterday [from Yokohama] and spoke about the water

¹⁴² Satow was at Chūzenji from July 29th to September 20, 1898 apart from a brief return to Tokyo (August 13-19) already mentioned. It was his longest period there.

fête incident. He was told by [Lieut. Herbert C.] Pocock that the Japanese called Kataoka who was with the 'Narcissus' party is a Captain in the Japanese Navy who was formerly military attaché in London. He was to have attended the naval enquiry yesterday.

J.H.G.

107. Gubbins to Satow (p.206)

Karuizawa

20 Aug /98

Dear Sir Ernest,

I send you by the same post as this letter the pamphlet written by Hara Kei ¹⁴³ on the operation of the new Treaties.

The 'Jiji' of yesterday has an article on Japan's foreign policy chiefly as regards China and the Philippines which you will probably have noticed.

The 'Chiūgwai' has a reference to the ratification of the Convention signed in Tokio by Count Pourtales [First secretary, French Legation] respecting the postal transmission of small packets on which the value is not recorded. The Convention appeared in the 'Official Gazette' of the 17th Inst.

I hope you had a comfortable journey to Chiuzenji yesterday. I found it very hot in the train between Takasaki and this. A regulation shd. [should] be issued limiting the hand-baggage of Japanese passengers. There was not enough room for the passengers some 16 or 17 and their innumerable effects – and there was very nearly a row between a German and a Japanese. The German managed to keep his temper and fortunately the Japanese was unintelligible.

Believe me

Yours Sincerely

J.H. Gubbins

108. Gubbins to Satow (p.208)

¹⁴³ Hara Kei/Takashi (1856-1921). One of the principal architects of party government in modern Japan. Home minister three times (1906-08, 1911-12, 1913-14) and prime minister (1918-21). Called the 'commoner' prime minister (*heimin saishō*), being neither a peer nor a member of one of the domain cliques (*Hambatsu*). Born in Morioka, he went to Tokyo in 1871. Baptised Catholic. Journalist 1879-82. Entered Ministry of Foreign Affairs, consul general in Tianjin (Tientsin). 1890-91 personal secretary to Mutsu Munemitsu. Later Vice Minister of Foreign Affairs. In 1900 he joined the Rikken Seiyūkai, the party of Itō Hirobumi, as secretary-general, and ran it 1901-21. Stabbed to death by an ultrarightist in Tokyo Station, November 4, 1921. (Summarised from Kodansha's *Japan: An Illustrated Encyclopedia*, p. 502)

Karuizawa

Aug. 21, 1898

Dear Sir Ernest,

The 'Chiūgwai' of yesterday has a paragraph referring to the delay in the ratification of the Treaty between Austria-Hungary and Japan in which it says that an understanding has been arrived at by which the Austrian Govt. has agreed if the Treaty in question is not ratified before the end of November to abandon the clauses relating to the Tariff, in order that the new Tariff may be put into operation on the 1st January next. I notice nothing of special importance in the other papers. There is a rumour of intrigues going on between Hoshi and Takashima [Tomonosuke], but it is vague.

Believe me

Yours Sincerely

J.H. Gubbins

109. Gubbins to Satow (p.209)

Karuizawa

Aug. 22nd, 1898

Dear Sir Ernest,

The 'Hōchi' of yesterday states that the delay in the departure of Admiral Seymour's ships from Yokohama was due to the receipt of a telegram ordering him to go to Manila and not to Weihaiwei as was his intention.

The 'Asahi' wh. I received by mistake instead of the 'Chiūgwai' has a telegram from Peking dated the 17th Inst. reporting that relations in China between Gt. Britain and Russia are critical.

You will have noticed what the 'Japan Times' [founded in 1897] says about Tokutomi and the 'Far East'.¹⁴⁴

I enclose some leaves and a piece of the bark of the tree I mentioned to you. The berries which are now over grow I see from the twigs and not from the leaves as I thought they did.

If you have the rough printed draft of my translation of the remaining two books of the Civil Code with you in Chiuzenji, can you tell me if there is a note to the words Gun-jin and Gunkoku [?]. I recollect having written the Note, but I cannot find it in any of my papers. Should your copy have the note, I should be much obliged if you would let me have it back to copy from when you are next in Tokio.

Our weather is cooler – the result of a heavy thunderstorm.

¹⁴⁴ Tokutomi Sohō (1863-1957). Journalist and historian from Minamata (now in Kumamoto prefecture). Founded Min'yūsha publishing house in 1887. From 1887 to 1898 Min'yūsha published *Kokumin no Tomo* (The Nation's Friend), Japan's first general magazine. The English version of *Kokumin no Tomo* was called *The Far East*, and was published 1896-98. Min'yūsha also published the *Kokumin Shinbun*, 1890-1929.

Believe me

Yours Sincerely

J.H. Gubbins

110. Gubbins to Satow (p.211)

Karuizawa

Aug. 24/98

Dear Sir Ernest,

The 'Hōchi' of yesterday has a longish paragraph on the settlement of the indemnity claimed by Japan from Hawaii. It agrees with what has already been reported, but it assigns the credit of the initiative to Hoshi Toru who, it says, as soon as the annexation proposal had passed the two Houses in America [House of Representatives and Senate] approached the Secretary of State and suggested the desirability of settling the question before the details of annexation were arranged. The President before whom his suggestion was laid fully approved of it and the Hawaiian Minister at Washington was at once sent to Hawaii to urge the immediate settlement of the matter, with the result wh. has been published.

The 'Jiji' of the same date says that a committee of Foreign Office officials has been formed for the purpose of distributing the Hawaiian indemnity.

The 'Yorozu' says that the question of the dates of operation of the new treaties is now under consideration and that it is possible that the French date, the 4th August, may be taken as the date of operation of all the Treaties. It also states that if an arrangement cannot be made with Austria it has been decided to treat her as a non-Treaty Power ! The 'Yorozu' evidently does not know the impossibility in the absence of a special understanding (wh. would necessitate special legislation) with the U. States of postponing the operation of the American Treaty.

The papers are still discussing the Yamada question and it looks as if the matter would not end with his resignation wh. seems certain. The V. Minr. of the Interior is spoken of as his successor and Kurihara as likely to replace Suzuki.

The 'Chiūgwai' and 'Jiji' both publish reports of interviews with Hoshi, and they do not correspond by any means. In the former paper he is reported as condemning the present Ministry and prophesying its early fall. He represents himself, according to this account, as having intimated to both Ct. Okuma and Ct. Itagaki his desire to give every assistance to the formation and maintenance of a party Cabinet, but as being thoroughly dissatisfied with the conduct of the Ministry since they have been in power.¹⁴⁵ They have done nothing but

¹⁴⁵ Okuma Shigenobu and Itagaki Taisuke jointly held power in the 'Wai-Han' cabinet from June 30 to November 8, 1898. Okuma was prime minister and foreign minister. Itagaki was home minister.

commit grave mistakes. They have not employed the right men, they have left in important posts members of the Clan Govt., they have made it impossible for themselves to carry out the wide reforms to which they were pledged, they have not had the courage to deal boldly with the financial question and increase the land tax which is the only possible solution of the revenue difficulty, and at the same time raise a foreign loan of 50,000,000 or 70,000,000 yen – which is the only possible remedy for the present industrial crisis; they have made the mistake of amalgamating parties when the time was not ripe for it ¹⁴⁶ and they should have been satisfied with coalition and in the distribution of official patronage the Northern Liberals have been ignored.

In the ‘Jiji’s’ report Hoshi speaks in a different tone. He says his retirement from Washington was no sudden resolve but that he had decided upon it as soon as the late Diet was dissolved, and that the settlement of the Hawaiian dispute removed the only obstacle to his return. His present wish is to trade his place again as a member of the popular party and devote his energies to politics. He has no desire to become a Cabinet Minister for the present, but possibly later on under other circumstances he might be induced to accept a portfolio. The rumours of his having conferred with Takashima are quite false; he is a Constitutionalist and pledged to the Kenmintō. He concludes by naming three matters which the Govt. should take in hand at once – a general clearance in the ranks of officials, the introduction of foreign capital from America and Gt. Britain, and the increase of the land tax.

I have given his reported views at length because the papers seem to regard him as an important person. Believe me

Yours Sincerely

J.H. Gubbins

111. Gubbins to Satow (p.214)

Karuizawa

Aug 27/98

Dear Sir Ernest,

Many thanks for your letter of the 24th which reached me yesterday. The ‘Chiūgwai’ of the 25th says that the news has been received at the Tokio For. Office from Takahira ¹⁴⁷ in Vienna to the effect that notes have been exchanged by which the A-H Govt. consents to the operation of the new A-H Treaty from 17 July 1899 [the same date as for the British treaty] and that of the new Tariffs from 1 Jan. ’99. In its leading article he action of the A-H Govt. is eulogized.

¹⁴⁶ In 1898 Okuma’s Shimpotō was merged with Itagaki’s Jiyūtō to form the Kenseitō (Constitutional Party).

¹⁴⁷ Takahira Kogorō (1854-1926), Minister in Austria, then Vice Minister for Foreign Affairs in 1899. Minister to the United States from 1900.

The 'Hōchi' of the 26th has a paragraph about the prison treatment of foreigners under the new treaties. The question it says is a difficult one. Two views are held, one that no discrimination ought to be made between Japanese and foreigners, and the other that foreigners ought to be given better food than Japanese.

The 'Chiūgwai' of the same date has a reference to the memorial addressed to Lord Salisbury by English residents in Japan.

The papers have still a good deal to say about the Yamada incident and Hoshi Toru. But the former question is generally regarded as settled.

Crowe reached us yesterday; goes up Asama this evening and starts for Kofu on Monday morning.

Believe me

Yours Sincerely

J.H. Gubbins

112. Gubbins to Satow (p.216)

Karuizawa

Aug. 28/98

Dear Sir Ernest,

The 'Hōchi' of yesterday has another paragraph on the subject of the prison treatment of foreigners. It says that the Govt. have decided on the measures to be adopted in connection with this subject. In spite of the apparent objections mentioned in its previous issue to any system of discrimination in prison treatment as between Japanese and foreigners, or between persons of the same nationality who are in different ranks [?] of society, it appears that in the latter case the necessity for some discrimination has of late years been recognized in Europe. Persons of the upper classes who are accustomed to certain luxuries are treated now in prisons differently from people of the lower classes. The object of this discrimination is to make the punishment given really equal for all, and steps have already been taken in this direction in Japan by extending the classification of cells and avoiding the confinement of offenders of many different kinds in the same cell. It is intended when the country is thrown open to foreigners simply to extend this individualistic treatment to foreigners. To talk of this as giving superior treatment to foreigners is a great mistake, and a blunder of speech. It is not giving superior treatment to foreigners, but varying treatment according to the individual concerned in order to make the punishment equal for all. Foreigners will therefore be allowed meat from time to time, and they will be given chairs and in cold weather socks. It is only right that in the treatment of foreigners their habits should be taken into consideration.

The 'Jiji' mentions Shiga of the Foreign Office as a possible successor to Hoshi and says that Hatoyama¹⁴⁸

¹⁴⁸ Hatoyama Kazuo (1856-1911).

has declined the post.

I notice that the names of the Hawaiian indemnity distribution committee have appeared in the Official Gazette and that Komura is, as was reported, the President of the Committee.

Believe me

Yours Sincerely

J.H. Gubbins

113. Gubbins to Satow (p.218)

Karuizawa

Aug 30/98

Dear Sir Ernest,

There is very little in the papers. The 'Jiji' of Sunday announces its intention to publish in future a list of the movements of naval vessels. At present these movements are reported in the Official Gazette, but the latest information is not given, and much inconvenience is consequently caused to the relatives of the officers and crews of Japanese ships of war.

The 'Yorozu Chōhō' has a leading article on the financial situation in wh, it makes out that the deficit in the Budget will after all in spite of the efforts at reduction now being made be much the same as the amount wh. Count Inouye was called upon to provide for – namely Yen 35,000,000. Reckoning an increase of Yen 20,000,000 in the revenue from Sake, and an increase of Yen 3,000,000 in revenue from the tax on house land in towns and income tax, there will still remain a deficit of Yen 12,000,000. A section of the Kenseitō is in favour of falling back on a general increase of the land tax, and a proposal to this effect will probably be brought forward again in the Diet, but it has, the 'Yorozu' thinks, no chance of success.

Unless there is something very important in the papers I shall not write again to Chiuzenji as our train service is for the moment irregular and a letter might not reach you before you leave for Tokio. I propose to return by the first train on Friday the 2nd September.

Believe me

Yours sincerely

J.H. Gubbins

114. Gubbins to Satow (p.220)

Karuizawa

19 Sept./98

Dear Sir Ernest,

In my letter of yesterday speaking of the telegraph extension continuing expenditure wh. it is said will figure as an item in the forthcoming budget I mentioned the amount of the item by mistake as Yen 13,000,000. I should have written Yen 33,000,000.

The 'Kokumin' of yesterday in a leading article on what it understands to be the Budget proposals of the Govt. gives some figures which though not authoritative may be near the mark.

The increased taxation is it says expected to yield the following additional Revenue:

Sake tax	Yen 20,000,000
Tax on house land in towns	Yen 4,700,000
Sugar tax	Yen 5,000,000
Income and Registration tax	Yen 3,000,000
Tobacco ripe[?] and []	
Customs duties	<u>Yen 4,000,000</u>
Total Yen	36,000,000

It confirms the statement made in other papers that the telegraph extension expenditure is to be met by the issue of industrial bonds and states that another item of expenditure in the budget will be Yen 4,800,000 for expenses in connection with the establishment of the Steel Foundry.

Believe me

Yours Sincerely

J.H. Gubbins

115. Gubbins to Satow (p.222)

1 Octr.

Dear Sir Ernest,

I do not see any provision of our Treaty by virtue of which we could claim the benefit of the stipulation you mention – wh. occurs in the German, Swiss and A-H Treaties. Art. XVI would I think hardly apply.

The French have in one place early in their treaty a stipulation for m.f.n. [most favoured nation] treatment in addition to national treatment. I cannot at the moment remember if this is the clause relating to administration of justice where we only stipulate for national treatment.

In so far as our Consular jurisdiction in a commercial or shipping case was concerned, wd. it be possible to claim under our M.F.N. clause ?

Yours Sincerely

J.H. Gubbins

P.S. We should be covered had the m.f.n. stipulation been retained in Par. 2 of Art. 2. The point was discussed a good deal during the negotiations in London ¹⁴⁹ and had Bergne's opinion prevailed the words "or subjects or citizens of the m.f.n." wd. have appeared in this place in our Treaty. I have marked the places where the point is referred to in my own T.R. [Treaty Revision] papers and can send them to you if you care to see them.

J.H.G.

116. Gubbins to Satow (p.224)

Tokio

10 Oct./98

Dear Sir Ernest,

I am sending to you the 'Hōchi' and 'Chiūgwai' in which I have marked some paragraphs.

The 'Mainichi' says that the Govt. are making certain dispositions wh. wd. seem to show that they had received news from China different from that wh. has been published in the press. The 'Asahi' has a telegram from Peking saying that Hayashi [Tadasu?] has telegraphed for permission to bring Japanese sailors to Peking to preserve the balance of power.

Yano [Fumio, Japanese Minister in China] and the Japanese Consul General at Shanghai were to leave today for their posts.

Believe me

Yours Sincerely

J.H. Gubbins

117. Gubbins to Satow (p.225)

[Answered 12/10]

Tokio

11 Oct./98

Dear Sir Ernest,

I enclose an application which reached me through Kirkwood ¹⁵⁰ from the Supt. [Superintendent] of the Shanghai Municipal Police for permission to visit the Police Hd. Qrs. at Tokio and Yokohama, and a note to

¹⁴⁹ Gubbins was officially seconded from the Tokyo Legation to the Foreign Office (Whitehall) from February to July 1894, working with the assistant under-secretary Francis Bertie. "He, therefore, took a major part in the talks which Aoki and Bertie held between April and July. His role was all the more vital because Fraser, having returned to Japan in February, died unexpectedly on 4 June at the height of the negotiations, thus depriving Whitehall of one of the few specialists on the topic." (I. Nish, 'John Harrington Gubbins, 1852-1929', Ch. 8, *Britain & Japan: Biographical Portraits*, Vol. 2, 1997, p. 110.)

¹⁵⁰ William M.H. Kirkwood (1850-1926). Legal adviser to Japanese Ministry of Justice, 1885-1901.

Ct. Okuma on the subject wh. I have drafted. You will notice that Mr. Pattison does not require the permission before the 20th.

Today's Official Gazette contains a decree fixing Jan. 1 next year as the date of operation of the Regns. concerning Certificates of origin. These were sent home by [Gerard A.] Lowther in the despatch dated the 2nd Nov. last year.

The 'Jiji' and 'Kokumin' of today have articles urging the necessity of Japan's taking vigorous action as regards China. Most of the papers have what are evidently official communiqués stating that orders have been sent to Japanese sailors to be landed from the "Suma" on her arrival and that the Japanese Legation is probably under guard by them; and also that a gunboat of light draught able to go far up the Whili-wei [?] is to be sent to China at once. The Hōchi adds that the Ōshima is on her way back from Tientsin.

Believe me

Yours Sincerely

J.H. Gubbins

118. Gubbins to Satow (p.227)

Tokio

13 Oct./98

Dear Sir Ernest,

Today's Official Gazette publishes a Convention between Japan and China on Shipwrecks which was signed on the 4th Ultimo at Peking by Hayashi. It is very short consisting of only 4 Articles. It is to come into force on the 15th Inst. and is terminable at 12 months notice on either side.

The papers continue to be full of news and comment on the situation at Peking. The 'Hōchi' of today in an Article entitled "What will be the next step" concludes by urging upon the Govt. the necessity of acting in concert with other Powers, and this seems to be the general tone of the Press, wh. at the same time does not conceal its annoyance at the entry of foreign troops into Peking, and its desire that Japan, if such a course were only practicable, shd. act as a buffer between China and Western Powers.

Most of the papers publish the rumour of extensive powers having been given to Admiral Seymour and the 'Chiūgwai' states that in addition to the despatch of the 'Centurion' and 'Victorious' to Taku two or three vessels of light draught are on their way North.

The 'Suma' seems to have left Tientsin for Chefoo and is reported to be on her way back to Japan. The 'Akaji' [?] according to the latest reports has not yet arrived at Taku.

The 'Nichi Nichi' of yesterday was the first paper to publish the reasons for Iwasaki's rumoured resignation. The 'Japan Times' and other papers have today similar paragraphs so that there seems to be no doubt of the

existence of friction between Iwasaki and the Min. [Ministry?] of Finance.

I have asked Okamoto to try and get Torio's [?] political pamphlet "Odo Kenron".

A Mr. & Mrs. Wills have brought us a letter from M. Vieugué's friend Miss Gibson. May I ask for the usual facilities for them in the way of sight-seeing ?

Believe me

Yours Sincerely

J.H. Gubbins

119. Gubbins to Satow (p.229)

Tokio

14th Oct. 1898

Dear Sir Ernest,

I enclose a translation of the Imperial Decree of the 10th Inst. and Lowther's despatch forwarding the regulations respecting Certificates of origin.

The number of your note to Ct. [Count] Okuma about the Kobe affair is 44.

I saw Hatoyama [Kazuo, Vice Minister for Foreign Affairs since September 13th] this morning and gave him your message. He said that instructions had been sent to Hayashi at Peking to have troops landed from "Suma" at Taku and sent at once to Peking. They had since received a telegram from Hayashi reporting that marines had been landed and that he expected them to arrive at the Capital on the 13th, yesterday. They had not yet received word from him of the actual arrival of the marines in Peking, but he presumed they were there by this time. He added that the Japanese Govt. had telegraphed to [Japanese minister in London] Kato¹⁵¹ yesterday full details of all the information they possessed regarding the situation in Peking, and had instructed him to communicate the telegram to H.M. Govt. and to state that they were anxious in this Chinese question to act in concert with the Govt. of Gt. Britain. (He first said "joint action" and then corrected himself and explained with some repetition of words that he meant "to act with", to take the same course as Gt. Britain; the words "to act in concert with" express his meaning best, I think, although he did not use them). I asked if Russia sent more troops Japan would do the same. He said yes.

He added that they had received no information which showed that Russia was connected in any way with the recent coup d'état but admitted in reply to a question from me that Li Hung Chang had taken part in it.

Speaking of the landing of troops and the movements of their ships he said the "Suma" had left on the 8th. [5th ?] The Govt. on the 7th telegraphed to Hayashi to make preparations for landing men from the Ōshima wh.

¹⁵¹ See Ian Nish, 'Katō Takaaki, 1860-1926: Japanese Ambassador to London and Japanese Foreign Minister', Ch. 2, *Britain & Japan: Biographical Portraits* Vol. IV, Japan Library, 2002.

was then at Tientsin. No men were however landed until the “Suma” arrived. Soon after the arrival of the “Suma” the Ōshima received orders to return to Japan and is now on her way back having called in passing at Chefoo. The “Akaji” wh. was a vessel of light draught would be despatched shortly, he cd. not tell me the exact date, to join the “Suma”. Not being one of the vessels commissioned for the China station it would be necessary to procure the Emperor’s sanction before she could start.

Hatoyama also mentioned that Hayashi had been instructed by the Govt. when the execution of six men of the reform party had taken place to enquire from the Tsungli Yamên [Chinese F.O.] whether the affair might be regarded as terminated. He was told Yes, and reported in that sense to his Govt. Since then, however, further arrests had been made amongst those arrested being the recently appointed Minr. to Japan. The Govt. therefore were now inclined to doubt the correctness of the opinion they had at first formed upon Hayashi’s reports, namely, that the coup d’état was merely the result of a struggle for power between Manchus and Southern Chinese. It seemed now as if the affair were more serious.

I told Paget Hatoyama’s answer to your enquiry about the landing of troops and he has sent off a telegram of which I enclose a copy.

There is nothing of special interest in the papers today.

I asked Hatoyama to let me have, if he was able to do so, the names and titles in English of the Chinese signatories of the Shipwreck Convention.

Hatoyama spoke rather discouragingly of the friction wh. existed between the Jiyutō and Shimpotō and said he thought it must come to a separation of the parties.

Mr. & Mrs. Wills whom I met today said they had letters to you – so I thought I might put down their names on our Garden Party List and also those of the friends with whom they are travelling a Mr. & Mrs. Evans. It seems to be doubtful whether the Party will take place.

Believe me

Yours Sincerely

J.H. Gubbins

P.S.

One of the “Mainichi” staff who comes to see me from time to time called this afternoon and talked a good deal to little purpose about the Chinese affair. I asked him what Shimada’s ¹⁵² opinion was. He replied: “He thinks that the smaller aspect of the matter is a struggle between Manchus and Southern Chinese” (repeating Hatoyama’s words)”but that the larger and real[?] aspect of the matter is a struggle between Gt. Britain and Russia.” I wondered if Hatoyama thought the same. J.H.G.

¹⁵² Probably Shimada Saburō (1852-1923). Politician and journalist.

120. Gubbins to Satow (p.233)

[Answered 18/10. Ch: Jap. shipwreck agree. Get from J.H.G. for F.O.]

Tokio

17 Oct. /98

Dear Sir Ernest,

Paget and I are not sure how you would like the enclosed application to be dealt with so he has asked me to send it to you. He has also suggested to [military attaché Lt. Col. A.G.] Churchill that he might make enquiries on the subject at the War Office. If you like I might talk to Hatoyama about it.

Mr. & Mrs. Wills lunched with me yesterday and I gave them your message. They asked me to say how sorry they were to have missed you.

The Educational Council have decided, it seems, against allowing foreigners to establish or carry on schools when the new treaties come into force. Both the "Kokumin" and the "Yorozu" protest against the decision. The decision if given practical effect to might cause some trouble.

The "Asahi" of today reports the intention of the Empress Dowager [Tzu Hsi] to take steps for the deposition of the Chinese Emperor.

A case of infraction of the Harbour Regulations by the S.S. "Ulysses" is reported in the same paper.

The "Mainichi" of yesterday has a telegram from Peking announcing the satisfaction of the Chinese Govt. at the entry into Peking of the Japanese marines.

Believe me

Yours Sincerely

J.H. Gubbins

121. Gubbins to Satow (p.235)

Tokio

20 Oct./98

Dear Sir Ernest,

I was unable to see Hatoyama today at the Foreign Office but I saw Mitsuhashi [Nobukata] who told me that an Official Note from you to Ct. Okuma would be necessary in the case of Capt. Berger's application. I enclose the draft of a Note on the subject. Mitsuhashi promised pending the receipt of the Note from you to treat it as if it were already in their hands and to communicate at once with the War Department.

He informed me that the Educational Council's functions are purely advisory, that much dissatisfaction had been caused by and freely expressed at their action, and that the Educational Department had been condemned for placing such a subject as the management of schools for Japanese by foreigners before the Council for

their consideration, the matter being one wh. immediately concerned both the Home and Foreign Departments. He was certain that the only outcome of the affair wd. be the exercise of perhaps greater strictness in the conduct of such schools. Dr. Florenz ¹⁵³ whom I saw yesterday mentioned that one reason for the Council's action was probably jealousy of the success of the French school [Etoile du Matin] ¹⁵⁴ near the Legation wh. did better work than the Tokio Chiugakkō.

As we have had no answer about Mr. Pattison [see letter 117 above], whose time is short, I called his attention to this matter and he promised to expedite the action of the Home Department.

I spoke to him also about the list of names of members of the Legation and Consulates, for which they have been asking us more than once lately, and explained the reason of the delay on our part – namely certain changes which were in course of being carried out. You did not, I said, wish to furnish a list which might in a very short time be useless. He promised to let me know if the people at the Foreign Office who were completing the list could wait a little longer or not. If they cannot, shall I send in the list with the rest of the Consular changes marked ?

Mitsubishi told me that they had heard definitely from Peking that the doctor of the French Legn. had seen the Emperor by request from the Palace and had found him “weak but well.” He added that the Govt. had never recd. any reports leading them to believe that there was any reason to fear for the Emperor's safety, and that the reports wh. had appeared in the press to the contrary were quite unreliable.

He mentioned as I was leaving that Ct. Okuma had asked him when you were returning. You wd. be back Mitsubishi supposed for the races in Yokohama. I said I thought it was very doubtful. ¹⁵⁵ He said that Ct. Okuma was giving a cup, and would probably go to the races to present it. It was in connection with this it seemed that Ct. Okuma had wished to see you. No answer he said had been recd. as to whether the Emperor wd. go to the races or not. ¹⁵⁶

They are not preparing an English text of the Shipwrecks Convention, so I will make a translation. Shall I send it to you when it is done or give it to Paget ?

The “Asahi” today has a telegram stating that the Manchu Party at Peking are frightened at the idea of possible interference on the part of the Diplomatic Body there and have postponed the deposition of the Emperor; and another telegram stating that Mr. [Renato] de Martino [Italian minister at Peking] has suggested to his colleagues the necessity of replacing Li Hung Chang in the Tsungli Yamên.

The same paper also states that Hayashi the Japanese Secy. at Peking is in disagreement with Yano [Fumio]

¹⁵³ Karl Adolf Florenz (1865-1939). German invited to Japan in 1888. Taught German literature and linguistics at the Imperial University in Tokyo.

¹⁵⁴ This was the school run by French missionaries which A.C. Shaw recommended to Satow for his second son, Hisayoshi (Cha-chan) on April 6, 1896. (Diary, Ruxton, 2003, p.79)

¹⁵⁵ Satow was away from Tokyo on vacation in the Atami area, October 9 – 29, 1898. (Diary)

¹⁵⁶ Satow received Emperor Meiji at the races in Yokohama on October 29, 1896 but not in 1898.

and has tendered his resignation.

Riess's paper will be in our hands for the A. [Asiatic] Society [meeting] on the 4th Novr.¹⁵⁷ and the print [?] of Florenz's paper he is to send me by the end of Decr. so that it may be read in January. It is to be on Shinto Ritual.

Believe me

Yours Sincerely

J.H. Gubbins

122. Gubbins to Satow (p.238)

Tokio

21 Oct. 1898

Dear Sir Ernest

The enclosed "Nichi Nichi" contains a paragraph (marked in blue) on the subject of Japan's policy towards China which is evidently an official communiqué as the "Jiji" and "Asahi" have similar paragraphs. I send the "Nichi Nichi" as I think it is the clearest.

It looks as if the Govt. had waited for an answer from London to the overtures which Kato was instructed to make before inspiring the press.

The "Kokumin" says that Count Okuma's offer to confer with representatives of the Upper House on the subject of the Govt's financial programme has been rejected.

Mr. Hida, a councillor of the Guwaimushō [Foreign Office] called this morning to communicate a proposal from Ct. Okuma with reference to the Thornicraft lease question.¹⁵⁸ The proposal is that Ct. Okuma should send you a Note stating that the Japanese Govt., while not receding from the position taken up by them that they have a right to limit [the duration of ?] leases between Japanese and foreigners concluded under the arrangement recorded in Itō Shunsuke's¹⁵⁹ letter to the Consuls, are willing as an act of special favour to cancel the regulations at present enforced by the Kobe Authorities and to assimilate all such leases, as far as the term only is concerned, to the superficies leases of the Civil Code. No limit is fixed by the Code to these leases except in cases where the parties apply to a Court of law to determine the term.

I said I would communicate the proposal to you at once.

So far of course the proposal is merely the suggestion of a basis of compromise. If the basis were agreeable

¹⁵⁷ Dr. Ludwig Riess (1861-1928) of the Imperial University lectured to the Asiatic Society of Japan on the English factory at Hirado, Nagasaki on November 23, 1898. (Satow's diary, November 23, 1898).

¹⁵⁸ Dr. Thornicraft was a resident of Kobe. See PRO 30/33 5/9 (Consular correspondence from Kobe).

¹⁵⁹ Itō Hirobumi was formerly known as Itō Shunsuke when he was the first Governor of Hyogo, 1868-9. The letter is presumably the one written by him to the consuls on March 30, 1868 quoted in Nagaoka, vol. 2, p. 394 permitting foreigners to live in the 'zakkyochi' (area of mixed residence).

to you, Mr. Hida said, Ct. Okuma would send a Note in the sense indicated and would receive a reply from you intimating your acceptance of the arrangement. Mr. Hida entered into no details beyond stating that in the opinion of his Govt. the words “at their convenience” in Itō’s Note did not debar them from limiting the term of the leases in question. He speaks English rather poorly and understands it when spoken even less, so after he had given his message in English we spoke Japanese.¹⁶⁰

The Garden Party is to take place, and in reply to a message from the Guwaimushō I have sent in the rough list of names. I have asked them for the date for your information.¹⁶¹

Believe me

Yours Sincerely

J.H. Gubbins

123. Gubbins to Satow (p.240)

Tokio

21 Oct./98

Dear Sir Ernest

Since writing to you this morning I notice that in the Mainichi’s account of Ct. Okuma’s speech he is reported to have referred in the end of it to the action of the German Minr. at Peking who visited the Japanese Legation and expressed his acknowledgment (sha-rei) for the remonstrances addressed by the Chargé d’Affaires to the Chinese Govt. And in the Hōchi’s version of the official communiqué one reason for the independent policy which the Jap. Govt. are represented to have decided to adopt towards China is stated to be the influence now being exercised by Japan in Peking the good effect of which was praised by the German Minr. who paid a visit for that purpose to the Japanese Legation.

At our last meeting of the A.S. [Asiatic Society] Council the question of collections of arrears of subscriptions was discussed and it appeared that [W.J.] Kenny and [E.A.] Griffiths have not paid their subscriptions for several years though they have presumably recd. the transactions wh. have been sent to them. I said I wd. write to them, but I should like to consult you before doing this.

Yours Sincerely

J.H. Gubbins

¹⁶⁰ Satow had already spoken on the subject of limiting terms of leases which had arisen in Kobe as a result of the Governor’s action with the previous foreign minister, Nishi Tokujirō, on March 3, 1898. Satow’s view was that ‘under the new Treaties foreigners would have the same rights as the law gave to Japanese and hence no need for fixing a limit.’ (Diary, Ruxton, 2003, p.248)

¹⁶¹ Satow attended Count Okuma’s garden party on November 14, 1898. (Diary, Ruxton, 2003, p. 312)

124. Extract of letter from Satow to Gubbins (in Satow's handwriting, p.242)

extract

Atami 22 Oct. 1898

I do not like the proposal conveyed to you by Mr. Hida, & cannot accept anything as a special favour.

If Count Ōkuma likes to propose as a solution to the question to cancel the regulations enforced by the Kōbe Authorities & to allow such leases, as far as the term is concerned, to be governed by the Superficies clauses of the Civil Code, but without saying that he does not recede fr. [from] the position taken up, I might be disposed to accept it. But if he said they did not recede, I shld. be obliged to say that I maintained the view of H.M.G. as expressed under instructions fr. Ld. Salisbury

in my last Note on this subject. & I think it wld. serve no useful purpose to place on record such a divergence of opinion. In any case the text of the exchange of Notes must be agreed to beforehand.

E.S.

125. Gubbins to Satow (p.243)

Tokio

22nd Oct/98

Dear Sir Ernest,

I saw Soyeda ¹⁶² this morning and also the Head of the Customs Bureau and ascertained that there were no forms prepared by the Dept. for Certificates of origin. All the particulars necessary for insertion in a Certificate of origin are, I was told, stated in the Regulations we sent home last year and the translation of wh. attached to Lowther's despatch is in your hands.

I have therefore written to Robison ¹⁶³ expressing this and said that I would ask you to send him a copy of the Regulations wh. will give him the information he desires.

With regard to your suggestion for the alteration of the arrangement about entry of goods Soyeda said he was sorry to say that no change was now possible. He recognized of course the advantageous position given to Kobe merchants but said the advantage to Nagasaki merchants would be even greater. I replied that the importance of Nagasaki as a port of importation was very slight as compared with that of Kobe and Yokohama. He admitted this but repeated that nothing could now be done. He added that a similar suggestion had been received from the German Minr. to whom the same answer had been given.

¹⁶² Soeda Juichi (1864-1929) from Fukuoka. Economist and businessman. Studied at Cambridge and Heidelberg. On his return he entered the Ministry of Finance and became Vice-Minister. President of Industrial Bank of Japan. Taught economics at several universities. President of Railway Bureau in Ōkuma cabinet.

¹⁶³ Richard (Dick) Robison of Robison & Co., Yokohama. Chairman of the Yokohama Chamber of Commerce and President of the International Committee. (See PRO 30/33 6/13 for correspondence, March 1897 – September 1899).

As regards the third point – the keeping open of the C. House [Custom House] on the 31 Decr. wh. is a Saturday, he said that it had been decided to keep the C. Houses open until midnight of that day. I suggested that it might be well if notice of this intention were given as soon as possible for the information of all concerned. He agreed to this and gave instructions in this sense to the Head of the Customs Bureau who was present.

I saw Mitsuhashi at the Gwaimusho [Foreign Office] and explained to him that you had asked Baron d'Anethan ¹⁶⁴ to represent you on the second day of the races and receive Ct. Okuma, and I also asked him to express your regrets to Ct. Okuma at your inability to be present on the occasion.

He told me that the Govt. had received no news in confirmation of the report as to the intended deposition of the Chinese Emperor.

Believe me

Yours Sincerely

J.H. Gubbins

[P.S.] The papers report that Yano has instructions to demand an audience on his return to Peking. The Garden Party date is not yet fixed.

126. Gubbins to Satow (p.245)

Tokio

22nd Oct./ 98

Dear Sir Ernest

I have just seen Forster ¹⁶⁵ who tells me the merchants in Yokohama are acquainted with the regulations issued last year about certificates of origin, and that these have been posted in the Consulate for some time past. So Robison must know all about the particulars required for certificates of origin. ¹⁶⁶

It appears however that certain points in the regulations such as the question of certification at the port of shipment of goods manufactured at some place inland, the question as to the interpretation of the words “the proper officer”, are not clearly understood, and that the certification of goods by a merchant Consul (the point raised by the German Govt.) is objected to.

I am writing this in a hurry so that it may reach you as soon as possible.

Yours Sincerely

¹⁶⁴ Albert d'Anethan (1849-1910). Belgian Minister in Japan 1894-1910 and Doyen of the Diplomatic Body.

¹⁶⁵ Ralph G.E. Forster, 1st class assistant at Yokohama (appointed August 8, 1896).

¹⁶⁶ Satow lunched with Robison and other businessmen in Yokohama on November 11, 1898. ‘Afterwards we had a long talk, lasting till 4.20 about Business tax and certificates of origin.’ (Diary, Ruxton, 2003, p. 311)

J.H. Gubbins

127. Gubbins to Satow (p.247)

Tokio

24 Oct. 1898

Dear Sir Ernest

I am writing a line by the messenger who goes to Atami to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 22nd.

The two précis and the translation I will give in to the General Chancery as soon as they are done. I have been waiting all the morning to see Hida at the Foreign Office but cannot find him.

Paget has received and sent copies to Thomas of two Notes from the Imp. Household, one saying that the Emperor cannot go to the Races and the other stating that H. Majesty is presenting vases as a prize at the Races - and they have been sent in the usual course to Yokohama.

Believe me

Yours Sincerely

J.H. Gubbins

128. Gubbins to Satow (p.249)

Tokio

24th October 1898

Dear Sir Ernest,

I have just seen Hida at the Gwaimushō. I explained to him in Japanese that you were not unprepared to accept the proposals of Ct. Okuma for the solution of the Kobe lease question in its main outlines – namely an exchange of Notes, the cancellation of the Regulations issued by the Local Authorities and the application to the leases in question of the provisions relating to superficies, so far as the term was concerned. But that it was essential that the texts of the Notes should be agreed on beforehand, and that if in the Note which it was suggested should be sent by Ct. Okuma it were stated that the Japse. Govt. proposed the solution in question “as a special favour”, or intimated their adherence to the argument put forward by them as to the interpretation of the words “at their convenience” in Ito Shunsuke’s communication to the Consuls, the Note could not possibly be acceptable to you. Such a note would I said in your opinion serve no useful purpose, and wd. rather tend to provoke discussion.

He replied that he quite understood the position assumed by you, and would at once report what I had said to Ct. Okuma and communicate with me later.

Believe me

Yours Sincerely

J.H. Gubbins

129. Gubbins to Satow (p.251)

Tokio

25 October/98

Dear Sir Ernest

Mr. Hida came to see me this morning on behalf of Mr. Hayakawa the Acting Director of the Political Bureau. He said Mr. Hayakawa had asked him to consult me privately as to the possibility of settling the Thornicraft lease question by the cancellation by the Govt. of the Regulations restricting the term of such leases which had been issued by the Local Authorities and the withdrawal on each side of the whole correspondence, thus treating the question as if it had never arisen.

I said that without referring the suggestion to you I could not possibly give any reply. If Mr. Hayakawa wished me to do so I would communicate his message to you.

Mr. Hida then asked me for my private opinion.

I said it seemed to me that a suggestion of this kind ought rather to proceed from Ct. Okuma. (He had mentioned that the Minr. for F. Affairs had not yet been consulted.)

Asked if I thought the suggestion a practicable one I said it must not be forgotten that your last Note had been written after instructions had been received from H.M. Govt. Under these circumstances the question of withdrawing the correspondence might present certain difficulties which he would understand.

I added that I believed that you would be returning very shortly and that it might perhaps be best for any further suggestions to be made to you direct. At the same time I repeated that if Mr. Hayakawa wished me to report his message to you I would do so at once.

Mr. Hida did not ask me to do this, but said it wd. be better perhaps to await your return to Tokio, when, with Ct. Okuma's concurrence, Mr. Hayakawa might possibly make the suggestion direct to you.

I ascertained from him that your message given through me to Mr. Hida yesterday had not yet been delivered to Ct. Okuma.

I heard yesterday from Denison when I was at the Foreign Office that a telegram had been recd. from Yano stating that he was assured by the Chinese Govt. that the recently reported movements of Chinese troops had no special significance and were simply connected with the usual annual manoeuvres.

Believe me

Yours Sincerely

J.H. Gubbins

130. Gubbins to Satow (p.253)

Tokio

26 Oct. 1898

Dear Sir Ernest

Commander [Charles E.] Kingsmill of the “Archer” called this afternoon and said he had recd. a telegram from Admiral Seymour directing him to go to Yokosuka and ascertain whether the dock was big enough to accommodate the “Victorious”, and in that case to apply for permission to have that vessel docked. He was just leaving Yokohama for Hong Kong when the telegram reached him. It was three o’clock when he called and as he was anxious to obtain permission to go tomorrow morning to Yokosuka¹⁶⁷ to see the dock, I telephoned to the Admiralty to Commander Kato and ascertaining that he was there and would see Commander Kingsmill I wrote a note to him introducing the latter and stating the object of his visit.

As time was an object I thought it better to communicate direct with the Japanese Admiralty than move in the matter through the Gwaimushō.

Commander Kingsmill said he would let me know later on if it was decided to apply for permission to dock the “Victorious”.

Believe me

Yours Sincerely

J.H. Gubbins

[P.S.] I have finished both the two précis and the translation and given them in to the Chancery to be copied.
J.H.G.

131. Gubbins to Satow (p.255)

Tokio

26 October 1898

Dear Sir Ernest,

Sir W.C. Anstruther and a Mrs. Goulding called yesterday in order to present letters wh. they had for you. They asked about the Garden Party and Ball. I said I would write to you; that I thought it would be all right as regards the Garden Party but as to the Ball I was not sure what you would say. If you think there would be no harm in my writing to or speaking to Mr. Mitsuhashi I would do so and then tell Sir W. Anstruther and party

¹⁶⁷ The Yokosuka Seitetsusho was a foundry and shipyard built in 1866 at Yokosuka, now in Kanagawa prefecture, by the Tokugawa shogunate under the direction of the French naval engineer François Verny (1837-1908). In 1871 it was renamed the Yokosuka Zōsenjo, and in 1903 the Kaigun Kōshō.

(there are also two Misses Goulding) to leave cards on Count and Countess Okuma. If you think I can safely approach Mr. Mitsuhashi on the subject may I mention at the same time two friends of Mrs. “Silver” Bell [?] – the Misses George – who have already left cards ?

The enclosed application from Dening ¹⁶⁸ Paget has passed on to me.

I have finished the précis of Ct. Okuma’s speech regarding China, and am now dealing with his remarks about Russia. I have taken the “Nichi Nichi’s” version, wh. so far as length goes leaves nothing to be desired, since it extends over 8 columns of close print. The speech reads rather incoherently, and there are many mistakes. Okamoto says it is reported that he was rather excited during its delivery. Some passages in it are certainly curious.

The papers have little of interest. As the “Japan Times” says the press generally has taken very quietly the officials reduction scheme. Ozaki seems likely to resign ¹⁶⁹ in wh. case Shimada ¹⁷⁰ might get the Education portfolio wh. I think he would certainly accept. But the Jiyūtō have probably their own candidate.

Believe me

Yours Sincerely

J.H. Gubbins

132. Gubbins to Satow (p.257)

Tokio

27 Oct. /98

Dear Sir Ernest

I enclose an Extra [gōgai 号外] wh. gives the latest details regarding the present Cabinet crisis which seems to be serious.

Weipert ¹⁷¹ called to see me (to tell privately he said in answer to a half-question from me) about the Chamber of Commerce’s letter in regard to Certificates of origin etc. He had been in communication I gathered with both the Finance and Foreign Departments and had been met in each case with a non possamus

¹⁶⁸ Probably Walter Dening, an English teacher at Sendai Second High School.

¹⁶⁹ Ozaki Yukio (1858-1954) made a speech apparently supporting republicanism and against the imperial throne on 21 August 1898. As a result he was forced to resign as education minister on October 25th. The Tokyo Nichi Nichi Shimbun, then controlled by Itō Miyoji of the Jiyūtō, used this incident to attack the former Shimpōtō to which Ozaki belonged. Ozaki’s resignation led to a split in the Kenseitō (Nagaoka, vol. 2, p. 180)

¹⁷⁰ Shimada Saburō (1852-1923). Journalist and politician, born in Edo. He was elected to 14 successive terms in the Diet, beginning with the first election in 1890, and was a gifted orator. Outspoken in condemnation of corruption, particularly in the Siemens Incident (January 1914) and the Ashio Copper mine incident (Ashio Kōdoku Jiken) of the 1890s.

¹⁷¹ Dr. H. Weipert, Secretary at the German legation and translator.

[“we can do nothing”]. He seemed to think the Japanese were inclined to carry matters with rather a high hand, and talked vaguely about joint action. He asked me if I would let him know if I heard anything new about the matter. I said Yes; but I do not see what there can be for me to tell him.

He said [German minister] Ct. von Leyden had not written to you but would probably wish to talk over the matter with you after your return to Tokio.

I asked him how they interpreted the expression Ki-san gen-chi [起産現地?] in the regulations: whether place or country of origin (manufacture or production). He said he had translated it by the word place of etc.

Believe me

Yours Sincerely

J.H. Gubbins

133. Gubbins to Satow (p.259)

Letter from the British Legation, Tokio dated 21/11, 1898.

Very faint, only partly legible.

“...Marquis Ito is reported to have already left Shanghai, and one paper says he will arrive about the 8th. This, however, may be a mistake...”

134. Gubbins to Satow (p.261)

9 Jan /99

Dear Sir Ernest

I have read your draft carefully. The question raised is very complicated. If I may venture to do so, I wd. say that the matter presents itself to me in this way:

Is it possible to separate the Protocol from the new Treaty and say that Canada while not adhering to the latter may claim the benefit of the former ?

Can Canada be considered as not bound by Gt. Britain's Agreement with Japan as to cessation of existing Treaties and the Tariff attached thereto ?

If the answers to these questions are No, then it would seem to follow that Canada cannot claim benefit of new Treaty or Conventional Tariff under the Treaty or Protocol.

We are thus brought to another question, namely, Is there anything she can claim apart from the new Treaty & Protocol ?

To this I think the answer is Yes. She can claim privileges of existing Treaties for the term of their duration. One of these privileges is m.f.n. treatment in commercial matters. Therefore so long as the existing Treaties are in operation she can claim the benefit of the lowest Tariff.

Two points have to be borne in mind in considering this question

1. The existing Treaties contain no 'Colonial' Article.
2. The new Conventional Tariffs are, with the exception of the Austrian, unilateral.

I am afraid this view of the case will appear to you as not worth stating, but I venture to give it for what it is worth.

There is only one suggestion I would offer as regards your draft. It has reference to Par. 3 of the 3rd page: "It is arguable etc." The Treaty of 1858 is in force both as regards Gt. Britain & Canada. Wd. it be better to mention the argument as based on the fact ?

Yrs Sincerely

J.H. Gubbins

135. Gubbins to Satow (p.263)

10 Jan 99 [?] Short, very faint letter.

Dear Sir Ernest,

With your permission I shall stay at home again today and try and get rid [?] of my cold.

In the argument regarding Canada wh. I jotted down yesterday I omitted to mention to you [?] the results of answering the two questions in the negative. [] Canada would not be able to claim the revival [?] of the old tariff.

Yours Sincerely

J.H. Gubbins

136. Gubbins to Satow (p.264)

Part of letter only. Date unclear (January 1899 ?). From British Legation, Tokio.

"British Ss [Subjects] until operation of new Treaty can claim benefit of the M.F.N. clause of existing Treaties. For this reason until other Powers had agreed upon Conventional Tariffs the Japse. Govt. cd. not enforce agst. Br. Ss the Br. Con. Tariff for the latter could claim benefit of Tariff attached to existing Treaties.

After operation of Statutory & Conventional Tariffs Br. Ss can no longer claim benefit of old Tariff for it has been superseded and no longer exists. But they can still claim benefit of the M.F. Clause of existing Treaties.

The answer to Mr. Kilby's ¹⁷² first question 'Can the new scale of duties be enforced before 17 July next ?' is therefore Yes.

It seems quite clear that on and after 17 July 1899 imports from Br. Colonies etc. not adhering to new Treaty will come under Genl. Statutory Tariff and will not be able to claim benefit of Br. Con. Tariff.

¹⁷² E. Flint Kilby of Kilby & Co.

But the question wh. remains is whether imports from such Colonies etc. can claim benefit of lowest Conventional Tariff until 17 July 1899, namely during the period wh. existing Treaties have still to run.

I think they can, for they can claim benefit of M.F.N. clause of existing Treaties and any differentiation between such goods and goods from other countries while those Treaties are in operation wd. be a violation of the M.F.N. clause in question.”

137. Gubbins to Satow (p.266)

Tokio

24 March 99

Dear Sir Ernest

I saw Mr. Hayashi and handed him the samples of Cotton Italians sent by Cornes & Co.¹⁷³, explaining to him the identity of the two materials in every respect but that of weaving, and their identical treatment up to this year by the Customs. He said he quite understood the case as put by Cornes & Co., and would see that the two samples with the import permits etc. attached to them were duly forwarded to the Finance Department. The matter had not yet come before him but was probably in Mr. Uchida's hands.¹⁷⁴ I suggested that the samples in question might be treated as enclosures in your Note to Viscount Aoki.

Yours Sincerely

J.H. Gubbins

138. Gubbins to Satow (p.268)

April 2nd, 1899

Dear Sir Ernest

It has I think been generally understood that the Report furnished in connection with the Interpreters' Examn. should be a special one written for that purpose. You will see from Sir Francis Plunkett's despatch in the Volume To F.O. Consular 1887 that Layard's Report was furnished and accepted under the Minute of 1885. Eleven months had then elapsed since his Examn. in the previous year on which occasion he passed only in colloquial. Wileman in his report on Layard's second examination in 1894 mentions the fact that Layard had been considered to have passed in the two subjects of Colloquial & Reports.

The other volume which I send, To F.O. Consular 1886, contains a despatch from Sir Francis Plunkett¹⁷⁵ on

¹⁷³ Cornes and Company was founded in 1873. Frederick Cornes was the major partner until his retirement in 1911. (On F. Cornes see Ch. 11, *Britain & Japan: Biographical Portraits*, Vol. IV, 2002).

¹⁷⁴ Uchida Yasuya (1865-1936) was at this time Head of the Political Affairs Bureau (Seimukyokuchō) in the Foreign Office. He was later foreign minister five times.

¹⁷⁵ See 'Sir Francis Plunkett, 1835-1907: British Minister at Tokyo, 1884-87' by Hugh Cortazzi, Ch. 3, *Britain & Japan: Biographical Portraits*, Vol. IV (Japan Library, 2002), pp. 28-40.

the subject of Bonar's examination in 1886. The recommendation he then made represents the rule which has been followed in regard to Reports.

Forster ¹⁷⁶ certainly gave me to understand that his Report was in course of preparation though not yet finished.

I will write to Mr. [T.H.] Ryland ¹⁷⁷ telling him to attend at the large building opposite the Foreign Office at 10 am on Tuesday. Can you spare me his card. I sent the one I had to the Vice Min. of Justice in your Note, and have forgotten his initials.

Yours Sincerely

J.H. Gubbins

139. Gubbins to Satow (p.270)

Wednesday

5 April / '99

Dear Sir Ernest

Denison asked me to call this afternoon and see him about the India Protocol. He told me that Viscount Aoki had sent for him today to talk over the subject, and that he had advised the withdrawal of the first m.f.n. amendment. To this Visct. Aoki agreed. With regard to the m.f.n. amendment to the third reservation, Vt Aoki was anxious to retain some wording qualifying in the m.f.n. sense the restriction as to the appointment of Consuls, but was not inclined to insist on the actual text of Tsuzuki's amendment. Denison thought he might accept some suggestion from you wh. would meet the special objection they have to the clause as it stands.

As Vt. Aoki introduced the subject himself and was evidently anxious to effect an understanding Denison said nothing to him about his having seen me.

Yours Sincerely

J.H. Gubbins

140. Gubbins to Satow (p.272)

Thursday Evening

13 4 99

Dear Sir Ernest,

I will bear in mind what you mention when I see Mr. Uchida tomorrow. Denison thinks he may possibly speak about other things too. I shall not fail to make a note of what he says to give you on your return on

¹⁷⁶ In 1899 Ralph George E. Forster was a first class assistant at Yokohama (Kuwata, *The British Diplomats in Japan 1859-1945*, Mirume Shobo, 2003 at p. 80).

¹⁷⁷ T.H. Ryland had visited Satow the previous day. (Diary, April 1, 1899)

Monday.¹⁷⁸ If you would like to see me before you leave tomorrow morning I can be at the Legation soon after eight o'clock.

Yours Sincerely

J.H. Gubbins

141. Gubbins to Satow (p.273)

Tokio

Apr. 17th 99

Dear Sir Ernest

I have marked nothing in the papers during your absence. As you will see from the "Mail" of today most of them have been filled with attacks on Vt. Aoki. Today's "Yorozu" also attacks Tsuzuki.

You will see the result of my interview with Uchida in a memo wh. accompanies the papers regarding the continuance of Consr. jurisdiction. I cannot help thinking in spite of Uchida's assurances to the contrary that they intend to drop the matter of the Execution of Consular Judgments, though I dare say that Uchida himself has not been told of this.

In another box I am sending you Forster's report on the Match industry. It contains much more detailed information than was sent home in 1896 [1891 ?]¹⁷⁹ on the same subject, and I think of giving him full marks for it. He is wrong however about the source of the wood supply. Not all of it comes from the Hokkaido or Northern part of the main island [Honshu ?] as he says. A good deal comes from other parts of the main island.

In a third box I have placed a curious petition to you from a Japanese named Ogawa about [Dorduiys ? Dockings ?], and a list of corrections in the Guwaimusho Amalgamated Tariffs which comes to us from the publishers Maruya.

A note has come from the Foreign Office about Customs duties on things belonging to members of Legations. They are enforcing article 5 of the Statutory Tariff Law. Lay has translated it and has also in conjunction with the writers prepared a plan of a telegraphic Cable line wh. was published in the Official Gazette of Saturday.

Believe me

Yours Sincerely

J.H. Gubbins

¹⁷⁸ Satow was at Lake Chuzenji, April 14-17, 1899. He left Tokyo by the 9 am train on April 14th. (Diary, Ruxton, 2003, p. 471).

¹⁷⁹ Satow visited Takigawa's match factory in Kobe on 29 April 1896, and Sei sui sha match works in Osaka on May 2, 1896. (Satow's diary, Ruxton, 2003, pp. 86, 87.)

142. Gubbins to Satow (p.275)

Thursday

Dear Sir Ernest

Tsudzuki the new Vice Minr. has written semi-officially to you to say that the Prefect of Police has informed him that the jinrikisha coolie who was reported to have behaved improperly (fu-tsugō no kio-dō aritariō [?]) to Archdeacon Shaw's daughter is considered to have behaved improperly and has been suspended from the exercise of his calling. The man's name is Takahashi Goromatsu. If you have no objection I will not translate the note until tomorrow. There is nothing, however, in it beyond what I have mentioned except a recapitulation of the complaint.¹⁸⁰

Suyematsu [Kenchō] has just been with me upon Karuizawa business. He tells me his party is to decide this afternoon upon its attitude towards the new Cabinet in Parliament. There are two courses to be voted upon:

1. To join with the Progressists [?] against the Govt. from the moment the Parliament meets.
2. To act independently; vote against and try to defeat (he did not seem confident as to the result) a vote of want of confidence, if one is brought, from the Progressists; and then choose their own issue for a conflict with the Cabinet.

If the 1st course be followed the Govt. could command hardly a vote in the Lower House, because the Koku-min party will in any case, so he said, go with the Liberals.

He added that the demands made of the Liberal Party were most reasonable; only one or two important portfolios were asked for – not three or four. But the Govt. would not listen to them. He thought this most unfortunate. The Kokumin were as hostile as the Liberals and Sasa [Tomofusa] wd. not accept a Vice-Minr.-ship.

Yrs Sincerely

J.H. Gubbins

143. Gubbins to Satow (p.277)

Tokio

May 4, 1899

Dear Sir Ernest

Commandant Oi aide-de-camp to Viscount Katsura called this morning to see you in order to give you personally the Minr. of War's answer to certain questions you had put to him for [Military Attaché]

¹⁸⁰ Archdeacon A.C. Shaw called on Satow on November 17, 1898 "to say the friends of the jinrikisha man who had assaulted [his daughter] Dorothea had come to beg pardon. We agreed that he should say the matter was out of his hands and in those of the Authorities." (Diary, Ruxton, 2003, p. 315)

Churchill.¹⁸¹ I have made a small Memo of the answers and handed it to Churchill thinking that you would like me to communicate to him the answers without delay.

Commandant Oi explained that the Minr. of War was very anxious to satisfy you in regard to each of the enquiries addressed to him, but that in the case of certain points his freedom of action was restricted by the regulations concerning military matters.

Believe me

Yours Sincerely

J.H. Gubbins

144. Gubbins to Satow (p.279)

Sunday

May 21, 1899

I was sorry to hear from your servant that you were not well today and trust it is nothing serious.¹⁸²

I came over to the Legation to ask you for your last Note to Vt. Aoki on the Bardens case.¹⁸³ It is dated October/98. Vt. Aoki's answer has just come and is rather voluminous. I will ask you for your note on Monday.

De Bondy¹⁸⁴ was here yesterday to "ask for informations" as he put it. He wanted to know if you had insisted on the admission of Japan to the Madrid Supplementary Convention regarding Industrial Property.¹⁸⁵

¹⁸¹ Churchill, Col. Arthur Gillespie, C.B., C.B.E. born August 17, 1860. Entered the Army, August 11, 1880. Major, December 21, 1892; Lieutenant-Colonel, May 11, 1898; and Colonel, June 12, 1902. Was Military Attaché at Tokio from April 9, 1898 to June 1903. Received the China Medal and clasp for the Relief of Peking, 1900; and the coronation medal, 1902. Received the 3rd class of the Japanese Order of the Rising Sun. Made a C.B., 1917; C.B.E., 1918. (Abbreviated entry from F.O. List, 1921. Full entry in Kuwata, *Kindai ni Okeru Zainichi Eikoku Gaikōkan* [The British Diplomats in Japan 1859-1945], 2003, Kobe: Mirume Shobo, p. 224)

¹⁸² Satow's diary for May 21, 1899 reads: "Stopped in bed till 3 o'clock to try and get rid of a cold somewhat resembling influenza." He nevertheless received three guests and had recovered by the next day.

¹⁸³ F.J. Bardens was the owner of the Hiogo Hotel in Kobe. During the land reclamation to create Kobe port the hotel's beachside view was destroyed. Bardens protested through the British minister, but in the end sold the hotel without compensation. Nippon Yūsen bought the land. (Nagaoka, vol.1, p.297, summarised from Japanese F.O. archives.)

¹⁸⁴ Le Vicomte Raphael de Bondy-Riario. First Secretary, French legation.

¹⁸⁵ The Madrid Convention ('Arrangement') of 1891 was supplementary to the Paris Convention of March 21, 1883. The Madrid Convention was regarding fake and misleading certificates of origin. Japan did not sign the Madrid Convention, despite pressure from France, until 1953. Japan did, however, apply to join the Paris Convention to protect industrial patents on April 18, 1899.

Satow told Aoki on April 20, 1899 that he had instructions to express the hope that Japan would agree to join the Madrid Arrangement. (Diary, Ruxton, 2003, p.353; Nagaoka, vol. 2, p. 238)

I replied that so far as I knew the question had never arisen between our Govt. and that of Japan.

He then asked if you had taken any steps in the matter of the position of schools conducted by foreigners under the new treaties. He said the point was covered by the word métier [profession] in the French Treaty. [The French Minister Jules] Harmand was anxious to work with you in any action you might consider it desirable to take on this question, and was prepared to go even further than you might feel disposed to do. I said I did not think that you had moved on the matter at all officially or otherwise. The Americans were the people most interested in this question. There was, as of course he was aware, an extreme party in Japan but from present indications it seemed today that moderate counsels would prevail in the treatment of this question, which so far had not assumed a practical phase.

De Bondy said he was sorry that a communication had reached us in Japanese in regard to an invitation for Captain de Bordrière [?]. It was due to a misunderstanding on the part of the Japanese writer. I said I hoped he would not think any more about it. We quite understood that there had been a mistake.

Believe me

Yours Sincerely

J.H. Gubbins

145. Gubbins to Satow (p.281)

June 19

Dear Sir Ernest

I have found Brinkley's letter to you. His ideas on the subject of the land tax are to say the least hazy.

Yours Sincerely

J.H. Gubbins

[P.S.] Viscount Aoki has just sent in a long reply to your Note of the 20th April on the subject of the position of apothecaries, journalists etc. under the new treaties. I shall be able to finish it, I think, tomorrow afternoon. I have not marked anything in the papers. The decree about Corea has appeared and Takahira's appointment is gazetted.

Count Guichen [Second Secretary, French Legation] came the morning of Saturday and asked me if we had any positive information about the abolition of the Export duties and if the regulations regarding Foreign Companies had been communicated to us officially. I said No and added that as regarded the Export duties we had reason to think that they wd. cease to be levied with the lapsing of the existing Treaties.

Macdonald ¹⁸⁶ thinks I shall be able to move about on crutches in the course of a few days.

¹⁸⁶ Probably Dr. Davidson Macdonald (1836-1905) who arrived in Japan in 1873, sent by the Canadian Methodist church as a doctor and missionary.

J.H.G.

146. Gubbins to Satow (p.282)

Dear Sir Ernest,

I think the administrative part of [John T.] Wawn's paper might very well be published. At the same time I think Wawn might with advantage explain more exactly the special footing on which administration stands in the Fu or urban prefectures. This should not take him very long.¹⁸⁷

Will you speak to Lay about the Regulations you mention and I will then tell him to begin upon the detailed Patent etc. regulations later on.

Yrs Sincerely

20 June J.H. Gubbins

147. Gubbins to Satow (p.283)

British Legation,

Tokio

June 21, 1899

Dear Sir Ernest,

So far as medical practitioners and apothecaries are concerned it seems clear that both those now in practice in Japan and new-comers after 17 July next are on the same footing, the production of the foreign diploma or license being all that is required, so I should say that the examination regulations for Japanese diplomas are not of practical interest.

It may be well that our Consuls shd. be in a position to give British apothecaries, and British manufacturers (of these I only know of the existence of one, Cocking [?]) and dealers in drugs full information regarding the regulations of 1889. But these regulations are very technical and perhaps the British S.S. [Subjects] concerned have already taken steps to inform themselves of what is required of them in the conduct of their business.

Yours Sincerely

J.H. Gubbins

[P.S.] If you think that detailed information on the subject shd. be given to our Consuls then I would suggest that the Regulations shd. be translated as a précis might possibly leave out some technical point.

I have corrected a mistake in my translation of Vt. Aoki's Note. The word Article on page 2 shd. read chapter [?].

¹⁸⁷ Wawn was a second class assistant in the Kobe consulate in 1899. In a letter to Satow dated May 5, 1899 Consul J.C. Hall requested permission to get Wawn's report on municipal administration published in Kobe. (See PRO 30/33 5/9)

[Note: The next few pages, pp. 284-289, are too faint to be legible. Probably they contain one more letter from Gubbins to Satow from the British Legation in Tokyo.]

148. Gubbins to Satow (p.290)

Karuizawa

Aug. 8/ 99

Dear Sir Ernest,

There is nothing of any interest in the papers of the last two days except paragraphs in the Hōchi and Chiugwai on the subject of a case tried by Bonar on the 2nd August. The Chiugwai has already referred to this subject. The paragraphs are evidently written in ignorance of the true situation.

Lay writes that he does not contemplate asking for local leave at present. I am very glad, for though I could at a pinch go back to Tokio and resume work my inability to wear a shoe or boot or walk outside without crutches would hamper me in the way of work a good deal.

I hear [R.H.] Boyce [of the Office of Works] is with you at Chiuzenji. Please remember me very kindly to him. If he shd. think of taking [?] this part of the country on his way back to Tokio will you please assure him how much pleasure it would give us to see him, and we can offer him two rooms. Mrs. Walter ¹⁸⁸ is staying with us till Monday when she leaves for Chiuzenji where she is to stay with the d'Anethans.

Asamayama has been very active this year, and yesterday as we were dressing for dinner there was a loud roar and a shade which was somewhat startling. They say that a new vent-hole is forming and that the old crater is falling in. It is interesting provided the explosions do not get any worse.

My wife sends her kind regards.

Believe me

Yours truly

J.H. Gubbins

149. Gubbins to Satow (p.291)

British Legation,

Tokyo

[date unclear]

Dear Sir Ernest,

What I think is really doubtful is whether they mean summaries at all. If they do, then the Japanese text of

¹⁸⁸ Wife of W.B. Walter, Vice President of Jardine Matheson & Co., Yokohama branch.

Vt. Aoki's Note is badly expressed. What it amounts to is that only such summaries as Supplements and Extras require a separate notice. [Rest of note too faint to read.]

150. Gubbins to Satow (p.292)

1 July [?]

Dear Sir Ernest,

When I translated Vt. Aoki's first Note I thought that summaries must be what was meant, although there is no Japanese paper that I know of publishes a summary. But the wording of the present Note is so obscure that perhaps it might be well to place the point beyond all doubt by enquiry at the Naimushō [Ministry of the Interior].

Thanks for Vt. Aoki's first note wh. I return.

Yrs sincerely

J.H. Gubbins

[P.S.] It looks as if Summaries are not to be included unless they are styled Supplements or Extras, which with us are not summaries.

151. Gubbins to Satow (p.293)

Karuizawa

14 July [Aug?] '99

My dear Sir Ernest,

I am afraid my foot will not permit of my returning to Tokio tomorrow as I thought two or three days ago I might manage to do. I cannot yet keep it down for any length of time nor can I get any sort of shoe on it.

I have returned Lay's translation corrected and asked him to refer two points to for your decision. His English is rather difficult to do anything with. I have also corrected the Japan Gazette's translation of the Table of Customs Fees and asked Crowe to make a clean copy of it and send it to [Dick] Robison who asked me through Crowe for a translation. Robison also speaks of getting Lönholm to translate the detailed regulations for carrying out the Customs Law. I wrote to him mentioning that the "Japan Times" had translated them and that I thought this translation wd. with a very little alteration serve the purposes of the International Committee.

I have almost decided to give up my task of correcting Dr. Knox's translation for the Asiatic Society of Arai's Autobiography. Further examination of it shows that it is not a translation but a very free paraphrase and very incorrectly done. The question is whether such a rendering would be useful for the Society. Perhaps

it wd. be better than no translation at all.

Believe me

Yours Sincerely

J.H. Gubbins

[P.S.] I hear Cheetham is arriving.¹⁸⁹

152. Translation by Gubbins from German? on British Legation notepaper (p.295)

Berlin 30 March /96

The I.G. Govt. in evincing [?], with a view to an agreement being arrived at – im Übrigen - ? - [also, moreover] in regard to the new Treaty of Commerce and Navigation to be concluded between the German Empire and Japan, its readiness to renounce from the date of operation of the new treaty the Consular jurisdiction now exercised in Japan proceeds on the assumption that the renunciation will take effect only (erst) with the cessation of consular jurisdiction for all other foreign powers.

The Undersigned feels bound to leave no doubt on this new (Auffassung) for Vt. Aoki the Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary of H.M. the Emperor of Japan, and asks him at the same time to acknowledge the receipt of this Note.

(sd.) Marschall

The reply of Vt. Aoki simply acknowledges the receipt of the Note.

153. Gubbins to Satow (p. 296) Undated

British Legation, Tokio

Dear Sir Ernest,

Yes, I think the meaning of the Note is as you say. The word registration has as you know two meanings: registration in the abstract and the actual entry of registration.

Shall I ask Lay to copy the Note or would you like all the papers returned to you at once ?

I fear I shall not see you before you return to Chiuzenji. With your permission I shall start tomorrow for Karuizawa. I have corrected Lay's translation of Patents & Designs [?] and sent them to Brinkley. I don't think Trade marks will require my revision as Lay now understands how they are to be done. I wrote to Robison about the Customs Law regulations and other things.

Yrs Sincerely

¹⁸⁹ Joshua Milne Cheetham, later Sir Milne Cheetham (1869-1938). He was transferred to Tokyo on March 1, 1899 where he was 2nd Secretary. Transferred to Berlin, January 1, 1902. (F.O. List 1939, Kuwata, 2003, p. 221).

J.H. Gubbins

154. Gubbins to Satow (p.297)

[Ans. 4 Aug.]

Karuizawa

Aug. 2nd/99

My dear Sir Ernest,

My memory does not serve me in the matter of St. Andrew's Church [at Shiba, Tokyo]. I have a faint recollection of something having been [?] passed in regard to the Church being made the Legation Chapel, but can remember nothing more. Before answering your letter I went round to see Archdeacon Shaw but his memory is almost equally defective. He remembers of course the conversation he had with you on the subject a few months ago, but does not recollect seeing any note. The church was not built till 1879 and the Archdeacon thinks that the question of its being made the Legation Chapel was not raised till the following year. The suggestion he thinks came from him but he is not sure whether it was to Sir Harry [Parkes] or [Secretary of Legation John G.] Kennedy that he made it.

My foot is very much better, but the use of it seems to return only slowly; as long as I rest it it gives me no trouble but I cannot wear a shoe yet though I can walk on it in the house in a Japanese stocking.

If convenient to Lay may Okamoto come up for a few days after your return to Chiuzenji ? He usually spends a day or two at Karuizawa every year and this year I want him to arrange for the transfer of my ground wh. is held in his name. Chappell of the S.P.G. [Society for Propagation of the Gospel] is having his ground transferred under superficies lease and we thought it might be best for our two men to work together.

I am writing to Lay to send up three Japanese papers to me regularly after the 6th so that I may keep you informed of news from time to time as in previous years.

It must be very satisfactory to find things going so smoothly. Robison writes complaining about difficulties in the matter of registration, but I doubt if we could have helped him much, for the details can only be understood by practical experience, and this, to some extent at least, everybody must work out for himself.

With my wife's kind regards

Believe me

Yours Sincerely

J.H. Gubbins

155. Gubbins to Satow (p.299)

Karuizawa

Aug. 9, 1899

Dear Sir Ernest,

The Jiji, Hōchi and Chiugwai of yesterday all have paragraphs referring to the shipping case tried by Bonar. The two former papers say that as the result of communications which have passed between you and the Guwaimushō the decision of the Consular Court has been annulled; the last-named says that negotiations in the matter are still proceeding.

The Jiji has also an article advocating better relations between Russia and Japan, and there are several references in it to educational matters and the organisation of schools.

The French Mail brought me a letter from [W.G.] Aston who desires to be remembered to you. He is studying Shintō.

Believe me

Yours Sincerely

J.H. Gubbins

[P.S.] Vol. XXV of the Transactions [of the Asiatic Society of Japan] has at length appeared. I am happy to think the public will soon receive Vol. XXVI which has, however, some grievous printer's errors.

156 Gubbins to Satow (p. 301)

Karuizawa

Aug. 10/99

Dear Sir Ernest,

Both the "Jiji" and "Chiūgwai" of yesterday report that the Japanese Consul at Vancouver announces that the action taken in British Columbia against the employment of Japanese labour in the mines has been declared by the Privy Council to be unconstitutional. The "Jiji" also says it is expected that the recent urgent decree regarding the supervision to be exercised over Japanese going to Corea will shortly be cancelled.

The "Chiūgwai" says our influence at Peking is declining and that the demands of the Anglo-Italian syndicate are ignored by the Tsung li-Yamên.

Believe me

Yours Sincerely

J.H. Gubbins

157. Gubbins to Satow (p.303)

[Ansd. 20/8]

Karuizawa

Aug. 18th 1899

Dear Sir Ernest

I have noticed nothing in the papers lately of any importance. The Chiugwai of the 15th publishes the Instructions which it says were issued by the President of the Hokkaidō Bureau, Sonoda, in connection with the operation of the Revised Treaties. The first calls attention to the fact that special ports of export and import and other places where Japanese vessels have hitherto been able to enter and clear for the purpose of foreign trade will henceforth be available also for foreign vessels and that foreign men of war [warships] will also be entitled to visit such ports and places without special permission being obtained beforehand. The second is to the same effect but mentions only "Customs Ports" and refers only to foreign men of war. The third also refers only to foreign men of war and states that the legal position of foreign men of war under the new Treaties will be the same as before and that whenever visits are made by them to places other than "open ports" special permission must be obtained beforehand from the Imperial Govt. in the same way as hitherto.

We are having beautiful weather. I hear that Chiuzenji is very gay and that you are having a regatta.¹⁹⁰

Believe me

Yours Sincerely

J.H. Gubbins

158. Gubbins to Satow (p. 305)

Karuizawa

Aug. 23rd/ 99

Dear Sir Ernest,

Your letter of the 20th reached me yesterday evening. I think that the question of the visit of foreign men of war to Japanese Ports stands just as you put it, but it might be well to ask the authorities in Tokyo for an authoritative statement on the subject. I imagine that wherever a foreign merchant vessel can go a foreign man of war can also go, and this would, as you say, apply to all ports open to vessels engaged in foreign trade. But it is possible that the question may not have been thoroughly considered by the Jap. Govt.¹⁹¹

¹⁹⁰ The sailing boat races are mentioned in Satow's Chiuzenji diary, August 16-20, 1899. (PRO 30/33 17/16, see Ruxton, 2003, pp. 477-78). They are also mentioned in Baroness d'Anethan's *Fourteen Years of Diplomatic Life in Japan* (Stanley Paul, 1912) pp. 198-201. A small photograph of the regatta is on p. 199. Several boats capsized. The Baroness concluded: "Sailing on Chusenji Lake with sails far too big for the boats, manipulated by people who know but little of the sport, is, in my opinion, an amusement best avoided."

¹⁹¹ On 1 September 1899 Satow asked the Vice Minister for Foreign Affairs Takahira Kogoro whether foreign warships were free to visit the 22 newly opened ports. Later that day Takahira sent Satow a private note saying that foreign warships could visit the new ports without asking permission. (Satow's diary, Ruxton, 2003, p. 382)

My foot is much better and I am beginning to wear a boot and to dispense with my crutches. There is nothing therefore to prevent my returning to Tokio on the 30th when you propose to return for the Canadian Mail and the Admiral's audience.¹⁹²

It is aggravating that they shd. have done nothing in the Till case.¹⁹³ I suppose it is due to Denison's bad health. He promised to put the matter through before he left for the country.

Lay writes that he has decided to take his leave, if convenient to you, about the end of Septr. when you will probably be going South with the Admiral.

Chiuzenji must be very gay this year. Had you no boat in the Regatta ? I heard Churchill and Key had one between them but it was evidently not good enough to win. May seems to have had two shares [?] of drowning. It seems hardly safe for ladies to be in boats which are racing.

Our weather is at last hot, and Tokyo must be uncomfortably warm.

The Japanese papers have no news worth reporting.

The Archdeacon [A.C. Shaw ?] and I play chess every afternoon and sometimes there are other players.

Believe me

Yours Sincerely

J.H. Gubbins

159. Gubbins to Satow (p.307)

British Legation, Tokio

23 Oct. 1899

Dear Sir Ernest,

I have marked two or three things in the paper.

I saw Megata [Tanetarō, Head of Taxation] last Monday and he said he would make enquiries into the subject of Messrs. Findley Richardson & Co.'s complaint. I left with him the pattern of the "wood-board". He gave me a copy of the Tax Laws of Japan published by his Bureau which he wished to present to you. You will see that many of the translations are ours. He also wished me to mention to you the amendments made in the Harbour Regulations. He said you had written to him privately on the subject of Mitchell's tank petroleum.

¹⁹⁴

¹⁹² Satow returned to Tokyo from Chuzenji on August 30th. He had been at Chuzenji since August 6th. He presented Admiral Seymour and his officers to the Emperor on September 4th. (Satow's diary, Ruxton, 2003, p. 382, p. 384).

¹⁹³ W.W. Till of Cornes & Co. ?

¹⁹⁴ On 22 July 1899 W.F. Mitchell spoke to Satow about difficulties in getting permission to land kerosene at new tanks at Noda 野田 near Hyogo. Satow promised to write personally to Megata. (Diary, Ruxton, 2003, p. 375)

The "Asahi" has attacked Vt. Aoki in two articles.

Yours Sincerely

J.H. Gubbins

160. Gubbins to Satow (p.308)

30 June [?]

Dear Sir Ernest

I read the despatch as suggesting that local leave shd. be treated as home furlough. Would this not favour V. Consuls and the juniors generally ? Besides, would not a Consul lose more by this arrangement, taking your estimate of two months leave which seems rather long as an average ?

With regard to the last paragraph, the Consuls in Formosa and at Hakodate might think themselves hardly treated. If the Treasury read your suggestions in the light of your recent proposals respecting the Consular Establishment they will see that under the new system there are to be two V. Consuls.

I am afraid I have kept very long the volume of Watts-Dunton's poetry wh. you kindly lent me.¹⁹⁵ There are some very pretty things in it and the English is wonderfully good.

Yours Sincerely

J.H. Gubbins

161. Gubbins to Satow (p.310)

Friday Evening [?]

Dear Sir Ernest,

I have just finished correcting and marking the papers of Crowe and Holmes, and am glad to say that they have both passed.

Neither has done very well in Colloquial or Dictation, Crowe being the better of the two in the former.

In prepared work Crowe has done well but not exceptionally so. Holmes only fairly well.

In unprepared work they have both done well, Crowe again being the best.

In the General Paper Crowe has done well, Holmes only fairly well – his Geography being very weak.

With your permission I will let them both know at once the main result.

The marks and Report I will present to you tomorrow.

Yours Sincerely

J.H. Gubbins

¹⁹⁵ (Walter) Theodore Watts-Dunton, 1832-1914, English poet, novelist, and critic. A member of the staff of the *Examiner* (1874-76), he became editor of the *Athenaeum* (1876-98).

162. Draft Instructions (undated) (p.312)

(written on British Legation, Tokio notepaper in Gubbins' hand)

1. Wording (e.g. 2nd or 3rd person) shd. be uniform throughout.

2. "fresh instructions"

Would "special" or "additional" be better ? Or would it be well to specify what instructions are intended to be supplemented ?

3. The words

"An Exception has been made" seem to point to some special exception which wd. differentiate our Treaty arrangements with Japan from those we have with other Powers.

The point might be met by substituting the words "But it has been arranged that cases pending etc." And then the subsequent wording might be altered as follows:

"And by a Consular Convention similar to etc etc it has been provided that jurisdiction in the case of disciplinary offences etc (quoting substance of Convention on this subject)."

4. Instead of

"Thereafter etc."

it might be better to say simply: "British S.S will therefore under the new Treaty be in the same position as etc etc" (shortening the wording)

5. Chapters XV, XIX and XI of General Instructions to H.M. Consular Officers & Paragraph 178 of Board of Trade Instructions. Is recapitulation necessary ?

6. Art. XVI of new Treaty Consular Officers.

How about special privileges secured to other Powers under Consular Conventions ?

[End of PRO 30/33 5/4]

Satow Papers: PRO 30/33 5/5

**Correspondence and Papers (private). Japanese Mission. Legation Staff. Various.
(August 1895 – April 1900)**

1. Captain Noel W.H. Du Boulay (Military Attaché) to Satow

7 August 1895

Dear Sir Ernest,

I have enquired about the forces in Liaotung peninsula. The 4th Division has headquarters at Kaijo (Haicheng) and 2nd Division at Kinchou; but, of the latter, one Infantry Brigade (the 4th) with some guns and cavalry has gone to Formosa. The 11th Brigade of 6th Division is at Wei-hai-wei.

But for your knowledge of the Japanese language, I should have supposed that you had mistaken “Dai ni shidan” for “ni shidan”, and “ichi riodan” for “ichi shidan”.

There is no intention of sending any more troops to Formosa at present, beyond those of the 4th Brigade, who are now en route from Talienwan.

Mr. Hall at Yokohama told me yesterday that an English ship has just arrived with a large cargo of war material, part of which was landed at Osaka and the remainder is now being discharged at Yokosuka.

Yours very Truly

N.W.H. Du Boulay

P.S. My interpreter, Kashiwamura, is unfortunately ordered to Formosa.

2. Du Boulay to Satow

Imperial Hotel

9 Augt. 95

Dear Sir Ernest,

I enclose Fujiyama's name in Japanese.

I hear there is to be a great assemblage of generals from all parts of Japan in Tokio very shortly – nominally to celebrate the victory over the Chinese, but really for some other purpose.

Yours very Truly

N.W.H. Du Boulay

3. Joseph H. Longford (Vice-Consul, Tokyo) to Satow

Hakone

Aug. 9, 1895

My dear Sir Ernest,

I enclose the memo. containing an account of the Cornes and Kimura case.¹⁹⁶ It is rather long but it is a long story, and I found that to cut it down any more would leave unexplained necessary points. Mr. [W.W.] Till [of Cornes & Co.] sent me the original documents and his own account, so that the accuracy of the facts may be relied on.

We have had a fairly fine week, though last night we got utterly lost for a couple of hours on the lake in a thick fog which came down suddenly. However we have not been kept indoors for any one day since I came up. Our friend, the Rev. J. Francis – the rector of the Church in Tsukiji – who stays with us, went down to Tokyo today. I know he intends to call on you and I hope you may see him as I am sure you will like him. He is both a nice fellow and an accomplished scholar.

I notice in the papers that the Germans have sent a consul to Formosa, or rather appointed one accredited to the Japanese Government. Our own F.O. will probably never think of this of themselves, and it seems imprudent to neglect some step too long. At present the two Consuls of the China service there can have no official status at all, and though it is perhaps unlikely, it is not impossible that something might occur any day, in the present state of affairs, productive of some inconvenience in consequence.

I shall have the Trade Returns I mentioned ready in a few days, I hope. As to the [1894] Treaty would you like me to put what occurs to me in the form of a memo. or merely jot them down roughly for yourself? My opinion of the whole being that it was as ill advised and untimely as it was possible for it to be, it would hardly do perhaps to send my views in full to the F.O. if you had that idea at all.

Yours very sincerely

Joseph H. Longford¹⁹⁷

4. 1st class assistant (Tokyo) Alfred Ernest Wileman to Satow

Tokio

Aug. 21, 1895

¹⁹⁶ A dispute between Kimura Shoten and Cornes & Co. over yarn imported by the latter which arose in July 1894 and was settled by arbitration on July 20, 1895.

¹⁹⁷ Joseph Henry Longford (1849-1925). Appointed a student interpreter in Japan, 1869. Appointed Vice-Consul, Tokyo in 1886. Called to the Bar at the Middle Temple, 1889. Acting Consul at Hiogo 1889 and 1890; and at Hakodate 1890-92. Promoted to Consul at Tainan, February 4, 1896; and to Nagasaki, December 28, 1896. Was in attendance on H.I.H. Prince Akihito of Japan at the Coronation of King Edward VII, August 1902. Retired August 1902. Appointed almost immediately to the chair of Japanese at King's College, London. Made emeritus professor, 1916. Chairman of the Japan Society, 1921-22. Publications included: Penal Code of Japan, 1877; The Regeneration of Japan (Cambridge Modern History), 1910; Japan (Nations of Today), 1923. (Kuwata, 2003, pp.341-342 citing F.O. List, The Times and Who was Who)

Dear Sir Ernest,

The newspapers this morning contain a long list of persons who have been decorated and ennobled, mostly military officers. Mutsu [Munemitsu] has been made a Count and Itō Miyoji a Baron, but all the names are contained in today's "Mail". Lieut. Genl. Viscount Miura is appointed to Corea, Inouye however has not yet returned and Miura will probably leave on the 23rd.

I saw [Dr.] Baelz yesterday and he told me that the Crown Prince was a little better. His right lung is affected. There is a paragraph marked in the "Nichi Nichi" which gives a short sketch of the Prince's illness. I wrote to Sannomiya asking him to be so good as to inform me occasionally how H.I.H. was progressing but have received no answer yet. A cholera return has come in from [Nagasaki Consul J.J.] Quin but I keep this for my Cholera returns. Articles about the Spanish agreement and the Italian Treaty are also marked. The treaty comes into force after 4 years and there is no tariff schedule. Differences as regards text of treaty are to be decided by the English version.

It has been raining hard here yesterday and today and I suppose you are no better off at Chusenji. The weather report prophesies a typhoon but I hope it will pass over.

Yours very sincerely

A.E. Wileman¹⁹⁸

5. Longford to Satow

Hakone,

August 27, 95.

My dear Sir Ernest,

The preparation of the Trade Returns for the six months from January-June 95 has been a much longer business than I anticipated, but they are finished at last, and I send them to you herewith - (1) a short memo. and (2) Tables of Imports and Exports. If you will have them sent down to Peacock, he can copy them easily in good time for the Gaelic on Saturday the 7th proxo. I have not drafted a cover for you, but I should like you to mention in it that I prepared them with the idea that though scarcely worthy of publication as a separate Report in the General series, they would be suitable for the Board of Trade Journal: and also, if you can do so, to call attention to the fact that no trade returns have ever hitherto been furnished except the annual ones. I

¹⁹⁸ Alfred Ernest Wileman (1860-1929). Collector and breeder of butterflies and moths. Fellow of the Entomological Society of London. Appointed student interpreter in Japan, 1882. Assistant Japanese Secretary and British Vice-Consul at Tokyo, 1892. Acting Japanese Secretary 1892-94. Assistant in the Japanese Secretary's Office from October 30, 1894 to March 31, 1896. In 1896 promoted Vice-Consul for Hiogo and Osaka. Acting Consul at Hiogo, 1898. Vice-Consul at Hakodate, 1901. Consul for Tainan, Formosa, 1903. Acting Consul-General, Yokohama, 1907. Consul-General for the Philippines, 1909. Retired 1914. (See Kuwata, 2003, pp. 481-482)

think the increase of Japan's trade should surprise you. Its importance is not realized at all by the F.O., any more than was Japan's military strength prior to the war [with China, 1894-95].

I have sent down to Peacock a cheque for your signature for two thousand five hundred dollars. As I don't think it advisable to entrust a signed cheque for that amount to the post, I have told him to send it to you by one of the Legation messengers, who can bring it back signed in time to let him get it cashed on Saturday morning. The messenger should reach you on Thursday or even tomorrow night.

I see by the papers that the Japanese are contemplating establishing a military (naval) station at Maizuru¹⁹⁹, in Tango, on the W. coast. This is an old project revived. It was on tapis [?] when I was in Kobe, and I referred to it in the Kobe Trade Report for either 1889 or 90. The object then was to make it rather a commercial port, in view of the construction of the Siberian Railway, and there were two rival projects for connecting it by rail with Osaka, one by Kioto and the other by Himeji. It [was] apparently dropped subsequently, but if revived now it might be made a formidable place, directly opposite to and only a short steaming distance from Vladivostock, and no doubt that is the idea which has caused the revival. It is said to be not only incomparably the best harbour on the West Coast but one of the finest in Japan, capable of accommodating a large fleet and being strongly fortified.

I hope you are having better weather at Chiuzenji than we have been favored [sic] with here. It has been uncertain all the time, a few fine days at scattered intervals but generally rain or fog, and the temperature has been more like what we were accustomed to towards the end of September rather than through August. My wife asks me to send her kind regards. She has some hope that you may perhaps be induced to pay another visit here before the summer is over. I should not be surprised to see a burst of very hot weather in the latter half of September and under such circumstances Tokio becomes very trying.

Yours very sincerely

Joseph H. Longford

P.S. Peacock is accustomed to copy my writing and does so very accurately, but it would be well if you told whoever is in Tokio to compare (and docket) the two carefully. If Parlett is back he could do it best.

6. A.E. Wileman to Satow

Tokio

Sept. 3, 1895

Dear Sir Ernest,

I have received an invitation from some friends of mine, Mr. & Mrs. Mitchell²⁰⁰, to spend a few days with

¹⁹⁹ Maizuru舞鶴City in northern Kyoto prefecture. A castle town and port in the Edo period, it became the site of a naval base in 1901.

²⁰⁰ W.F. Mitchell was a director of Samuel Samuel Co.

them at their country house at Dzushi near Kamakura and am therefore writing to enquire whether you have any objection to my taking leave of absence for 10 days, dating from Saturday next – Sept. 7 to Sept. 16. I understand from enquiries made at Paget's house that he is returning to Tokio tonight and on my departure for Dzushi there would then be someone left in charge. I would make arrangements for having any Japse despatches which might come forwarded at once to me at Dzushi and as it is only 2½ hours railway journey from Tokio there would not be much delay. It is very possible, however, that no despatches would come in from the Gwaimusho [Foreign Office] but in any case I could, if required, at once come up to Tokio. The newspapers I should of course look over as usual.

The weather here has been very hot since you left ²⁰¹ and I should be very glad to have a few days by the seaside as I find that the sea-bathing always does me a great deal of good.

Yours very sincerely

A.E. Wileman

7. Wileman to Satow

British Legation, Tokio

Sept. 4, 1895

Dear Sir Ernest,

The enclosed telegram will be wired to you at 6 o'clock tomorrow morning. I did not think it sufficiently urgent to wire it to you at double cost this 11.30 pm. I am sending a messenger with this note in order to receive your mails for the steamer of the 7th instant which leaves at 11 am on that day, viz the O & O [Occidental and Oriental] S S Co's "Gaelic". I also enclose a note from Mr. Sannomiya.

Yours very sincerely

A.E. Wileman

8. Wileman to Satow

Tokio

Sept. 5, 1895

Dear Sir Ernest,

Yesterday afternoon Mr. Fujii Saburo, Director of the Commercial Bureau called here and showed me a copy of a telegram recd. from Bunker, Secretary New South Wales by the Vice Minister for F.A. [Foreign Affairs] requesting information concerning the nature and extent of cholera in Japan.

²⁰¹ Satow was at Lake Chuzenji 20-29 August, 2-10 September and 16-19 September 1895. (Satow's Chuzenji diary, PRO 30/33 17/16 reproduced in Ruxton, 2003, pp. 450-451).

Mr. Fujii said that, as it would be a breach of diplomatic etiquette for their F.O. to wire direct to the N.S.W. Govt. when there was a British Minister resident in Tokio, the Vice Minister had referred the telegram to this Legation for an answer to be sent. I suggested to Mr. Fujii that it would be well to ascertain from the Sanitary Bureau what kind of answer should be given and he promised to communicate with me later on. Meanwhile I am able to give you the following information taken from the Official Gazette [Kanpō官報] of to-day which may perhaps be sufficient basis for a telegram. From the outbreak of the disease (April 10) up to Sept. 3rd there have occurred 36,681 cases and 24,435 deaths. The average number of cases per diem for the month of August is 739, of deaths 495. As regards the open ports Yokohama, Nagasaki are not very badly affected, Hakodate scarcely at all and Hyogo is decidedly bad, owing no doubt to its contiguity to Osaka where the disease is at its maximum. There is now not a single prefecture in the whole country in which cholera has not occurred either more or less. On the 5th instant cholera returns were not made for 8 prefectures out of the 47, but of course had previously occurred in them.

I will forward any information wch. comes from Mr. Fujii.

Yours very sincerely

A.E. Wileman

9. Wileman to Satow

Tokio

Sept. 5, 1895

Dear Sir Ernest,

I enclose for your approval drafts of despp. [despatches] to Lord Salisbury and Governors of Hong Kong and Singapore concerning cholera. Perhaps one of them with modifications may do for Bunker [?] of New South Wales. Mr. Fujii sent in the information he promised from the Sanitary Bureau but it turns out to be merely a copy of the cholera returns for the 3rd September which I have already consulted in the Official Gazette and there is no fresh information with the exception of a footnote concerning the number of cases which have occurred in the open ports since the outbreak of the disease and I have embodied these notes in the two despp. enclosed herewith.

Yours very sincerely

A.E. Wileman

10. Longford to Satow

Confidential

Hakone

Sept. 14, 1896

Dear Sir Ernest,

We heard from Parlett last night that you are in Tokio, and may remain for a few days. I have had the notes on the new Treaty [of Commerce & Navigation, 1894] by me for some time, but I thought they were not worth troubling you with while away, and even now I send them with some hesitation. But such as they are I send them, and as you may not have seen it I send also a copy of the Protest of the Yokohama community. The contents of the latter were for some reason kept very secret, and it was as a favor [sic] I got this copy privately and I may be asked to return it. Will you keep it therefore for me till I return to Tokio. Memorials were also sent from the British community in Kobe and from the Germans both in Yokohama and Kobe, but the same course of secrecy was observed in regard to them and I have never been able to learn the contents of either. I was told however that the British protest from Kobe was a much abler and stronger one than that from Yokohama – which is, however, I think, not saying very much.

I have stifled my sentiments as far as possible as to the Japanese judicature, but if I were to give way I could write very strongly on the subject. Since I went to Kobe in 1889 I have made procedure in the native courts somewhat of a study, and if I may say so without appearing to boast, I don't think there is another foreigner in Japan of any class or nationality who has had any practical experience or knowledge of them whatsoever. I should have no hesitation at any time, if called upon, in saying that corruption prevails among the badly paid low class judges, that the entire bench, where foreigners are concerned, is grossly partial, and that not one of its members is capable of dealing with many of the intricate questions that must arise among foreigners. The question of interpretation [between the English and Japanese languages] is also a serious one to which not a thought seems to have been given, but interpretation in our courts is now anything but perfect. That in the future Japanese courts will however be of a more difficult character e.g. in deciding a case between a German and an Englishman where Japanese are not interested at all.

You won't, I hope, mind my asking you to keep this note and enclosure private as far as possible. Gubbins, I believe, takes any criticism of the Treaty almost as a personal offence to himself, and I don't want our relations strained.

It has suddenly turned rather cold to day [sic] and for the first time we have abstained from bathing, but the weather for the last four weeks has on the whole not been bad. The summer has however been a very short one, a marked contrast to that of last year. The French return to Tokio about the 22nd. [Russian Minister Mikhail] Hitrovo at first intended to come here for a while but he has given up the idea. We were very sorry to hear that Chiusenji was so pleasant as to take away the hope of another visit from you. [Reverend J.] Francis left for his synod [church conference] by the "Gaelic", so we had the small house that you occupied once at least before, empty, and we thought you might be tempted up for a few days, if, as is often the case, a sudden

spell of hot weather should come in the latter half of this month. The family will I hope return to Tokio some time during the week ending on the 28th, but I shall go down a few days in advance if they defer their return till the end of the week – unless of course you should wish me back for any reason sooner.

My wife asks me to send her kind regards to you, and hoping you are well,

Believe me, Very sincerely yours,

Joseph H. Longford

P.S. I find I have no large envelopes so I am obliged to put enclosure in separate cover.

Enclosure 1: (as forwarded) [Printed]

PROTEST²⁰²

Of the Yokohama Branch of the China Association
against the action of Her Majesty's Government in
the matter of the Treaty lately concluded
with Japan by Great Britain

The Yokohama Branch of the China Association do emphatically protest against the action of Her Majesty's Government in concluding with Japan the Treaty of Commerce and Navigation which was signed in London on 16th July, 1894.

1. The Treaty in their opinion involves an undue sacrifice of British interests
 - (a) Because it is premature to place reliance on the judicial system of a nation whose recently promulgated laws are in many respects at variance with its ancient customs and disapproved by the Parliament of the People.
 - (b) Because their observation and experience render them confident that for a very long time to come, the new laws even if they should be brought into operation, will neither be rightly understood by the judges nor impartially administered.

²⁰² This protest was forwarded by R.S. Grundy to Foreign Secretary Lord Kimberley on 12 February 1895. (FO 46/459, cited in J.E. Hoare, *Japan's Treaty Ports and Foreign Settlements*, note 193, p. 217) "The news that Britain had signed a new treaty with Japan in July 1894 at first aroused little attention among the foreign community. War between China and Japan was of more immediate concern. When the text of the treaty became known, the British chargé d'affaires could report that, though it provided for the complete end of extraterritoriality after five years with no safeguards, it had been well-received by both Japanese and foreigners. Such a reaction was short-lived. By the middle of October, the British community was up in arms, protesting at the total surrender to Japan's demands... The Yokohama branch of the China Association hastily organised a petition against the treaty, claiming to speak for all the foreign community. The Foreign Office took no action on this." (Hoare, *Japan's Treaty Ports and Foreign Settlements*, p.103)

- (c) Because, by the Treaty, British residents become subject to Laws, Ordinances and Regulations, which invest the police with excessive and oppressive powers and authority.
 - (d) Because the foreign press will be subjected to Laws and Regulations making it useless as a safeguard against injustice.
 - (e) Because the sole concession obtained from Japan, namely, a farther [sic] opening of the country, will not benefit British interests to an extent at all commensurate with the losses likely to be inflicted on individuals by other provisions of the Treaty. Moreover, under the Treaty, British subjects can acquire no more than a leasehold interest in land, and if they should be allowed to engage in manufacturing industries (which is doubtful) the period of 30 years, being the longest term of lease permitted by the law of Japan, offers no sufficient inducement for the investment of capital, or the erection of substantial factories.
 - (f) Because it is doubtful whether the most favoured nation clause applied to Article 20 under which the jurisdiction now exercised by the British Courts is to be transferred to the Japanese authorities.
 - (g) Because in dealing with the property of British Subjects in the Foreign Settlements and Concessions, it is not made clear whether vested interests are protected. In consideration of the immunity from payment of rates and taxes and other imposts which British residents enjoy, they have been content to pay ground rents out of all proportion to those paid by native subjects. If the treaty is to be considered as depriving them of this immunity, whilst leaving the obligation to pay the rent reserved by their leases untouched, they will be in effect doubly taxed.
 - (h) Because the Treaty is in its terms more favourable to Japan than to Great Britain. It is left to Japan to say whether it shall ever come into operation, and if so, at what time, and greater privileges are allowed to Japanese in Great Britain than British Subjects can claim in Japan, notably in respect to the ownership of land and the right to engage in the coasting trade.
 - (i) Because no stipulation has been made that any system of drawbacks shall form part of the Custom House regulations of Japan, or that an improvement in the present Bonded Warehouse system shall be effected.
2. The manner in which the Treaty was negotiated and concluded has given rise to great indignation.
- (a) Because the clearly expressed opinion of the Foreign Residents of Yokohama against the complete surrender of extra-territoriality has been ignored.
 - (b) Because the unusual haste with which the Treaty was ratified indicates a serious intention to prevent any discussion of its terms by the legislatures of the countries concerned. The secrecy

which characterised the negotiations prevented any representation being made on the subject by British residents, who would naturally desire to have some voice in settling the terms under which their persons and interests are to be made subject to the jurisdiction of a non-Christian people.

- (c) Because whilst British subjects are deprived of many rights and privileges which they now enjoy, no sufficient care has been taken to define those acquired under the new Treaty. The right to carry on manufactures can only at best be implied, and under a similar wording it is now sought to prevent the residents of Shanghai from enjoying this privilege. The right to enter into partnership with native subjects of Japan is also illusory; - the restriction against the acquisition of land by British Subjects being well-nigh prohibitive of mining or manufacturing enterprise.

The interests which Great Britain has in Japan are of considerable magnitude, created and developed by the exertions of those who are, or have been residents in the open ports. For this reason, and because of their knowledge of the people and their character and customs, British Subjects in Japan consider that they should have been consulted as to the time when, and the circumstances under which, any important changes could safely be made in the conditions of residence in this country. This PROTEST is intended to mark our sense of the injustice that has been done in the sacrifice of important rights and privileges for an illusory consideration, and the exposure of British lives and property to the risks attending an ill-considered and highly dangerous experiment; and it is presented with a hope that it may avail to procure some amendment of the more objectionable clauses of the Treaty, or at least a postponement of their coming into operation.

Enclosure 2: Longford's handwritten notes on the 1894 Treaty ²⁰³

The unanimous and thoroughly heartfelt objections of the entire British community in Japan to the main principle of the new Treaty, by which British residents are to be subjected to the uncontrolled and unlimited jurisdiction of the native courts of justice, were so absorbing that they at first prevented attention or discussion being given to the details of the Treaty. The objections to some of its details are however only less strong than those to the main principle. Some of them are considered as likely to seriously affect British interests in the near future and others to render the prospects of future residence in Japan so revolting to

²⁰³ The full text (22 articles) of the Treaty of Commerce and Navigation between Great Britain and Japan (signed at London on July 16, 1894; ratified at Tokyo on August 25, 1894) is given as an appendix to Chapter III of George N. Curzon's *Problems of the Far East*, new and revised edition, 1896, pp. 70-79. This has been reprinted as Volume 1 of the Palgrave Macmillan Archive edition of Anglo-Japanese Relations 1892-1925 (ed. Ian H. Nish, 2002).

persons of substance and respectable standing that not a few already speak of terminating their connection with the country, at any sacrifice, rather than subject themselves, their families and their property to the risks which they believe a continued residence must bring with it.

The following are some of the details to which objection has been taken:

Art. I Paragraph 3. "Succession to personal estate by will or otherwise". Why not say "real or personal estate"? It might be argued that British subjects will, by the terms of the Treaty, be incapable of holding what is strictly real estate. But it has, I believe, already been held in H.M. Court for Japan (re W. MacDonald, decided 1884) that land, held under present conditions by foreigners in the settlements is real estate. This case is perfectly well known to at least the foreign advisers of the Japanese Government, and the Japanese courts would very quickly grasp at any advantage to be derived from it.

Same Paragraph. "Subject to the Laws, Ordinances and Regulations." These words, both in the present and other articles where they appear, largely nullify the conditions preceding them so far as they are imagined to secure privileges for foreigners, it being impossible to say what laws the reckless and frivolous legislators of Japan may see fit to make, even if only in their desire to embarrass their own Government for party purposes.

As to the practice of religion ²⁰⁴, though the fullest liberty is now conceded to all, it is by no means impossible that such a revulsion of feeling might take place as would bring with it a reversion to pre revolution sentiments towards the Xtian [Christian] religion. The whole body of native Xtians is as yet too insignificant and too indifferent to exercise any political influence in the country, and a complete defeat in war by any Western power would most likely bring about the reversion mentioned. Something approaching to this has already taken place. Recent events caused, it is said, the withdrawal of a large number of Greek Church converts, and the Russian Cathedral in Tokio had to be constantly guarded by police both night and day.

The danger as to the limitation of the right of burial is more immediate. The present Japanese Regulations as to the burial of persons dying from infectious diseases (including such common non epidemic diseases as small pox, diptheria, scarlet fever etc.) are abhorrent to foreigners, and an attempt to enforce them a few years ago at Kobe failed on account of the strong objections to them on the part of foreigners resident there.

Art. III Parag. 2. Apparently assumes the right of B.S.S. [British Subjects] to establish manufactories, but this right, if it exists at all, is nullified by the limitation as to holding real property. Leases are, by Japanese

²⁰⁴ The third paragraph of Article I read in part: "The subjects of each of the Contracting Parties shall enjoy in the dominions of the other entire liberty of conscience, and, subject to the Laws, Ordinances and Regulations, shall enjoy the right of private or public exercise of their worship, and also the right of burying their countrymen according to their religious customs, in such suitable and convenient places as may be established and maintained for that purpose."

law, limited to a duration of 25 years, a period which practically inhibits the investment of capital in permanent or expensive buildings.

Parag. 3. Limitation as to “Laws, Ordinances etc.” tends to nullify the whole. It is open to the Japanese at any time to close one of the present ports and such a proceeding would be precisely of the tricky nature that would appeal to them.

Art. IV. The police in Japan are already invested with domiciliary powers [powers to visit and search private property], which are repugnant in the extreme to English feeling at least, and these may be indefinitely extended, constitution notwithstanding. At present the proceedings of the Japanese sanitary authorities during cholera epidemics are often dictated perhaps by panic, well nigh outrageous, and would involve very serious risk if put in force against foreigners.

Art. XI. The revision is based upon principles of equity. But the coasting trade ²⁰⁵ is free to everyone in England. Japan will not, on the other hand, have for many years to come sufficient foreign built shipping to carry on her own, and had it not been for foreign shipping the whole would have come to a complete stand still during the recent war.

Art. XII. A complete leap in the dark. Wrecks of valuable British ships have been very frequent on the coasts of Japan, and what are the Japanese Laws etc. as to salvage ? There never has been a case of the loss of a Japanese ship in British waters, and it is extremely unlikely that there should be such for another generation.

Art. XVI. The limitation in first paragraph sensibly nullifies the whole. All Consuls de carriere should during the duration of the Treaty, if they do not obtain diplomatic privileges so far as regards immunity from legal process, at least be placed on terms of equality with the chief local Japanese authorities.

According to the specific terms of the old Treaty [of 1858] Consuls at the Treaty Ports ranked on equal terms with the Prefect and other high authorities. The Prefect, President of the Court, Chief Procurator, Commissioner of Customs etc. are all exempt from the jurisdiction of the local courts and are answerable on any charge or any civil claim, only to the disciplinary court in Tokio. [Margin note: This requires verification.] A consul or consul general at a port, on the other hand, may at any time be cited before even the police court presided over by an Inspector of police on any trumped up charge brought by a dismissed servant, and there browbeaten, compelled even to disclose the history of his whole life. No one who knows Japan will assert that it is impossible that such a power will be used. On the contrary, it is more likely that it will be used not infrequently; and in that case the position of a consul will be one commanding no respect at all from the native population, and capable of still less influence on the local authorities.

Art. XX. Reservation might have been made during the duration of the Treaty of:

²⁰⁵ On the coasting trade see Louis G. Perez, *Japan Comes of Age: Mutsu Munemitsu and the Revision of the Unequal Treaties*, London: Associated University Presses, 1999, p. 57.

- (a) the administration of the estates of deceased persons, whether intestate or otherwise.
 - (b) All questions relating to marriage.
 - (c) All claims against shipping — direct or indirect.
 - (d) Bankruptcy proceedings.
 - (e) Questions arising solely between foreigners.
-
- (a) As yet we know nothing of Japanese law on this subject, and our respect for Japanese officials is not such as to make foreigners view with complacency the fate of an unrepresented estate which came under their absolute control.
 - (b) Japanese marriage law and customs are revolting to European ideas. The verdict in the Brinkley case, delivered in the High Court of Justice in London, was obtained by a misrepresentation of Japanese law and a mis-statement of the facts of the particular case. The facility of divorce is shown by the fact that divorces in Japan are in the ratio of 1 to every 3 marriages.
 - (c) Some notorious cases have occurred in the last few years which show that there are Japanese judges capable of the very grossest corruption. But admitting their honesty, admitting even the provision in the courts of thoroughly competent interpreters, there is not on the whole bench a man capable of trying such a question as that, which is of frequent occurrence in the Consular Courts, arising on a disputed Bill of Lading. And in more serious cases, justice would be hopeless. Take, for example, the recent Ravenna-Chishima case.²⁰⁶ Two valuable P. and O. steamers with cargoes were in Japanese waters at the time of the collision. Had this Treaty been then in operation, both would have been promptly seized [seised ?] and probably condemned with equal promptitude, the P & O [Peninsular & Oriental] possibly not being allowed even the opportunity of stating their case, and if they were, no credit being given to the verbal testimony of their European witnesses.
 - (d) There has been recently an improvement made in Japanese Bankruptcy law but its practical results have yet to be seen.
 - (e) This reservation need not have wounded Japanese self-love, and it would have saved their courts from many cases which are altogether beyond their ability and experience. Mushroom foreign traders, who can condescend to methods with Japanese judges which would be scorned by the high class British firms now in Japan, will have advantages which need not be precisely detailed.

²⁰⁶ The *Chishima* was a Japanese warship which sank after a collision off the coast of Iyo, Shikoku with the P. & O. steamship *Ravenna* on 30 November 1892. P. & O. were eventually forced to pay £ 10,000 to the Japanese government in July 1895 after Japan appealed to the British Privy Council. (Nagaoka, vol. 1., p. 53).

The whole Treaty contains scarcely one redeeming clause. Its supposed advantages are believed to be thoroughly illusory by the oldest and most liberal minded foreign residents in Japan, and even from missionaries as a class or from those who have long advocated some form of Revision it has hardly obtained one word of approval. On the other hand the injury that it may cause to trade, navigation and residence are considered to be both apparent and real. It was highly commended by the London Press, but the very papers that praised it and treated with the most extreme complacency the prospective subjection for the first time in English History of their countrymen in Japan to a non-Christian jurisdiction within a fortnight, on another subject, spoke of the Japanese as a race of barbarians; and at the time they prophesied great tradal results from the new Treaty, prophesied also the ultimate victory of the Chinese in the war then at its beginning. Politically speaking it was expected that the entire surrender that was made to Japanese demands would produce an amount of national gratitude such as would ensure to England the foremost place of all foreign nations in Japan. But what was the result ? Mr. Trench, who arrived in Japan simultaneously with the exchange of ratifications and who had always previously been a persona gratissima to the Japanese Foreign Office, frequently complained that, so far from his official and formal requests being met, he could scarcely get a civil answer on any subject except after repeated application. And among the Press and people a storm burst of the most virulent and vituperative hatred against England, which continued to rage, accompanied by frequent expressions of utter contempt, even in the Government newspapers and among the Japanese who were in closest association with foreigners absolutely unchecked by the Government, until recent events transferred it to Russia. To fight England, when China was done with, was a wish dear to Japanese of every class, openly expressed and fully discussed in press, clubs, restaurants, railway and tram cars and wherever men met, and every confidence was felt in the result. So far from being a subject that demanded gratitude the new Treaty was considered as an admission of England's weakness, a concession deferred until she began to recognise Japan's strength and then reluctantly made only when it could no longer be safely withheld.

11. Wileman to Satow

Sept. 17, 1895

Dear Sir Ernest,

Mr. Chang, Interpreter of the Chinese Legation, called today bringing with him the Chinese Minister's card and the enclosed letter from [British minister in Peking] Sir N. O'Connor. The Chinese Minister will make his official visits after he has presented his credentials to the Emperor.

Yours very sincerely

A.E. Wileman

12. Du Boulay to Wileman

Private

25 Sept. 95

My dear Wileman,

The officer I saw yesterday at Headquarters could not tell me how many sick they have had in Formosa. He confirmed the numbers of 2nd Reserve men – i.e. about 6000 (30 companies from the Osaka and Sendai divisions, these are for the lines of communication). I see it stated in the papers several times that the Gendarmes are to number about 1600 or 1800 (but they are not all there yet) and police 800.

One of the papers says that the coolies alone will number 25000 and I think that is very probable. I send you an estimate of strength of a Division which I made some time ago – and if we take that as a basis we get

Guards	12641
2 nd Divn.	18094
2 nd Reserve	6000
Special artillery	150 mortar battery
	600 Kelung & Tamsui defences
Railway troops	650
Telegraph Corps	500 ? (1500 is mentioned but probably there are many coolies)
Gendarmes	1800
Police	<u>800</u>
Total	41,235
Coolies say	<u>25,000</u>
Total	66,235

But only half the 2nd Division has arrived as yet – the remainder are waiting at Talienwan for orders to start, and then will go straight to the South. The bad weather has caused the delay.

I gather also that some of the Gendarmes and police have not yet arrived – and certainly some of the coolies have not.

I see the numbers in hospital in Formosa are given as 1403 on 12 July

3186 on 23rd August

and 1985 on 28th August

The average daily deaths being 18.

It is also stated that the Guards had lost (i.e. dead) from disease up to about end of August:

2 officers out of 439

290 men out of 13250

273 coolies out of 2180

This makes the Guards strength greater than my estimate, but it may include 6 cos. and a battery which went over from Pescadores – or extra troops for Line of Communication I cannot tell.

I have noted 1977 men of the guards going down to replace casualties on the 7th, 13th and 18th August.

Yours

N.W.H. Du Boulay

13. Du Boulay to Satow

28 Sept. 95

Dear Sir Ernest,

I don't think the military authorities have any idea of making such an enormous increase of the army as that given by the Nichi Nichi.²⁰⁷ I am told that a scheme was put forward a short time ago, that it was rejected as being too expensive, that the military authorities are now engaged in cutting it down, and that nothing is settled yet.

I believe that new Divisions will be raised for Hokkaido and for Formosa, that the Guards Division will be put on the same footing as the others, and that the Cavalry will be doubled; and I should expect to see certain corps (which had to be improvised in the late war) permanently organized, such as transport and staff for line of communications, Telegraph section, Railway corps, Post Office corps etc.

There will also have to be an increase of Coast Defence troops for the forts in Formosa and Pescadores and probably also in Japan.

All this will cost a good round sum.

I cannot discover the truth or otherwise about Hitrovo. My acquaintances, like myself, read the story in the papers and know nothing more.

I don't know how the question of the Liaotung peninsula stands at this moment – but as far as I can hear the Japanese are not making any move towards evacuation. There is a rumour that either the 1st or the 3rd Division will go there at the beginning of next year to relieve the 4th Division, and I hear from Newchwang that the Japanese have been building godowns [warehouses] and have covered in the whole of the government wharf, which looks like staying out the winter at any rate.

Yours very truly

N.W.H. Du Boulay

Ordinary division 9195

cavalry 285

²⁰⁷ Satow discussed the army scheme as published in the Nichinichi Shinbun with Ito Hirobumi on September 26, 1895. (Diary, Ruxton, 2003, p. 22)

Tokio div.	10327	514
guards	5450	514
9195		684
2	3745	257
18390		2254
3745		
22,135		

14. Du Boulay to Satow

Wednesday

9 Oct 95

Dear Sir Ernest,

I am going away tomorrow morning to Yoshida, north of Fuji, to see some artillery practice, so that I cannot accept your kind invitation to dinner.

I saw the list of ships, and I know that it is approximately correct – but I will ask about it.

I have just come back from Yokohama and found your note on my return; otherwise it would have been answered more quickly.

Yours very truly

N.W.H. Du Boulay

15. Du Boulay to Satow

Imperial Hotel

24 Nov. 95

Dear Sir Ernest,

The Garrison of Weihaiwei will be as follows. The numbers are not necessarily exact but are as near as I can get to the truth.

1 Infantry Brigade	5809
1 Artillery Division (2 batteries)	441
1 Squadron cavalry	160
1 Company Engineers	249
1 Field Hospital	107
½ Artillery Ammunition Column	100

½ Infantry Ammunition Column	124
½ Supply Column	<u>203</u>
<u>Total</u>	<u>7193</u>

I hope it is not too late to give you this information [but I had] unexpected difficulty in obtaining it owing to yesterday being a public holiday.

[Yours etc. N.W.H. Du Boulay]

16. Ernest Miles Hobart-Hampden (student interpreter) to Satow²⁰⁸

June 23, 1896

Dear Sir Ernest,

Mr. Sasano came to-day from the F.O. with the accompanying note to be substituted for the former note of same date number - . He also brought a message that “it is the hope” of the Naval Department that only one ship will ply to Aomori and they would like to know the name of it.²⁰⁹

Yours truly,

E.M. Hobart-Hampden

17. Hobart-Hampden to Satow

Friday

(July 31. 1896)

Dear Sir Ernest,

Mr. Gowland called to-day to tender his thanks to you on behalf of himself and his firm for all you have done, and to say that he had a 2 hours talk with [the governor-general of Formosa] Katsura [Tarō] this morning. He told him that his firm proposed to carry out their idea of erecting oil-tanks, a statement which Katsura received without either assent or dissent.²¹⁰ The talk turned largely on the present condition of Formosa, and Katsura asked Gowland’s opinion. The latter advised the establishment of the system of cadets which we have at Singapore for procuring a set of men conversant with the language; and he added that he attributed the present disorder to the fact that the Japanese soldiers were distributed in very small bodies through the country without proper supervision and responsible control. He also recommended that instead of

²⁰⁸ E.M. Hobart-Hampden was promoted to 2nd assistant, August 8, 1896 (F.O.List, 1897).

²⁰⁹ On June 24, 1896 Satow expressed his gratification to Nakada Takanori of the Japanese F.O. that a British warship would be permitted to go to Aomori to view the eclipse on August 9th. He said he would tell Admiral Buller at once, and also pass on the request that only one ship be sent. (Diary)

²¹⁰ T.S. Gowland of Cass & Co., Amoy came to talk to Satow about petrol tanks at Tamsui, Formosa on July 23, 1896. Satow said he would try to arrange an interview with Ito Hirobumi for him. (Diary, Ruxton, 2003, p.112)

sending the soldiers home to Japan to recruit [recuperate] they should be placed in hill stations for their health in [summer time ?]. Katsura was very friendly and hoped that things would now improve.

All which Gowland asked me to tell you. He leaves Japan on Sunday.

Yours truly

E.M. Hobart-Hampden

18. Hobart-Hampden to Satow

Aug. 1, 1896

Dear Sir Ernest,

I send you a letter from Mr. Denning received this morning. I am simply replying that I have forwarded it to you. I daresay as Mr. Denning is in Nikko he may have an opportunity, if he wants one, of a few minutes talk on the subject with you which would probably be better than many letters.

You will remember that your advice to Mr. Denning²¹¹ in your last letter was “to decline to pay and say he has referred the matter to the Legation. I will then (you added) make an official question of it with the Minister for F.A.” But you afterwards thought it inadvisable to approach the F.O. from our side officially.

Some time ago I asked Miller of the U.S. Legation whether any Americans had been applied to for taxes up-country. He said not at Sendai, but a case had occurred of an American in Saga [Kyushu] being called upon to pay a tax (income-tax he said), but he did not know what line the U.S. minister had taken about it.

Yours truly

E.M. Hobart-Hampden

Enclosure: letter from W. Denning to Hobart-Hampden

Daihumachi [?]

²¹¹ Walter Denning was teaching English in Sendai, far away from the treaty ports. He complained about, and refused to pay, prefectural and city taxes on his salary. The tax demand amounted to 10 yen 68 sen 5 rin. Denning thought his demand higher than other foreigners, and was told by the British consulate that there was no obligation to pay before the new treaty came into effect, so he refused. The Japanese Foreign Office investigated the case through the governor of Miyagi prefecture, and found that Denning had been asked to pay 40 times more than an American missionary William Edwin Hoy, Vice-principal of Sendai Tohoku Gakuin, whose demand was only 26 sen 3 rin. But Denning's annual income was 2,400 yen, whereas Hoy had at first received 600 yen but later gave it all to the school. The other foreigners in Sendai all paid tax. (Nagaoka, vol. 1, p. 297, summarized from Japanese F. O. archives). See Gubbins to Satow (PRO 30/33 5/4), undated, early in May 1896, no. 49. See also Satow's diary for 25 November 1897. On that day Satow spoke first to Nakada Takanori and then had an argument with Komura Jutaro, insisting that Denning had been unjustly treated. On 2 December 1897 Komura told Satow that he had written to the Governor of Sendai to 'find an expedient to satisfy Denning'. Satow thanked him: 'Said I was much obliged. We wanted everything to go on quietly till the new Treaties came into operation.' (Diary, Ruxton, 2003, p.218)

Nikko, July 31, 1896

Dear Mr. Hobart-Hampden

Did Sir E. Satow take any further action in reference to the Sendai tax. I hear that during my absence an officer called and asked my servant why the tax was not paid. He of course replied that he did not know. I am not the only Englishman in Sendai. Dr. Seymour has been appointed to our school. Then there is a Miss Lovell who is also English. This lady has received no assessment notice whatever. If on my return to Sendai in September they come to ask for the tax again I ought to have something definite to say to them or some letter from you or the Minister showing that the matter has been referred to head quarters. Awaiting your advice

I am W. Denning

19. Hobart-Hampden to Satow at Chuzenji

British Legation

Aug. 29, 1896

ans[wered] Aug. 31

Dear Sir Ernest,

The enclosed extraordinary letter reached me to-day accompanied by two works of art from the Minister of Finance. For the moment I just wrote him a letter of thanks adding that I did not know whether the regulations would permit my acceptance of the present but I would ask & write again later. It does not seem to me that I can possibly accept them apart from the fact that they are ridiculously disproportionate to the services rendered. I merely received a declaration and certified a signature in connection with some translations brought me by Mr. Soyeda [Juichi] on behalf of the Treasury, but he said that he would probably have to trouble me frequently for the same purpose. The explanation of the gift seems to me to be that I waived the fee as I was bound to do under § 9 of the instructions which runs:

“The levy of a fee may only be waived as a matter of professional or international courtesy. Exemptions on the latter ground apply to services rendered to British or foreign officials applying for them in their official capacity.”

Presents are, I know, sometimes allowed to be accepted (e.g. the vases given to Gubbins by the Emperor), but hardly for the performance of a simple act of official duty. Still I should be much obliged for a line from you saying (if that is your view) that the present must be returned as the General Consular Instructions only say that Consular officers are prohibited from asking or accepting favours from the Govt. of the country in which they reside. If I have your dictum I can return the things without giving offence.

I have got answers to most of Mr. Probyn's questions about the Japanese currency and propose to send

them to him from the Vice-Consulate.

Yours truly

E.M. Hobart-Hampden

20. Hobart-Hampden to Satow at Chuzenji

Sept. 3, 1896

Dear Sir Ernest,

No bag came by last Friday's mail; that sent herewith appears to have come from Hong Kong by P. and O. as I have received Indian letters at the same time.

If any Cabinet changes are gazetted tomorrow (4th) I shall send you a cypher telegram at once.

Many thanks for your letter of Aug. 31 about the present. Your letter only reached me this evening after I had written to you again.

Yours truly

E.M. Hobart-Hampden

21. Hobart-Hampden to Satow (written before letter 20 of the same date ?)

Sept. 3, 1896

Dear Sir Ernest,

I returned the presents sent me by the Minister of Finance as I discovered a rule that a Consular Officer shall not save as may be provided by any O. in C. [Order in Council] under the Act (54 Vict.) take an reward for any service done by him in execution of his office & if he does shall be liable for each offence to a fine not exceeding £100.

Mr. Soyeda at once came up in a hurry to say that it would put Viscount Watanabe [Kunitake] in a very awkward position if the present was not accepted. He wished to know if I could accept it as a complimentary & personal gift of the nature of a souvenir, and unofficial. I said I really did not think it could be done & then he wished to see you about it as he said Viscount Watanabe's resignation complicated matters. At his insistence I at last said I would just ask you, & the things have been sent back to the Legation for the time being.

I am sorry to trouble you with this, but my difficulty is that the present came from a Minister of State whom it is necessary to treat with careful courtesy.

Yours truly

E.M. Hobart-Hampden

22. Gerard Augustus Lowther (Chargé d'affaires) to Satow who had gone to England to attend the Diamond Jubilee ²¹²

[Ans. 21/7]

Tokio

May 26, 97

Dear Sir Ernest,

I have not much to tell for there has been nothing going on officially & Okuma is down at Kioto where their Majesties have decided to remain practically for the summer. The Japs have not given any of the answers they promised you immediately.

The assault case on Wilkin ended unsatisfactorily. I am thinking of taking it up in the same manner as the Barrie case. ²¹³ My Queen's Birthday garden party [May 23, 1897] was I think a great success but the day was threatening tho it only drizzled a little. About 350 came and we had an exhibition of fencing & dancing on the platform for Guests. The Admiral had a party yesterday but it was thinly attended.

Col. Hemming has arrived. ²¹⁴ He seems a nice & quiet man. I am not sure about her. Criticisms unflattering to her are whispered but I hope they are untrue. Both of them are ignorant of the French tongue for all practical purposes & do not seem to be accustomed to the usages of diplomatic society. Of course they can't find a house.

The F.O. here got a tel. [telegram] from Vancouver saying you had arrived and left ²¹⁵ which was a relief as we thought you might be quarantined like the Empress of China.

Gubbins is rather seedy he seems to have rheumatism in the bowels or something of the kind and wants to go away. Lay looks like a ghost but is not complaining. I already see myself doing my own interpreting. No more today. Yours sincerely

Gerard Lowther

²¹² Gerard Augustus Lowther (1858-1916) was promoted to be Secretary of Legation at Tokyo (his first posting to Japan) on October 24, 1894. He was Chargé d'Affaires from May 11 to July 28, 1895; and from May 8 to November 21, 1897. Received the Jubilee Medal, 1897. Appointed Consul-General for the Kingdom of Hungary, to reside at Budapest, October 1, 1898. (F.O. List 1917, cited in Kuwata, 2003, p. 344)

²¹³ British engineer William Barrie of NYSK was attacked by stokers on 6 August 1896 in Yamate, Yokohama. The stokers feared they would be replaced by Chinese for a trip to Europe. On 25 September in the Yokohama district court prison sentences from 5 days to 3 months were handed out. Later allegations of torture of the perpetrators were proved groundless. (Nagaoka, vol. 1, p. 171)

²¹⁴ Colonel (later Major-General) Frederick Wilson Hemming (born 1850). Military attaché to the Legation at Tokyo from January 14, 1897 to April, 1898. (F.O. List 1921, cited in Kuwata, 2003, p. 294)

²¹⁵ Satow reached Vancouver in the 'Empress of India' on May 19, and Montreal by train on May 24, 1897. (Diary, Ruxton, 2003, p.182)

23. Lowther to Satow

Private

[Ans. 21/7]

June 14/97

Dear Sir Ernest,

I have nothing to tell you as we have been very quiet and I have had no opportunity of composing valuable State Papers. Okuma is tiresome about not giving me an answer about Camphor in Formosa. Generally things seem to be getting worse there & I had to ask the Admiral to send a gunboat. The Japs seem to be aware of the lamentable condition of the Island but are slow to mend it. I had a very disagreeable incident being assaulted by coolies at the station at Yokohama. Fortunately I did not hurt any of them as I might have done had I been blessed with a violent temper. The Breadalbanes are still here & have been having a good time. He looks very little like a Marquis. His appearance is more that of a Yokohama broker than [than ?] a K.G. They have dispensed with seeing Nikko but preferred Miyanoshita & Yokohama not under my advice. I am rather crippled as regards staff. Gubbins is laid up with rheumatism. Lay is also in bed. Paget is very complaining & says he ought to be there. Peacock has been absent for ten days curing rheumatism. I myself have been such a sufferer recently in that line that I required assistance to get out of my chair. I have now decided to give an evening garden party on the 21st to which I have bidden over 300 & will entertain them with fireworks and food. The French seem to be really troublesome about their Treaty & they are indignant because the Japs quietly say they can go without one. Matsugata is very shaky. The weather keeps cool and not too wet. A new Austrian has arrived, not a wild success. Poor Hemming is entirely ruled by his wife & dares not speak in her presence. He is not clever.

Yours sincerely, Gerard Lowther

24. Lowther to Satow

Tokio.

June 25. 97

Dear Sir Ernest,

A line to tell you that all the Jubilee Celebrations passed off very well ²¹⁶ & I think my evening party was the best of the kind I have seen here.

The day at Yoko[hama] went off without any unpleasant incident.

The Japs are much upset over this Hawaiian business ²¹⁷ & the F.O. seemed to doubt me about the protest &

²¹⁶ Queen Victoria's Diamond Jubilee was celebrated on June 22, 1897. Satow attended the ceremony at St. Paul's Cathedral in London. (Diary, Ruxton, 2003, p.187)

²¹⁷ In March 1897 a total of about 1,200 would-be Japanese immigrants to Hawaii on four ships were

preferred to believe Pauncefote ²¹⁸ who, it appeared, knew nothing about what was going on. It's a pity the Japs put it so strongly as they will only get a snub and climb down, but the idea of the Govt. here always seems to be to try & stand well with the opposition & risk the position of the Country. Formosa is getting worse and the Gov. Genl. [Nogi Maresuke] & Mizuno [Jun] are coming away. They say it's all the fault of Takashima. I am going up to Chuzenji on the 1st for 3 days & then come down again. I am much afraid that Chuzenji will see but little of me this year.

Yours sincerely
Gerard Lowther

25. Lowther to Satow

[Ans. 8 Sept.]

Chuzenji

July 21, 97

Dear Sir Ernest,

Thanks for your letter of June 9 with dft [draft] of despatch about Ito.

I have very little to record. We had some dreadfully hot days in Tokio and I got up here for three days & then went down again. Now I am up again for a few days.

I tried to keep the F.O. informed about Hawaii. They tried to snub me & said Japan had made no protest, but I stuck to my guns.

Formosa is in an awful muddle & I can get absolutely nothing done there. There has been a row between Takashima ²¹⁹ & [Governor General] Nogi the only result of which has been that Midzuno has been sacrificed. So we are at a standstill. Whenever I ask about the answer to your note about Camphor, they always tell me the same story that it is being considered in Formosa. So far I have found Okuma far from "coulant" [easy-going] tho' he has been fairly communicative about Hawaii.

They have mildly so far expressed their satisfaction at Arisugawa's reception [at the Jubilee in England] so I have written nothing on the subject. Troup is fearfully excited over his position as the American may be daily coming. To save the indignity of his being his junior I think I shall apply for his exequatur [official recognition of a consul by a foreign government] if it looks like a close fit. Many thanks for your interesting

refused permission to land. The Japanese government protested and demanded compensation from Hawaii. The American government demanded of the Hawaiian government that this problem of compensation be solved prior to annexation. The Japanese demanded 250,000 yen, but received only 150,000 yen. (Nagaoka Vol.1, p.245: Vol. 2, p. 119).

²¹⁸ 1st Baron Julian Pauncefote (1828-1902). British ambassador to U.S. (1893).

²¹⁹ Takashima Tomonosuke from Kagoshima was Army Minister and Colonization Minister (until September 2, 1897) in Matsukata's second cabinet (September 18, 1896-January 12, 1898).

topics of news about S. America & Morocco.

Yours sincerely

Gerard Lowther

26. Lowther to Satow

[ans 6 Oct.]

Tokio,

August 16. [1897]

Dear Sir Ernest,

I fear that I have not much to tell you. What few things I have on hand seem to me to be going badly. Formosa is in a state of chaos. Nearly all the officials have been dismissed including our friend Midzuno²²⁰ & Nogi is to have fuller powers. Under these circumstances I have dropped land and other questions as nobody here seemed to have any responsibility. Even the Camphor note has not yet received an answer in spite of my repeated requests for one. Assaults in Kobe are of weekly occurrence.

They are much excited over this sudden return without the Emperor's permission. I have not been able to find out much about it but it is rumoured that Ito & Okuma will form a Govt. between them, a curious arrangement in which I can hardly believe. I don't think the Govt. has lost any ground since you left but the Budget is the stumbling block. Even when I come to Tokio, a disagreeable experience I cannot find anyone to talk to except Denison who is kept busy over Hawaii. Gubbins has been very ill indeed. In fact he has not done a day's work since you left. He went to Kusatsu to cure his rheumatism, got better but on the way home got Congestion of the lungs & has been & is still dangerously ill. I am disappointed with [Arthur Hyde] Lay. He does as he is told but no more & as a source of information is quite useless.

Paget, as you know, takes no interest in Legation matters. All this makes my sojourn at Chuzenji less pleasant than it might be but I don't think there is really much going on. We have had a question. The Danish Consul arresting with the assistance of Troup, a Dane on a British steamer, after his rendition [surrender] had been refused by the Japanese. They are angry but I have advised them not to make a question of it which might give rise to interminable discussion. Testa [Dutch Minister Jonkheer H. Testa] as you may imagine is very excited about it.

Yesterday was the hottest day I ever remember about 95° with a thunderstorm in the air. I sat with a towel in my hand all day and used it freely. Paget only was happy. Kirkwood is busy on the Formosan question and is going there shortly.²²¹ The Emperor is still at Kioto. What is to be done with Crowe who is I believe engaged

²²⁰ Mizuno Jun was Head of the Minseikyoku (Public Welfare Authority) in Formosa. See PRO 30/33 5/11.

²²¹ William Montague Hammett Kirkwood (1850-1926) was called to the Bar in 1873 and appointed

to Miss Lay ? He is only 19 ²²² & an excellent worker & a nice gentlemanly fellow. I hear [J.T.] Wawn has quite given up his young [?] woman. Hemming seems anxious to do what is right but is not clever. She won't do. The new Americans won't set the Sumida on fire & the Minister realizes that he is not suited to the post. As the F.O. did not answer my Tel[egram] asking if I might apply for Troup's exequatur I did so without permission to get him in before the new American. I hope I did well.

The Prince [Arisugawa] returned here today from London. I went to meet him & he seemed pleased with all that had been done for him. I am afraid this is a very shoppy [work-related] letter but in this forgotten place there is not much else of interest. Poor Mutsu is on his last legs.

Yours sincerely,
Gerard Lowther

27. Lowther to Satow

Tokio,

September 1, 97

Dear Sir Ernest,

Very many thanks for your letter of July 21. I have alas been down here for the past ten days trying to get the Japs to hand over some Chinese belonging to the men of war at Hakodate but all my efforts have failed. ²²³ I suggested to them various way of getting out of the difficulty with dignity to themselves & satisfaction to us but they seem so terribly afraid of the opposition & its papers.

Okuma is away so my negotiations have been carried on thro' Komura whom I think I would have convinced but he referred everything to Okuma of whom all the Dips [Diplomatic Colleagues] seem now heartily sick, as they can't get any answer out of him about anything. The Colonial Dept. has been abolished. I wonder if we shall get on any better now. I have got an expression of regret from Okuma about my incident at Yokohama [see letter 23 above] but he took 12 weeks producing it.

Crown Advocate for Japan, 1882. Resigned 1885. Legal Adviser to the Japanese Government, 1885-1902. Assisted in drafting the Japanese Constitution and Codes of Law, and received high Japanese decorations. In 1897 he spent several months among the head-hunting tribes of Formosa, and was engaged to assist in the administration of the island. (Kuwata, 2003, pp. 325-326)

²²² Edward Thomas Frederick Crowe (1877-1960) married Eleanor, daughter of W.H. Lay, H.B.M. Consul at Chefoo, China in 1901. He was appointed student interpreter in Japan on February 1, 1897 and promoted to 2nd Assistant on April 22, 1899. (Kuwata, 2003, pp. 238-239)

²²³ Six Chinese employed on British warships were caught gambling during shore leave in Hakodate on 17 August 1897. They were fined and given 15 days' imprisonment with hard labour by a Japanese court. This was reluctantly accepted, though doubts were expressed in London about the jurisdiction of the Japanese court. (See F.O. 46/493). Satow mentioned the matter to I.V. Chirol as 'not quite clear' on October 14, 1897 (Diary, Ruxton, 2003, p.208)

Paget has heard nothing about Pretoria.²²⁴ If he is to go I hope you will secure some genial successor. I don't think Paget would mind Pretoria. I should think it about the standard of Civilization that he would appreciate.

I am very grateful to you for having suggested to [Lord Salisbury's private secretary Eric] Barrington that I ought to get an Embassy. I wish I could think that I deserved it. I do not understand Bax Ironside's appointment [as First Secretary] to China. Did all above him refuse or was it a selection by merit.

I am indeed sorry you have had so much anxiety about your mother.²²⁵

I applied for Troup's Exequatur in spite of getting no answer from the F.O. as it seemed to me of importance that I should get him in as Senior to the new American Consul General. I have written privately to F.O. explaining this & when the new Commission comes it will be easy to explain that it has been substituted for the other.

Gubbins is out of danger but I fear it will be some months before he is up to much work.

[French minister François-Jules] Harmand is actually going on leave in October.²²⁶ Baelz says it is indispensable that I should go to Ashi-no-yu for a fortnight but I don't know whether I shall be able to manage it. My knee is very troublesome.

Town [Tokyo] has been terribly unpleasant lately, very close, not a breath of wind & the dampness most disagreeable. I suppose you will be here Nov. 24. Yours sincerely

Gerard Lowther

28. G.E.H. Barrett-Hamilton to Lowther

c/o No.1 Bund

Yokohama

24th Sept. 97

Dear Mr. Lowther

The expense of telegraphing practically prevents me from communicating with the Foreign Office. I think, therefore, that as you are in regular communication with them, I ought to tell you one or two things in

²²⁴ Ralph Spencer Paget (1864-1940) was Chargé d'Affaires at Tokyo from June 5 to August 20, 1894. Promoted 2nd Secretary, January 24, 1895. Transferred to Cairo, January 6, 1899. In 1918 Sir Ralph became the first British Ambassador in Rio de Janeiro. (Kuwata, 2003, pp.382-384)

²²⁵ See in particular Satow's diary for 13-14 July 1897 (Ruxton, 2003, pp. 193-194). Margaret Mason Satow (1812-99).

²²⁶ F-J Harmand (1845-1921) was a physician in the French navy, natural scientist, Commissioner of the Republic to Vietnam and Laos, consul to Siam, India, Chile and Minister Plenipotentiary to Japan. His papers are at Cornell University Library, Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections, Collection No. 3481.

connection with this Bering Sea Conference, which you can then inform them if you think fit.²²⁷

First – If we are rightly informed a Conference is now taking place, or is about to take place, at Washington, having for its object the discussion of the Natural History & Habits of the Fur Seal. This Conference has been wrung out of our Government by the U.S. & will be attended by Russians, Japanese, U.S. & Canadians. Professor D’Arcy Thompson²²⁸ will attend it on behalf of England, to discuss the Natural History of the Fur Seals not only of the American but of the Russian Seal Islands. The Foreign Office evidently seem to think that the attendance of one of us will be sufficient, & have naturally selected the senior for the duty.

You know that I personally do not care twopence about the Conference, I wanted to return by P & O, but I think the Foreign Office are making a mistake in not sending both of us there, and I think they would have done so had they known the facts.

Professor D’Arcy Thompson and myself were this year ordered to work at the Russian Seal Islands, & the Foreign Office probably think that we worked conjointly. This is not so. I arrived on the Islands on June 19th, Thompson July 11th; he left on July 29th. I left on August 19th. He spent portions of 5 days at the Rookeries, in each case at a different place. I spent portions of 26 days among the Seals.

Besides, neither of us did any work together, nor have we communicated to each other the results of each others Reports. In fact we only met for a few hours, consequently Thompson – and this is known to both the Russians & the U.S. – knows practically nothing about the Natural History of the seals of the Russian Fur Seal Islands.

I was in courtesy bound to tell Hamlin that I could not go to Washington, & he seemed to be very angry, & you will probably find that he has cabled very strongly about it to Foster & Sherman, & that the Foreign

²²⁷ In 1886-89 the U.S. claimed the Bering Sea had become ‘mare clausum’, and seized some vessels found sealing, most of them Canadian vessels manned by British subjects. In 1893 a Paris tribunal held that the Bering Sea was part of the high seas, and assessed damages against the U.S. for the seizures at about \$470,000. Restrictions were placed on sealing in the summer and around the Pribiloff Islands.

In May 1897 the American Secretary of State Mr. Foster proposed a quadripartite conference between Britain, Russia, Japan and the U.S. to sign an agreement to protect seals. Japan was at first negative, but Minister Hoshi in the U.S. told the government that, according to Foster, Russia and Britain were agreeable so Japan should participate in order to preserve good Japan-U.S. relations. The government did not check the British attitude through Minister Katō, and expressed its intention to participate through Hoshi in August. Two representatives were sent from Tokyo to Washington. But it transpired that Foster was wrong, and that the British were agreeable only to a conference of American, British and Canadian experts, and did not approve Russian or Japanese participation for as long as the Paris arbitration decision of 1893 was in force. As it would be futile to reach an agreement without British participation, the agreement signed on November 11th in Washington was stipulated to come into effect only when signed by Great Britain. (Nagaoka, vol. 1, p. 284, based on *Nihon Gaikō Bunshō* vol. 30). See also Satow’s diary for October 6 and 12, 1897. (Ruxton, 2003, p. 205 & p. 208)

²²⁸ Sir D’Arcy Wentworth Thompson (1860-1948), Scottish zoologist and classical scholar. As a member of the British-American commission on the fur-seal fishery in the Bering Sea, Thompson went on expeditions to the Pribiloff Islands in 1896 and 1897.

Office will hear of it in that way.

I think if the Foreign Office were aware of the facts, they would not give the Americans such an obvious opportunity to say that the Conference is a farce as far as Great Britain is concerned.

I did not expect to sit on the Conference, but they ought at least [to] have sent me over to give my Report to those who are there, after telling the U.S. all the summer that they would not hold a conference until their experts had returned.

On the other hand, if, as is possible, the Conference is not going to do anything at present, they may intend me to go home first & then attend it, but this does not look likely in view of the fact that they have not communicated with me & that I do not get back until Nov. 10th.

I have simply thought it my duty to tell you these things, as the Foreign Office are probably not aware that I possess a considerable amount of information which has not been communicated to Thompson.

I am sorry to have sent you such a long yarn.

Believe me,

Yrs very truly,

G.E.H. Barrett-Hamilton

29. Lowther replies to Barrett-Hamilton

Copy

Ashinoyu

Sep 26, 97

Dear Mr. Barrett-Hamilton,

Your letter of the 24th has been forwarded to me. All you tell me is very interesting but I have not been in direct commn. with the F.O. on the Behring Sea question at all, the only direct commn. I have received being the one telling me that you would not be wanted. As I know the Col. [Colonial] Office & the F.O. are always in commn. on the subject this decision was probably not hastily arrived at & I feel unwilling to suggest to the F.O. an alteration in their views. I cannot help thinking that their decision has been taken with a full knowledge of the facts of the case. From what Hamlin told me he seemed to think that the Conference would probably be delayed & perhaps they may yet find it necessary to utilize yr. knowledge & expertise.

Yours very truly

Gerard Lowther

30. Lowther to Satow

Private

Tokio

Oct. 6, 97

Dear Sir Ernest,

I have but little to say that I can put into a letter but this may catch you at Vancouver.²²⁹ I have just returned from Ashinoyu whither I was sent by Baelz for my rheumatism which he threatened would become chronic. It was not lively 8 days and nights of heavy rain out of 12. Indeed this year has been a record even defeating last year.

Railways, telegraph &c. are practically things of the past. There has not been much going on to the naked eye but there are some intrigues in the Cabinet & Formosa is all confusion. But thank goodness the Camphor note has at last arrived. There are rumours afloat that you are not returning. I imagine these rumours always get afloat, but I don't know where they originated in yr. case.

Gubbins is still a poor weak thing & may be worse as he is threatened with an operation. I am compiling something in answer to the Habeas Corpus report query. I have been obliged to let [Consul at Tamsui in Formosa, Henry A.C.] Bonar go away, a medical certificate again & to extend [Consul at Tainan in Formosa William Joseph] Kenny's leave much to his annoyance as he finds he only draws ½ pay for the whole time but he is quite unfit to go back [to Formosa]. In fact all the Consuls seem to be poor weak things, but Longford in spite of his many troubles is very prolific in private letters. There are a host of new colleagues who shower cards but I seem to be invisible. I am glad you liked the garden at Campsea.²³⁰ They have done wonders with it and the Headman is a treasure. Bax Ironside I expect daily on his way to Peking. Ito has never been to call on me which seems funny as my people were civil to him in London. The Harmands leave in a few days so I fear much that you will miss them a source of regret to you anyhow !

Yours sincerely

Gerard Lowther

31. Lowther to Satow

Kobe

Jan 3/98

Dear Sir Ernest,

A line to send you the Compliments of the season & to tell you that we got here all right after 34 hours passage most of which [First Secretary, Belgian legation E. de] Cartier spent in bed as a precaution. The

²²⁹ Satow was in Canada October 29 – November 8 on his way back to Japan. (Diary)

²³⁰ Satow visited the Hon. William Lowthers, parents of Gerard Lowther, at their home at the village of Campsea Ash in Suffolk on August 3, 1897 and again on October 16th.

weather was not bad but the vessel a champion at rolling. We dined with [Kobe Consul J.C.] Hall last night. He & his family were very cheerful but very plain. He blurted out that he had had news from Troup that he meant to retire so I suppose the secret is out, but I shall say nothing about it.²³¹ I am going to have a look round the Consulate this morning, & shall continue my enquiries on my return. Hall seems to have a good many troublesome cases. There seems to be a general spirit of dissatisfaction at our inaction in China, & Sir C. MacDonald [Minister at Peking] is said to have told a gentleman recently that he had seen the German demands & considered them reasonable.

Yours sincerely

Gerard Lowther

32. Lowther to Satow

Tai-to-tei [in Formosa]

Jan. 8. 98

Dear Sir Ernest,

A line to announce to you our arrival here. Very heavy weather but the wind with us & a difficult landing. The officials are very polite but we have struck the rainy season & the Govr. whom I saw this morning & who leaves for the South today is to find out if it will be possible for us to travel over land or if the rivers are too flooded. If they are I doubt our ever getting to Anping. The communications seem to be most difficult between the North and the South.

I won't write anything now. I have acquired a lot of information but it all wants sifting & further observation. It's all on very small scale.

Yours sincerely

Gerard Lowther

33. Lowther to Satow

[ans 28/1]

Tamsui

Jany 19. 98

Dear Sir Ernest,

²³¹ James Troup (1840-1925), M.A. of Aberdeen University, was appointed student interpreter in Japan, August 31, 1863. Promoted Consul at Nagasaki, April 1, 1877. Transferred to Hiogo and Osaka, April 1, 1882; and to Yokohama, June 23, 1888. Was a British delegate on the Tariff Commission appointed for negotiation of the Supplementary Convention with Japan of July 16, 1895. Promoted Consul-General for Kanagawa, and also to be Assistant Judge of H.M. Court in Japan, November 18, 1896. Retired on a pension, April 1, 1898. (F.O. List, 1921, quoted in Kuwata, 2003, pp.473-474)

This is a hopeless place to get away from. What few steamers there are, are always weather bound. The Douglas line half promised to send us down to Anping. Now an accident has happened to one of their vessels & they can't do it.

There is a terrific gale blowing & a small steamer Japanese running from Kelung against which we are warned. The Chinese New Year has upset all our calculations as all steamers seem to get hung up for a week or more. I expect we shall end by going over to Amoy [on the Chinese mainland] today & take our chance of a steamer thence to Anping but we can get no news by wire. I hope I shan't miss the South as it is included among the points you want me to report upon but I feel that I have heard so much about it that I know it almost as well as if I had [been there already ?].

The 9 years to the smuggling Chinaman seems very hard & it appears he was really quite innocent but was never properly defended. I fancy that sentence has shaken the confidence of foreigners & natives in the Japanese Govt. more than anything else. If we don't do Anping we shall probably be back about Feb 10.

Yours sincerely

Gerard Lowther

34. Lowther to Satow

Sunday [13 March 1898]

British Legation, Tokio

Dear Sir Ernest,

I heard last night that an American agent had been to see Ito & told him that the U.S. Govt. were anxious to buy the two ships they are building in America, that he had replied that he could not give him an answer, but that he had had a similar offer from an English agent.

I give it to you for what it is worth. The first part sounds possible but not the latter unless you have some news of the kind.

Yours sincerely

Gerard Lowther

35. Lowther to Satow (undated, probably March 13, 1898)

Dear Sir Ernest,

Referring to my note of this morning, it seems that besides Dun another American, the correspondent of a New York paper, whose name I have not retained but something like Stickler made an offer to the J.G. to buy the two ships. Neither offer seems to have been made on behalf of the Govt. but as a private speculation, & I am assured that a British agent also made a similar offer, but can't find out who it was.

Yours sincerely
Gerard Lowther

36. Col. F.W.. Hemming to Satow

My dear Sir Ernest

Thank you for your note. I should like to leave by the Gaelic on the 12th April. I should have preferred the Rio [?] tomorrow, but I met with an accident the day before yesterday, a horse bolted off before I was in the saddle & landed me on my head & I have had slight concussion of the brain, so with your permission will make it the 12th.

Yours very truly
F.W. Hemming
1 Apr. 98

37. Arthur Hyde Lay²³² to Satow

British Legation

Tokio

July 14, 1898

Dear Sir Ernest,

Viscount Watanabe Nobori called this morning to see you and asked me to convey a message to you. He said you had been kind enough to suggest that Miss Tsuda [Umeko] and Miss Watanabe [Fudeko], who are now in America, should go on to England. He said he would like if you would be so good as to write or speak to Count Okuma on the subject and that the latter could then telegraph instructions to them and a lot of correspondence would be saved. Count Okuma has already been approached about the matter.

Izawa has not answered my letter yet. I sent again yesterday to enquire and he appears not to be away from home but to leave his house early in the morning and return at night. He is not a lawyer but appears to be employed by some company. His house is very small & mean and he does not seem to be the sort of man to act as patent agent. I took an opportunity of making the acquaintance of Mr. Y. Fukushima, Masujima's²³³

²³² Arthur Hyde Lay (1865-1934) was assistant in the Japanese Secretary's office at Tokyo from February 6, 1899 to November 3, 1899. He was then Acting Japanese Secretary from November 4, 1899 to December 8, 1902. (Kuwata, 2003, p.330)

²³³ Masujima Rokuichirō (1857-1948), lawyer from Hikone, Shiga prefecture. Graduated Tokyo University, 1879. Qualified as a barrister at the Middle Temple, London. In 1885 first president of the school called Igitrisu Hōritsu Gakkō which later became Chuo University. Satow dined with him on March 8, 1896, and with him and others at the founding of the Inns of Court Association at the Metropole Hotel, Tsukiji on February 4, 1899. (Diary)

assistant in charge, the other day, and in the course of conversation asked if he knew anything about Izawa. He said he did not. I have told Nakamura to go to his house as early as possible tomorrow morning and try and find him at home.

Kurachi [Tetsuyoshi/Tetsukichi] of the Foreign Office brought a copy of the English translation of the Harbour Regulations yesterday. I handed it over to Paget.

Yours truly

Arthur Hyde Lay

38. Lay to Satow

Tokio

July 15, 1898

Dear Sir Ernest,

I enclose translation of a Note from the Foreign Office which I have shown to Paget and which he tells me to send on to you.

Nakamura went this morning at 6.30 to see Izawa but was again told that he was out. He then asked for an answer to my letters and was told that there was none. I remember when I was Acting Vice Consul [at Tokyo, 1896-97] receiving a letter from home asking about the same man and that nothing satisfactory could be learnt.

Yours truly

Arthur Hyde Lay

39. Lay to Satow

Tokio

July 15, 1898

Dear Sir Ernest,

I enclose a draft for \$ [¥?] 4411.86 handed to me by Paget for your endorsement. It represents the excess balance at the Kobe Consulate at the end of last quarter. If you will be so good as to endorse it, I shall pay the amount into the Legation Account.

Yours truly

Arthur Hyde Lay

40. Lay to Satow

Tokio

July 16, 1898

Dear Sir Ernest,

Izawa has written me a short note simply saying that referring to my enquiries he begs to state that the Patent Office have not granted permission for the registration of the Trade Mark of Messrs. E. Lazenby and Son about which Mr. R.W. Barker wrote to you. No reason is given nor is any apology offered for delay in answering. I have written to him again to ask whether he has communicated with Mr. Barker.

I enclose translation of a letter from the new Chiji [Governor] of Tokio. The reply I have drafted from the answer sent on a previous occasion.

Yours truly

Arthur Hyde Lay

41. Lay to Satow

Tokio

July 21, 1898

Dear Sir Ernest,

The letter of which I enclose translation only came this morning. I have not registered it, as we do not as a rule register such letters. I send draft of reply in the usual form.

Izawa has written to me another short note saying that he has communicated with Mr. Barker. I have drafted a reply to the latter, which I am keeping till your return.

Yours truly

Arthur Hyde Lay

42. [Second Secretary] Ralph Spencer Paget to Satow

[Tokio] July 31/98

Dear Sir Ernest,

The enclosed tel. [telegram] arrived in Code from Longford yesterday evening. I puzzled over it for a long time to make better English but there is no doubt that it comes out like this & Crowe whom I finally called to my assistance is unable to make anything different of it. On receipt of the Admiral's [Admiral Seymour's ?] tel. on Friday night I immediately sent off a letter to Sannomiya [Yoshitane, Master of Ceremonies of the Imperial Household] giving its substance, but have not yet had an answer.

A desp. [despatch] has come from Longford announcing his return & I will write draft for the F.O.

Hall's No. 34 which I enclose is rather peculiar. It mentions 5 enclos. [enclosures] in the margin but they have not come & instead one sheet of Trade Reports has come. It is evidently a mistake in making up the desp.

so I am returning the enclosure to Kobe.

Lovely weather here, so cool we are all putting on tweeds again. I hope you got through your journey all right and are not too hot at Chusenji.²³⁴

The "Powerful" came in yesterday but I have not yet seen Lambton.

Yours very truly

Ralph Paget

43. Lay to Satow

Tokio,

August 1, 1898

Dear Sir Ernest,

Count Okuma has acknowledged receipt of your Note forwarding two volumes from the Indian Famine Relief Committee. He has sent them on to Archbishop Kobayashi. The Note sending two similar volumes for the use of the Japanese Government has not yet been answered.

There has not been much in the Japanese papers during the past day or two. They are still discussing the differences among the members of the new party²³⁵ and the question of the appointment of another Minr. for Foreign Affairs.

The "Takasago" left Singapore for Hong Kong on Saturday.

Yours truly

Arthur Hyde Lay

44. Paget to Satow

Aug. 3/98

Dear Sir Ernest,

I have attended to the matters mentioned in your two letters. Donazowski, the small arms people, & Lambton's shrine. Fuku knew all about it and it goes to Yokohama today.

I sailed up to the Powerful last Sunday & had a talk with Lambton who was on the stern-watch [?]. Grosvenor is still with him and they talked of going up Fuji. As I have seen nothing more of them I imagine they have gone. Many thanks, I will dine with pleasure on Friday evening [August 8th at Chuzenji]. Yours very truly

²³⁴ Satow was at Chuzenji from July 10-23, and July 29 to September 20, 1898.

²³⁵ The Kenseitō was founded in June 1898 by an alliance of the Jyūtō (Liberal party) and Shinpotō (Progressive Party) with Okuma as president. It won an election, but only stayed in office for four months. Then the party split again into factions led by Itagaki and Okuma.

Ralph Paget

45. Lay to Satow

Tokio

August 3, 1898

Dear Sir Ernest,

Count Okuma has acknowledged receipt of the copy of the Report of the Indian Famine Relief Fund Committee which you sent for the use of the Japanese Government, and in reply stated that they are much obliged for the useful books you so often send them.²³⁶

The "Kokumin" of this morning has an article on the subject of preparation for the enforcement of the new Treaties. It urges Japanese not to look on foreigners as enemies and throw stones at them, but to treat them properly.

Yours truly

Arthur Hyde Lay

46. Lay to Satow

Tokio.

August 8, 1898

Dear Sir Ernest,

The gentleman whose card I enclose has just called to try and see you. He wishes me to forward to you his letter of introduction and to say he would like to have an introduction to the Minister for Foreign Affairs or someone in the Foreign Office, if possible. He wants to be appointed Japanese Consul at Rangoon. I told him I would send on his letter to you. His address is c/o Messrs. Jardine Matheson & Co., Yokohama.

Yours truly

Arthur Hyde Lay

47. Lay to Satow

Tokio

August 10, 1898

Dear Sir Ernest,

²³⁶ A major drought with widespread disease occurred in India in 1896-97. Estimates of death ranged up to 5 million. Relief efforts were successful in several areas. Another major drought occurred in India in 1899-1900. Relief efforts were extensive, but again 1-3 million died of starvation and disease. (Encyclopedia Britannica)

I have not been able to see Nakada [Takanori, Seimukyokuchō, Head of Political Affairs] who is on leave, but I saw Kurachi who is taking his place temporarily, and he promised to let us have some copies of the Harbour Regulations as soon as they were printed. The F.O. had none at present, but expected some to be ready in a few days.

I enclose draft of a Note to Count Okuma asking when the Regulations are to be put in force.

Gubbins suggested that I had better send you the newspapers I had marked so I sent them off this morning.

Yours truly

Arthur Hyde Lay

48. Lay to Satow

Tokio

August 10, 1898

Dear Sir Ernest,

I have just received from Kurachi six copies in English of the Harbour Regulations for the Open Ports.

Yours truly

Arthur Hyde Lay

49. Lay to Satow

Tokio

August 19, 1898

Dear Sir Ernest,

Komura [Jutaro; Gaimujikan, Vice Minister for Foreign Affairs] has sent in a reply to your semi-official communication of yesterday saying that he at once forwarded the documents you sent him about the Sumida River affair to the Minister of Justice.²³⁷ There is also an acknowledgment from Count Okuma of the errata slip for the Report of the Committee for the Compilation of a Catalogue of Scientific Literature, which you transmitted to him on the 16th.

This morning's "Asahi" had an article expressing the hope that the Constitutional Party [Kenseitō] would speedily dissolve into its original elements.²³⁸ The "Nichi Nichi", in a long leading article, blamed the Cabinet for the outcome of the Hawaiian affair. Shall I send you the papers I marked or keep them till your

²³⁷ See Gubbins to Satow, no. 101, August 9, 1898 in PRO 30/33 5/4 above.

²³⁸ The resignation of Itagaki Taisuke brought about the cabinet's dissolution in November 1898. The former Jiyūtō reorganised as the new Kenseitō under Itagaki, and the Okuma faction reformed as the Kensei Hontō (True Constitutional Party). The new Kenseitō was absorbed in 1900 by Itō's Rikken Seiyūkai (Friends of Constitutional Government Party).

return ?

Yours truly

Arthur Hyde Lay

50. Paget to Satow

[P.S. ?] Hall reports his leaving Kobe.

Aug. 20/98

Dear Sir Ernest,

I have examined the register for precedents concerning proposals for works but cannot find any. It seems to me, however, that a Circular to Consuls is the simplest way of doing it & I have accordingly drafted one which I enclose. Peacock thinks that it has probably been done privately hitherto but I cannot see the reason of this.

I don't know how it was that I missed you yesterday unless you went by the upper road. I rode slowly & met [your servant] Saburo & the Cook; the former told me you had gone on.

I was very sorry to come away from Chusenji as I had a very nice time there. Mrs. Kirkwood will doubtless tell you of the great boat race we had ²³⁹ & also of the way I distinguished myself at whist.

I have not yet read through the corree [correspondence] about the Japanese & our naval Officers, [at the Sumida river fete on August 6, 1898, see PRO 30/33 5/4, letter no. 101] but I am just going to do so. Yours very truly

Ralph Paget

51. Paget to Satow

[Tokio] Aug. 22

Dear Sir Ernest

It was stupid of me not to have thought of going to Arai's [Hotel] & I think I probably should have done so only Saburo answered so positively that you had gone on & I thought it most probable that you would want to lunch at Chusenji. I stuck to Kanaya [Hotel] as I have always been there & on the whole I think one is well treated. [Student Interpreter E.T.F.] Crowe, I believe, left for his trip this morning. There is so little to do that I am not at all dependent on [Student Interpreter Edward L.S.] Gordon & so there was no reason whatever why Crowe should not go.

I enclose drafts for [1st class assistant at Kobe and Acting Consul Frank W. W.] Playfair & [R. de B.M.] Layard [transferred to Tamsui, August 4, 1898]. I am not quite sure whether I am right in using the word

²³⁹ See PRO 30/33 5/4, Gubbins to Satow, no. 157, 18 August 1899.

“appointed” and also in mentioning their Commissions at the end: I looked up precedents as you told me & this was more or less the form used.

[J.B.] Rentiers [in Nagasaki] forwards a Notice of Marriage, & apparently wishes it done in the Legation, though why he should give all this extra bother for what can only be a whim, I can’t think.²⁴⁰

Lay is going to see Komura this morning & will write to you as soon as he has done so [see next letter]. I saw [Austro-Hungarian minister Count Christoph von] Wydenbruck in the Club yesterday for a moment. He is looking terribly ill & has an uncanny expression in his eyes.

I am very glad Gosselin is to be the new U.S. of S. [Under Secretary of State], he is a very old friend of mine & the more friends one has at the F.O. the better. Charley Hardinge is in luck but then he always has been one of the favoured ones.

Weather very fine here & hot but not really oppressive; I went for a sail yesterday from 10 a.m. till 2 p.m. on the Bay & on the water it was really quite cool.

Yours very truly

Ralph Paget

52. Lay to Satow

Tokio

August 22, 1898

Dear Sir Ernest,

I have just seen Komura who tells me that they received this morning the telegram from Vienna which will enable them to fix the date of the tariff coming into operation. He says the date will be fixed and published in the Official Gazette within the next week or so. The tariff will not come into force before January 1st next year, but the day has not yet been decided.

This morning’s “Asahi” had an article on Mixed Residence. In the opinion of the writer certain restrictions ought to be placed on foreign immigration and only a certain class of people admitted into the country.

The “Nichi Nichi” had an article on the date of the operation of the new Treaties. It thinks the Government has not actually given the notice it claims to have given to Foreign Powers.

Yours truly

Arthur Hyde Lay

53. Paget to Satow

²⁴⁰ See PRO 30/33 5/10, Rentiers to Satow, no. 74, 17 August 1898; and Satow’s reply to Rentiers, no. 75, 5 September 1898. It seems Rentiers was nevertheless granted his wish (see letter no. 76, and Satow’s diary, 30 September 1898).

[Tokio] Aug. 23

Dear Sir Ernest

Our Circular of the 19th quoted F.O. No. 28 Consular practically word for word, so I cannot get any further assistance from the F.O. despatch as regards Layard's Constable. As I arrived at a different conclusion from Layard, namely, that the case of his Constable can be referred home, I think it better to send the F.O. despatch on to you.

It seems to me that by the last paragraph the case of every constable not within the above limits of age (20-45), who is not actually serving, may be submitted for the grant of a C.S. Certif.

This is what I wrote to Layard but I told him that I was sending you the desp. as I had got rather confused over it.

We had a small thunderstorm here yesterday but very little rain; it has, however, made it much cooler.

Yours very truly

Ralph Paget

54. Lay to Satow

Tuesday Evening

23 [?]/8/98

Dear Sir Ernest,

I have just received your letter of the 22nd. I look over the "Kwampo" [Official Gazette] every morning. I shall send you a short note of the passages I mark in the papers, or in the case of important announcements, a short précis. This morning's "Nichi Nichi" had another attack on the Cabinet for the Hawaiian affair and the "Kokumin" an article on the Philippines and the necessity for Japan, whose policy it was to side with America, to be on the watch at the moment.

Yours truly

Arthur Hyde Lay

55. Paget to Satow

Thursday

25/8/98

Dear Sir Ernest

I have hunted up the marriage papers & will have them all ready for you when you come down [from Chuzenji] on the 3rd. I make out that Rentiers has got to reside here for 3 weeks before the marriage, how is this going to be done ? or does Nagasaki count as being within the marriage district of the Legation.

I have posted up copy of his marriage notice. One paragraph of Lord Salisbury's desp. of 1892 runs "It would be advisable to discourage marriages at H.M. Embassies & Legations where Consulates are established" & I agree with him. I return herewith Rentiers' letter.

It has been pouring here since yesterday & I expect you are also having deluges at Chusenji as it is coming from the North.

Yours very truly

Ralph Paget

56. Paget to Satow

Aug. 27. 1898

Dear Sir Ernest

There is nothing in the way of work for me to write to you about as besides the desp. from [Acting Consul at Yokohama Ralph G.E.] Forster I am sending you only one other has come in reporting [Acting Consul at Hiogo A.E.] Wileman's arrival.

It may perhaps interest you to hear that I was told yesterday that [Belgian secretary of legation Paul] May's blackballing was done by the foreign members of the Y.U.C. [Yokohama United Club] & not by the English. The French I believe took a prominent part in it. I don't know how far this is true but this seems to be the more or less accepted version & I suppose there must be some foundation for the rumour.

It has been rainy & terribly damp the last two days but the sun is out again today.

Yours very truly

Ralph Paget

57. Lay to Satow

Tokio

August 29. 1898

Dear Sir Ernest,

In this morning's "Kwampo" there are three maps of a submarine cable between Iburi and Oshima [both in Hokkaido]. I am having copies and translations made in case you wish to send them to the Admiral and the Foreign Office. If so, shall I have despatches written in the usual form for your signature ?

The "Kokumin" says that the relations between the old Liberals [Jiyūtō] and Progressists [Shinpotō] are bad – and that collisions between the members of the new Party [Kenseitō] who hold office and those who do not are frequent. The great question before the Constitutional Party [Kenseitō] is not the state purchase of railways, the appointment of a new Minister for Foreign Affairs, nor their policy in the coming session, but

the question of increased taxation.

The “Mainichi” gives the opinions of some leading men on the question of the State purchase of railways. [Army minister 1898-1900] Katsura [Tarō] is in favour of the scheme, but only considers it necessary to purchase the railways which might be useful in war time: Nihon, Kobu, Sanyo, and Kiushiu Railways. Soyeda [Juichi, President of Railway Bureau] is neither for nor against the idea, but does not believe it ought to be done at present. Hayashi [Yūzō, Minister of Communications] is very strongly in favour of the State taking over the railways and is going to do his best towards that end.

The “Nichi Nichi” says that the Corean Court has promised to sign an agreement for the railway line between Sōul and Fusan.²⁴¹ In a leading article it attacks [Education Minister] Ozaki [Yukio] for his recent speech [on republicanism, delivered on August 21, 1898]²⁴² and sneers at inexperienced men suddenly becoming Ministers of State.

Yours truly

Arthur Hyde Lay

58. Lay to Satow

Tokio

August 31. 1898

Dear Sir Ernest,

In this morning’s “Official Gazette” there is a War Office notification to the effect that the limits of the fortifications in Tokio Bay, at Shimonoseki, Yura [near Osaka], and Tsushima have been settled. Four maps are given, which I am having copied and translated. Imperial Order No. 176 of this year, which forbids anyone to survey, draw, photograph or make notes of, any spot within 6.49 miles of such limits, is referred to.

I enclose some notes from today’s newspapers.

Yours truly

Arthur Hyde Lay

59. Lay to Satow

Tokio,

September 1. 1898

Dear Sir Ernest,

I enclose for your signature a Note which Paget told me to write to Count Okuma, applying for a renewal of

²⁴¹ The agreement between the Korean government and the Seoul-Pusan Railway Company owned by Japanese business leaders was signed on September 8, 1898.

²⁴² See PRO 30/33 5/4 Gubbins to Satow, no. 131 dated 26 October 1898.

Mr. Mark Baggallay's yachting permit.²⁴³ I copied the draft from the last Note we sent in applying for a similar permit.

Yours truly

Arthur Hyde Lay

60. Lay to Satow

Saturday 3/9/98

Dear Sir Ernest,

Many thanks for your telegram granting me permission to go to Kamakura for the night. The weather does not look promising but I shall go all the same.

Yesterday's "Official Gazette" gave the detailed regulations for the carrying out of the Harbour Regulations for the open ports. This morning the appointment of Nakamura Yaroku to be Vice Minister of Justice appeared. The papers have been commenting unfavourably on the Russian Emperor's peace proposals.²⁴⁴ It is said that the standing Squadron will manoeuvre and be inspected by the Emperor about the 15th at Yokosuka.

I have given Paget the Submarine Cable maps I mentioned the other day. I send you herewith our copy of the note showing the limits within which it is forbidden to take photographs near certain fortifications. I have two more copies in case you want them.

Yours truly

Arthur Hyde Lay

61. Milne Cheetham to Satow

[answered 13/4]

28 Feb 1899

My dear Sir Ernest Satow,

You will have already heard by telegram from the Foreign Office that I am appointed as Second Secretary

²⁴³ Baggallay was Chairman of the Kobe Chamber of Commerce. (Hall to Satow, nos. 47 & 74, PRO 30/33 5/8). Related to H.J. Baggallay of Butterfield & Swire sent to Kobe to open a new branch office on 13 May 1887 ? (See Britain & Japan: Biographical Portraits Vol. IV, Ch. 12, 'John Samuel Swire (1825-98) and Japan, 1867-98' by Charlotte Bleasdale).

²⁴⁴ The Tsar Nicholas II issued a rescript on August 24, 1898 in which he called on the Powers to meet to consider the possibility of replacing war by arbitration and halting the increase in armaments. From this the First Peace Conference was held at The Hague from May 18 to July 29, 1899. It failed to limit or reduce armaments but a Final Protocol was adopted. Provision was also made for a second conference held at The Hague from June 15 to October 18, 1907. Satow attended the second conference as a British delegate. See Nigel Brailey, 'Sir Ernest Satow and the 1907 Second Hague Peace Conference' in *Diplomacy & Statecraft*, Vol. 13, No. 2 (June 2002) pp. 201-228. (pub. Frank Cass, London) See also Satow's diary, September 22, 1898 (Ruxton, 2003, p.301).

at Tokio [with effect from March 1, 1899, per F.O.L. 1900] and I must apologise for not having written before to say how glad I am to be a member of your staff.

When I was told of my transfer from Madrid I was also asked to come back here for a short time and I was very much occupied during the few days I remained in England while there has been a great stress of work since my arrival here.

I do not quite know how long this will take to reach Japan and expect, before you receive it, that I shall hear by telegram from you, directly or through the Foreign Office, how soon you will wish me to start for my post.

I had previously told the Private Secretary [Eric Barrington] that it would be a great pleasure to me to go to Tokio and am naturally pleased at my appointment.

Believe me, My dear Sir Ernest Satow,
sincerely yours, Milne Cheetham

62. Memorandum (p.133)

[See Miscellaneous (Various) letter of 27 April 1899]

	yen
<u>Revenue</u> from Woods and Forests	1,547,873

Expenditure (Ordinary)

Forest District Offices	867,766
Preservation of Forests	4,530

Expenditure (Extraordinary)

Investigations into the conditions of Forests and uncultivated land	<u>39,151</u>
	911,447

p.134 illegible, very faint

63. Beethom Whitehead²⁴⁵ to Satow

Tokio

July 7, 1899

²⁴⁵ James Beethom Whitehead (1858-1928) was promoted from Munich to be Secretary of Legation at Tokyo on October 1, 1898 after Gerard Lowther was transferred to Budapest on that day. (Kuwata, 2003, pp. 478-479). He was Chargé d'Affaires at Tokyo from May 5 to November 27, 1900.

I am very sorry to have troubled you with an unnecessary telegram, but I had not seen the draft to [J.C.] Hall & Crowe had not connected it with the Osaka Police, as there was no explicit mention of it.

I have since had an enquiry from Grubissich [Secretary of Austro-Hungarian legation] on the subject of the transfer of municipal property in the Settlements on July 17, which your telegram has also enabled me to answer. He seemed inclined to make objections, in spite of the French having agreed, & wanted to telegraph to Vienna for instructions which I hope he will now not do.

Excuse brevity & haste. I hope the weather is fine at Chusenji – here it is desperately close.²⁴⁶

Believe me

Yours ever

Beethom Whitehead

64. Whitehead to Satow

Tokio

July 9, 1899

My dear Sir Ernest,

I hope that the enclosed will meet with your approval. The Note from Aoki arrived last night, and in view of my conversation with Grubissich & your instructions to Hall I thought that this would be what you would wish to do. The Circ[ular] No. 18 of June 16 told the Consuls distinctly that the transfer [of municipal property] would not take place till Aug 4.²⁴⁷

I enclose the Despp. to the Consuls in envelopes – in case you wish to post them direct from Chusenji.

Yrs ever

Beethom Whitehead

[P.S.] It has got quite hot here – our thermometer was at 63° on the verandah this morning.

65. Whitehead to Satow

Tokio

July 12, 1899

My dear Sir Ernest,

I enclose a Despatch from [Yokohama Consul Henry A.C.] Bonar which he has sent up by a special messenger. I cannot imagine that there is the least danger of the Japanese Authorities stopping the business of the Banks and Insurance Companies on account of the absence of a translation, so I asked lay to go to the

²⁴⁶ Satow was at Chuzenji from July 3 to 15, 1899. (Diary)

²⁴⁷ By an oversight August 4, 1899 was the date from which French extraterritoriality was abolished. The British date and those of other Powers was July 17, 1899.

Foreign Office & see somebody who could give him a verbal assurance to that effect with which to pacify Yokohama for the moment. He has just returned having seen Mr. Mitsuhashi [Nobukata] who said that he knew the Governors had received instructions to deal with the matter in a liberal spirit, that Japanese translations would no doubt be required, but that a reasonable delay would be granted and that he was certain nothing would be done to interrupt business. I have written this privately to Bonar.²⁴⁸

I do not propose to do anything further unless you kindly send me a line by telegraph on receipt of this. I might get a more formal assurance personally from Takahira.²⁴⁹

Cheetham has telegraphed from Nagasaki to say he will be here on the 16th. We hope to see you on Saturday.

Believe me

Yours very sincerely

Beethom Whitehead

66. Memo from A.H. Lay to Satow

British Legation, Tokio

2 Aug. 1899

Bonar sends up the following message by telephone. He is writing to you officially on the subject but would like if you could give him an idea of what ought to be done in the meantime.

Letter from H. & S. Bk. to H.M. Consul:

“We presented for payment today coupons for War Bonds of the Imp. Japse Govt. Some have been returned and the Govt. claim Income Tax deduction as the coupons are payable on June 1 last & in view of the revised Treaty not coming into force till 4 Aug. will you be good enough to inform me if Income Tax under the circs. must be paid.”

Bonar thinks that under Art. III class II of Income Tax Law, income tax cannot be claimed.²⁵⁰

A.H.L.

67. Lay to Satow

[recd. Aug. 8]

British Legation

²⁴⁸ On July 18, 1899 Satow went to Yokohama where he saw David Jackson, manager of the Hong Kong & Shanghai Bank and told him he was required to produce a translation of the articles of association. Jackson said that the manager of the Russian Bank was refusing to do so. (Diary, Ruxton, 2003, p.372)

²⁴⁹ Takahira Kogorō (1854-1926) then Vice Minister for Foreign Affairs.

²⁵⁰ Satow mentioned the bank's complaint to Takahira on August 5, 1899 but also noted that the total value of the tax was only 3 shillings (Diary). Satow was at Chuzenji from August 6-30, 1899.

Tokio

August 7, 1899

Dear Sir Ernest,

I have just seen Megata [Tanetarō, Head of the Taxation Bureau] at the Okurashō [Ministry of Finance]. I explained to him your views about the demand made on the Hongkong and Shanghai Bank for payment of Income Tax on interest on War Bonds presented by them to the Yokohama agent of the Nippon Ginkō [Bank of Japan] on August 1st. [See previous memo no. 66]. His reply was that interest on public bonds etc. mentioned in Article III of the Revised Income Tax Law, became payable as soon as that law came into force, and that the nationality of the holders of the bonds had nothing to do with the matter. It was not, he maintained, a question depending upon the operation of the New Treaties, for income tax would have been demanded in the same way had the coupons been presented by a French Bank. He refused to admit the justice of the claim of the Hongkong and Shanghai Bank to be exempted from payment of income tax on the bonds referred to above.

Several of the Japanese newspapers this morning give an account of the party at the Imperial Hotel on Saturday evening. The “Kwampo” says that Diosy had an audience of the Emperor on the 5th.²⁵¹

Yours truly

Arthur Hyde Lay

68. Lay to Satow

British Legation

Tokio

August 8, 1899

Dear Sir Ernest,

I have received a letter from Uchida [Yasuya, Seimukyokuchō, Head of Political Affairs at F.O.] in which he tells me that he is informed by the proper authorities that a certificate to the effect that the Certificate of Registry of a vessel has been deposited at the Consulate at a port will be accepted instead of the document itself.²⁵²

It is reported in several of this morning's papers that the Minister of the Interior [Saigo Tsugumichi] has issued private instructions to the local authorities to levy Fu, Ken and other taxes on foreigners from the 1st of

²⁵¹ On July 28, 1899 Arthur Diosy (1856-1923) the co-founder of the Japan Society of London in 1891 had requested Satow's help in obtaining an audience, but Satow refused.

²⁵² See PRO 30/33 5/9, correspondence from Kobe, Wileman to Satow, no. 73, July 19, 1899; Hall to Satow, no. 77, August 4, 1899. See also Satow's diary regarding certificates of registry (July 24, July 31 and August 1, 1899).

September.

I enclose a cutting from the “Mainichi” of today with reference to the exercise of Consular Jurisdiction at Yokohama on the 1st instant. The “Yorozu Chōhō” and “Asahi” also refer to the matter.

Yours truly

Arthur Hyde Lay

69. Lay to Satow

British Legation

Tokio

August 9 1899

Dear Sir Ernest,

A note has come from Viscount Aoki [foreign minister] ²⁵³ saying that H.M. The Emperor has been graciously pleased to present you with his photograph on the occasion of the operation of the new treaties. Seki brought it from the Foreign Office and it is in a large box which I am keeping in my room at the Chancery. I do not send the translation of the Note, as it is a short one. I enclose a draft reply for your approval which I have made out on the lines of a note of Mr. [Hugh] Fraser's on a similar occasion.

There was not much in the Japanese papers this morning. Some more Japanese are said to be about to enter the Chinese Customs.

It is hot here today.

Yours truly

Arthur Hyde Lay

P.S. Two copies of the ‘Liste du Personnel des Légations au Japon’ have been sent from the Foreign Office. Shall I send one up to you ? A.H.L.

70. Lay to Satow

British Legation

Tokio

August 11. 1899

Dear Sir Ernest,

I tried to see Admiral Yamamoto [Gombei] at the Naval Dept. but he was not there so I saw [Commander]

²⁵³ See ‘Aoki Shūzō (1844-1914)’ by Ian Nish, Ch. 12, *Britain & Japan: Biographical Portraits*, Vol. III (Japan Library, 1999). Aoki was foreign minister in both Yamagata cabinets (December 24, 1889 to May 6, 1891; and November 8, 1898 to October 19, 1900).

Kuroi instead. I asked him to convey to Admiral Yamamoto your message which he promised to do.²⁵⁴

The translation of the letter brought by the two Chinese Commissioners appeared in the "Japan Times". I could not find it in any of the Yokohama papers. I enclose three copies pasted on foolscap, and also the "Nichi Nichi" of 30th July which gives the original.²⁵⁵

Today's "Nichi Nichi" says that Viscount Aoki left for Nasu²⁵⁶ on the 8th and will not be back in Tokio till the beginning of next month. Several of the papers this morning commenting on the alleged warning given by Russia to China against an alliance with Japan, express the belief that the rumour is baseless, and maintain that an alliance with China would not be to Japan's advantage.

In the "Official Gazette" of this date there are a number of drawings of the fortification limits in Tokio Bay, at Kure, Sasebo, Maizuru etc. I am having tracings made in case you want them.

Yours truly

Arthur Hyde Lay

71. Lay to Satow

British Legation

Tokio.

August 16. 1899

Dear Sir Ernest,

In this morning's "Official Gazette" there is a notification by the Governor General of Formosa [Kodama Gentaro, 26 February 1898 – 11 April 1906], providing for the opening of eight additional ports from the 4th instant. Five of these ports are in Taichu Ken, two in Tainan Ken, and one in the Pescadores [islands between Formosa and China]. There is a proviso, however, that in the meantime only junks (Shinagatasen) will be allowed to trade there.²⁵⁷

The "Asahi" complains that H.M.S. "Rattler"²⁵⁸ was guilty of a violation of the Harbour Regulations by

²⁵⁴ Satow's message was probably about foreign warships visiting the 22 new open ports without having to obtain permission beforehand. See his diary for September 1st when he raised the matter with Takahira. Yamamoto had objected because some of them were 'military ports' but later that day Satow received a private note from Takahira saying that permission was not required after all. (Diary, Ruxton, 2003, p.382)

²⁵⁵ Satow and the German minister Graf von Leyden discussed the letter from the commissioners and an article in the *Japan Times* about their mission on August 9th at Chuzenji (Diary, Ruxton, 2003, p.381). He tried to find out about the treaty negotiations from Aoki on September 7th (Diary, p.386). See also Satow's letters to Salisbury, July 27 and October 5, 1899, PRO 30/33 14/11.

²⁵⁶ Aoki's villa is preserved in Nasu, Tochigi prefecture.

²⁵⁷ Satow protested against this discrimination to Aoki on September 7, 1899. (Diary, Ruxton, 2003, p.385)

²⁵⁸ This is not the H.M.S. Rattler which was wrecked in Hokkaido late in 1868 with Satow aboard (see A

coming inside the breakwater at Yokohama on the 14th, without regarding the signals made, and that it took some trouble to get the Captain to go outside again.

The “Yorozu Chōhō” says that the Privy Council had under discussion yesterday the Law for the control of persons proceeding to Korea, and that its abolition will be notified shortly.

Yours truly

Arthur Hyde Lay

72. Lay to Satow

British Legation

Tokio

August 17 1899

Dear Sir Ernest,

The enclosed translation is that of the answer to your Note No. 27 of July 24 last. The Minister of Finance [Matsukata Masayoshi] is going to consider what procedure ought to be followed in cases such as you mention in the second last paragraph of your Note, which I also send herewith.

In today’s “Official Gazette” the abolition of the Law for the control of persons proceeding to Korea is announced.²⁵⁹

Beyond reporting that various Cabinet Ministers have gone into the country, there is nothing in the Japanese papers this morning.

We have had a very strong wind for the past few days and it is very hot here.

Yours truly

Arthur Hyde Lay

73. Lay to Satow

[Ansd. 20]

British Legation

Tokio

August 18. 1899

Diplomat in Japan, p.385) but a later ship of the same name.

²⁵⁹ On the eve of the Sino-Japanese War there were less than 10,000 Japanese in Korea, mostly at the treaty ports of Pusan and Inchon. The numbers increased greatly after the Russo-Japanese War to about 170,000 after annexation in 1910. Government fears of rough Japanese carpetbaggers had held back migration in the 1890s, but a May 1905 cabinet decision supported migration by permanent residents, colonists rather than emigrants. (See Peter Duus, *The Abacus and the Sword: the Japanese Penetration of Korea, 1895-1910*, Chapter 8; University of California Press, 1995).

Dear Sir Ernest,

As soon as I received your telegram of this morning I went down to the Foreign Office. I could not see the Vice Minister [Takahira] but saw Uchida and explained matters to him. I told him that the application for registration of the Lots Nos. 20 and 21 Bluff [in Yokohama] had been made before the 4th of August and that consequently the registration tax ought not to be levied in their case. I also said that the Local Court would only allow the stamps to remain uncanceled till the 24th so that there was no time to be lost. I asked him to move the proper authorities at once to issue instructions not to levy the tax, and he agreed to do so and to let me know what they were going to do as soon as he could. I reminded him of the understanding that no taxes were to be imposed on British Subjects during the period from July 17 to August 3 that were not equally levied on the subjects of citizens of other Powers. The result of my interview I telegraphed to you.

The "Nichi Nichi" this morning had an article on "Japan, China and Russia". The reported threat of the Russian Minister at Peking was not to be believed. There was, moreover, no need for Japan to form alliances at present.

The same paper reported that Viscount Aoki had returned to Nasu after being in town for a few days.

The "Mainichi" today sneered at the Ministers of State going away for the hot weather, seeing that the Emperor remained in Tokio.

Yours truly

Arthur Hyde Lay

74. Lay to Satow

British Legation

Tokio

August 22 1899

Dear Sir Ernest,

Not having heard from Uchida regarding the registration fees on Lots 20 and 21 Bluff Yokohama, I thought I had better go and see him again this morning. I did so and he informed me that the Minister of Justice [Kiyoura Keigo, 1850-1942] had instructed the Vice Minister to issue private orders to the Yokohama Ku Saibansho [local court] that the fees were not to be levied in this case. When I returned to the Legation, I let Hampden know by telephone.²⁶⁰ I have sent off a telegram to you on the subject.

I took the opportunity of asking Uchida about the matter to which the enclosed note from [W.W.] Till [of Cornes & Co.] refers. The Finance Department do not seem to have come to any decision yet about the case.

²⁶⁰ The first telephone service in Japan between Tokyo and Yokohama using Gower-Bell telephones started on December 16, 1890. The first telegraph service had begun between the same cities on December 25, 1869 with the assistance of an English expert named G.M. Gilbert.

He said they maintained that they were technically correct, but that their final decision would depend on the intention of the parties who drew up the tariff. I explained that they had already admitted that they were in the wrong and promised to withdraw from the position they had assumed with regard to Cornes and Co's goods. Uchida at last said he would see Megata on his return from the country and arrange that you had an answer to your Note as soon as possible. I remember that Gubbins arranged with Yamaoka what should be written by the Finance Department to the Foreign Department admitting Till's contention.

Several of the newspapers yesterday had articles on the opening of Talienwan [J: Dairen] in which the hope was expressed that Japan would seize the opportunity to develop her trade.

There are rumours of dissensions among the Liberals.

The "Yorozu Choho" says that the Miyako, a despatch vessel launched at Kure last year, has turned out to have been built in a most unsatisfactory manner.

Yours truly

Arthur Hyde Lay

75. Lay to Satow

British Legation

Tokio

August 23. 1899

Dear Sir Ernest,

Miss Edith Washington, who wrote to you on July 17 about a purse stolen from her on the Tōkaidō railway, now writes to thank me for my letter of the 29th ultimo in which I told her that she would get her property back and to say that she received the purse and money that was in it a few days ago.

In the Official Gazette of today there are a number of notifications issued by the Governor General of Formosa [Kodama Gentaro], Medical Inspection Regulations, detailed regulations for carrying out the tonnage dues and customs regulations etc.

The "Kokumin" says that as the question of a Pacific Cable is a pressing one the Japanese Delegates to the International Commercial Conference to be held in America in the autumn will probably bring the matter before the conference or at any rate discuss it.²⁶¹

²⁶¹ On 22 March 1900 Satow asked Aoki if there was any news of the Pacific Cable. (Diary) J. A. Scrymser founded the Pacific Cable Co. of New York in 1896, with the plan of laying a cable across the floor of the Pacific Ocean via Hawaii, but the plan was abandoned at the last minute. John Mackay of the Commercial Pacific Cable Co. made another plan, but he died in London in 1902. His son Clarence took up the project, and in 1903 a cable was laid via Hawaii and Midway to Manila. This was extended to Japan in 1906. (Hanaoka Kaoru, *Kaiteidensen to Taiheiyo hyakunen*, [A 100 years of cables under the Pacific] quoted in Nagaoka, vol. 2, p. 356).

The “Takasago” ²⁶² went ashore in Miyazu Bay [northern Kyoto, near Amanohashidate] on the 20th but suffered no damage, as she was able to leave for Nanao [七尾, in Ishikawa prefecture] next day.

The “Yorozu Chōhō” says that the receipts from the Tobacco Monopoly will not come up to expectation.

Yours truly

Arthur Hyde Lay

76. Whitehead to Satow ²⁶³

Tokio

Sept. 16. 1899

My dear Sir Ernest,

I saw Viscount Aoki yesterday and gave him a Memo. on the Formosa coolies as you directed. He promised to do “what was necessary”.

I have also sent Bonar’s Desp. No. 38 with the enclosure from [lawyer Ambrose Berry] Walford & a copy of your Memo. to Wilkinson, which is what I understood you to desire. He is still at Hakone however and I don’t suppose he will answer much before your return.

The weather is lovely & I hope you have the same sort for your travels. The permits for the Kyoto Palaces have been sent.

Ever yours sincerely

Beethom Whitehead

77. Whitehead to Satow ²⁶⁴

Tokio

Oct. 16. 1899

I enclose a correspondence I have had with [Yokohama Consul Henry A.C.] Bonar [see Yokohama files] respecting a Naval Court which is to be held at Yokohama. He seems to have considered the matter to be very urgent, as he has been telephoning all the morning and sent [student interpreter Ernest Hamilton] Holmes up specially with this communication. He does not explain however why he considers it advisable not to be president of the Court — and Gubbins agreed with me in thinking that it would be hardly reasonable to bother the Miny. for F.A. for an answer to a Note sent in two days previously in a matter of this kind.

²⁶² The Imperial Japanese Navy protected cruiser *Takasago* was launched by the British firm Armstrongs in May, 1897 and completed a year later. It sank on 13 December 1904, mined off Port Arthur.

²⁶³ Satow left Yokohama for Kobe on September 15th, and reached Moji via Shikoku and the Inland Sea on September 23rd. He returned to Tokyo on September 25, 1899. (Diary)

²⁶⁴ Satow was at Chuzenji, October 16-23, 1899.

I hope this will meet with your approval.

We were afraid this morning that you would be overtaken by another typhoon, but it has cleared beautifully and I hope you will have a pleasant walk up [to Chuzenji].

I have repeated [?] to you Ld. S's [Lord Salisbury's] Tel. No. 23.

Yrs very sincerely

Beethom Whitehead

78. Paget [apparently his handwriting ?], undated note to Satow

[See Yokohama letter of 24 Oct. 1899]

British Legation, Tokio

Dear Sir Ernest,

Mr. Bonar has had leave from the 16th to the 22nd Feb.

26th May “ 8th June

10th Aug. “ 29th Aug.

Have you got No. 216 to F.O. of 1898 and Nos. 35 & 38 of this year with enclosures.

7

14

20

41 [Total days of leave taken by Bonar ?]

79. Legation doctor Erwin Baelz to Satow²⁶⁵

7 Nagata Nichome, Tokyo

November 23d 1899

As you say [Minister to China 1896-1900 Sir Claude] Macdonald was suffering from almost continuous headache, and in my Certificate I stated that he should have a long leave at home, and that if he did not get completely well there, certainly the climate out here would not be good for him.

But altogether he is not bad enough to say that he cannot have a post out here.

²⁶⁵ Dr. Erwin Baelz (1849-1913, in Japan 1876-1905) was medical officer to the British Legation at Tokyo from February 1, 1882 to March 31, 1905. (F.O. Lists, 1883 and 1905, quoted in Kuwata, 2003, p.188) Physician-in-waiting to the imperial household and professor at Tokyo University Medical School. His diary *Das Leben eines deutschen Arztes im erwachenden Japan* (1931; translated into English as *Awakening Japan: The Diary of a German doctor*, 1932; republished with an introduction by G.M. Wilson, Indiana University Press, 1974) is insightful. Baelz attended to the British minister Hugh Fraser before he died in 1894. Sir Claude MacDonald gave Baelz a farewell dinner at the British legation on June 2, 1905.

Yours very truly

E Baelz

80. Whitehead to Satow

[Informed Bonar that transfers registered [?] 29/11/99]

Nov. 29. 1899

Viscount Aoki spoke to me last night on the following:

Registration of transfers

Instructions in the sense agreed upon were sent to the Judicial Auth[orit]ies in the Treaty ports some time ago – but owing to resistance at the Miny. of the Interior the instructions to the Administrative Authies. have only now been sent. Meanwhile, at Kobe and Nagasaki, the Judges have raised difficulties and the agreement will have to be further made clear to them by a detailed statement of how the Japanese Govt. interpret the Treaty; but at Yokohama all is in order.

Pending Civil Suit at Kobe

The case which Wilkinson is going to try at Kobe is the only one pending – not only in the British Court but as regards any remnants of foreign jurisdiction. Visct. Aoki is most anxious to “wipe it out of existence”, and as the defendant [H.E. Reynell] has made an application to have the case transferred to the Japanese Courts H.E. [His Excellency] is most anxious that Wilkinson should not oppose this and hopes you will give him a hint to that effect before his departure.²⁶⁶

81. Captain Charles L. Ottley (naval attaché) to Satow²⁶⁷

British Legation.

Tokio. Feb. 22nd [1900]

Dear Sir Ernest,

I called at the Ministry of Marine this morning and ascertained from Captain Tochinari (the Private Secretary of the Minister of Marine) that the precise date of the Naval Manoeuvres is not yet fixed, but that it

²⁶⁶ See Satow's diary for November 30, 1899. “Case agst. Reynell. In reply to his message of the other night thro' Whitehead told him [Aoki] that it was impossible for me to give Wilkinson ‘instructions’ not to hear the case. He explained he had been told that plaintiff not having pursued the action, defendant had applied to have it dismissed, which he thought was a favourable opportunity to get rid of it, especially as it was bought on 30 July.” Aoki and Satow had also discussed the case on September 7, 1899. Satow finally told Aoki on December 14, 1899 that Wilkinson would hear the case as arbitrator, so it would not come before the court. (Diary, Ruxton, 2003, p.413)

²⁶⁷ Captain Ottley arrived on January 26, 1900. (Satow's diary, February 2, 1900)

was practically certain that they would commence about the end of March, and would probably last about a month.

The locality in which the manoeuvres will take place is not yet decided. But Captain Tochinari assured me that due notice on this point will be published before long, in the Japanese Official Newspaper. He mentioned March 10th as the earliest moment at which the general scheme of the Naval Manoeuvres was likely to be made public.

I may add that my brother naval attachés are all seeking this information, & have hitherto been unable to get at anything definite.

Yours sincerely

C.L. Ottley

[P.S.] I will forward a translation of the Scheme of Manoeuvres for the Comr. in Chief's information, as soon as it is available.

82. Memo from Satow to Lay (Undated) with Lay's answer (p.170)

Please give me the figures of importation of cotton yarn in 1898

- (1) from India
- (2) From elsewhere

[Answer]	Catty	Yen
(1) British India	105,915	34,639
(2) Elsewhere	15,824,076	8,812,949
Total	15,929,991	¥8,547,588

83. Lay to Whitehead

"Barfleur" cannot be admitted into Yokohama harbour. [Whitehead's writing, summary for Satow ?]

April 7, 1900

Dear Mr. Whitehead,

Uchida has sent someone from the Foreign Office to say that he is very sorry indeed that his efforts to have the "Barfleur"²⁶⁸ allowed inside the breakwater have not been successful. The Dept. of Communications have again made enquiries and find that it is practically impossible to grant permission, as the chain of the

²⁶⁸ HMS Barfleur. Pre-Dreadnought Battleship, 10,500 tons, completed 1894, sister ship of the Centurion, completed 1892, which was the flagship on the China station in 1896. In 1900 the Centurion, commanded by Captain John R. Jellicoe and flying the flag of Vice-Admiral Sir Edward Hobart Seymour took part in suppressing the Boxer Rebellion. Both ships were sold for breaking in 1910. Satow presented Seymour to Emperor Meiji on September 4, 1899. (Diary)

only buoy to which the boat could be attached is not strong enough. As the case is a special one, he said, they had done their best, but regretted not to be able to do as we wished.²⁶⁹ He told me, in reply to my enquiry, that they could do nothing more. He also said that the Dept. of Communications had informed him by telephone that they had answered Sir Ernest's Note, but the answer I have not seen. He mentioned moreover, that one of the lieutenants of the "Barfleur" whose name he did not know, had also expressed the opinion that the chain was not strong enough.

Yours sincerely

Arthur Hyde Lay

[Note by Whitehead] I sent the substance of this in a private letter to Admiral Bruce²⁷⁰ the same evening. J.B.W.

84. Hemming (military attaché²⁷¹) to Satow (undated)

[Your Note recd. 1.30 p.m.] Sunday

My dear Sir Ernest,

My information yesterday was that 8000 Russian troops "had marched on Kirin [in Manchuria]". The former report being that they had collected on the frontier. The last newspaper report is I think that they had "arrived at Kirin".

I will see if I can get anything more today, but fear it will be impossible before 10 or 11 am tomorrow.

Yours sincerely

F.W. Hemming

85. Lay to Satow (undated, p.174)

British Legation,

Tokio

Dear Sir Ernest,

I saw [Commander] Kuroi and he told me that what they wanted was simply that the [British] authorities at

²⁶⁹ On April 12, 1900 Satow spoke to Aoki about the reluctance of the Yokohama harbour master Admiral Mori to let the Barfleur in. They agreed that there were many excuses, and 'the motive at bottom was mere refusal'. Satow said he would send the whole correspondence home. (Diary, Ruxton, 2003, p.440)

²⁷⁰ Rear Admiral James A. T. Bruce, after Seymour second-in-command, British Far East squadron.

²⁷¹ Hemming was military attaché to the Legation at Tokyo from January 14, 1897 to April, 1898, so the letter must be dated within this period. It seems likely to be February 1898, because Satow spoke to Ito on February 7 who had not heard that the Russians had marched into Kirin. (Diary, Ruxton, 2003, p.238)

Weihai wei ²⁷² should be notified of Captain Mori's visit in order that they might know who he was on his arrival. He would call and they might then show him what they liked. The reason why they wished the fact that he was going to be notified was because they did not want it thought that he was going secretly to try and find out what he could. The Russian and German legations had also been written to on the subject.

I went to your study, but did not find you there.

Yours truly

Arthur Hyde Lay

86. Lowther to Satow (undated, p.175) ²⁷³

Chuzenji

Saturday

Dear Sir Ernest,

Many thanks for your note. I had heard before I left Tokyo that [German minister Freiherr Felix von] Gutschmid ²⁷⁴ had an idea that you should have called on him even in his absence but did not think it of sufficient importance to mention it to you. I told him however en passant that you were waiting for his return to Tokyo to call on him. I am sorry [British Minister in Peking 1892-96 Sir Nicholas R.] O'Connor has not been able to extract more from [Japanese Minister to China, 1895-97] Hayashi [Tadasu] about the interesting piece of information, but it is just like Hayashi ²⁷⁵ to go back when he was tackled. As our relations are now so good it was however well worth trying. I only tried him once more on the point. He did not hedge to me

²⁷² Weihaiwei was leased by Britain from China by a convention dated July 1, 1898, so this letter must be from after that time. As a naval harbour it was unsuitably shallow, but it was a 'symbolic strategic counterpoise' to the Russian action of occupying Port Arthur in February 1898. (See John Berryman, 'British Imperial Defense Strategy and Russia: The Role of the Royal Navy in the Far East, 1878-1898', web-based International Journal of Naval History, Vol. 1, Issue 1, April 2002)

²⁷³ After a number of 'faux pas' Gutschmid left Japan. Satow called on him to say goodbye on March 4, 1897 (diary), so this letter must date from before this time.

²⁷⁴ In a communication from Tokyo dated June 19, 1907 the then German minister Mumm von Schwarzenstein explained to Chancellor von Bülow that anti-German feeling in Japan was, according to Hayashi Tadasu, the result of Gutschmid single-handedly threatening war on Japan during the Triple Intervention of April 23, 1895. Bülow commented: 'Gutschmid remains in my memory as an irritable and rather incompetent agent. It would be well to let Hayashi know that Gutschmid exceeded his instructions.' (from *German Diplomatic Documents, 1871-1914*, selected and translated by E.T.S. Dugdale, Volume III, "The Growing Antagonism, 1898-1910," New York: Harper & Brothers, 1930), pp. 1-13.)

²⁷⁵ Hayashi Tadasu (1850-1913) was born in Edo. He visited Britain in 1866-68 (see N. Koyama, *Hatenkō: Meiji Ryūgakusei Retsuden*, Ch.2) and joined the Iwakura Mission, 1871-3. Deputized for the foreign minister during the end of the war with China in 1895. Minister to China (1895-7). Minister to Russia (1897-9). Minister to Britain (1900-06, ambassador from 1905). Foreign minister, 1906-08 and 1911. Minister of Communications, 1911-12. (I. Nish, *The Anglo-Japanese Alliance*, pp.127-128).

but he did not advance.

Chuzenji is quite delightful. We have had a certain amount of wet but glorious mornings and one has a feeling of energy which is quite unknown to me in Tokyo. I shall be happy to do anything I can for the Barlows²⁷⁶ if they come up. I am afraid you are having it rather hot in Tokyo.

Parlett is appreciating his leave immensely. I hear my brother was offered Ireland but declined. He hopes to be made Chairman of [Parliamentary ?] Committees.²⁷⁷

Yours very truly

Gerard Lowther

86. Lowther to Satow (undated, p.177)

Saturday night

Dear Sir Ernest,

Paget tells me you are probably coming up here [Chuzenji ?] on Wednesday. I hope you will do us the pleasure of dining with us on that night or on whatever day you may happen to arrive & if you can let me know what day you are coming I will ask Gutschmid. I had a talk with the latter yesterday. He says he has not told the Jap. Govt. directly that his Govt. is satisfied with the Japanese terms for the retrocession [of the Liaotung peninsula to China]²⁷⁸ but he has told [F.O. adviser Henry Willard] Denison so that they may know. The German policy has indeed been an odd one. Gutschmid says [Russian minister Mikhail] Hitrovo has no instructions on this point & he thinks they will now drop it. He says also that Hitrovo has been very straightforward with him all thro' & he tells him he has no Communication to make about Corea !!

[William M.H.] Kirkwood has been called to town [Tokyo] as he was this time last year. I hope the cause is not so serious a one. He goes tomorrow morning. The weather has been most perfect since I arrived. I fear you have been having it too hot.

Yours sincerely

Gerard Lowther

97. Lowther to Satow (undated, p. 179)

²⁷⁶ Satow had sailed from Vancouver on July 15, 1895 with Peter Barlow of New York and his wife. They were at Chuzenji on September 5, 1895. (Diary)

²⁷⁷ Gerard A. Lowther had two brothers, one of whom J.W. Lowther was Speaker of the House of Commons, 1905-21. (Kuwata, 2003, p.344)

²⁷⁸ On 4 May 1895 Japan decided on permanent renunciation of the Liaotung peninsula provided that China forthwith ratify the treaty of Shimonoseki and agreed to pay an additional indemnity. Ratifications were exchanged at Chifu four days later. Along with the treaty, Japan published on 13 May a proclamation by the emperor sanctioning the retrocession. (I. Nish, *The Anglo-Japanese Alliance*, p.34)

Chuzenji

Dear Sir Ernest,

I met Gutschmid on my way up and spoke to him for a moment. He expected his visit to Tokyo to coincide with a Russian Communication about Corea. I said if one were made I supposed Hitrovo could tell him all about it. He goes to Tokyo tomorrow and expects his [Imperial ?] audience on Thursday & has, I think he said tomorrow, a conference on the name by which the three Ministers [of Russia, France & Germany] have all along dignified their deliberations which preceded their Communication but he said to his surprise Hitrovo had received no instructions.

I had a very fine journey up but found it pouring here. I hope the weather will change with the Moon.
Yours very truly

Gerard Lowther

98. Lowther to Satow (undated, p.181)

Dear Sir Ernest,

[Capt. Francis] Brinkley tells me the Japs are not as quiet as they appear & that he knows they are negotiating with Russia about Port Arthur. You will no doubt be able to verify this.

Do you feel inclined for some walking exercise this afternoon.

Yours very truly

Gerard Lowther

99. Parlett to Satow (undated p.182)

Dear Sir Ernest

I came twice yesterday to see you about the Kokumin no tomo which I had, on receipt of your note, told my boy to take back to your house as I gathered from what you said that you had ordered them through your own bookseller & that it would simplify matters if he went straight to you for orders with regard to the binding. These things are better explained by word of mouth than in a letter and besides I don't want to take up your time by bothering you with lengthy & involved explanations. I hoped to see you today but you were too busy. Will you please accept my excuse.

I can find no trace of that memo to the Jap. F.O. Might I look tomorrow among your papers.

I feel certain it was not among the despp. on Paget's desk yesterday morning and Gubbins denies all knowledge of it.

In the matter of my leave I hope that if the granting of it means inconvenience either to the service or you personally you will hold my application as not made.

I should like of course to get my leave for my own sake & because of others who may be dependent for theirs on my return. But I have no objection whatever to stay on if my staying will be of any service or help things to run smoothly. This sounds very much as if I had a pretty high idea of my own value. It sounds altruistic too. But it is neither the one nor the other: what I want to say is perfectly clear to myself but unfortunately I cannot put it down logically or coherently.

Believe me

Yours Sincerely

Harold Parlett

End of PRO 30/33 5/5.

Satow Papers: PRO 30/33 5/6

**Correspondence and Papers (private). Japanese Mission. Legation Staff. Various
(including the Minister's own memoranda). (1895-1897?)**

1. Satow's prepared speech for his audience with Emperor Meiji ²⁷⁹

It is with feelings of sincere satisfaction that I have the honour of approaching Your Imperial Majesty to present the letter by which Her Majesty the Queen and Empress has been graciously pleased to accredit me to Your Imperial Majesty as Her Majesty's Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary to Your Imperial Majesty's Court.

I have already had the advantage of a residence of many years in Your Imperial Majesty's dominions and of counting numerous friends among Your Imperial Majesty's Subjects, and the opportunity I now have of renewing both my residence and friendship is to me a source of the deepest gratification.

I venture to express the hope that I may be an instrument for strengthening the relations of amity and of peaceful commercial intercourse which already happily exist between Japan and Great Britain and which it will always be the desire of both Nations to render as intimate as possible.

It now only remains for me to assure Your Imperial majesty that it is my earnest desire that in the discharge of the duties which Your Majesty has been graciously pleased to entrust to me, I may earn the confidence and regard of Your Imperial Majesty and of Your Ministers.

²⁷⁹ See diary, August 9, 2003. (Ruxton, 2003, p.12)

2. List of Offertories and Subscriptions

	Offertories	Subscriptions
1878	157.32	165
		<u>105.80</u>
		270.80
1879	247.-	287.10
1880	211.44	283.80
1881	240	184
1882	222.15	159
1883	163.60	120
	30	
1884	74.20	102
	<u>14.</u>	
Total these 2 yrs 320.24		
1885		128
1886		150
1887		196.50
	deduct	<u>28.50</u>
		<u>168.00</u>
1888		161.50
1889		167.-
1890		155.
1891		114.00
1892-5		129.-
Special for Bells & Belfry		205.-
nothing collected for 1893 & 1894		

3. Short Memo by Satow

Sheet 9 of Okuma's note of 22 Oct 1897. Act of domestic legislation could modify or override the provisions of a treaty.

4. Two pages of notes by Satow [or Gubbins ?] on various tariff treaties from a book of Treaties

vol. xi France & Belgium 1 May 1861

Art 18 Certificates of origin

20 C.H. [Custom House] can take over goods adding 5% tariff etc. to price

21 The importer can have the goods valued by experts if he prefers this, & the C.H. can do the same if it prefers not to take over. If it does not exceed 5% over importer's valuation, the latter shall be taken. If it exceeds 5% C.H. can take on a levy on value fixed by experts. If it exceeds 10% a fine [?] of 50% of the duty may be added. If value exceeds by over [illegible]

23 How the experts are to be nominated.

vol. xii p 371 Colombia & Gt. Britain 16 Feb 1866

5% added to [declared ?] price. C.H. may take []

vol. xx p 243 Monenegro & Gt. Britain 21 Jan 1880 [?]

5% added to declared price, C.H. may take over [?]

p 329 Roumania & Gt. Britain 5 April 1880[?]

10% added to declared value. C.H. may take over

p 344 Spain [?] & Gt. Britain 7 Feb 1880

10% added to declared value. C.H. may take over.

p 304 Transvaal & Portugal [?] 11 Dec 1875

10% added to declared value. C.H. may take over [?] but experts may be called by C.H. If value does not exceed declaration by over 10%, duty payable upon declared value. If it exceeds 10% over, C.H. may pre-empt or levy duty fixed [?] by experts + 50%. Expenses paid by declarer if over 10%, otherwise by C.H.

vol. xxiv p 543 [Tunis ?] & Gt. Britain

in kind [?] on 5% undeclared values to be pre-empted [?]

vol. xviii p 382 Gt. Britain & Egypt 29 Oct 1899

Egyptian C.H. may pre-empt at 5% plus declared value, or to take in kind

[There follow three illegible handwritten lines, very faint.]

End of PRO 30/33 5/6.

Satow Papers: PRO 30/33 5/7

Correspondence and Papers (private). Japanese Mission. Consular Staff. Hakodate.²⁸⁰

(August 1895 – February 1900)

1. A.M. Chalmers²⁸¹ (Acting Consul) to Satow

Hakodate,

August 14, 1895

Dear Sir Ernest,

As you wish me to inform you privately of any small events at this port, you may perhaps like to hear of the arrival of Rear Admiral Macaroff [who died early in the Russo-Japanese War in 1904] on the “Nicholas I”, which came in about 5 yesterday, and was at once saluted by H.M.S. “Caroline”. This morning a small Japanese man of war [warship] entered and saluted the Admiral. He leaves again this evening for Vladivostock.

I see in all the papers that Admiral [Alexander] Buller [of the China squadron] was entertained by the enterprising residents of Hakodate. This of course is true enough but Admiral Buller was particular in accepting the invitation in a private capacity, and not as for an official reception, though this does not seem to have been made clear to the newspaper editors. The matter does not seem, however, to have excited the universal interest that was, I think, fondly hoped for. The affair consisted only of a garden party where some Tokio [sumo ?] wrestlers performed and was really a very mild affair.

²⁸⁰ Hakodate was one of the first three open ports, with Kanagawa (Yokohama) and Nagasaki in 1859.

“Hakodate had been opened originally to meet the needs of the North Pacific whaling ships, and the decline of the whaling industry left it a port without a purpose, too far north to be on a regular trading route. It always had a few foreign residents, but they were not highly regarded by other foreigners in Japan. Missionaries in particular felt that the moral standards of the foreign residents of Hakodate left much to be desired, but even Ernest Satow was unimpressed by Hakodate’s foreign population [See diary, PRO 30/33 15/1, 5 October 1864]. The Russian naval establishment at Hakodate, which was once so great that many foreigners thought that Russia would annex the northern island, was gradually run down in the 1870s, thus adding further to the decline of the port. Some expected that the Japanese experiment of a colonization department, the *kaitakushi* [開拓使] would lead to a revival of Hakodate. A number of foreigners were employed as advisers on the project, but the high hopes proved unfounded and the project was abandoned in 1881. The growth of pelagic seal fishing in the 1880s made Hakodate somewhat more busy, but made little difference to the foreign community. They remained outside the currents affecting other foreigners, so remote that no life assurance company in Europe or America would issue a policy for a resident.” (J.E. Hoare, *Japan’s Treaty Ports and Foreign Settlements*, Japan Library, 1994, pp. 18-19)

²⁸¹ Arthur Morison Chalmers (1862-1949). Student Interpreter in Japan, 1882. Promoted to 2nd Assistant, 1887. Acting Consul at Hakodate in 1895 and 1896. Promoted to 1st Assistant, August 8, 1896. Acting Vice-Consul at Hiogo, 1896. Acting Registrar in the Court at Yokohama, 1897 and 1898. Acting Consul in Hakodate in 1899 and 1900. Consul for Shimonoseki, 1903. Consul-General for Korea, 1912. Consul-General at Yokohama, 1914-20. (Kuwata, 2003, p.218 quoting F.O. List, 1951)

Since my arrival here I have seen neither the Governor, Mr. Kitagaki [Kunimichi, 北垣国道 1836-1915]²⁸², nor his representative, as both have been for some months in Tokio, but as everything goes smoothly in the meantime, I suppose there is not much work for them during the summer months.

The customs superintendent at Niigata is disposing of the Consulate effects by auction as directed by Mr. [Gerard Augustus] Lowther in his desp. No. 5, and I will write officially when I get full particulars. With kind regards

Yours sincerely

A.M. Chalmers

2. Chalmers to Satow

Hakodate

Sept. 10, 1895

Dear Sir Ernest,

The letters for Dr. Nevin arrived three days ago and I at once made enquiries. I find he left Hakodate for Yokohama about the 3rd inst. and proceeds to America this week, by what route I do not know.²⁸³

I have returned your letter to the Legation, but have wired to you at Nikko in the hope that you can still communicate with him if you wish.

All is quiet here and the fleet is out today for torpedo practice. We have five German vessels and the Italian vessel "Umbria" in port. Two days ago there were two isolated cases of cholera in the town but in every respect the health of the port is excellent, & I believe it only requires a good hotel to make the place a favourite summer resort. The naval officers complain bitterly at the want of accommodation, but seem to approve of the place nevertheless.

Yours sincerely

A.M. Chalmers

3. Chalmers to Satow

Hakodate

October 4, 1895

Dear Sir Ernest,

While looking through the Japanese local papers in search of material for next year's Trade report, I came across a report of the trade of Vladivostock for 1894 reproduced from the "Kwampo" [Official Gazette]. Mr.

²⁸² When Satow met his old friend Baron Kitagaki on November 23, 1896 he had become Vice Minister of the Colonization Department (Diary, Ruxton, 2003, p.140). He had also been Governor of Kyoto.

²⁸³ On September 10, 1895 Satow dined with a Nevin from Bangkok. (Diary)

Futatsubashi's report is dated July 19, 1895 and as we have, I believe, no British Consul at Vladivostock it is possible that the information therein contained may be new and of some interest. As, however, the subject has nothing to do with this Consular district I send it to you hoping it is not "stale news". I thought that perhaps it might with your permission be sent to the Board of Trade journal if it is not of the kind to interest the Foreign Office.

Everything remains quiet here, the Acting Governor returned to Hakodate some weeks ago and Mr. Kitagaki is due here tomorrow, passing to Sapporo.

With kind regards

Yours sincerely

A.M. Chalmers

4. Chalmers to Satow

Hakodate

March 19 1896

Dear Sir Ernest,

I have received a query in regard to travelling expenses incurred by me on my transfer to this port in June last. It runs as follows:

"It is requested that the sanction of H.M.'s Minister may be obtained to these expenses in accordance with the Regulations (1 St 2 Ch VII s. 5) and forwarded to this office."

These rules were framed when our Consular accounts all received Legation sanction, and I was not aware that vouchers for travelling expenses had still to be so submitted for approval before being sent to the Foreign Office.

On the only two previous occasions on which I have been transferred, I enclosed copies of my marching orders to the Foreign Office, but in the present case my orders were addressed to Mr. Quin in Nagasaki. In any case there is no reference there to expenses.

I am sorry to have to trouble you with the matter now, and shall be glad if you can approve of the expenses. I can send you the original vouchers to support the abstract but they are part of the Consulate archives.

Yours sincerely

A.M. Chalmers

5. Chalmers to Satow

Hakodate

April 3. 1896

Dear Sir Ernest,

On receipt of your telegram I at once made enquiries about the reported coal contract; and called on the Acting Governor's secretary (the Actg. Gov. being in Tokio). Telling him I had heard the rumour I asked him if he could verify it for me as a coal delivery of such importance was of great interest. He promised to let me know yesterday afternoon but was unable to do more than say that a rumour had reached the Chamber of Commerce that a Russian merchant had signed a contract in Yokohama for a large supply of coal. The secretary got the Chamber to telegraph to Sapporo but no answer having been received I telegraphed to you this morning. My writer also, who is a reliable man, was told to find out what he could and returned with this rumour and nothing more in confirmation; but in neither case were there any details. The Japanese who signed the contract is said to be one Hori Motoi.²⁸⁴

As it happens, yesterday a Mr. Denbigh formerly a British subject but now a naturalised Russian, whom I knew in Nagasaki and who has occasionally given Mr. Hall information about Russian trade, was lunching with me, and as the talk turned to Hokkaido trade I was able to ask him about the report as to a coal contract. He at once accounted for the rumour by the fact that he had been asked by the Tanko Kaisha in Tokio to accept their agency in Vladivostock, and endeavour to obtain a contract for the Siberian railway[s?] but he declined as the railways at present use timber for the most part, and he himself is interested in Siberian coal. He has not heard that the Russian Government thought of contracting for such a large quantity of coal from Japan and feels sure he would have heard something if there had been anything. In fact he denies the report and sees no reason for such a contract either for civil or naval purposes, as there are already large stocks of Cardiff [coal] in Vladivostock.

Recurring himself to the subject later on he said it had struck him that another cause for the report might be the fact that the Russian Steamship Co. in the East had recently chartered several large vessels which he remembers the Japanese at once concluded were for coal transport. The fact is however that Butterfield & Swire who have hitherto conveyed Chinese tea to Russia have raised their freights and the above mentioned company has been formed through a Russian effort to do their own tea carrying. The chartered steamers were for this purpose and will be used till the Co. can obtain ships of their own.

I hope I have not bored you with useless detail but I can find no reason to believe the [this ?] contract has been signed. Should I learn anything more I will at once telegraph, but in Hakodate it is very difficult to obtain information as the Central Government is in Sapporo, and because as the only foreign official here, one can hardly move without attracting attention if not earning a paragraph in the local papers. Yours sincerely

A.M. Chalmers

²⁸⁴ 堀基 President of the Hokkaido Coal Mine Railway (Tanko Tetsudō Kaisha) after working at the Kaitakushi (Colonization Office) which was abolished after a political scandal in 1881.

6. Chalmers to Satow

Hakodate

April 8th 1896

Dear Sir Ernest,

The telegram I sent you the day before yesterday about the reported coal contract was based on information just received from the Governor's secretary.

He got the Chamber of Commerce to telegraph to Sapporo, and the manager of the Tanko Kaisha there affirmed that no contract for coal had been signed with them by the Russian Government. The delay in replying was due to the absence of the Manager.

I intended calling on you tomorrow and explaining this but our attempt to cross the [Tsugaru] straits last night was frustrated and the steamer was driven back to Hakodate after such a passage as I hope never to experience again.

I can still reach Kobe on the 12th by P. & O. [Peninsular & Oriental] and hope to have the pleasure of calling at the Legation on the way through to Yokohama on Friday, if time permits.²⁸⁵

Yours sincerely

A.M. Chalmers

7. Henry A.C. Bonar²⁸⁶ to Satow

Hakodate

8 April 1896

Dear Sir Ernest,

I arrived here yesterday morning having enjoyed the voyage on the whole, with delightful weather. Poor Chalmers' however have had [a] rough time having been half way across to Awomori & then obliged to come back here after having taken as they thought definite leave of the place. They have been here all day & tonight

²⁸⁵ Chalmers called on Satow on April 12th. (Diary, Ruxton, 2003, p.81)

²⁸⁶ Bonar, Henry Alfred Constant, CMG (1861-1935). Student interpreter in Japan, 1880. First Assistant, 1886. Assistant Japanese Secretary at Tokio, 1889 (post abolished, 1891). Acting Consul at Hiogo, 1891. Called to the Bar at the Middle Temple, 1894. Acting Registrar to the Court of Japan, 1895-6. Consul for Hakodate and Niigata, 1896. Transferred to Tainan (Formosa) in August 1896, did not proceed. To Tamsui, December 1896. To Yokohama, as Consul for Kanagawa district, and appointed Assistant Judge of H.M. Court for Japan, August 1898. Acting Judge at Yokohama, February-May 1900. Employed on special service in connection with the Japan Perpetual Leases Arbitration before the Hague Tribunal, October 1902-January 1904. Transferred to Kobe, May 1903. Consul-General at Kobe, April 1908. Consul-General in Seoul, November 2, 1909. Coronation Medal, 1912. Retired on a pension, April 1, 1912. Employed in Postal Censor Dept. from October 1917. (F. O. List, 1936, quoted in Kuwata, 2003, pp. 196-197)

are going to try again. The weather is better certainly but not what it should be for the small craft going across.

I took over from Chalmers yesterday & today went to see the various officials amongst whom I am glad to find some old friends. It appears that hitherto there has not been much “Kosai” [kōsai, 交際, association] between the officials & the Consul, but formerly we were on such good terms that I shall feel it dull if I cannot get them to come & dine with me occasionally.

The Office part of the Consulate is in 1st class order – not so however the residence wh. is shabby inside. But as Shanghai Marshall ²⁸⁷ declares nothing can be done till 1899 I am going to start in myself to clean up.
²⁸⁸

I am quite happy to be here & once settled I am sure we shall be quite comfortable & with the exception of the winter months I have no doubt that my wife also will be pleased with this part of the world. No doubt you have your hands full at present with distinguished visitors. ²⁸⁹ If I hear anything about Russian coal contracts I will not fail to let you know at once.

Yours very truly

Henry A.C. Bonar

8. Bonar to Satow

[Recd. 19]

British Consulate

Hakodate

17 April 1896

Dear Sir Ernest,

My Russian Colleague Oustinoff arrived yesterday and thinks of going back tomorrow to Yokohama. He is trying to find a house & failing that he thinks he may continue residing in Yokohama, coming up as occasion requires – as in the present instance – a small Russian steamer which is taking in material & men for lighthouse purposes in Saghalien. Oustinoff is staying with me & I thought I might as well get all the information I could from him & just now I said to him that we had heard that the Russians wanted to buy 150,000 tons of Japse. coal. He replied that the rumour probably had reference to an enquiry made by the

²⁸⁷ F.J. Marshall of the Office of Works, Shanghai. See PRO 30/33 5/3.

²⁸⁸ The former British Consulate at Hakodate (1859-1934) is preserved as a historic building.

²⁸⁹ John Poyntz, 5th Earl of Spencer (1835-1910). Liberal peer and First Lord of the Admiralty, 1892-95 was in Japan with his wife, February-April 1896. He visited the naval dockyards at Sasebo and Kure and was at Nikko before seeing Satow in Tokyo. Satow escorted him on official rounds from April 10-17th. A banquet was given in Spencer's honour by the Eastern Association on April 11th, and an audience with the Empress was held on April 13th. (Diary, Ruxton, 2003, pp. 80-82)

Naval authorities of the Tanko Tetsudō Kaisha as to the price at which they could supply them with coal at Yokohama, as the prices charged by the Russian naval agent seemed high. Oustinoff added that at present things were very quiet, for if they were not so the Russian ships would not be looking for Japse. coal, as in critical times they rely entirely on Cardiff coal. They might be requiring at the most some 10,000 tons Japse. coal for ordinary purposes this year. When one thinks of it they would not want to use Japse. coal for special purposes. Oustinoff tells me that the Russian ships after visiting the Chinese ports are to assemble at Vladivostock during May for the celebration of the Coronation day [of Tsar Nikolai II].

It's very hard on Oustinoff to have to look around for a home every year. It's pleasant to hear from a man of grievances which one has not oneself ! With a prospect of fine weather I am very content & enjoying my new Consulate.

You must want a rest after all the entertainments that have been going on. Does Lord Spencer think it a joy to have to state what he thinks of Japan ?

The Hokkaidō is again having a new Governor. It seems to me that very little interest is taken in the island by the Central Govt. So near the mainland [Honshū] the difference in the population is astonishing.²⁹⁰

Yours very truly

Henry A.C. Bonar

9. Bonar to Satow

Hakodate

20 May 1896

Dear Sir Ernest,

I was so much under the impression that the lease of this Consular Site was so much like that of other lots that it never occurred to me that there could be any difficulty about the right to sell it, and therefore I wanted to know whether you desired to be informed as to the sort of price that could be got, for of course I have no idea with what object the question was asked. My official letter is somewhat lengthy & I supplement it by sending you now copy of the lease I referred to given in 1884 to a British subject here & transferred afterwards to another British subject. This to illustrate how vague and uncertain the agreements here are. You will notice in that lease that the groundrent is already more than double what we are paying & the lot is very inferior. In case H.M. Govt. wanted really to dispose of this property I doubt whether it could be done by any

²⁹⁰ This comment recalls the work of Thomas Wright Blakiston (1832-91) on the differences in the flora and fauna between Honshu and Hokkaido, published in a paper for the Asiatic Society of Japan in 1883. See Ch. 5, *Britain & Japan: Biographical Portraits*, Vol. III by Sir Hugh Cortazzi. Blakiston was resident in Japan from 1861 to 1884, mostly at Hakodate. He argued that Hokkaido and Sakhalin had been attached to the Siberian mainland which accounted for the differences.

reference to the lease which Marshall drew up or Eusden²⁹¹ signed. The English version was the original from which the Japse. version was translated.

It could still be argued as I state, that other leases which have been exclusively granted to individuals – tho' not for particular purposes – have been transferred, & therefore this lease can also be transferred. When this agreement was made the other Consular lot opposite to this on the other side of the road was given up & it was perhaps in exchange for that lot that the Japse. built these walls & guaranteed so much space all round.

I have looked thru' the archives. There appears no draft agreement & from what I learn from the Interpreter who was present when the lease was made, it appears that the negotiations were made verbally. Altho' it seems a pity that H.M. Govt. should not have a distinct right to sell or transfer, yet it would seem difficult to establish such a right from the agreement. Of course an alteration might be made now, but it wd. mean a vastly increased groundrent I suppose. The present Acting Governor, moreover, is not an easy individual to deal with as Hall²⁹² found, & I expect he would resist any claim or refuse to make any concessions.

It is curious that only a few days ago in answer to an official complaint I made to him as to the state of the drains outside the Consular lot he replied that there were no provisions in the agreement throwing upon the Local Authorities the burden of keeping the drains clean, or keeping them in repair, & that such expense must fall on the Brit. Government, he declining to do anything. I still propose denying that such burden should fall on any but the Town authorities. Such a provision strangely enough is in the lease I send to you. So it follows that matters not mentioned in an Agreement become the subject of argument. Later on, especially if you think it advisable, I propose to go into that matter of the repair of drains etc. It would seem strange that the duties of the Town Authorities ceased because there were no express stipulations as to who was responsible for the state of cleanliness of the thoroughfares. Fortunately the matter is not one of urgent necessity, as the town is healthy, but the Actg. Governor does not apparently think that what is done in Yokohama or Nagasaki or Tokio in the foreign settlements is a precedent for what should be done here.

Takarabe – the Actg. Governor – has been here for a fortnight since his return from Tokio where he spent the winter, but he has not been out of his house. There are 2 interpreters at the Kuyakusho who do all the business for the foreigners here, and they of course post [?] the Actg. Governor in all details. One of these interpreters is most friendly to me & therefore would do all he could for me, but there is no appropriation of funds for the particular purpose of cleaning the drains outside the Consulate compound & therefore the Actg.

²⁹¹ Richard Eusden (? – 1904). Appointed Dutch interpreter at the British legation in Yedo, January 17, 1859. Appointed Japanese Secretary, December 7, 1860. Acting Consul at Hakodate, 1861. Present at attack on legation, June 26, 1862, and at the bombardment of Kagoshima, August 15, 1863, aboard H.M.S. Pearl. Sent to Hakodate to act as Consul, July 20, 1867. Appointed Consul at Hakodate, January 1, 1868. Retired on a compensation allowance, April 1, 1882. (F.O.L. 1904, quoted in Kuwata, 2003, pp. 262-263).

²⁹² John Carey Hall was Consul for Hakodate and Niigata, 1888-1890. (F.O. List, 1921)

Governor refuses to do anything.

The V. Min. of the Colonization Departt. [Kitagaki Kunimichi] & the new Governor of the Hokkaidō arrived yesterday. The whole town is interviewing them. I called on the new Governor Hara this afternoon. He was Chiji [Governor] of Yamaguchi ken at the time of the attempt on Li Hung Chang ²⁹³ then removed to Fukushima ken, & has now, owing to Ct. Inouye's influence I understand got this post, the former Governor becoming Vice Minister of the Colonies Departt. It is to be hoped that the Hokkaidō will see some improvements soon. There is much that is rotten in its administration so far & perhaps Governor Hara may put things right somewhat. At any rate this Island will not be neglected entirely for the benefit of Formosa. The establishment of a new system would be desirable.

Yours very truly

Henry A.C. Bonar

10. Bonar to Satow

[Answered 17 June]

Hakodate

7 June 1896

Dear Sir Ernest,

It is just possible that you may from the Admiral hear something on the subject of a mail for the "Swift" (in port since 30th ult.) which was sent back to Yokohama. The Commander of the "Swift" was to have left here some days ago but owing to the mail having gone adrift the Admiral telegraphed to him to wait for it. It will no doubt turn up tomorrow. I told the Commander how sorry I was this delay had occurred, but as he thought the Admiral might possibly want an explanation I am now mentioning to you the circumstances of the occurrence – absurd as they will appear.

In the first place the Post Office instead of delivering the bag to the "Swift" as usual sent the mail here thinking the "Swift" had not arrived altho' she had been 36 hours in port. I directed that the mail should be handed to the Orderly of the "Swift" when he came. The Constable then appears to have taken charge of the bag, to have kept it a whole day & then the next morning without any reference to me or to any one else taken it on board a Yokohama-bound steamer because it was addressed to the Senior Br. naval officer at Yokohama so he says. This he mentioned to me quite incidentally, and when I heard afterwards from McAlpin that no

²⁹³ Li Hongzhang (J: Ri Kōshō) (1823-1901). Chinese statesman. Governor-general of Zhili, 1870-95. Negotiated the Sino-Japanese Amity Treaty, 1871 and the Treaty of Tientsin, 1885. On 24 March 1895 a Japanese fanatic shot and wounded Li at Shimonoseki, leading to Ito Hirobumi granting an armistice in the Sino-Japanese War on 30 March. Li's nephew Li Jingfang continued the negotiations leading to the Treaty of Shimonoseki, signed 17 April.

mail had been sent from the “Swift” for Yokohama I could only come to the conclusion that the Constable had sent back to Yokohama the bag intended for the “Swift”. His statement that the bag was not addressed to the “Swift” cannot be correct, as the P.O. admit having received & delivered to me a bag for the “Swift”. The Constable’s stupidity or carelessness is hardly credible but I am sorry to say my experience of him causes me to think that errors of this sort are not an uncommon thing with Mr. Nesbitt (Constable).

I find him unreliable in the office & I don’t think it is to the advantage of the Public Service to keep him. He is an old man, and I understand, independent. This gives him the idea that he is conferring a favour by serving as Constable, the truth being that his salary as Constable permits him to live without touching his independent income. The duties for which he is especially engaged he does not care to perform, viz. the arrest of seamen or deserters or men-of-war men. All this work he hands over to the local Police who of course reap the reward offered.

I think that before long I may have to address you on the subject of the staff here, more especially with reference to the Constable. The summer is the one period of the year when a Constable is really necessary; and as the experience of my predecessor has been much the same as mine as regards Nesbitt (whom Hall took on because there was no one else) I am going to suggest that a Japanese – say an ex-police officer – should be engaged to do duty as Constable. He will of course have to understand English, but with a salary of \$35 or \$40, such a man could easily be found, I believe. The sealing schooners give a vast deal of trouble, and a man after the style of Nesbitt is a hindrance rather to the quick despatch of business. He has not managed to earn the respect of the police even, and perhaps I may even go so far as to say that they laugh at him. I think the Government will be gainer by obtaining the services of a Japanese at smaller wages, and personally I shall be able to carry on the work of the Consulate in a business like manner, - which at present I find a hard thing. When I propose this scheme I trust I may have your support – the more so as I think I shall show that the Govt. will economize a small amount yearly. On the subject of an office writer also I want to make some suggestions. Meanwhile I trust Nesbitt will offer himself to resign; if he does not I think I shall have to ask him to do so. Neither [J.C.] Hall nor [A.M.] Chalmers could say anything in his favor, & I certainly could not. His muddle over the “Swift” mailbag speaks for itself. I regret to trouble you with all this, but it will in a measure explain the application I shall have to make later on. Yours very truly

Henry A.C. Bonar

11. Bonar to Satow

British Consulate,

Hakodate, Japan

24 June 1896

[Recd 26. Ans. 27]

Dear Sir Ernest,

Many thanks for your kind note of the [17th ?] with reference to the Constable. I have not had time to do anything more in the matter for the sealers have kept me busy morning noon & I might also say night. For this season I suppose no change can be made. I doubt very much whether an European can be got – so far the experiment has failed. I think, however, that by applying to the Chief of police at Yokohama (a personal friend of mine) the services of such a man as I have suggested can be secured, and thereby a certain saving can be effected. The present Constable could be got rid of on the ground of economy. I had no idea that one could be so busy up here and with a few more weeks experience I shall know the Merchant Shipping Act by heart !

I am very grateful for your proposed recommendation of me for Tamsui [Formosa]. I can only say that I will gladly go wherever you think it is right I should go, and of course I should feel grieved were I not proposed by you to fill a post which is in your estimation a more important one than my present post. But I wish to state that it is on that account, and not merely because Tamsui is a better paid post that I appreciate your recommendation. As I have only recently been appointed here I should have been quite content to remain for a while longer, but in consequence of the changes which poor [Kobe consul J.J.] Ensle's death ²⁹⁴ will bring about I can only beg you to make such recommendations as you think best for the public service & which will not affect my future advancement to my prejudice. I trust that I may, without presumption, in view of the friendliness you have always extended to me, beg to leave the matter entirely in your hands.

Yours very truly

Henry A.C. Bonar

P.S. The letters from Tokio were delayed 3 days on the way up.

12. Bonar to Satow

British Consulate, Hakodate, Japan

1 July 1896 [Recd. 4, Ansd. 4]

Dear Sir Ernest,

Nothing could be more fortunate for me than the prospects that present themselves if the Foreign Office agree to your proposals re Formosa. Apart from the way in which they would affect me there cannot be the slightest doubt that at this moment Formosa will give Consuls quite different sort of work to what has to be done at the old Treaty ports, where everything is routine. Of course one can't say which way Hall will choose, whether Nagasaki or Tamsui; the prospects for the service generally are much improved and the salaries will be more proportionate. I shall be quite ready to go in December wherever it may be. Do you think that the

²⁹⁴ Ensle died en poste at Kobe on June 14, 1896. (See PRO 30/33 5/8)

economy I spoke of which could be effected by having a Japse. Constable here – an economy which might amount to say between £30 and £40 a year could be also submitted to the F.O. to assist in finding funds for the proposed increase in Formosa. By that reduction I don't think the efficiency of this Consulate would in any way be affected, the rush of work does not last for more than two months.

Yours very truly

Henry A.C. Bonar

13. Bonar to Satow

British Consulate, Hakodate, Japan

20 July 1896

My dear Sir Ernest,

I cannot say for certain whether the version given in the clipping you sent me [see below, in Japanese] is quite correct as to the facts before the assault. A charge was brought against Cross by one of the men, and after a preliminary examn. Cross was committed for trial, but to my surprise on being asked to plead at the trial he said 'guilty'. No doubt he struck the wrong man, so he had to suffer for that, it cost him a considerable sum altogether. What happened or what led to the assault was not in question at the trial, but by way of introduction the Japse. witnesses declared that after the two men had stayed some time, they asked for the return of their money, which being refused they got angry & undoubtedly Cross mistook the man whom he cut for the banto [head clerk] of the Establishment which had taken his money. The question as to whether they were entitled to the return of their money did not come up of course, tho' I readily believe they were cheated.

It is admitted by the people generally that the scoundrels of Hakodate are of the worst type. Unfortunately the police here encourage the bringing of charges - & almost constitute themselves the pleaders of the complainants, & draw up their claims. So, while the Fleet is here I am constantly having ridiculous claims or charges brought to me, but with the assistance of the Kenji [Public prosecutor] who has much commonsense, a number of their complaints are settled out of Court, but on the whole any but a lenient view is taken of the blue jackets' conduct ashore. Considering that Hakodate derives so much pecuniary benefit by the visit of the Fleet, the Police are much to be blamed for encouraging the townspeople to bring petty charges which as a rule a blue jacket is very willing to settle there & then. The Captains complain that in no other port have they so much trouble as in Hakodate, and if the Comm. in Chf. [Commander-in-Chief] finds that at Hakodate "Jack" is not a persona grata ashore notwithstanding the money he spends so freely, Hakodate people may one of these days wonder why their town has become unpopular with the Fleet. I myself have met with one or two little disagreeable incidents, having probably been mistaken for a sailor (in the laxer [?] acceptation of the

term !) but when the people found out I knew something of their language & that I could use it to some purpose apologies have generally resulted. The people don't mean mischief, but they are so low-class that anything they say or do is disagreeable.

The Admiral mentioned the other day that he had written to ask for you to come up to the Naval Regatta, early next month. Could you not spare the time to pay Hakodate a visit however short ? The journey from Nikko to Awomori is perhaps not pleasant, but if the Admiral sent to meet you at Awomori, you could be in Hakodate the next evening after leaving Nikko – say 30 hours journey. We should be delighted if you would favor Hakodate which has not had the visit of the British Minister since 1885 I believe, & the Consulate will be at your disposal if you decide to stay ashore.

Yours very truly

Henry A.C. Bonar

P.S. I understand that a number of people are coming here. H.M. Court for Japan i.e. Judge and Registrar have made Hakodate their headquarters. I am very glad that your house at Chiuzenji is so satisfactory. It appeared to me last year that the road leading to it was not sufficiently good; but of course the journey by water would always be pleasant. Does it not get too much afternoon sun ? Chiuzenji is certainly the ideal summer resort. But the Lakes near Hakodate deserve more attention than they get.

Newspaper cutting in Japanese (not clear from which newspaper)

英艦水兵の刃物三昧 (はものざんまい)

函館に碇泊中なる英国軍艦アラクリチー號 (ごう) の水兵デークロス(二十三)同ジョン

ウ井リアム ヘッド(二十四)の両名は去る四日の夜 蓬萊町 (ほうらいちょう)

の貸座敷 (かしざしき) 幾多棲 (いくたろう) に登りたるに敵娼の振付けたるを

怒りて勘定(かんじょう)を拂はず (はらわず) と云うより妓夫佐瀬勇吉 (させ・ゆうきち) が二階に

来りて頻りに (しきりに) 掛合ふとヘッドは唐突(とうとつ)勇吉を打擲 (ちょうちゃく) せんとせし

かば勇吉は大に驚き二階を駈来りて表格子の側に隠れしをヘッドは何も追来たりて偶々格子側に来

合わせ居たる隣家某棲 (ぼうろう) の妓夫 (ぎふ・ぎゅう) 大崎嘉吉 (おおざき・かきち) を勇吉

なりと思ひ庭口なる椅子を打振りて追蒐けたれば嘉吉は一生懸命に逃げ回れる内今一人のクロス

も来たりて間近く迫着くや否や糺暴にもナイフを以て嘉吉の頸 (くび) を刺したれば嘉吉は人殺し

人殺しと叫べる折柄巡査も駆付け来りてクロスを拘引したるよし尤も嘉吉は重傷なれども一命に

別條は無かるべしと云う ²⁹⁵

²⁹⁵ Translation: English sailors in knifing incident

On the night of the 4th ultimo two English sailors from the man-of-war Alacrity moored at Hakodate, D. Cross (23 years) and John William Head (24 years) went up to a brothel at Hōrai chō (machi) and procured the services of a prostitute, but became angry and refused to pay. The pimp Sase Yūkichi ran

14. Bonar to Satow

British Consulate, Hakodate, Japan

2 August 1896

My dear Sir Ernest,

I was able to deliver your note to the Admiral myself a few hours ago – we went to church & lunch on board. We are sorry you cannot come up.

Yes, if I have an opportunity I will speak to the Minister of Colonization about the rows here. I have another case pending just now brought not by the assaulted party, but by the police who say that from what they saw they consider an assault was committed and a claim was actually made by them in the name of the party, but it has now been withdrawn.

Another item of local news is that Takarabe, hitherto Actg. Govr. here and Mayor of the town has been transferred as Secretary of the Taihoku Ken [台北, Taipei], & the Secy. from the latter place has been appointed here.

The Actg. Governor (i.e. representing the Governor of the Hokkaidō) has made himself so unpopular here, & has got himself so mixed up in various ways with the townspeople here who accuse him of having accepted bribes etc. etc. & done many things that he ought not to have done, that the Govt. found that they must remove him. Some questions were asked in parliament & the result is his removal, altho' his protector the Vice Min. of the Colonization Department has a billet already for him in Formosa. This Takarabe has proved himself most useless & unworthy. He it was they say who caused the Government a loss of some 20 or 30 000 yen in having allowed (in Hall's time) the building of houses in front of the Consulate contrary to the lease. The erection of the houses was allowed by him, so he afterwards obtained the indemnity for the owner who had to take them down. I have scored off Mr. Takarabe however in connection with another little matter; after refusing point blank to do anything to the drains around this lot, my second representation being referred to Sapporo. I am having nice new drains put in now, & the rest of the street is benefiting also.

Speaking of Sapporo, the Admiral said today he would most likely go to Otaru & asked me whether I would go up with him. If you see no objection & other circumstances admit of it do you not think I might accompany him there & go to Sapporo, where the Admiral could make the acquaintance of the new Governor. As the Hokkaido is such a favourite station for the fleet & there is no one here (the former Actg. Governor

upstairs to the second floor to join the argument when suddenly Head hit Yūkichi who was very surprised and ran down again to hide near the front of the premises. Head then mistook the pimp of the neighbouring establishment called Ozaki Kakichi for Yūkichi, and pursued him waving a chair as a weapon. As Kakichi was doing his best to escape, Cross arrived on the scene and violently stabbed the unfortunate Kakichi in the throat. The latter shouted "Murderer!" twice and a policeman appeared. He then arrested Cross. Kakichi was severely wounded but the injury is not said to be life-threatening.

& Mayor besides his other faults being always in bed) it might be of some use if the Admiral made Mr. Hara's acquaintance. I should not require to be away more than 10 days. It is only a suggestion on my part, but with the fleet away just now there is nothing to prevent me taking the trip. When I was here before I accompanied the then Admiral up; but in those days they used to put themselves up at the Capital to make it pleasant for visitors. There is only one more ship expected up, the Grafton ²⁹⁶; the Aeolus ²⁹⁷ arrived today & I suppose there is now in the harbour the most powerful squadron that has been here, or perhaps in any other port in the East at one time.

Thank you for telling me of Longford's application. I quite thought it would come. I feel sure that your decision will be absolutely fair. Both posts are important especially at the present time, but Takow consists as it were of two Consulates whereas Tamsui has no assistant even. On the other hand the Japsee. headquarters (or the favourite headquarters one should say) are in the North. For me, I would just as soon go to Takow to begin with, & if the F.O. with your recommendation decide to send Longford to Tamsui then I may hope, later on, to be treated similarly. It will cost the F.O. more in outfits [outfit allowances?], but in China transfers of that sort are no doubt constantly occurring & perhaps on that score the F.O. would have no objection. I understand from Layard that the balance of comforts lies with Tamsui, altho' Takow may claim a better climate. Probably a change for me from the most northern port [Hakodate] to Takow or Tamsui will be trying, & if Takow is healthier so much the better. In the event of the F.O. not increasing the salaries of either Formosan post & Nagasaki being left as it is would you kindly consider whether on my way down to Formosa I could not act at Nagasaki until Hall takes up his post. I have every reason to think that the break at Nagasaki would be of much comfort to me, and when the time comes, I shall be much obliged if you will take that arrangement into consideration. I was last in Nagasaki in 1888. The arrangement need not cause an extra displacement. I mention it in connection only with the movements you may consider necessary later on.

The weather here is most extraordinary. No heat and continual bad weather.

I understand German ships are expected here shortly. The Admiral [Buller] on Friday goes up to Akkishi [Akkeshi, 厚岸] to see the eclipse ²⁹⁸, in other words the flagship is going to coal! My wife wishes to be

²⁹⁶ "The Fifth HMS Grafton, an 'Edgar' class cruiser, was launched in 1892. She was the first Grafton to be made of steel and was powered by coal fired steam turbines. She had two 9.2 inch and ten 6 inch guns and was five times heavier than any of her predecessors. She joined the fleet at a time when the Royal Navy and the British Empire were both at their peaks of power and influence. Her first duty was the China Fleet where she served for four years until 1900, and in 1902, after a refit, she joined the Pacific station as flagship for three years."

(From <https://www.royal-navy.mod.uk/static/pages/2357.html>, accessed 15/7/03)

²⁹⁷ HMS Aeolus, 2nd class cruiser, launched 13 November 1891, sold to breakers 1914.

²⁹⁸ On June 18 Satow mentioned to Nakada Takanori the desire of the British Astronomer Royal to see the total eclipse on August and the request that a naval ship might be sent. The request was agreed to, on condition that only one ship be sent and its name supplied in advance. (Diary, June 24, 1896)

remembered.

Yours very truly

Henry A. C. Bonar

P.S. On glancing at the amount I have written I feel sorry to think you will vote me a nuisance.

15. Bonar to Satow

[Recd. 14 Aug.]

British Consulate, Hakodate, Japan

10 Aug. 1896

My dear Sir Ernest,

At this present moment (Monday afternoon) we are beginning to feel anxious as to the whereabouts of the 'Alacrity'²⁹⁹ which left on the 6th with the Admiral for Akkeshi, but yesterday evening had not arrived. The 'Pique'³⁰⁰ which followed her on Friday arrived in Akkeshi [on the Pacific coast of Hokkaido] all right, & has gone out to look after the Admiral. Since yesterday I have got the local authorities to wire to Akkeshi & Kushiro to ascertain whether anything had been seen of the 'Alacrity' & so far they have had no reply. We know there have been fogs & it may be the 'Alacrity' is outside Akkeshi & cannot get in. The rest of the Squadron is here in port, & it has struck me that one of the ships might have been sent out by the Senior Naval Officer to make a search from here northwards, but the naval men don't think apparently there is yet any ground for alarm.

The 'Alacrity' on leaving must have had some bad weather, & after leaving she could have put in at Muroran³⁰¹, in which case we would have heard. I hope before this evening we shall have heard something.

On Friday last in the town there was a disturbance in the town [sic] which had an unpleasant nature. A bluejacket [sailor enlisted in the navy] was behaving in a disorderly fashion & apparently the two policemen who took him in charge or wanted to take him in charge were not strong enough. The crowd joined in, then some other bluejackets turned up & tried to rescue their mate, but retreated into a grog shop while the crowd collected outside & stoned the men inside, or threw stones at the men, and further got into the place & wrecked it. Fortunately there was no one hurt, but two things are evident: there were not enough police, & the few men that came could not impress the crowd, or keep them in order. I have asked for a full report from the

²⁹⁹ HMS Alacrity was a Surprise class 3rd class cruiser, launched 28 February 1885. It became a despatch vessel and was sold in 1913.

³⁰⁰ HMS Pique was an Aeolus class 2nd class cruiser, launched 13 December 1890. Sold to breakers in 1911.

³⁰¹ Muroran is a city in southwestern Hokkaido, on Uchiura Bay. Its port, opened in 1872, developed as a shipping centre for coal from the Ishikari coalfield. A steel plant was constructed at the end of the Meiji period. (Kodansha's Illustrated Encyclopedia of Japan)

naval people & I have been furnished orally with some particulars by the Chief of Police. The latter rather slides over the whole occurrence, & I requested him to prosecute the bluejacket who was disorderly in the first place, tho' he had no intention of doing so. On the other hand I have asked that a strict inquiry be made by the Local Auth[orities] & that those townspeople who were the aggressors be punished. An Officer of Marines wrote to me while the row was going on that the police were treating the bluejacket in a disgraceful fashion though the man only was resisting the attack of the crowd who were stoning him. I have not the slightest doubt there is much truth in that. I was some days ago extremely annoyed at another incident viz. two policemen tried to drag from the Consulate compound a marine who had under the pretence of wishing to see me taken refuge in my house. I was away at the time & on my requesting an explanation of the matter was informed that the police did so in accordance with my servants' instructions. I have taken no further notice of the matter except making a request that the policemen should be less officious in future & not operate arrests in the compound without any authority. My Constable Nesbitt on that occasion also distinguished himself on that occasion by not troubling about what was going on when sent for (it was 9 o'clock & he had retired to bed). When my wife went & demanded he should get up he did so & then the matter ended by the marine going quietly away. These are the incidents of daily life in consequence of which I spend much time admonishing the police & asking them to amend their ways. I think my Russian colleague envies me these distractions, for he has absolutely nothing to do. He having imagined many [?] grievances on the part of the Admiral has intimated indirectly that he did not wish to meet him & his request is carefully complied with. Fortunately I see him but rarely, he is a tremendous bore. Will you kindly let me know if you have done anything more about Longford's application. As I said in my last, I shall be not displeased to get Takow. The new Actg. Govr. here has spent some [?] time in Formosa [?] & speaks favorably of everything, i.e. [?] more favourably than others. He was in Taichiu Ken. Again apologies for disturbing your annual rest [?].

Yours very truly

Henry A.C. Bonar

16. Bonar to Satow

Hakodate

19 August 1896

[Recd. 21 ans 22]

My dear Sir Ernest,

If you think it is well that I should accompany the Admiral to Otaru & Sapporo when he leaves here (I believe Monday the 24th) will you please send me a wire giving me permission. If you think I had better not absent myself then I shall not be so very much disappointed and I would rather be guided by your wish in the

matter than my own inclination. The present is a period of entertainments. The new Actg. Governor is most genial & popular, for he has attended a paper chase ! He is entertaining the Admiral this evening & next Saturday he dines with the Admiral. Meanwhile all other forms of entertainment are going on & for hygienic reasons perhaps I had better let the fleet go away & take a holiday locally.

I am afraid you must find Tokyo very hot.

Yours very truly

Henry A.C. Bonar

17. Bonar to Satow

British Consulate

Hakodate, Japan

23 August 1896

My dear Sir Ernest,

Soon after sending you my telegram yesterday morning the Admiral said he hoped I should accompany him to Otaru.³⁰² I was therefore very pleased to have your wire stating there was no objection & which cancelled your earlier telegram. I was able to make sure that Admiral Buller really wanted me to come otherwise I would have said nothing more about it. I shall be back tomorrow week, & I have no reason to think any inconvenience will result from my absence. If anything unforeseen does occur I can be back here within the 24 hours. The Admiral proposes arriving at Otaru Wednesday or Thursday & will probably spend a couple of days at Sapporo.³⁰³

The German Admiral arrived today & I am going to call him tomorrow – a gentle way to remind my Russian colleague that he might have been more polite to an Admiral. All police cases & rows are satisfactorily terminated & with the advent of a new Actg. Governor I think the Fleet & the town are on much better terms. Admiral [Charles L.] Oxley [Second in command, China & Japan squadrons] arrived yesterday.³⁰⁴ He is a great contrast to the Commander-in-Chief but he proved more sociable than [than ?] one had been led to expect. It is not unlikely that [Oxley's ship] the "Grafton" will be back here end of September for a few days. The presence of two Admirals in the same port is quite an event for the East.

I fancied you would be back in Chiuzenji by the 20th – you must have found Tokio very hot. I hear that "Rainbow" after parting with squadron about 25th Sept. will go to Tamsui & Anping en route for the South.

³⁰² Otaru, a city in western Hokkaido on Ishikari Bay. It flourished from the beginning of the Meiji period as a port town for shipping coal from the Ishikari coalfields and as a base for fishing. In 1880 the first railway in Hokkaido was built, connecting Otaru and Sapporo. (Kodansha, p. 1170)

³⁰³ Sapporo in the south-western part of the Ishikari plain became the administrative centre of Hokkaido after the establishment of the Kaitakushi (Colonial Office) in 1869. (Kodansha, p.1314)

³⁰⁴ Satow lunched with Oxley in Tokyo on August 17, 1896. (Diary, Ruxton, 2003, p.116)

Yours very truly
Henry A.C. Bonar

18. Bonar to Satow

HMS 'Centurion' at Otaru

26/8/96

My dear Sir Ernest,

Many thanks for letting me know at once about my appointment to Tainan, about which I am very pleased. I hope it will be convenient generally for me not to leave Hakodate until well in the autumn and, as you suggest, I am not in such a hurry to move, I would suggest that Kenny³⁰⁵ shortens his leave by a month or so (which I believe he would do) & arrive here to relieve me in November. If I am relieved by an Acting man it will only involve extra expenditure unless it be a man who travels light.

Curiously enough with your letter forwarded to me from Hakodate I received one from Longford, who with the greatest tact possible enlarges on the disadvantages of Tainan generally. I can discount his statements somewhat.

This has been a most pleasant trip & Admiral Buller has been most kind & courteous. Under the particular circumstances of the case a visit to the official capital of Yezo is well within what a Consul might do, though the excellent relations I wanted to establish will have to be undertaken by my successor. I shall be back in Hakodate next Monday no doubt, & I am keeping myself well in communication. There has been a most disastrous fire [?] there [?] today.

Yours very truly
Henry A.C. Bonar

19. Bonar to Satow

[Recd. 19/9, Ansd. 20/9]

Hakodate

10 Sept. 1896

My dear Sir Ernest,

If you have time would you kindly let me know whether I cannot make an exception & simply

³⁰⁵ William Joseph Kenny (1859-1910). Appointed a Student Interpreter in Japan, May 24, 1880. Called to Bar at Gray's Inn, June 17, 1896. Promoted to be Consul for Hakodate and Niigata, to reside at Hakodate, August 21, 1896 (did not proceed). Transferred to Tainan (Formosa), December 28, 1896. Acting Consul-General at Honolulu, October 23, 1897. Consul-General for the Philippines at Manila, May 21, 1903. Retired June 1, 1908. (F.O. List 1911 quoted in Kuwata, 2003, pp. 322-323)

acknowledge in a despatch the new cypher “K” which has been handed to me by the Admiral’s Secretary. The instructions require one to telegraph its receipt in cypher thus “K received” but it seems to me there is no need to incur that expense, as far as Hakodate is concerned.

Also when you have time will you consider a suggestion which I hardly like to make myself to the Admiral, though I have spoken of the inconvenience of the system they have of retaining meaningless names (i.e. as far as information is concerned) on the Admiralty Charts. The matter does not affect Consuls particularly, but I should say it causes the naval people great inconvenience and surely it is not ‘up to date’. “Endermo” for Mororan , “Oterranai” for Otaru, “Iskari” for Ishikari, a river not a town, are samples of this antiquated nomenclature. The first names are always used, though of course for postal or telegraphic purposes they are bewildering. Similarly on the Russian Coast, Castries Bay, Olga Bay, Vladimir etc. are places which exist only on the English Admiralty Charts. Had the British fleet to search for an enemy he certainly would not be found at any of these places; and to put it to a practical test the Telegraph offices in this country have no knowledge of these places & the consequence is that hours are wasted sometimes before the Senior Naval Officer here can make the Telegraph Office understand where he wants to telegraph to. My suggestion is that the Admiralty charts should be supplemented with information from Japanese or other charts, & that the Admiral has a list of places really in existence which the Japanese can understand. I was amazed the other day when on the flagship no one knew such places as Fusan or Gensan [Wonsan] in Corea. Does it not seem to you a point worth consideration ? I am sending the Admiral a list of places obtained from the Telegraph office here in Russian territory; with the exception of one or two I doubt whether any of the names exist on the Admiralty Charts & yet they might with advantage be put on it. I think at all events Japse. & Corean places should be rendered properly. It always have [has ?] been a puzzle to me why these old “Endermos” etc. were retained on the charts & I invariably – when Endermo is mentioned by a naval man – reply that he would find out the value of his chart knowledge if he found himself landed on the coast of Yezo & asked for Endermo³⁰⁶ or Oterranai.

I had a most pleasant time with the Admiral. He was Kindness itself. We saw the Governor at Sapporo & he came down to see the Admiral. The Admiral’s cup race at Otaru caused much excitement & the Sapporo Governor refused to believe that an Admiral in person – viz Admiral Oxley – was actually sailing in a race & getting wet through in the process and – winning the cup besides. The Rear Admiral with ‘Grafton’, ‘Undaunted’ & ‘Æolus’ visit this port again end of September. The German “Kaiser” & “Irene” left today for

³⁰⁶ Endermo Harbour appeared on a U.S. naval map created by the Perry expedition in 1854: “PERRY EXPEDITION. ENDERMO HARBOR ISLAND OF JESSO SURVEYED BY ORDER OF COMMODORE M.C. PERRY U.S.N. BY ACTG. MASTER C.A. STEVENS AND MIDN. R.L. MAY OF THE U.S.S. SOUTHAMPTON... 1854. NAVY DEPT. WASH., DC. 1856. LITHO. Sea chart with soundings and topographic outlines of the shore.”

(From http://www.murrayhudson.com/antique_maps/countries_maps/japan.html accessed 19/7/03)

Vladivostock.

I shall be very glad if you will let me know at your convenience – privately – about when you think my move from here will take place – for I am thinking of disposing of all the furniture I can, or sending it to Shanghai for sale. If it is not impossible, I should be delighted to have Nagasaki for a time, but beyond mentioning my visit in that respect, I shall be quite ready to leave for the farther South [Formosa]. Here we are having continuous rain.

Yours very truly

Henry A.C. Bonar

20. Bonar to Satow

[Recd. 28/9. Wrote to Layard about the furniture.]

Hakodate

26 Sept. 1896

My dear Sir Ernest

Many thanks for your letter of 20th. Receipt of the [“K” code] book [see previous letter] has been telegraphed. I had hesitated because the expense seemed to me not to be warranted by the immediate necessity & made a large hole in the yearly contingencies’ allowance.

As soon as I can get hold of an Admiralty Chart I will make a list of the alterations suggested: only a few days ago Capt. Groome of the ‘Æolus’ complained of the very inconvenience caused by the practice of odd names being retained on the Admiralty Charts.

Of course we are disappointed about Nagasaki, and I must frankly admit that I could not even advance grounds of public convenience; but when I suggested the matter I was relying more on the practice (which also I cannot admit was a just one entirely, since it always acted only in favor of seniors) that as long as a Consul was being benefited by an acting billet, it was given to him, and as I had heard that Hall (before of course his appointmt. as Consul there) was to be acting at Kobe, I thought you might let me act for him at Nagasaki.

We had already established ourselves – in spirit – at Takow & were indulging in visions of delightful winter climate etc. etc. & now once more the beauties of Tamsui come within our range. Both places have their advantages & at Tamsui we shall be more in the world. We are quite prepared now for either place so only await your instructions as to our ultimate destination.

What tho’ the commissions should already be on the way ? I suppose that will not matter. An exchange with Layard ³⁰⁷ will greatly simplify matters, if he has the same ideas as to exchange of furniture as I have. It

³⁰⁷ Raymond de Burgh Money Layard (1859-1941) was Acting Consul at Tamsui (Formosa) in 1896. He

would save us each £100 or so & it's no use giving it to the steamer companies.

I don't know which you will consider more important, that Layard should take over from me at Hakodate, or I from him at Tamsui. In the case even of my destination remaining Takow or Anping, would you not be able to send an Acting man to relieve me so that the change of Consuls could take place before the winter has actually set in at Hakodate. The month of November is all right. Under any circumstances an acting man would make himself comfortable here: there would be furniture etc. & probably a cook or a boy would be all he could require in addition, so that the cost of moving him up could not be large. Of course the Consulate has in olden days been frequently left for 6 weeks without a Consul & the Customs have taken charge of ships' papers when required. I could not suggest this arrangement certainly not until after the end of October, as both "Linnet" & "Plover" will be here during the month. After that it is safe to say that nothing will turn up that could not be attended to sufficiently quickly by someone being sent here for the particular occasion that might arise. The Russian V. Consul always goes in Octr. but then he's different !

Wm. Napier³⁰⁸ & my sister-in-law leave here about end of next week & it is just possible my wife may go down with them. I expect Admiral Oxley & 2 ships on Monday.

Yours very truly

Henry A.C. Bonar

21. Bonar to Satow

[Recd. 12.10.]

British Consulate, Hakodate, Japan

8 Oct. 1896

My dear Sir Ernest,

I have read Dr. [Wykeham] Myers' report³⁰⁹ which you have klowthindly sent, with much interest. I had heard at various times how enthusiastic Myers is about Takow as compared with Anping. Apart from all he says there cannot it seems to me be the slightest doubt that the place with a harbor [sic] – however bad that harbor may be – as long as it is capable of improvement – must have the better future before it & I should say that after the Japanese have paid due attention to Kelung & various improvements in the North they will do something at Takow, & probably nothing at Anping for there is no prospect of an anchorage at the latter place & I presume the place is mostly a "foreign settlement". They are bound to select the place where they can buy

was promoted to Consul for Hakodate and Niigata, to reside at Hakodate, December 28, 1896. (F.O. List of 1897).

³⁰⁸ Henry Bonar's wife Liliias was the third daughter of Hon. Wm. Napier. (*Who was Who*, 1929-1940, quoted in Kuwata, 2003, p.197)

³⁰⁹ See typed letter from Myers to J.H. Longford dated July 23, 1896 in PRO 30/33 5/11.

lots of land & have a prospect of a decent harbor where they could – if need was – have a ship of war. As to the health of the two places, I believe this to be the case – viz. that Takow is more free from actual disease – malaria – but that it has a more depressing climate whereas Anping has fresh summer breezes which cheer [?] up people so that they don't feel the effects so much. A Lieut. [Lieutenant] of the 'Spartan' who spent two months at Anping last year with a force of Marines declares there was not a single case of illness amongst his men & that they fared very well. From the little notice or mention of Anping by the Japanese I fancy they don't go much on it, & they will be more anxious to develop an "export" port than an "import" one.

I understand you are still waiting for news from the F.O. Whenever that arrives please send me one word by telegraph Takow or Tamsui & I shall know at once which place it is to be. Many thanks [for] mentioning to Layard re furniture – in the event of our exchanging ports Admiral Oxley with "Undaunted" & Æolus are here, also Russian Admiral. As we were asked to meet him by Admiral Oxley I went & called on the R. Admiral & I have put the R. Vice Consul to shame thereby. Russian sailors & British bluejackets go round clasped in each others' arms & the appearance of this Russo-British alliance is full of horror to the Japanese ! In a short conversation I had with the Russian Admiral he said that Ito [Hirobumi] was the only Minister in Japan with any "esprit" & wondered how soon he would come back.

Adm. Oxley told me they had been treated with the greatest kindness & hospitality at Vladivostock, & last night certainly with more Russian guests than others the Admiral's table was quite a picture of friendliness which to the Japse. Actg. Governor – who was also present – seemed quite incomprehensible. I fancy tho' that Admiral Oxley did not please the Russians overmuch by proposing the health of the "Czar"; the captn. of the Russian flagship said that expression was used more in poetry whereas "His Imperial Majesty the Emperor of Russia" was the usual formula. But then – entre nous – Adm. Oxley is most eccentric altho' very friendly.

Perhaps you have heard that he lost his Secretary – died it is supposed from a fit – while in the water when shooting the other day, at a port on the Corean coast. What with Capt. Lang's death from drowning & this Secretary's death the record is very sad. The 'Undaunted' leaves Saturday; as for 'Grafton' there is some mystery as to her departure, but perhaps she will be here till 12th or 13th. Hakodate is becoming quite a rendezvous for the Fleet.

The weather has turned quite cold & we are having fires.

I think I should mention that the E. walls of this Consulate are in a disgraceful * condition from damp, & the remedy which Marshall has suggested, namely oiling the walls outside – quite inadequate. When I arrived here I repapered 3 rooms at my expense, but the new paper is quite ruined, & the rooms are really not fit. I am applying for the repapering to be done, altho' Marshall has already refused that when I came here. Clap boarding seems to be the only remedy. In the rains one can hear the water trickling through the walls. I shall be sorry for Layard to find the place in that condition. I understand Marshall is leaving the East; but before he

goes I must try to get him to sanction clap boarding etc. I wanted him to come up & look at the condition of the walls. It has been like this for some years, but never has there been so much mould & damp in the rooms as this year & of course nothing could be done during the summer.

* I believe "disgraceful" is the accepted Office of Works term.

Has Marshall decided to do anything to the Takow Consulate which Longford reports in a bad condition ? Poor Marshall will be happier ; altho' I liked him, I think he was pretty callous. Mr. [Wm.?] Napier is at the Club Hotel, Yoko[hama] & my wife is still here. We've made the Consulate resound with Schubert's Duets, of wh. I have your old copy.

Yours Sincerely

Henry A.C. Bonar

22. Bonar to Satow

[ans. 30/11. He had better write about the wages than leave his successor to deal with the question. Reasons why. Will write officially in a day or two instructing him to leave Hakodate for Tamsui.]

Hakodate

26 Oct. 1896

Private

My dear Sir Ernest,

The Constable has made a request that I should forward officially an application by him for an increase of his monthly salary from \$60 to \$75. Before doing so, however, I told him I would write to you privately and ascertain whether you favor such an application to the F.O. For a foreign Constable \$60.00 at the present high cost of living in Hakodate is hardly sufficient, but the pay of the Japse. servants – \$6.00 a month – is absolutely insufficient. For that pay none but the veriest coolie out of employ can be got. It costs that to buy food. If a foreign Constable is to be kept here \$60 is not enough, but the whole matter will probably be gone into by the next man.

We are all anxious as to the fate of the 'Plover' which left Korsakofsk (480 miles) on the 15th. 'Æolus' was sent out on Saturday to look for her. So far all our telegraphic enquiries round the Island have not resulted in any information. It may be she is taking it easily – yachting – as Adml. Oxley says, but 10 days is a long time for that.

Without being importunate in order to make certain domestic arrangements – as to my wife going down early next month to Yokohama, could you not tell me whether my suggestion to be relieved by an acting man

in the course of next month is feasible, whoever my successor is to be. I could always be on my way down to one of the Formosan posts. I am not in a hurry to get away but hope I may be allowed to make arrangements for leaving end of November at latest.

Yours sincerely

Henry A.C. Bonar

*etc. stands for stores

23. Bonar to Satow

Hakodate

2 Nov. 1896

My dear Sir Ernest

I am much obliged for your letter, and I like my destination. I was rather anxious to go to Takow, notwithstanding Longford's descriptions.

As you suggest I will forward officially the question of the Constable's & servants' wages. I will add a few lines on the subject of the Consulate servants about whom I cannot express myself too strongly.

The 'Plover' is all right; she was a little mysterious about her movements. However all's well that ends well. Adml. Oxley leaves today with 'Æolus' & is going to call at Miyako & Yamada. He speaks of being at one of these ports tomorrow & dressing ship & firing a salute in honor of the Emperor's birthday [November 3rd]. I suggested he should do it here, but he won't stay, so he'll alarm some of the people on the way down. I looked at one of the permits. How very peremptory they are!

The weather has turned very cold & boisterous.

Your proposed arrangement to send some one up pleases me very much & I am delighted. If only now we can manage to catch the steamer of the 23rd (Empress) for Hong Kong it will be perfect. My wife leaves here on the 4th for Tokio & as Mr. Napier leaves for Hong Kong by the 23rd Nov. Empress my wife (and I also of course) would be highly delighted if we could accompany them. I understand the Japanese steamers are anything but comfortable & from what Layard tells me I could not take my wife on them. I believe they do not run regularly between Kelung & Takow or Anping. I hope I may get a few grouse to send up to you.

Yours Sincerely

Henry A.C. Bonar

24. Bonar to Satow

Hakodate

5 Nov. 1896

My dear Sir Ernest,

Herewith I send the appn. [application] for increase of wages which I hope you will think well of. I have made 2 originals in case the copy made by the Constable should not be legible enough or spoil his chances. I should have made the copy myself, but having already re written the whole thing 3 times and being not at all satisfied that I have put things in the best way I was afraid I would be tempted again to re write the whole thing & so delay it. So if you will admit the Constable's copy into the archives, the letter written by me can go to the F.O. There have been 25 changes in the office's servants in 3 years. They are a most disreputable lot here, & unless the Consulate gets the reputation of paying better wages, I am afraid things won't improve. Our own servants are paid \$15 & \$18.00 per month, & that does not help matters for the Hakodate fellows, besides we pay at least 2 of the office servants something extra so as to make them stay.

Here where so much has to be done thro' the writer who should be on good terms with the local officials to assist business – especially when the sailor chaps are about – it is most necessary to have a man belonging to the place: a stranger, even if tempted up here by \$20 – would never get on so well. If you think I should amend what I have written, please tell me so; it's difficult to ask for things that the F.O. make a rule of objecting to. But I think in every respect it is a bona fide case.

We have had a gale for 3 days & there are no signs of its going down. My wife is still here awaiting for the steamer to sail.

Yours very truly

Henry A.C. Bonar

25. Bonar to Satow

Hakodate

6 Nov. 1896

My dear Sir Ernest,

I hope you won't mind my making request to leave earlier, officially, whatever you think of the other matter which is of course quite a personal one of going in the same steamer as my wife's people [the Napiers]; it is a fact that I have no clothing appropriate for a warm climate having got rid of what I could when I came up here, and my wife is much in the same predicament. I understand that white clothes are now worn almost throughout the year. If the steamers leave Hong Kong for Anping (& Takow) every 10 days I will on arrival at Hong Kong, if you desire it, make arrangements to go so much sooner or not, according to what you think best. But undoubtedly a few days at Hong Kong will be of much value.

The P. & O. of the 5th would not get to Hong Kong [Hongkong] much before the 16th. I fancy they dawdle all along the route, & very often delay their departure from Yokohama. I think Hampden can make himself

tolerably comfortable. I will write to him as to what he should buy. He can travel quite lightly; if he arrives here in the morning there is no reason why I should not leave the same night. I hope my request will find favor with you, but I hope under any circumstances to have sufficient time to have a good chat. Everything about Formosa will be quite new to me.

The enclosed cutting should have gone yesterday; you have no doubt heard the same before.

Yours sincerely

Henry A.C. Bonar

26. Bonar to Satow

Private

Hakodate

20 November 1896

My dear Sir Ernest,

I should have written at once to thank you for your telegram about Tamsui, but I thought you might be writing also about it and giving me other instructions than those which I had already received officially about Takow, but I suppose the F.O. have not quite settled the matter. When answering your wire accepting Tamsui I made the inquiry about being relieved thinking you might probably require me to go at once, as there could be no question of waiting for the commission. No doubt it appeared importunate on my part, but the difficulty of getting ship from here was in my mind. I am grateful to you for giving me at once the opportunity of the choice, and I have no doubt I have your personal approval in the matter, tho' I confess to a hankering after universally- (Wykeham Myers excepted) abused Takow. When my Takow commission arrives I suppose I shall be entitled to have it notwithstanding my not going there. These changes to you are more a nuisance than a trouble, but the F.O. have certainly been a long time in falling in with your recommendations.

The 'Carew case' of which I only see the newspaper reports and fortunately do not hear the gossip of looks worse as it goes on. I can't say I have an atom of feeling in the matter except certain parties have been very foolish, while Mrs. C. appears to have enough nerve, cunning & wickedness to make up for the silliness of the men who found something in her to admire. To me she was always a most uninteresting object; nevertheless she must be more interesting to her Counsel. Had I been sitting & the law permitted it as I believe it does, I shd. have committed Mrs. C. for contempt of court or taking a document in court, in addition to charging her with theft. Surely that is within the magistrate's powers. I would have made her a little more careful.

In a few days I shall forward the corrections which I propose for the Admiralty Chart of Yezo. I have had to wait all the time for a Japanese chart on which I am making the corrections & additions. I don't see why the Hydrographer's Department should not accept the chart after they have carefully compared it. I am sure

Admiral Oxley would agree to that.

Please let me know about what date you would like me to be in Tamsui. It appears to me that it would be more expeditious to go via Shanghai where I could get [a] steamer of Butterfield Swire direct to Amoy, if not even to Tamsui. What we have to get we can buy equally well at Shanghai and it seems rather absurd to travel 1200 miles or so by sea to reach Amoy via H'Kong. There is I believe little doubt but that one should take steamer from Amoy.

I see in one of the papers that Francis Q.C. is to come up from Hong Kong. If Litchfield requires any assistance could I not render it – it would cause no expense. I would like the job but that's by way of a joke. Litchfield is too deaf and slow to be any use. I believe the judge thinks so too.

Yours sincerely,
Henry A.C. Bonar

27. Bonar to Satow

Hakodate

26 Nov. 1896

My dear Sir Ernest,

If [E.M. Hobart-]Hampden ³¹⁰ arrives here on the morning of the 29th I think I shall be able to leave the same evening overland and reach Yokohama on Tuesday afternoon. If convenient to you I will come to see you on Wednesday. I understand we are to stay with the W.B. Walters ³¹¹. After my journey down I don't think I would be in a fit condition to come and see you on arrival in Tokio. When I see you I will ask you whether under the circumstances it is necessary to acknowledge my commission to Lord Salisbury. If I am not mistaken I think they have made an error in calculating the outfit. If I proceed to Tamsui as officiating Consul there the regulations will not admit of my drawing outfit allowance for Takow anyway.

I am sorry to say that the Br. steamer 'Aswanly' Samuel Samuel & Co. agents at Yokohama has burdened us with 3 small pox patients, one of whom died yesterday from a virulent attack. There are circumstances which make me think Samuel Samuel & Co. are much to blame for sending one of the men who was known to be unwell & whom they suspected might be suffering from small pox. A Brit. Steamer has no business to be carrying round infection in this way not to speak of almost criminal neglect in incurring the risk of the whole crew being attacked on the voyage. I have written privately to Troup about it to make Enquiries as to what the Doctor said in Yokohama.

At the request of the Local Authorities I have given directions for the body of the decd. fireman [stoker] to

³¹⁰ Ernest Miles Hobart-Hampden (1864-1949) was Acting Consul at Hakodate, 1896 and 1897.

³¹¹ W.B. Walter, Vice President of Jardine Matheson, Yokohama.

be cremated, the space in the cemetery not allowing of his burial in a manner to avoid risk of infection when ground in the neighborhood would have to be dug. I believe it is unusual for cremation to be ordered but I think I must be right in complying with the request of the Japse. in this case. The man died 24 hours after[?] being landed. We have all gone in for vaccination.

I see a Rev. Mr. Campbell declares that S. Formosa will be the centre of Export trade. I suppose he also lives in Tainan.

Hoping soon to have the pleasure of seeing you.

Yours sincerely

Henry A.C. Bonar

28. R. de B. Layard to Satow

Hakodate

Feb. 15, 1897

My dear Sir Ernest,

We got here with all possible comfort thanks to your good care for us, in writing to Mr. Ono – and at Aomori Mr. Chappell was kindness itself. We had a perfect crossing, arriving at 4.30 a.m. yesterday. [Acting Consul] Hampden, Bishop Fyson³¹² and two minor pillars [of the community] came on board at 5-!

I have written to Mr. Ono in grateful terms for his attention.

Hampden and I got through our transfer of charge in quick time, and he as you know left the same evening.

Today I have completed my calls.

Isabel³¹³ and I thank you very much for the kind way in which you looked after us, and we appreciated it highly. Baby Christobel wishes to endorse this and sends you her affections.³¹⁴

Isabel, I believe, is writing to you.

Yours sincerely

R. de B. Layard

May I add that our best thanks are due to [Satow's servant] Tetsu for all his efficient care. R. de B. L.

29. Layard to Satow

[ans 21/2/97]

³¹² Philip Kemball Fyson (1846-1928) came to Japan as a missionary in 1874. Made Bishop of Hokkaido in 1897, he returned to England in 1908.

³¹³ In 1892 Layard married Isabel Scobell, who died in 1928. There were two daughters of the marriage. (*The Times* obituary, September 23, 1941, quoted in Kuwata, 2003, p.331)

³¹⁴ The Layards left Tokyo by the 3 pm train on February 12, 1897. (Satow's diary)

Hakodate

Feb. 19.1897

Dear Sir Ernest

Hampden told me that some question had been raised about the exclusion or the opposite of Niigata from the jurisdiction of this Consulate. I find no record of it, so would be glad if you would let [me know] if anything is contemplated which will alter the former arrangement.

In passing through Aomori, Mr. Chappell informed me that he was under the impression that Bonar was going to speak to you about the matter of the issue of passports to residents of that place. For instance is Mr. Chappell expected to make his application through Hakodate or Yokohama ? And supposing any court case were to arise in Aomori, would it go to Yokohama or to this place ?

One more question – Do you suppose the F.O. Circular of 21 Decr. last re Consular Service O. in C. [Order in Council], 1896 call for details of a Constable's service, as well as for those of the Consul etc. ?

Pray forgive me troubling you with these questions and believe me

Yours very truly

R. de B. Layard

30. Layard to Satow

Hakodate

9 April 1897

[Ans. 13/4/97]

My dear Sir Ernest,

I have not, I think, yet acknowledged receipt of my brother's book, for which many thanks.

Bonar tells me that he has received neither Commission nor outfit for Tamsui but has had sanction for expenses of his journey thither. Will you elucidate the matter for me as regards myself if not too much trouble ? For the Commission – that is a matter of time but, about the travelling expenses, I presume I do not draw them as I have received full outfit from you ? Things appear so mixed that I trust you will excuse me worrying you.

I am at a standstill, as I suppose most have been here with regard to my T. [Trade] Report. The Japanese take their time in supplying statistics for which I applied on arrival, and I naturally am in a No thoroughfare, although I have all the tables etc. ready.

We are very well – but somewhat lonely – and the weather is despicable, a S.E. wet gale blowing. The Fysons are a very nice & clean family.

Best regards from us both & love from the daughter.

Yours sincerely
R. de B. Layard

31. Layard to Satow

Hakodate

Ap. 27 97

My dear Sir Ernest,

The concluding sentence of your desp. [despatch] to which this is an answer precludes me from making any remark except about the writer's wages, at least officially – but I would like to add – to you – that the increase of \$5 for the Constable, which is some 16d. a day! is scarcely proportionate to the rise of 33 per cent in the wages of the Kodzukai or to that of 25 per cent asked for in the case of the writer. The man is grateful, but rather taken aback that the local salary should be compared with that issued in China. There can scarcely be a comparison I should say where life is so different.

I feel, myself, the cost of things – and as one has to import from Yokohama the additional freight is enough to age one prematurely.

Goodbye again from us all and a good voyage; a peaceful time at home and safe return, the sooner the better to our taste, if not your own. Please remember me to Anderson³¹⁵ & all mutual friends.

We are well, thankyou, but the adults suffering from rheumatism occasionally arising I suppose from being frozen after the tropics.

Yours sincerely
R. de B. Layard

32. Layard to Lowther (Satow on leave in England during Diamond Jubilee)

Private

August 10/97

My dear Lowther,

Many thanks for yours of 7th. The Actg. Governor is away just now but I am prepared for his return, with the prisoners arrangement. He is amenable and I think it will be all right, and you won't hear anything more about it.

Did you hear about the trouble the Fleet at Otarunai had with regard to a dead marine, whom they wished to

³¹⁵ Probably Professor William E. Anderson (1842-1900) who taught medicine at the Imperial College of Medicine in Japan, 1873-80. The first president of the Japan Society of London, and contributor of Japanese works to the British Library and the British Museum. In July 1897 Satow saw him regarding an operation on his finger.

bury on shore ? The Authies. would only permit a “temporary” burial so they took the body out to sea and buried it there. I have had no official information about it.

I am getting all the information I can about the military settlers – in this island at least I have put Batchelor³¹⁶ onto the matter, as he can find out most things privately. He tells me that at this moment the Japanese could mobilise 15,000 troops at a few hours notice in the Hokkaido alone – infantry of course. They have only ½ dozen field guns – but the settlers are kept to their drill daily. He seems to think, with me, that the Japanese locally are in readiness for a Russian outbreak and small blame to them. They are extra particular about passports owing to orders from Tokyo – and most people not personally known to them are “Russian spies” and are tracked by detectives. Ask [Dr. Erwin] Baelz how he & his travelling companion fared! ³¹⁷ I fancy [military attaché] Du Boulay pretty well exhausted the island from the military point of view. I can imagine the granting of leave is a difficult matter.

Yours very truly

R. de B. Layard

33. Layard to Satow

[ans 16/12]

Hakodate

9 December 1897

My dear Sir Ernest

Thankyou [very] much for your letter of Nov. 25th and for news of friends in England. I envy you, and think envy may be excused.

I have just received your telegram about Consular Fees, and have replied that I had levied them in “Mexican dollars hitherto”.

The amount was so trifling that I accepted what was offered – and managed to buy gold with it. I have only succeeded however in keeping 30 gold yen and it would be a great help if you would advise or instruct how to avoid loss at this juncture. As to subsidiary carriage much perusal of the Mail’s “explanations” has utterly confused me. Will you please help me?

As to leaves – I am not going to bother you – much as I should like to get away sometimes. Only please remember that without risk of being branded a deserter I can’t leave my post for more than a day; and think of me when an opportunity offers. I could not put a plea on the score of ill-health like the others (unberufen) but

³¹⁶ See Sir Hugh Cortazzi, ‘John Batchelor, Missionary and Friend of the Ainu, 1855-1945’, Chapter 16, *Britain & Japan: Biographical Portraits*, Volume II. (Japan Library, 1997)

³¹⁷ There is a gap in Baelz’s published diary *Awakening Japan* from 1896-1900, which prevents light being shed on this statement.

if it were only to sit at your feet metaphorically speaking for a space in Tokio, it would do one much benefit. I don't know how that would look on an official application! Best remembrances from the family. Yours sincerely

R. de B. Layard

34. Layard to Satow

Hakodate

19th December 1897

My dear Sir Ernest

My wife says she ought to write and thank you for the lovely animal you sent Christabel; but as I am writing in answer to your letter of 16th I have told her I will convey our united thanks – and C. shall write hers when she gets the present which will occur at Christmas.

As to the leave, I appreciate greatly your kindness in trying to manage a spell of change for me but I can not lay claim to being either overworked or sick, and to tell the truth would rather remain here than go to Nagasaki. Please do not think me ungrateful, but as you put it to me in the form of a question I would really much rather not go there.

Can you tell me, without trouble, whether Consuls ever get the “universal” shooting licenses, issued annually to members of Legations? Batchelor, whom you know, is a keen sportsman & suggests that I should join him at Sapporo where he is allowed to shoot (for food). I could go there at a pinch as an official trip but do not want to go out with him on the pretence of carrying his gun for him. I have started Canadian snowshoes & moccasins & find them invaluable.

Isabel and I send you our best wishes for Christmas and the New Year and Christabel would do the same if she were not in her cot & fast asleep.

Yours sincerely

R. de B. Layard

I hope you have better news from home.

35. Layard to Satow

Hakodate

Jan. 1, 98

My dear Sir Ernest,

May I express unofficially my regret at having forgotten about sending the agreement or a report of its conclusion until two months nearly after the event. My excuse is such a lame one really that I was ashamed to

make it in the first instance, but I was assuredly under the impression that I had done what was necessary already. I tender my sincere apologies.

Nothing doing – but a round of New Year's calls at private residences – the mourning³¹⁸ simply shifts the visit from the offices to the Kantaku [?].

The tram line here is tremendously patronized, a car which ought to be licensed to carry 10 or 12 carrying sometimes 21 passengers! And this with every car I have seen passing.

Our best wishes to you for the New Year & all prosperity.

Yours sincerely

R. de B. Layard

36. Layard to Satow

Hakodate

January 10, 1897 [should be 1898]

[Ans. 14/1 1898]

My dear Sir Ernest,

No one would have suspected our new Consul General of retiring before his next leave became due³¹⁹, and you will now have another lot of worry with the Consular shifts – when the retirement comes off.

Personally speaking, its suddenness is somewhat of a blow and I turn to you as an old friend for advice in my need. You will remember my saying something about staying on here should Tainan become vacant – but maturer thought inclines me to consider it a mistake not to take a step if available and my wife agrees with me, although shld. we go South, I fear it will mean separation for a part, at any rate, of each year. I don't even know whether I was right in declining your kind offer of going to Nagasaki if wanted, but that is finished with unless you find it necessary.

I should value your opinion much with regard to Tainan, when you have time to devote to a letter. When do you suppose you will get the news from home about Mr. Troup's application [to retire] ? All these moves tend to make one giddy, and make one regret having settled oneself into a house so comfortably as far as spending money on furniture etc. goes. My double journey between Formosa & this, if I go, will be a record!

We might be with Hansen's expedition³²⁰ for all there is to tell you as regards news of interest.

Yours sincerely

³¹⁸ Mourning for the Empress Dowager who had died in the previous year ?

³¹⁹ James Troup was promoted to Consul General at Yokohama on 18 November 1896. He retired on a pension, 1 April 1898. (Kuwata, 2003, p. 474) Satow noted that Troup was 'greatly anxious about himself; has been spitting blood etc.' (Diary, 23 December 1897)

³²⁰ American N.E. Hansen led an agricultural expedition to Russia in 1897-98.

R. de B. Layard

37. Layard to Satow

[Ans 14/1]

British Consulate, Hakodate

January 10, 1898

My dear Sir Ernest,

A letter just arrived from home necessitates a postscriptum to my letter of this morning.

We had asked “in the vague” a young cousin, a girl, to come out to us for a time, & by a coincidence we heard from her mother this morning saying that the girl would start in February unless we telegraphed “No” to her.

As our answer therefore depends on the moves in the service I should feel grateful if you can tell me what you think will be the date of the general move, if Mr. Troup retires.

We expected her for a twelvemonth but even 6 months would be scarcely worth her while for such a long journey. Please excuse the further trouble I am giving you & believe me

Yours sincerely

R. de B. Layard

38. Layard to Satow

[Ans 1/2]

Hakodate

16 January 1898

My dear Sir Ernest,

Thank you much for both your kind letters about the impending moves, which I have thought over from every point of view. You will like it best if I put my decision as briefly as possible.

It amounts to this – that only if I could be gazetted and get a commission as Consul at Tamsui or Tainan and nevertheless stay on here as “Acting” – would I prefer to remain on at Hakodate. In the other case I should choose rather to be transferred in the regular manner. I dare not risk any other course.

I am not putting this forward as a request but only as an alternative, if such an alternative were feasible; and I hope you will believe how grateful I am to you for so fully discussing the position in your letters.

Yours sincerely

R. de B. Layard

39. Layard to Satow

[ans 1/2]

British Consulate, Hakodate

29 January '98

My dear Sir Ernest,

I am sure you agree with me that the practice of caricature is a dangerous & reprehensible one, but I cannot resist sending you the enclosed, which is not a portrait of the Provost [Mayor] of Leith [now part of Edinburgh]. With you it will be safe.

Things are very slack here, but at least we have plenty of time for following our private pursuits and reading of all kinds. I have received Gubbins' translation of the Civil Code, and am making a study of the chapters on superficies and emphyteusis³²¹, in the light of recent discussions in the Press.

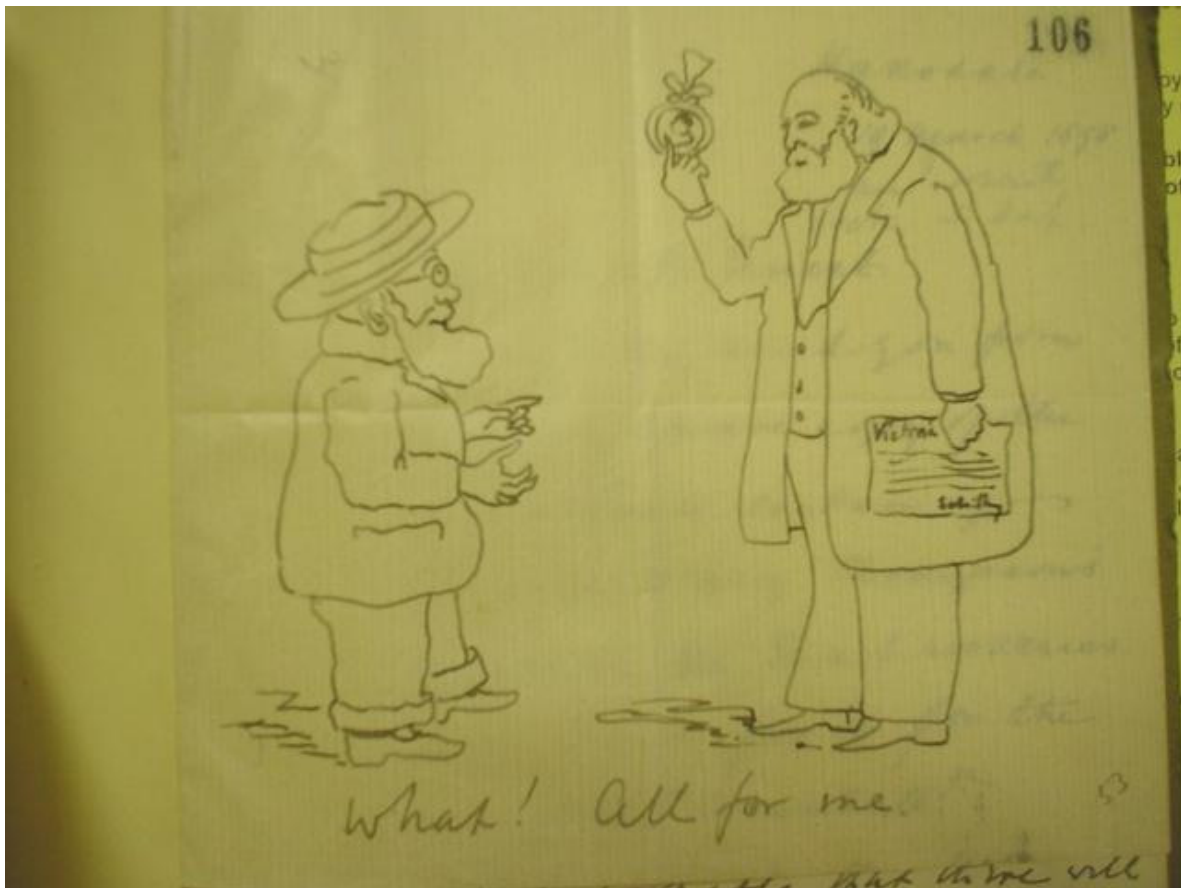
Without being indiscreet I suppose I may assume that we shall ere long get our 'route' for the South ? We have to congratulate ourselves that the news of Mr. Troup's retirement came in time for us to stop our cousin by telegram from starting out to Japan from England. But, and there is always a but – we have had to countermand stores etc. and had just had in stocks of many things which will now be the occasion of considerable loss. These things make one long for a settled home, although I suppose if one were settled it would mean periodical fits of restlessness.

My wife joins me in kind regards: also this O from Christobel.

Yours sincerely

R. de B. Layard

³²¹ See Gubbins to Satow, letter no. 53, PRO 30/33 5/4.



p. 106 Caricature drawn in freehand by Layard – apparently Lord Salisbury holding out a key or bag of money [retirement pension ?] to a short bespectacled man with a beard [Troup ?] who is saying “What! All for me.” In his left hand Salisbury holds a piece of paper with Victoria written at the top and Salisbury at the bottom.

40. Layard to Satow

British Consulate, Hakodate

21 Feb. 1898

My dear Sir Ernest,

Many thanks for your letter; I suppose you have no objection if I discuss with [H.A.C.] Bonar the possibility of my relieving him [at Tamsui, Formosa], as it will be convenient to make arrangements about furniture before the event, and the longer the notice the better.

Can you tell me anything about my successor as, if possible, I should like to warn him about what chattels I

would like him to assimilate ? If you cannot, may I ask you to let me know when [A.E.] Wileman is expected out here, or where a letter would find him in England.

Turning out some photographs I came across this duplicate of R.A. Wylie [of Cornes & Co.] – a snapshot taken by J.P. Reid [of Strachan's] at the [Yokohama] Races. As I have two, perhaps you would like it. I think it is excellent.

I heard from [W.J.] Kenny by last mail, he seems delighted with the change, but seems to be still in the doctors' hands, although with a prospect of speedy recovery. I think we all envy him the billet [in Honolulu] ! Personally, being snowed up, I can hardly realize a warm delightful climate with garlands of flowers and other delights.

Colonel Hemming asked me to do a service for him, which he will remember – but until the snow has gone it is an impossibility. I daresay he spoke to you about it.

Christobel is lively and keeps us in good spirits. We are very thankful to the stork that brought her ! With love from her and best remembrances from Isabel and myself I remain

Yours sincerely

R. de B. Layard

Your cardigan jacket has been of the greatest comfort all the winter.

41. Layard to Satow

Hakodate

19 March 1898

[ansd. & sent docts. in desp.]

My dear Sir Ernest,

If they send you from home a spare copy of the Blue book containing Professor D'Arcy Thompson's ³²² report on the Seal rookeries may I ask for it for the use of this Consulate ?

It is probable that there will be fewer sealing schooners this year from Br. Columbia, but I have no news yet of the actual number. I had rather looked forward to escaping those delightful gentlemen, the sealers, this year – but it is not to be.

My mother asks me to tell you that Miss [Mrs?] Wells is keeping "fairly well; is bright and her recent accident (I am glad to say) does not appear to have left any bad effects."

I see a report of apptmts. of St. [Student] Interpreters to "China, Japan & Siam". They surely are not sending you another !

We are all well but have been hurting & bruising ourselves by falling about in the slippery streets! I fell

³²² See Barrett-Hamilton to Lowther, letter no. 28, PRO 30/33 5/5.

down 5 stone steps yesterday – a “facilé” decent [descent ?] fortunately.

Yours very truly

R. de B. Layard

42. Layard to Satow

H.M. Consulate, Hakodate

30 March 1898

Dear Sir Ernest,

Thankyou much for sending me Prof. D’Arcy Thompson’s report on the fur seal herd. It is interesting reading. The impression seems to be that there will be very few sealers this year, but I am inclined to think that they reached the lowest point nearly in numbers last year, & that there will be no great further reduction.

Your remark that the telegrams are inaccurate is cheering; but I wish one could see how things are going to turn out in China. I should think Curzon ³²³ must be intensely aggravating to some of the opposition, and his remarks are not satisfying.

We are all the worse for colds (or is it a cold ?) which verges on influenza. Taste, smell & temper all astray, speaking for myself I can work up a smile by calling to mind the Chinese Minister’s excuse to the Plunketts – that he couldn’t come and dine because he and his wife were in bed with a cold. Such a pleasing picture! I can’t let your goddaughter [Christobel] kiss you for the same reason but we send our united respex [sic].

Yours sincerely

R. de B. Layard

43. Layard to Satow

Private

Hakodate

9 April 1898

[ans 15/4, sending extr. fr. HSW’s letter of 14/4]

My dear Sir Ernest,

Before the matter comes before me officially, I should be glad to know if you would be able, should the occasion arise, to appoint someone in this place to be government surveyor, for the purpose of registering a vessel. The vessel in question is being built for the sealing business, is of small tonnage, and would lose much time in going to Yokohama to be surveyed.

³²³ George Nathaniel Curzon (1859-1925). Under secretary of state at the foreign office, 1895-96. Succeeded Lord Elgin as Viceroy of India in 1898. Author of *Problems of the Far East*.

I know of only one man in this place really competent to act as surveyor – and he is my Constable, who holds a master's certificate of competency. I believe there have been instances of Consuls being appointed surveyors but cannot refer you to a case, although I rather think my (Consul) Uncle was Lloyd's surveyor in Fiji.

When the moment arrives, I should like to be able to give a definite answer.

Things are of the quietest here. There is no excitement about Eastern affairs worth mentioning. What affects the Hakodate people most is the probability of scanty business this summer, if the [sealing and naval] fleets are occupied elsewhere.

Everything is a month later than usual. I heard a presumably rational person say that it was to be accounted for by there being this year an intercalary March in the old calendar! I have not verified this point.

The snow is going, but it freezes every night, and the ice below the surface of the ground has so far prevented all work in fields and gardens.

The seniors in the service would seem to be anxious to get their transfers at quick order, but personally speaking, the stage has now been reached where the longer I stay on here into the summer the better pleased I shall be. One summer escaped in Formosa is no small blessing – especially with the prospect of home leave at the end of the century.

My wife & babe join me in best remembrances.

Yours sincerely

R. de B. Layard

44. Layard to Satow

[ans. 20/4/98]

British Consulate, Hakodate

16th April 1898

My dear Sir Ernest,

Various British missionaries have been telling me that the police have been (as it seems) needlessly officious about demanding production of passports – but I shall not make an official case of it unless you think it advisable: as I am not sure whether they, the police, are not within their rights. It is their habit here to meet the coasting steamers from Hokkaido ports & from Aomori on arrival at Hakodate & ask for passports. As the people are still in transit I doubt whether the fact of their arrival at an open port helps them ? but supposing the foreigner is without his passport – what is the policeman going to do?

I have just heard a report, but too late to verify before writing, that certain missionaries who had forgotten their passports were hauled before the Inspector of Police who of course could do nothing & did nothing. I

shall see him on Monday morning and see if I can arrange things better. He is a very reasonable person, and if the difficulty arises from zeal on the part of newly drafted policemen will no doubt do what is necessary. Passports ought of course to be asked for at the ports the steamers start from, & I shall try & arrange it so. The police all over the island are very keen after the foreigner & dear old Baelz will tell you with indignation how he was shadowed as a Russian spy when in the Hokkaido.

If the police have any right to demand passports at an open port they are, I think, running it rather fine in taking the foreigner to the police station in case of non-production.

The roadmaking up to the projected fort on the "Peak" is in full swing and the War Department have a "No thoroughfare" notice up, at the point where the road commences.

Winter disappeared at one stroke since I last wrote and we are having lovely warm weather. The Batchelors are staying with us, and I am enjoying his intelligent companionship greatly.

My wife joins me in kindest regards.

Yours sincerely

R. de B. Layard

45. Layard to Satow

Hakodate

19 April 1898

Dear Sir Ernest

Many thanks for the opinion about granting certificate of registration to the sealer. I am glad to say that, by moral suasion, the would-be sportsman has been induced to give up his original intention, and I hear the vessel has changed owners and will sail under the Swedish flag. At the same time the opinion you send me is instructive and I am very glad to have it for future reference.

I think I have arranged the matter of the passports concerning which I wrote to you on the 16th instant. Mr. Nanjo, the Chief of Police, has issued orders to the policemen that passports will only be asked for from passengers leaving Hakodate by steamer for ports in the "interior". There have been large drafts of policemen new to the business and consequently overzealous.

Should the practice continue I shall address him officially, but I know he has a lot of bother with them and can trust him to do his best to remedy inconvenience.

I received the box of seals sent out in the F.O. bag, and have acknowledged them in a despatch to F.O. as instructed. Kindest regards from us both.

Yours very truly

R. de B. Layard

46. Layard to Satow

Hakodate

3rd May, 1898

My dear Sir Ernest,

Thank you for your letter of 27th April.

I have addressed the N.Y.K. in terms of your No. 4 of April 25th, as the Company have been notified in like manner at other ports, but I do not expect that they will have any occasion here to act upon the suggestion.

I shall not disturb the minds of the sealing schooner owners, Japanese, who employ foreigners as hunters.

These men never come near the Consulate, and it might be unwise to let them suppose that there was any chance of their obtaining relief.

I trust you may obtain rest soon but not in the way you specify!

Great extension of tramlines going on in the town and consequent hindrance to traffic for the time being. They intend to take the line out to Yunokawa shortly – the Onsen about 4 miles away from Hakodate on the Eastern coast.

We have glorious weather now but only a fortnight or so ago we had three hours snow during a night, and it lay for a time in the morning.

Many of the missionaries are away at the Aomori[?] Conference – and from their letters seem to be having a “high old time”.

Best remembrances from us all. Yours sincerely

R. de B. Layard

Please tell me the name of your Sara Buretsu? [thoroughbred ?]

47. Layard to Satow

Hakodate

16 May 1898

My dear Sir Ernest,

This reply to your Circular No. 11 about factories etc. is I suppose the first to hand. It is a “nil return”. The firm of Howell & Co. British merchants here, is interested in the Kunnui manganese mines on Volcano Bay, but as it is a private matter (as regards furnishing capital) and the mine is entirely under Japanese management, I have not mentioned it in my despatch. It would be detrimental to the firm if it should appear in a Blue Book.

I heard from Wileman by last mail. He says he is not starting East (or West?) until 18th July. He is very severe with me and intends protesting strongly, if I don't go to Formosa! I have set his mind at rest, but tell

him that we consider him heartless as it entails wife and child being subjected to a climate which he declares himself incapable of supporting. He had as you may remember a severe bout of malarial fever in Honolulu on his way home, and is utterly scared in consequence.

The “Yayeyama Kan” is at anchor here, looking out for stray U.S. or Spanish ships I suppose.

The “Musashi Kan” has gone North to the sealing grounds.

No sealers yet and letters waiting for only one – which rejoices my heart.

Kindest regards from my wife & a respectful greeting from Christobel.

Yours sincerely

R. de B. Layard

48. Layard to Satow

Hakodate

2nd June 1898

My dear Sir Ernest,

I hurried my Trade Report on in the expectation of having plenty of bother as usual with the sealers, but I am thankful to say that we are apparently not to have more than one this year – and that entered and cleared within 12 hours! So my occupation is gone.

On the other hand the foreigners in the employ of Japanese sealing companies are swelling in numbers. It is rather instructive. They number 20 or more, all hunters except 3, one of the latter being master of a schooner. There are this year so far 15 Japanese schooners, 13 genuinely so, 2 really belonging to an American or to the Am. firm of Laffin & Co. The other as you know went under the Swedish flag.

The hunters who get a retaining wage per month from the Japanese as good as over the water * get, besides, a larger sum per skin taken.

* They “find themselves” here in food

The “Director” the solitary Brit. Columbian schooner which came in had 400 skins and the “Silver Fleece” the American-owned one, that was wrecked the other day – 519 – but this is nothing out of the way. I am very curious to see what the Japanese make of it – the sealing.

The “Peak” has been tabooed to the public, notice boards being stuck up everywhere. “No admittance” in English looking rather funny at the Entrance of a half obliterated path in the open. The animal Matsuri [festival] which took thousands up the hill last year was consequently a failure – and the poor holiday seekers were kept back by sentries. The War Office is getting on well with the grading of the road which apparently, in the rough, has reached the summit.

Mr. Cowan’s [of the Office of Works] visit was a short one but much to the point – and I shall have my

hands full for some time with contracts & repairs.

It would interest him to know that he was reported in the local press as the new Consul! I suppose now that they think he didn't like the look of his new post & left it hurriedly.

Our Queen's birthday orgies were very successful, but it is unfortunate in some ways that the R.C. fathers will not foregather with their would-be brothers. We do not see them here in consequence.

Kindest regards from my wife & "duties" from the little one.

Yours sincerely

R. de B. Layard

49. Layard to Satow

Hakodate

1 July 1898

My dear Sir Ernest,

Lord and Lady Orford [Oxford?] arrived here some days ago and as we were living out of the house, owing to painters and the like being in possession – they went for a couple of nights to a Japanese hotel.

We got back into the Consulate on the 29th June, Lady Orford coming to stay with us on the following day, whilst Lord Orford has vainly been endeavouring to leave harbour for Nemuro – all or nearly all the coasting steamers being port-bound with heavy fogs. He has been on board for 42 hours already!

I have obtained for him letters from the local authorities introducing him to the chief men & police of Nemuro – and another letter of the same kind addressed to officials all over the Island. So he will not be taken for a Russian! and I hope may find some good fishing.

I suppose you have heard nothing yet of the commissions?

My wife and child are well and send you "best remembrances", the latter adding a kiss thereto.

Yours sincerely

R. de B. Layard

I find that Lord Orford was with my eldest brother when the latter died in the Shipka Pass³²⁴ - and we have many mutual friends and acquaintances. Apart from that they are all that is pleasant, and we are glad of your introduction.

50. Layard to Satow

Hakodate

29 July 1898

³²⁴ In Bulgaria, the scene of heavy fighting in the Russo-Turkish War of 1877-78.

My dear Sir Ernest

Never was there such a “sleepy hollow” as this place, and it is only the prospect of the arrival of some of the fleet that keeps us going. We have no news of ships from the South, but the 2 Behring Sea patrols will be back about the 10th-15th of next month.

I want to express our thanks to you for introducing the Orfords to us. Lord Orford found he could not take Lady Orford with him on his fishing trip, so that we had the benefit of her company for about a fortnight.

I see [French consul resident in Formosa 1895-99, Raphael] de Bondy has been writing trade reports about Formosa, and he is to be congratulated in being able to do it at Tokio and not on the spot.

Kenny writes to me cheerfully enough from Hawaii, but complains of the expense of living, & seems uncertain as to his future. From what he says, it looks as if there would not be a vacancy at all for me in Formosa, but I have ceased to speculate, and only long for something definite in the near future.

There is nothing in Hakodate itself to complain of as regards climate, barring the pension regulations!

Just at the moment we are having Nikko-ish wet weather with fungus growths on everything.

My wife joins me in kindest regards

Yours sincerely

R. de B. Layard

P.S. Are Trade Reports to be sent direct to F.O. now, or through the Legation?

51. Layard to Satow

Hakodate

3rd August 1898

My dear Sir Ernest,

It may interest you to know that Wileman was at Vancouver on the 2nd instant, so that if he comes on at once he will arrive in Yokohama on the 16th.³²⁵

I had written to him about furniture asking him to telegraph if he would take mine over, and his reply (from Vancouver) is “If appointed yes.”

The implied doubt is rather embarrassing.

Yours very truly

R. de B. Layard

52. Layard to Satow

³²⁵ Satow lunched with Wileman on August 15th. He was “vexed” at not being appointed Consul at Hakodate. Satow told him F.W.W. Playfair had greater experience. (Diary, 15 August 1898).

[ans 13/8]

Hakodate

5 August 1898

My dear Sir Ernest

Many thanks for your letter of 2nd instant, and for the definite news about my relief.

I shall be ready to move from here by the time you mention, 6 weeks from the beginning of this month, but I suppose it will be a little longer actually before Playfair's arrival.

We shall be delighted to come to you at the Legation and thank you much for the invitation.

I will meet your wishes of course as much as possible in hurrying to Formosa, but without asking for actual leave may I say that my teeth and wardrobe sadly want replenishing (literally) after eighteen months in Hakodate. I have done my best, but the local dentists are useless; and, as regards clothes, although Lane & Crawford have sent me suits, I have not been able to wear them, so badly do they fit, and they must be altered after fitting by L & C's tailor. I am really in rags, and would humbly ask for as many days in a civilized place like Yokohama as you can spare me.

I have been told that the Admiral is not coming further than Yokohama, but as you say he may look in, if he is going to Port Lazareff or to the North generally.

I should have said Wileman is probably due 15th not 16th inst.

With kindest regards from us both & a kiss from Christobel

I remain yours truly

R. de B. Layard

53. Layard to Satow

[ans 13/8]

Hakodate

11 Aug. 1898

My dear Sir Ernest

Many thanks for yours of the 8th instant, with details as to moves. Playfair has agreed to take such furniture as I want to dispose of I am glad to say.

As to the dates of moving I await developments but have begun packing.

The new arrangement about Kobe, Nagasaki & Yokohama was a great surprise, and Bonar is to be congratulated [on appointment as Consul to Yokohama]. I suppose information as to the salary may be heard later, but one hears little of reasons up here for the changes. I only hope we may look forward to succeeding Bonar!

Poor Kenny seems in a bad way as to health and must feel unsettled about his future.

I am doing a little amateur detective work. A self styled British subject had turned up asking for charity & lying pretty freely. I think he is the Dutchman Schonenberger who was denied protection by his Consul, and tried by the Japanese on the charge of murdering a Jinrikishaman at Honmoku near Yokohama in 1892. If there is nothing against him I shall probably frank him to Yokohama to avoid trouble! (out of pure charity) to the British subjects he is sponging on – or hand him over to the Japanese in the other event.

Yours very truly

R. de B. Layard

54. Layard to Satow

[ans 24 Aug see other side]

Hakodate

Aug. 16 1898

My dear Sir Ernest

I understand your Circular 19 to mean that unless a Constable at present employed is a pensionable servant the rules laid down do not apply to his case. I presume I am right, but if there is any possibility of benefitting my present Constable (who did not pass any examination) I don't want to spoil his chances by not doing the right thing under the last paragraph.

There are 5 big Japanese men-of-war including the "Yashima", in harbour about to proceed on manoeuvres to Aomori tomorrow morning.

The "Archer" and "Redpole" are both back – officers and men in them using strong language at having no relief – but being sent back to the Arctic regions.

It is something of a farce as there are apparently no schooners to keep guard over – or against.

I hope you are having pleasanter weather than we are having. We are having typhoon rain but without the wind; and rivers are running down the garden.

Kindest regards in which my wife joins

Yours very truly

R. de B. Layard

Satow's answer:

24/8/98

I have looked at the F.O. circular, & come to the conclusion that if your constable likes to apply to undergo the exam. & obtain the C.S. certif. he may do so thro' you, & I will refer his case home for cons'n. We gave

you the F.O. circular word for word.

I understand it to mean that (1) if he is within the limits of age laid down within it you can give him permission to present himself for exam. (2) if he is beyond those limits his case shld. be referred home.

I have told Playfair what I wrote to you abt. arranging w. him as to the date of his taking over.³²⁶

y.v.t.

55. Layard to Satow

Hakodate

17 August 1898

My dear Sir Ernest

Thankyou much for your kind letter of 13th inst. I expect I shall be able to get dentist and tailor finished in the time you mention and am not going to worry you much in respect of leave. But (there is always a but) I should like “without prejudice” to comment on your letter.

I don't think the Bonars have any better friends in the service than ourselves, & we should be delighted to oblige them. But (again) I would remind you that with the exception of the few days in Yokohama on the way up here I have had no leave since I went to Formosa. Even when I stole a couple of days at the Lakes here I was not out of touch with Hakodate & was liable to be recalled at any moment. The other point is this that a change from Formosa to Yokohama in October or November is not to be compared in any way with a similar change to Hakodate in January & February, season & latitude considered.

Bonar I may say has often expressed to me the sentiment that he personally would not mind staying on at Tainan indefinitely. I have had no opportunity of taking my wife to any place in Japan further than Miyanoshita since we came back from England, & we looked forward to seeing Kyoto together before we are too old to enjoy it! I wanted her to go with me to Sapporo if possible.

The later on into November the less chance of typhoons & gales and less contrast between the climates of Japan and Formosa. It was 95°F. on October 13th 1896 and dropped to 70° at end of that month.

Bonar's anxiety to be civilized is evidently not as keen as mine as he declined to come to Japan when he got his two months (?) leave last autumn. Mrs. Bonar is having a good time at Amoy staying with her friends the Merz s.

I know it is impossible to satisfy everybody – I had almost said ‘anybody’ - but you must forgive me letting

³²⁶ Playfair, Frank William Walter (1859-1915). Appointed student interpreter in Japan, 1880. Pro-Consul at Hiogo, 1887-90. Acting Consul at Hakodate, 1889 and 1890. Pro-Consul at Hiogo, 1894-98. Promoted to be Consul for the Consular District of Hakodate, to reside at Hakodate, August 4, 1898. Transferred to Shimonoseki as Consul, April 1, 1901. Transferred to Tamsui, 1903; to Nagasaki, 1904. Retired on a pension, 1909. (from Kuwata, 2003, p.424)

off steam in this fashion & believe that it is not difficult to satisfy me. You have no idea what a sense of discipline I have!

What, to use a vulgar expression, “rose” me in your letter – was the expression that the Bonars must be “considered” & “they ought if possible to get here before the end of October”. Selah.³²⁷

Thankyou also for promising to inform me of date of relief. As to accounts – it would be most convenient really for me to wind up September Quarter before handing over, rather than leave Playfair to sign for expenses which he cannot vouch for himself.

I am delighted at the prospect of any reduction of the years of service out here, but I am comparatively young yet.

Your godchild’s religious instruction is furrowing the brow of her mother, but I suppose it will come out right in the end. At present she has a fixed idea that the “Father in Heaven” of her hymns resides at the Legation in Tokio, “godfather” of course causing the confusion.

I look forward to having much talk with you and hope you will have time to spare.

Yours very truly

R. de B. Layard

56. Layard to Satow

Hakodate

23 Aug. 1898

My dear Sir Ernest,

As always – you have proved your kindness; and I am much obliged to you for your letter of 20th inst. I feel sure Playfair will make no objection and think it will suit Bonar if we leave Kobe say on the 3rd November.

As soon as I hear from them I will let you know.

I felt sure the senior Irishmen would protest about Yokohama but I am very curious to see if their protest will have any result.

Thanking you again for your letter.

Believe me Yours sincerely

R. de B. Layard

I am well content.

57. Layard to Satow

Private

³²⁷ “Selah” is a Hebrew word used in biblical psalms. It denotes a pause for reflection.

[recd. 8 Sept.]

Hakodate

3 Sept. 1898

My dear Sir Ernest,

I have been forced into a childish sort of a difficulty by asking Playfair to postpone his arrival a few days. He “prefers” to arrive before Sep. 30 but will take over charge on October 1st thinking that this house will contain both families, including servants. He has forgotten the scantiness of the accomodation [sic], not to speak of the difficulty of providing food etc. in the midst of packing.

May I leave matters as he has arranged with you, viz. that he leaves 21st or 23rd letting you know by wire – and try and arrange that I hand over as soon as he arrives in Hakodate? He will have only himself to thank for the job of doing out the accounts.

I fear I have annoyed the little man but quite unintentionally.

I will let you know as soon as ever I hear from him about date of taking over.

Yours very truly

R. de B. Layard

58. Layard to Satow

[ans 16/9]

Hakodate

12 Sept. 1898

My dear Sir Ernest

Interruption of line and telegraphs have somewhat thrown out our communications.

I have not yet heard from Playfair the exact date of his arrival, but it will presumably be the 27th or 29th instant. Neither have I had a reply from you to my question whether I might hand over before the 1st of October – but no doubt your letter is en route.

Bonar telegraphed to me that he was in very small health so my wife and I have decided we will meet their wishes – to leave by taking the Kobe steamer of the 18th October to Kelung.

We have thus rather fallen between two stools and shall not be able to go to Sapporo, nor perhaps Kioto. Please put it to my credit, should next year see us requiring a holiday.

Mr. Tatsuoka, hitherto “Acting” governor, has been “retired” and is replaced by Mr. Kato Kosetsu, hitherto shihainin [director 支配人] of the Teikoku Suisan Kaisha. He bears a strange record – only one local paper having any good to say of him, whilst all the others combine in vilifying both him and his predecessor. Tatsuoka’s departure is a loss officially.

Yours very truly

R. de B. Layard

59. Layard to Satow

[ans. 23/9. come to me 11 or 12 Oct.]

Hakodate

17th September 1898

My dear Sir Ernest,

I expect to report myself to you at the Legation on or about the 3rd of October.³²⁸

As you were so kind as to ask us to come and stay with you for a couple of days – it is best to let you know our intended movements subject to your convenience.

We think it will be best to go straight to the Bulls our friends at 213 Bluff Yokohama (as we fly to the dentist on arrival) and deposit our luggage or most of it with them. After that we shall be at your entire disposal.

We expect to leave Yokohama for Kioto on the 13th or perhaps 14th October, if we can get through all we have to do.

Christobel and her nurse are leaving here on the 26th by steamer to stay with the Lowders at Yokohama, and we expect the Playfairs here on the 29th instant.

With the extraordinary down pours of rain we are having we cannot be certain whether the railway will be “possible” but we shall come South as speedily as we are able.

With kindest regards from us both, I remain yours sincerely

R. de B. Layard

60. F.W.W. Playfair to Satow

Private

B.C. Hakodate

Oct. 1 1898

My dear Sir Ernest,

Thank you for your note of 27th Ultimo. It seems to me the F.O. will have to make some wonderful calculations regarding my pay for last quarter. I believe that I am not entitled to the pay of this post until my arrival here.

Would you be so good as tell Paget that No. 14 from here is the Quarterly Accounts, & will be sent on the

³²⁸ The Layards came to the Legation on October 4th. (Satow's Diary, Ruxton, 2003, p. 305)

return from the Bank of the usual certificate: the Accounts had to go before the letter saying Layard had given over to me.

I notice a few changes here, but not very many yet. Layard expected to get off about 7 a.m. but up till now, 10 a.m. his boat has not arrived, so he will be late from the train in Awomori, which is very disagreeable.

My wife stood the journey very badly, & was a perfect wreck all yesterday. The baby, however, was as lively as possible. We landed in heavy rain.

Yours sincerely

F.W. Playfair

61. Playfair to Satow

Hakodate

Oct. 14 1898

My dear Sir Ernest,

I find that there is a copy of Gubbins' [translation of the] Civil Code, but not Dr. Lönholm's. I think I should have the latter, and perhaps I might have de Becker's which is published by the Eastern World. I would suggest that special sanction to buy these is not necessary, as I can pay for them out of the P.P.S. allowance, which is very liberal at this Consulate, in ordinary years. I mean that without excessive boat-hire etc. as when the fleet are in, it is easy to make ends meet, while at other Consulates I know that is not the case.

The "Archer" arrived on Wednesday morning and leaves tomorrow. The "Redpole" is not expected for a fortnight.

I have done all my official calls, and am going to entertain the Japanese officials next week. It takes some time to settle down & get things into order. The weather here has been excellent since Layard left.

Yours sincerely

F.W. Playfair

62. Playfair to Satow

Private

Hakodate

Oct. 26. 1898

My dear Sir Ernest,

The information I telegraphed this morning was given me by Mr. H.S. Wilkinson who arrived at 6 a.m. He thought it a good idea to let you know in case it was being "kept dark" at all. Mr. Wilkinson also informs me that he learnt from a conversation with a Japanese general that it is proposed to establish a new military

district at Hirosaki, near Awomori: the General in question is to take command of it. Of course all the above may be well known to the military attaché, in which case, however, no harm is done; and being so far off I cannot tell what is public property or not.

Mr. Wilkinson is to spend a couple of days here. I hope the weather will continue as at present, bright sun & little or no wind. I hope you are deriving benefit from your stay at Atami.³²⁹

With kind regards

Yours sincerely

F.W. Playfair

63. Playfair to Satow

[ans 28/2. Please write & say whether a Constable is necessary till July 17 & after that a shipping clerk.]

Private

Hakodate

Feby. 23 1899

My dear Sir Ernest,

The Constable here has been obliged to resign owing to ill-health. He has been off-duty for some time, as the worst symptoms he has is sudden fits of dizziness which utterly incapacitate him. I have ventured, in my official, to suggest that you cause the post to be advertized for, as I know of no better way of getting any applications. I suggested the Yokohama Consul to engage a man, as it would be difficult for me to do so, and I remember Russell Robertson engaging Lucas for here on Quin's behalf in 1882, when I was in the Yoko. Consulate.

Nesbitt is 65 or 66, and is in a great hurry to get away by one of the cheap P. & O. boats on March 22nd from Yoko. that is. He is a man of substance, I believe, & has two sons fairly well off, one in Newchwang & one in England. He has a sister alive in England also, & I understand he is going to her first. I presume you will agree to his resigning. I know the Treasury are very strict, but hope you will be able to authorize his drawing pay till the end of March, as a small gratuity – if necessary – for his services here. I have not been here long enough to know his capabilities, but he is willing & civil. He is no use now, as he can't read or write without risking a dizzy bout (or "boot", as he calls it.)

I beg that you will kindly reply as soon as you conveniently can, in order that he may make arrangements for his passage.

Very thawy & cold here today, heaps of snow on the ground now melting & making a horrid mess.

³²⁹ Satow stayed at Atami on the recommendation of Dr. Baelz (see Satow's diary September 29, 1898) from October 9th to 29th. (Satow's Diary)

Yours sincerely

F.W. Playfair

64. Playfair to Satow

Private

Hakodate

March 2 1899

My dear Sir Ernest,

With reference to my application for a new Constable I have already had two applications, one in writing from Yokohama from a young man named Piers, & (wonderful to relate) one from a man here named John Will. I have said nothing about requiring a constable, but I suppose Nesbitt has told his friends he is resigning. I told Mr. Will that Nesbitt's resignation had not yet been accepted, so that as a matter of fact I was not yet in need of a constable. I am inclined to think that a young fellow of 22 would not suit, & I hear Mr. Piers is not a very smart fellow, but he writes a goodish hand. Mr. Will is an old sea captain, aged 59, & has been a long time in Japan. He is something like Lucas, the constable in Kobe. I liked the looks of the man & he is well known to Mr. Wilson & Mr. Scott here. Of course I know the limit of age is 20 to 45, but I understand that is only to enable men to get a pension, and that men over the limit may be engaged locally with the permission of the Secy. of State but they do not get certificates from the Civil Service Commrs. I get this information from pages 236 et seq. of the F.O. List 1898. If no more suitable man can be obtained, and the engagement would be in order, I think Mr. Will would suit. However, as I left the matter in your hands & suggested the reference to the Consul at Yokohama I consider myself precluded from acting on my own behalf. Anyhow Nesbitt's resignation is not yet accepted, though I assume it will be, as he is quite useless now, & moreover if he chose to go off how could he be prevented? I shall send a line to Bonar mentioning that I had asked you to obtain his assistance in procuring a constable, & that I have had the two applications referred to above, although, of course, I do not yet know whether you referred to him or not. One advantage, I may point out, would be gained by employing Mr. Will, viz. as he is on the spot the question of transport would not arise.

March came in here like the traditional lion, wind, rain & snow all yesterday.

Yours sincerely

F.W. Playfair

65. Playfair to Satow

Private

Hakodate

March 2 1899

(No.2)

My dear Sir Ernest,

Just a hurried line before post time in reply to yours of 28th Ult. received this evening. I will answer fully tomorrow after thinking the matter over. Meantime I only say that the letter I wrote this morning needs no consideration.

If there has already been the usual appropriation voted for the services of a constable up to July next, I think it would be as well to employ the man Will, here, until then, but if no appropriation has been made I could do without I imagine. Of course I do not know much about the shipping here as I arrived after the season so to say, but I do not think it can be very hard to look after. No more at present.

Yours sincerely

F.W. Playfair

66. Playfair to Satow

Private

Hakodate

March 3 1899.

My dear Sir Ernest,

Since writing to you this morning I have received and answered your telegram offering me leave in April.

If quite convenient I should try & go by English mail due to leave Yokohama about April 19th I think. I should be immensely obliged to you if you could also let me know who is to be my successor that I may try and make arrangements for his taking over some of my effects, & perhaps I could help him with servants.

If you desire it the matter can be kept secret between said successor and myself, i.e. if you do not wish it known generally who the man is to be.

On the assumption that I may come back to this port, I presume I am justified in leaving some things which it would be inconvenient to move, stored here, as there is plenty of room. Perhaps after July 17 the Constable's house might be used as a godown!

There is one thing in which I should like your good offices if you consider you can help me, viz: I am Official Administrator appointed by Mr. Mowatt of the estate of a deceased B.S. [British Subject] in Kobe. I asked Mr. Justice Wilkinson when he was here if I could be relieved. He informed me I should find my successor. I have tried & Mr. Hall has also aided me, but cannot obtain a successor. I have further represented this to Mr. Wilkinson privately and asked him if the Court cannot relieve me, and I pointed out the difficulty of administering the estate from a distance. I have received no reply from him so I thought perhaps a word,

privately, from you to him might help me. I only took it on under great moral pressure from Mowatt, & it is not remunerative enough to make it worth while for a lawyer to take it over. After July I am apparently responsible only to the Court – which will then be no longer in existence. Penney, the agent who collects my rents etc. in Kobe is so slow that I have not yet managed to get from him the vouchers for expenses up to end of 1898, though I have got a statement of same, & also of receipts. I think the Vice Consul in Kobe might be made Off. Adminr., as I was appointed more owing to my office than to my personality I fancy, & my move was not contemplated in 1896. I should add the estate is for the benefit of a Japanese woman and three half caste children After July [the end of extraterritoriality] the whole thing might be got rid of through the Japanese courts. I should be very grateful at getting rid of this incubus, which is nothing in Kobe, but a terrible nuisance when handled by correspondence. Apologizing for thus troubling you. Yours sincerely

F.W. Playfair

[Satow noted on this letter: “Ans. 7 Mar that Judge & I agree Wileman ought to replace him in the trust. E.S.”]

67. Playfair to Satow

[Ans. 13/3. Kenny can have local leave till end of April, and P. go on May 1st.]

Hakodate,

March 9, 1899

My dear Sir Ernest,

I am very much obliged to you for your letter of 6th Inst. As far as I can make out from the newspapers Kenny can arrive in Yokohama either by the steamer “Hong Kong Maru” due on April 6th or by the “China” due on 14th. It is, I suppose, too late for me to write to him & get a reply so that if he did not arrive by steamer of 6th I should scarcely have time to speak to him. Moreover it is cutting it very fine as regards engaging passages etc.

I do not know on what scale of pay Kenny is until he takes charge here, but of course as soon as I hand over my pay is on the reduced home scale, and the time to book passages for steamer of 19th would be too short if Kenny only arrived in Yokohama about 14th.

I should therefore look upon it as a great favour if you could allow me to postpone my departure for a fortnight – say till the mail advertised to sail from Yokohama about May 3rd, and allow me either to remain in charge here till a day or so before that date, or to hand over to Kenny at once on his arrival and go on short local leave (on full pay of course). Kenny could be my guest for the interval.

I should like him to take my house furnished, and would make some arrangement as to taking it over again if I returned to Hakodate, or if not I should only require a few of my things sent elsewhere after me, & no

doubt Kenny would gladly see to the forwarding for me.

I shall write to him shortly through your hands to meet him at the Yokohama Consulate on arrival.

As I wish to telegraph home about leaving I should be grateful if you would let me have an answer soon stating if you approve of my taking local leave or remaining in charge to suit my own convenience & sail by first P. & O. steamer in May.

As to what may happen on the expiry of my leave I quite understand you cannot make any definite statement. I hope, however, that I shall not have to go to Anping, as I am not specially fond of hot weather.

Thank you for writing to the Judge. I have just heard from Mr. Penney that (in default of any one else) he would administer Galliver's Estate, but I shall not say anything till I hear from Mr. Wilkinson.

Yours sincerely

F.W. Playfair

68. Playfair to Satow

Private

Hakodate

March 16, 1899

My dear Sir Ernest,

Thanks for your two last letters. That Kenny should take local leave will suit me very well, & him too, I expect, as he probably has preparations to make. I will send Kenny, shortly, a long screed, but I need not send it through you if I wait until he arrives.

I am writing to the Judge & to Wileman. I am greatly obliged to you for putting in a word, as I found it so difficult to get any notice taken of me when so far off.

I sent you a second despatch about the Christian natives' cemetery. I only learnt casually from Mr. Andrews that it was the property of the C.M.S. and he lent me the deed. I notice the word "grant" is the translation of "Taiyo", which word appears in none of the deeds I have looked up in the Treaties & Conventions. I believe the translation was done in the Kaitakushi office. Probably our deed was destroyed in the fire, but I can not find it even registered.

I shall now make arrangements to leave Yokohama on May 3rd, & I hope Kenny will be here on 28th or 29th. Nesbitt leaves today.

Yours sincerely

F.W. Playfair

69. W.J. Kenny to Satow

Hakodate.

August 5, 1899

Dear Sir Ernest,

The fleet came in at noon yesterday, and I went off and gave Admiral Seymour your note in the afternoon. The present programme seems to be to stay here till the 15th, then go to Muroran, and coast down to Yokohama, arriving there in the beginning of next month, and staying probably three weeks.

I am glad to say that everything is going on harmoniously here, and that there is nothing to report officially. I am unable to answer fully the Circular about Registers, as the present Consular Register contains only a few entries and appears to have been very irregularly kept. The former one and copies of title and other deeds were, I believe, destroyed in one of the fires. The local office, however, has a complete record I understand of all transactions in land, and as there are no mortgages outstanding, it does not seem to be necessary to send in copies of any entries in our Register, except when specially applied for. I have already furnished an extract to the President of the Chiho Court, and informed him that the Register was at his service whenever he had occasion to refer to it, and that I should be glad to give him any further extracts that might be necessary. I shall answer the Circular in a few days when the local office supplies me with some particulars I have asked for.

The only other matters dealt with during the past three weeks have been the Protestant Cemetery, a slight difficulty about ships papers between the Agents and the Customs which was settled by a private note to the Superintendent, and an application from Messrs. Howell & Co. to have a Canal joining their premises reserved, as before, for their private use, a privilege they claim under an agreement made with a former governor. I forwarded this application to the acting governor, asking him to have the agreement confirmed if possible. In his reply, which I sent to Messrs. Howell & Co., he ignored the agreement, and claimed the Canal as town property under Article 18 of the Treaty. Thus the matter stands at present, but I am in hopes that it may settle itself in some way, either by an offer of compensation or compromise, and I do not propose to interfere or refer it to you, in any case.

The matter of the Cemetery is in a fair way of being arranged satisfactorily. Bishop Fyson as general representative of the Protestant Community has applied under the Japanese Cemetery Regulations to lease the lot rent-free as a foreign Protestant cemetery and he takes the responsibility as Kwanrisha [kanrisha, 管理者] for its care and maintenance. The latter responsibility is only nominal as the Consul is trustee of the funds, which at the present rate of expenditure ought to last five or six years at least. The position is an improvement on the former one, as the lot will be vested in some one, and I chose Bishop Fyson as being a suitable person.

Mr. Kirkwood is leaving this evening and expects to be away three weeks. I feel as well as ever now, whatever the doctors may say, and am deeply grateful to you for your kind interest in my health.

Yours very truly,

W.J. Kenny

70. Kenny to Satow

Hakodate.

August 15, 1899

Dear Sir Ernest,

I shall be quite ready to go back to Tainan at the time you mention, and think, at my present rate of progress, that I ought physically to be in a fit condition before the end of the year to resist further “malarial invasion”. I shall regret leaving Hakodate with its lovely climate, but shall do my best to enjoy the change.

The fleet left this morning for Muroran, and may be in Yokohama on the 30th – the original date – or a few days later. I hear the “Powerful” is coming from Weihaiwei to join the squadron at Sendai Bay.

It is satisfactory to be able to report that during the 10 days the fleet was here – from August 4 to 14 – there was not a single serious police case amongst the 4000 or 5000 men who got shore leave. This is particularly creditable in view of the fact that the men had been a long time without leave, and had, most of them, plenty of money when they came on shore.

The Captain of the “Kaiserin Augusta” informs me that the German fleet will arrive with Prince Henry on the 21st inst.

I have only today received from the local office the particulars about Land Registration which I asked for a fortnight ago, and regret that there should be such a delay in answering the circular.

Yours very truly,

W.J. Kenny

71. Kenny to Satow

[Ansd. 26 Sept. 99. Cannot arrange in this way. The only possible thing wld. be to attach him to Yoko. not Tainan [?] but if he did no work, he wld. be like a 5th wheel to a coach.]

Hakodate.

September 15, 1899

Dear Sir Ernest,

Mr. [Ernest Alfred] Griffiths telegraphs to me that you have informed him that I would probably relieve him [at Tainan] at the end of November and that he might go home then, but that he would like, if possible, to be allowed to remain in charge until spring when he hopes to pass his examination, and he asks me whether it could not be so arranged, apparently under the impression that it is optional with me to go or not. My going in

November would, I should think, give him more time to study, that is, if you allowed him to remain on as assistant until he passed his examination, as I would relieve him of all office work, and, personally, I would just as soon go then as later. Of course he would be on reduced pay, and that may be a consideration with him before going home. I have not written to Mr. Griffiths as I know that everything has been arranged, and I am quite satisfied to go any time, but I hope to be pardoned for mentioning the matter, in view of Mr. Griffiths' anxiety to pass his examination.

The German fleet left last Saturday, and Hakodate has become very quiet again. Prince Henry lunched at the Consulate the day before leaving, and I had a photograph taken afterwards, as he expressed a wish for one as a last souvenir of Japan. I venture to send you a copy by this mail as it is very well done and may be interesting. It began to rain just as we were getting taken, and the Japanese woman at the back – my boy's wife – was introduced to harmonize with the umbrellas and to give a Japanese effect to the group.

I am sorry to report a large fire today in Hakodate – about one-tenth of the town and property estimated at about \$3,000,000 has been destroyed. Luckily it has been completely got under now, as I write.

There is no other news of interest here at present.

Yours very truly

W.J. Kenny

72. Arthur Morison Chalmers to Satow

Hakodate

Nov. 13, 1899

Dear Sir Ernest,

We arrived here safely about 5pm last night after a very comfortable journey and we both feel very grateful to you for our pleasant send off from Tokio.³³⁰ Mr. Kenny leaves tomorrow morning but will not fare as well as we did, I fear, as the wind is now blowing strong from the West – a very bad quarter for the Straits.

Mr. Kenny tells me there are no burning questions or likelihood of any at present and I trust nothing will occur to break the calm. I have made the acquaintance of the principal Japanese officials and Bishop Fyson is now calling.

Should anything of interest occur I shall not fail to tell you of it in a private note.

Yours sincerely,

A.M. Chalmers

73. Chalmers to Satow

³³⁰ See Satow's diary for 10 November 1899. "Chalmers' to dine and sleep on their way to Hakodate."

Hakodate,

Nov. 21, 1899

Dear Sir Ernest,

The day before I received your very kind letter the Hakodate Mainichi Shimbun contained a paragraph about the local Klondyke. As it is the latest news I can get on the subject I send you the paper. The contents tally with what I have heard locally except that rumour places the total harvest for last year at 4000 Kwamme. 200 Kwamme, the estimate in the Mainichi, figures out at about £90,000 or more (taking 1 Kwamme as equal to 10 pounds troy) and even this total is probably exaggerated.

The locality seems to have been raided by outsiders who had no business there and the Government has had to interfere. If they are to take the matter in hand I hope to have at least one sparkling subject for my trade report next year. The washings are, I understand, in the Tonbetsu river.

My wife wishes me to send our united kind regards.

Yours sincerely

A.M. Chalmers

74. Chalmers to Satow

Hakodate,

Nov. 27, 1899

Dear Sir Ernest,

In accordance with our General Instructions I am informing you officially of the enforcement of Medical Inspection of vessels from Kobe and Osaka.

The inspection came into force actually on the 22nd inst., according to the newspapers, and I applied to the Governor for official information. He agrees to furnish similar information to the Consulate in future should occasion arise.

Yours sincerely

A.M. Chalmers

75. Chalmers to Satow

Hakodate,

Nov. 28. 1899

Dear Sir Ernest,

In connection with the placer mining ³³¹ at Esashi I have just obtained reliable information which will I

³³¹ Placer mining is mining for gold in alluvial (gravel) deposits.

think interest you though I can hardly at present make any public use of it.

A young Scotchman named Joss, an experienced miner, employed by Akiyama Genzo, who again represents Misaroya [?] in Walter [?] and Company [?] and probably others, has just returned from the mining district. The Oustenai River, a tributary of the Tonbetsu and the Pankie River, a tributary of the Horibetsu have now so far as mining rights are concerned been licensed out in claims to various Japanese holders. The system at present in use is for the labourer to pay for three to four momme ³³² of gold a month to the proprietor of the claim. He then wears a distinctive badge and is allowed to settle on the claim and take whatever gold he finds. There have been this year about 7000 diggers on the various rivers.

The Oustenai cannot be worked after September nor the Pankienai after August, both being salmon rivers. The fish come down to the sea about these dates, and the restrictions on mining are entirely due to the Fishery Regulations and not to police interference generally.

A higher tributary of the Tonbetsu, the Pechan River is being claimed under license now but hitherto it has been more or less worked by the first comer. Now however with claims all marked out the promiscuous outsider next year will be no longer at liberty himself and it is expected that labour will then be easily obtainable on a properly organised basis.

It is for the purpose of organising the labour force next year that Mr. Joss has been on the scene; at the same time he has been arranging for the erection of dwellings and the supply of gear required etc. He estimates the total output for last year and this (say a total period of seven months) at about Yen 550,000. He has seen lumps worth between three and four hundred yen, and says gold seems plentiful on all sides of the mountain he calls Hominopuri [?]. In fact gold is cropping up in other parts of the Hokkaido, and the Japanese are prospecting further north in the Soya district. The Japanese say diggers are getting three or four momme a day at Mombetsu (Onanai river?) but that is too much to be credible.

I enclose a tracing of a sketch map drawn by Mr. Joss.

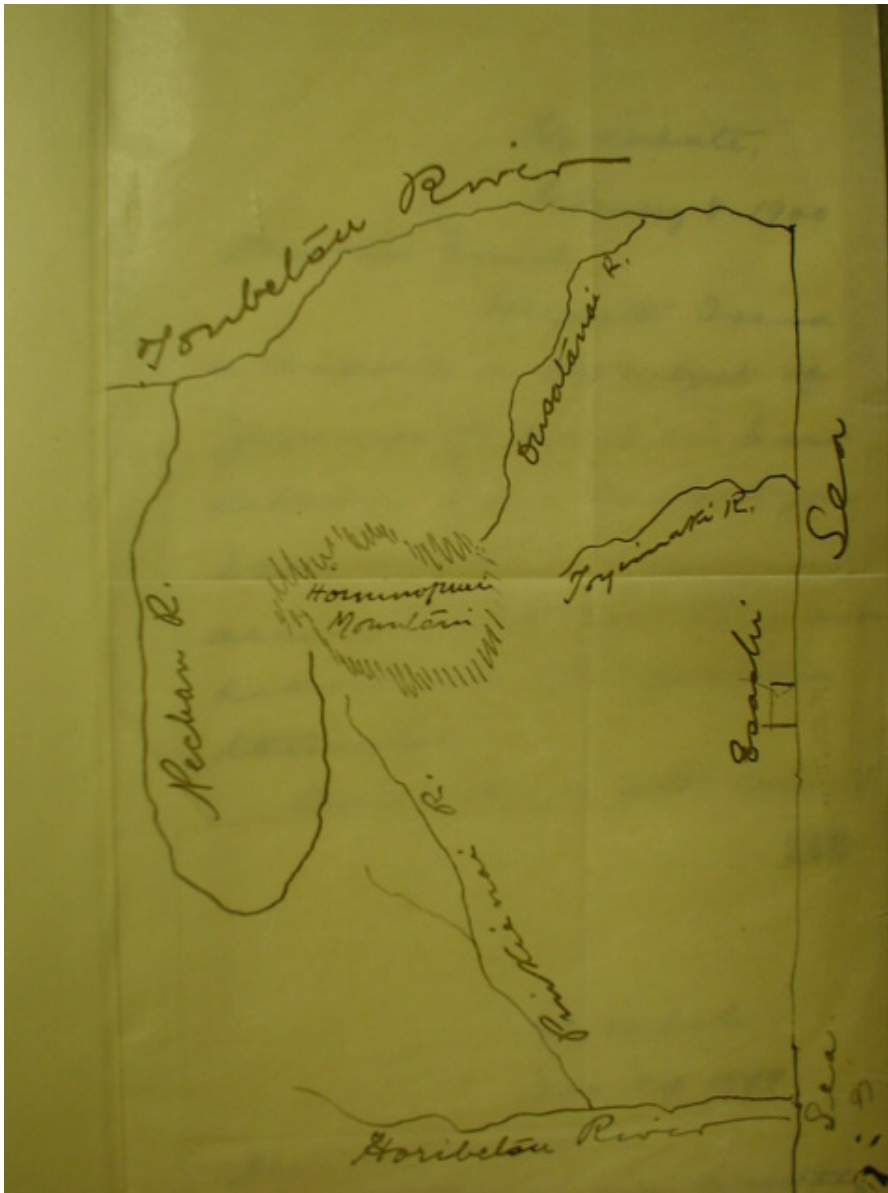
Work has now ceased till next spring so nothing can be done in the winter. We shall then perhaps hear more of the new Eldorado.

Yours sincerely

A.M. Chalmers

P.S. Mr. Joss is interested in a claim held by Mr. Akiyama on the Ousatenai.

³³² 匁 A momme is a unit of weight, about 3.75 grammes.



p.181 Sketch of map of Tonbetsu River, Ousatenai River, Horibetsu River, Hominopuri Mountain etc.

76. Chalmers to Satow

Hakodate

Dec 29 1899

Dear Sir Ernest,

Things go so smoothly at Hakodate that I have no circumstance of any kind to relate with any probability of interesting you.

The Otaru-Hakodate railway seems likely to be commenced shortly - the stores are allotted, the surveys completed and it only remains to get the sanction of the Diet. Possibly this may in a few years render the Hokkaido more attractive to tourists and to summer excursionists.

The dry dock is also progressing being about dug out to half its depth; but it will be probably two years before it will be in use.

My wife wishes me to send you her kind regards and we join in wishing you a Happy New Year.

Yours sincerely

A.M. Chalmers

77. Chalmers to Satow

Hakodate,

February 8, 1900

Dear Sir Ernest,

Herewith I send a despatch on the subject of Japanese fisheries in East Siberia. When I wrote to you I had not seen a newspaper account of the regulations and had not seen the regulations themselves.

Aniva Bay [Southern Sakhalin] is still open to Japanese fishermen though my newspaper distinctly said it was not. However the newspaper has since withdrawn the statement, and I do not think I have anything else to retract. A land tax is to be levied under Article 18.

The Japanese seem to me to be practically excluded from the Russian coast except in the Vladivostock neighbourhood where 20% of Russian fishermen can draw their pay and do as little as they like, at the same time no doubt watching the Japanese movements.

I see in the Hakodate Mainichi Shimbun of the 8th that two members of the Saghalin gyogyo Kumi-ai [Sakhalin fishing union] are at present in Tokio making representations in connection with the Russian fisheries. In the same paper I see that Mr. Futatsubashi, the Commercial Agent at Vladivostock, has been ordered home.

While writing I may refer to another matter. There is still a question pending here about the Russian Cemetery, and the handing over of it to the local authorities. The Russian Consul, I understand, declares he has no power to take action in regard to Russian cemeteries and has referred the authorities to the [Russian] Legation [in Tokyo]. The Legation apparently is silent and the local authorities are driven to referring the matter to the Home Department. The Protestant Cemetery has, as you doubtless know, been handed over, and a missionary Mr. Andrews has been appointed warden.

Yours sincerely

A.M. Chalmers

78. Chalmers to Satow

Hakodate

Feb. 17, 1900

Dear Sir Ernest,

I think my despatch on the subject of Russian fisheries requires supplementing. The newspapers here are full of the subject and as it is no longer a purely local matter all further action if any will probably be conducted in Tokio.

I referred in my private letter to Russian preferential rights, but not in the despatch, in fact I did not realise that this priority would have such a result. Apparently the priority of the Russian commenced with his application and that if he was only opposed by Japanese the lots never went to auction at all. The local Mainichi however says that Russian policy has been apparent for years and that the Government should have foreseen the disastrous effect of the regulations and Mr. Wilson of Howell & Co. tells me that two years ago he told the Japanese that the Russians would appropriate their stations as soon as they realised that there was money in them and a market had been established for the produce.

The recent clamour for abolition of duty on sea produce will now, it seems, benefit the Russian more than anyone else. The Capitalists are beginning to count their losses and will probably put in a claim for compensation from somebody by & bye. The present loss on boats, buildings, fishing gear, wages to station watchmen etc., is estimated at over 700,000 yen and the loss falls on about 60 capitalists.

Yours sincerely,

A.M. Chalmers

End of PRO 30/33 5/7. 186 pages.

Satow Papers: PRO 30/33 5/8

**Correspondence and Papers (private). Japanese Mission. Consular Staff. Kobe.
(August 1895 – August 1898)**

1. Consul Ensle to Satow, who had arrived in Japan to be Minister on July 28, 1895

Kobe

August 7, 1895

Dear Sir Ernest,

I shall be very pleased to meet your wishes as regards writing privately about political and other matters, but I trust that if you do not hear from me you will bear in mind that Kobe is not exactly the place for interesting news.

I heard quite recently on very good authority that the general attitude of Japanese in Korea towards foreigners is far from being pleasant. General intrigues and the inferior class of Japanese residing there account for this to a great extent.

Within the last few weeks a foreigner in Chemulpo [Inchon] got a piece of land within the limits of the Japanese settlement but the Consul (Japanese) would not allow him to hold it, and his action was supported by the Tokio Authorities.

On the other hand I am told that such a restriction does not apply to the Japanese in the so-called foreign settlement.

Yours very truly,

J.J. Ensle

James Joseph Ensle was appointed Consul for Hiogo and Osaka on October 1, 1888. He died on June 14, 1896, as a letter from F.W. Playfair to Satow in this file explains (no. 24 below).

2. Consul Ensle to Satow

Kobe

14 Sept. 1895

Dear Sir Ernest,

I thank you very much for the intentions expressed of looking into the questions entrusted to you in my private letter. I do not intend to trouble you with any more correspondence on the subject, but wish to add a few words in reply to your note of 11th inst.

I quite recognize there might be some difficulty about getting both Vice Consul and additional assistant.

What would however be comparatively easy is to recommend the appointment of a Vice-Consul in addition to the present staff of two Assistants. Such a proposal would certainly be fully justified by the remarkable and steady increase in the trade and shipping of this Port, and the volume of work in the Consulate.

If a Vice-Consul is appointed it appears to me that his title should be as in the old days, Vice-Consul for Hiogo and Osaka, and his duties such as the Consul may in the interest of the Public service determine; as regards judicial work, the practice followed in Yokohama would probably not be inconvenient.

Can anything be done with a view to letting the staff have the autumn holiday referred to in my former letter. Assuming that each Officer takes one month, this Office would have to be run during a period of three months by two men only; the requirements of the Public could not be met, and work would fall in arrear.

In connection with the recent arrival of the new Chinese Minister, I am told that the American consul has written to the Chiji [prefectural governor] complaining that though in charge of Chinese interests he had not been informed of the arrival. I don't exactly see how this duty of notifying the Consul devolved on the Japanese Authorities.

Yours very truly,

J.J. Ensle

3. Consul Ensle to Satow

23.9.95

Dear Sir Ernest,

Very many thanks for your kind private note and also for your official reference to my indisposition.

The very slight and unavoidable delay in the receipt of your instructions caused no inconvenience; when received [Pro-Consul at Hiogo 1894-98 F.W.W.] Playfair promptly made use of them in sending a great rogue to prison for 4 weeks.

I am afraid I am in for a longish illness, nothing serious however the Doctor says. But the fever does not abate, my temperature being always between 100 and 103 degrees. Pray excuse brevity.

Yours very truly,

J.J.Ensle

Many thanks for prospects of help in January.

4. Consul Ensle to Satow

Kobe

16.10.95

Dear Sir Ernest,

I have had rather a bad time of it with my fever, but am now on the road to recovery. The Doctor says that in a couple of days I shall be well enough to leave the house, and that I require a change. If you have no objection therefore, I intend going into the country for a fortnight or so.

Yours very truly,

J.J. Enslie

5. Consul Enslie to Satow

Takaradzuka Hotel, near Kobe, Japan.

23 October 1895

My dear Sir Ernest,

I have to thank you for your letter of 18th, approving of the proposed trip for change of air. Under Doctor's orders I left Kobe for this place, within easy reach for a "well man", on last Sunday. An hour's punishment ride, along a pretty bad road, however brought about another attack of fever. This has now passed off and the change is doing me a great deal of good.

I left word with Playfair that if wanted I would come in. I have not heard from him, so conclude that my absence is of no account.

I trust Mr. [Gerard A.] Lowther's report will satisfy you as to the extreme urgency of customs improvements. We were told about one year and a half ago that the Central Authorities were quite aware of the importance of the question; the matter was put before the Diet, but those sapient folks, everything was then opposition, declined to vote more than a wretchedly paltry sum.

Yours very truly,

J.J. Enslie

6. Consul Enslie to Satow

Kobe

November 4, '95.

My dear Sir Ernest,

I am just now sending you a cypher telegram containing news which I give for what it is worth. I feel much better though am still weak. I leave for Kyoto today, to continue the cure and shall stay at Ya-ami's [Hotel] till Thursday, as I intend and hope to be able to resume work on Friday.

Yours very truly,

J.J. Enslie

7. Consul Ensle to Satow

Kobe

9 Novr. 1895.

My dear Sir Ernest,

I had another slight attack of fever while in Kioto, but am quite well again at present, and shall take over charge on Monday.

[Second Assistant at Kobe, Ernest Alfred] Griffiths is still a little weak but will also be in the office on that day. [Second Asst. Yokohama, Arthur Hyde] Lay leaves by first steamer on Monday, the "Gaelic" or "Aurora" [?]. Very many thanks for having sent him to assist us during the present emergency. The letter which I telegraphed up to you was certainly a serious production, but all circumstances considered I thought there would be no harm in communicating it to you.

Yours very truly,

J.J. Ensle

As I find that the departure of the steamers is rather uncertain, Lay will leave by the noon train tomorrow.

8. Consul Ensle to Satow

Confidential

Kobe.

28 Novr. 1895.

Dear Sir Ernest,

The Petition and covering letter enclosed in my dispatch of this date are such as to call for a few private and confidential remarks, the tenor of both documents being calculated to convey a wrong impression.

The scheme for the building of a new church is entirely due to the initiative taken by Bishop Bickersteth.

The present church accommodation has during the past 20 years and upwards met, and still amply meets the reasonable requirements of the Church of England portion of the community; there is no reasonable expectation of noticeable increase in that respect.

The total numbers of registered British Subjects here on 31 Decr. 94 was 421; of these males 247, females 69 and children 105.

The petition is signed by 114 male British Subjects, three of whom have not registered and are unknown at this Consulate. Of these 60 are of my personal knowledge utterly indifferent to Church matters generally; of the remaining 59, an overwhelming majority do not recognize the necessity for a new Church.

With very few exceptions all the persons whose names are attached to the Petition have signed under circumstances which almost invariably apply to all documents having numerous signatures.

All these statements of mine are based on personal observation and knowledge, on expressions of opinion by numerous members of the community, and more particularly many of the signatories themselves.

The expression in the Petition: "elicit [?] the use of a portion of the unoccupied part of the Consulate compound" is vague as to the terms of the holding, but I am informed that the desire is to obtain a free grant.

Yours very truly,

J.J. Enslie

9. Consul Enslie to Satow

Kobe

4 Decr. 1895

My dear Sir Ernest,

The despatch on the subject of rent allowance fully explains my public reasons for the proposed change, and I think justifies the suggestion.

Unofficially, I may state that I far prefer living in private quarters to occupying a Govt. building and that I have resided outside the Consulate premises for the past 18 months at my own expense.

As in the present instance the requirements of this Consulate with regard to increased office accommodation will be met by the proposed change, it seems specially fair and reasonable that my personal wishes in the matter should also receive some consideration.

I may add that, in the event of your approving of the suggested alteration, I do not wish to interfere with the rent allowances of the officers at present serving here, and that I am quite prepared to wait until a change in the staff occurs, and your intention of sending us further assistance in January next, as intimated in your private note, is carried out.

Yours very truly,

J.J. Enslie

10. Consul Enslie to Satow

Private

Kobe

7 Decr. 1895.

My dear Sir Ernest,

I communicated the contents of your private note of 5th inst. to the Chairman of the Chamber of Commerce, and Mr. Browne has asked me to convey to you the thanks of himself and committee for the information so kindly furnished, as to the intention of the Japanese Govt. in regard to increased Customs accommodation.

He tells me that this will tend to modify the somewhat embarrassing position in which the last communication from the Doyen of Foreign R.R. has placed the Chamber.

Yours very truly,

J.J. Enslie

11. Consul Enslie to Satow

Kobe

Jany. 25. 1896.

Dear Sir Ernest,

I have this morning received your note calling for a report on the Mascarenhas land case.³³³ I shall at once prepare it and hope to forward it in a very few days.

Yours v. truly,

J.J. Enslie

12. Minister Satow to Enslie

Tokio

March 9, 1896

My dear Enslie,

I have heard privately that during the stay of H.M.S. "Edgar" and "Pique" at your port, which lasted twelve days, no official visit was paid to either ship by any member of the consular staff. Of course I know that you were ill and could not pay your official visits in person, but the natural course to take would have been to send Playfair to represent you, to call on Captains Henderson and Bigge, and to explain your own inability to call. I am given to understand that on Captain Henderson's mentioning the matter to you towards the close of the "Edgar's" stay, you replied that Playfair ought to have gone off and that you would see about it. As he did not however make the call, Captain Henderson spoke about it again to you, and you then said Playfair would not go because he had "no official status". I do not understand what this may mean, but in any case the expression of your desire to Playfair should have been sufficient for him, and I am surprised that he did not comply with it.

³³³ Joseph S. Mascarenhas was a Portuguese resident of Kōbe with American nationality who agreed to rent land in Motomachi from two Japanese landlords from 1870 at an annual rent in perpetuity of 4 yen. When the landlords tried to raise the rent Mascarenhas refused to pay, and the case went to the Kōbe regional court. The court on January 16, 1896 ruled that the rent should be increased to 107 yen. On February 21 Mascarenhas appealed, but the appeal was rejected on February 14 of the following year. (Documents from Japanese F. O. archives, see Nagaoka *A-nesuto Sato- Kōshi Nikki* vol. 1, p. 100). Satow spoke to Ito Hirobumi about the case on February 8, 1896. (Diary)

It is the duty of Consular officers to be on good terms with the officers of the navy, and any omission to show proper courtesy to the commanding officers of H.M. ships if reported home wld. certainly bring down a severe rebuke on the head of any man who failed in this respect. I hope to hear soon that you are out of the sick list.

Y.V.T.

[Ernest Satow]

13. Pro-Consul Playfair to Satow

Private

Kobe

March 11, 1896

My dear Sir Ernest Satow,

Mr. Ensle has communicated to me the contents of our letter of 9th instant.

I regret extremely that the misunderstanding should have occurred, but trust that after the following explanation the matter will be cleared up.

When H.M.S. "Edgar" arrived here on her first visit, Mr. Ensle called on the Captain. When H.M.S. "Pique" first came here I paid my respects to the Captain and ward room officers as Mr. Ensle was then unwell. On their second visit I did not call, as Mr. Ensle had written a note of apology for being unable to do so. [Capts. Henderson and Bigge say they did not receive any such letter. E.S.] I did, however, call on Mrs. Henderson at the [Oriental] Hotel here, on Mr. Ensle's behalf to offer any services I could render.

H.M.S. "Edgar" left this port for target practice early on Wednesday the 4th, and returned in the afternoon of the same day. I then called with my wife on Captain and Mrs. Henderson at the Hotel, where I understood they were living, as the ship was leaving that evening.

Mr. Ensle had informed me on the previous day that Captain Henderson had expressed surprise at my not having called. I must further confirm that I was always under the impression that if the Consul had called officially (or excused himself as in this case, of course) there was no obligation for the other Consular officers to call upon H.M.'s ships here.

I trust that after the above explanation you will understand that there was no intentional rudeness on my part, and that you will take an early opportunity, if you see fit, to explain privately to Captain Henderson my apparent incivility.

Yours Sincerely,

F.W. Playfair

14. Consul Ensle to Satow

Kobe

March 12, 1896

My dear Sir Ernest,

I much regret the “Edgar” and “Pique” incident referred to in your private note, and Playfair tells me he has addressed you on the subject.

Your official ordering Griffiths to Formosa seems like a thunderbolt to the party interested. He greatly regrets the decision and deems it rather hard that an officer of his seniority (12 years) should have to take up a post now occupied by a very junior man in the China Service, Mr. Perkins, a student interpreter and who entered the service in Aug 91; he appears in this year’s directory as Assistant and Pro-Consul.

An important feature of the business of this office is routine judicial work, of which there is a great deal; this is part of the duties Mr. Griffiths has had to perform here, and he is a very able clerk of Civil and Criminal cases.

His removal will therefore be a source of much public inconvenience, for some cases, double time at least, and until an Officer has been trained to this special kind of work.

Under the circumstances I venture to ask whether it is quite impossible to reconsider or vary the order.

Yours Very Truly,

J.J. Ensle

15. Satow’s reply to Ensle

Tokio

16 March 1896

My dear Ensle,

I am sorry to hear that Griffiths dislikes going to Anping.

Owing to the change of ownership of Formosa [from China to Japan], the three ports there are of the greatest importance at the present moment, and will be for some time to come.

The Consul usually resides at Takow, the assistant being left in charge of Anping, so that he will have quite a good deal of responsibility and an opportunity of showing what stuff he is made of.

I do not think that under the circs. Griffiths need feel that there is any hardship in being sent to Anping to perform duties of much greater importance than devolved upon Perkins under the Chinese régime.

It would be extremely inconvenient to make any other arrangement. It is part of a general scheme in which the advantage of the public service has been considered, and therefore I do not see my way to making any alteration.

Y.V.T. [Ernest Satow]

16. Enslie to Satow

Kobe

March 21, 1896

My dear Sir Ernest,

It is really very kind of you to have mentioned the reasons for ordering Griffiths to Formosa; they put an entirely different aspect on the matter, and he now quite understands that his future prospects have not been lost sight of.

I see by the papers that the "Edgar" is due here in a couple of days, in connection it is said with Earl Spencer's tour.

Yours Very Truly,

J.J. Enslie

17. Playfair to Satow

Kobe

March 28, 1896

My dear Sir Ernest Satow,

I have just been notified by the Agents that the Austrian Lloyds SS "Elektra" will not arrive here till Tuesday evening or Wednesday morning. On Thursday I sent you a telegram for Mr. Enslie saying she was due on Monday, but that was only a guess on the Agents' part. She should arrive at Moji at noon on Sunday, as she leaves Shanghai at 9 a.m. on 27th.

I hear H.M.S. "Edgar" left Kure at 7 a.m. today for Miyajima, and is due here tomorrow afternoon or evening. Lady Spencer goes to Kyoto today.

Yours Sincerely,

F.W. Playfair

18. Playfair to Satow

Private & Confidential

Kobe

May 8, 1896

My dear Sir Ernest,

Mr. Enslie is again seriously ill. He was "tapped" again yesterday. Dr. Moore Graham gave me a very poor

account of his condition. I believe no case is known of a man with an abscess of the liver recovering.

Anyhow it seems extremely improbable that Mr. Enslie will be able to hear the case of Reynell vs. Cameron, which has been set down for hearing on the 14th Instant at 10 a.m. I therefore have thought it advisable to write to you privately in order that you may, if you think fit, notify the judge privately to be ready to come here and try the case. I do not think Mr. Enslie is fit to talk much business today, but I am also of opinion that the judge would like some notice if he is expected to come down to enable him to make some arrangements for his absence. It would be very hard on both parties and their counsel to call on the case only to adjourn it. I shall see Mr. Enslie tomorrow when he has more fully recovered from the effects of his operation, and write again.

In the event of the worst happening, and more promotions arising accordingly, I hope you will not think me too presuming if I solicit your good offices with the F.O.

I think it might fairly be pointed out that no rule exists that the Interpreter's exam is compulsory, and that as I have already stood out of the Interpreter's allowance for several years, and lost one step by Layard having been appointed here, I have suffered pretty heavily. And if another vacancy arises I would ask for the post of Vice Consul here, even if saddled with a condition that I should present myself for examination within a certain period. When I was ordered to do so once before, I was transferred to Hakodate at the expiry of my year; then to Yokohama for a few months with the understanding that I should then go to Tokio. I duly went, but was taken seriously ill 4 days after my arrival, and then went home very ill. I would point out that my failure to be examined was more my misfortune than my fault, and also that precedents exist for men who have not passed having been promoted.

I am sorry to have to write in this strain.

I saw Admiral Buller this morning. He goes to Kioto this afternoon.

Yours Sincerely,

F.W. Playfair

19. Playfair to Satow

Kobe

May 9, 1896

My dear Sir Ernest,

I have induced Mr. Enslie to write to Judge Mowat by the mail which takes this, requesting him to make arrangements to come down here to hear the case on Thursday next.

I am writing a private note to the Judge to ask if I should secure lodgings for him, as unfortunately none of us are at present able to give him a room.

Yours Sincerely,

F.W. Playfair

20. Satow to Pro-Consul Playfair

Copy

Tokio

11. 5. 96

My dear Playfair,

I think it is premature to discuss the question of promotion. But on that of the necessity of Japanese for men who look forward to holding Consulates I can give you my opinion without hesitation.

The view of the F.O. undoubtedly is that of men who entered the service as S.I. [Student Interpreters] and are told that they are to devote themselves, in the first place, to the study of the language, none shall be appointed to the office of Consul or to an independent Vice-Consulate unless he possesses a competent knowledge of Japanese. The exam was instituted for the purpose of providing a test of the knowledge required. In the sense that no one can be promoted to the highest positions in the Consular service without passing this test it seems to me correct to call the exam compulsory.

The history of the allowance is this. Formerly the rank of interpreter was intermediary between that of 1st Asst. and V.C. and to attain the latter a man had to become an interpreter. Then the special rank was abolished for reasons, I believe, of economy and the interpreter's allowance created. So that the position was not really altered.

Acquiring the amount of Japanese required is I hold a matter in most cases of industry, and those who have worked hardest have done best on the whole.

In your own case I think you must admit that you received special notice from the F.O. that you were expected to pass the exam, and it would be difficult to persuade them that in the interval which has elapsed you have not had time to acquire sufficient knowledge. If you were to approach them officially on the subject, that is the answer you would probably receive.

Alteris paribus [with all other things being equal] the man who knows Japanese is a better man than he who does not, and as there is no absolute rule of promotion by seniority it is natural that promotion should be given to the man who seems the best.

You must not think me disposed to be hard on you, but I should be more sanguine of the success of any possible representations on your behalf which I might make to the F.O. if I had been assured by you that you had resolved to set to work at once to conquer the Japanese language, and to give a fair share of your leisure to its study. And so my earnest advice to you is that you will make the trial. A couple of hours every morning

given to copying documents in Japanese and in reading newspapers ought, with the knowledge you already possess, to put you in a position to pass the exam in a year or 18 months time.

Yours Very Truly

[Ernest Satow]

21. Playfair answers Satow

Kobe

May 13, 1896

My dear Sir Ernest,

Many thanks for your note of 11th inst. I can quite understand the stand you are obliged to take, and will set to work at once to qualify myself for the examination.

My only fear was, and is, that in the event of Mr. Ensle's being invalided a chance of promotion might occur before I had time to pass, and another junior might go over me. However I shall live in hope. With many thanks,

Yours Sincerely,

F.W. Playfair

P.S. Judge Mowat arrived this morning, very tired of Railways! Mr. Ensle is rather better today.

22. Ensle to Satow

Kobe

May 16, 1896

My dear Sir Ernest,

I am rapidly recovering from a severe case of [], which has not in any way interfered with my portion of consular duties, but after waiting till the eleventh hour I was reluctantly compelled to put Judge Mowat to a considerable amount of inconvenience, and ask him to come down to try the financial case which had been set down for hearing. The judge returned last night.

My despatch is, I trust, clear, and I hope you will be able to comply with request made.

Admiral Buller's letter, enclosed to my [], was delivered on arrival.

What a pity your trip had to be cut short.

Yours very truly

J.J. Ensle

I much regret your evident inability to give me at present the promised assistance, but I quite understand this to be unavoidable.

Yours very truly, J.J. Enslie

23. Enslie's last letter to Satow

Kobe

May 21, 1896

My dear Sir Ernest,

I am very pleased you were able to comply with my two recent requests regarding duty appointments at this Consulate.

Playfair will I am sure be much gratified at the appointments, and will be qualified for the dates on which they were made; it will be a small salve under his usual disappointment, and the pecuniary consideration involved should be of some importance.

I am not making much headway just now, but absolute freedom from all anxiety in official business will, the Doctors say, have a very excellent effect.

Yours Very Truly

J.J. Enslie

24. Playfair to Satow

Private

Kobe

June 15. 1896

My dear Sir Ernest,

Mr. Enslie died rather suddenly at eleven o'clock last night. Of course he has been ill so long that it can hardly be said to have been unexpected. The immediate cause was the bursting of a blood vessel in the lungs. I understand that the discharge from the abscess instead of passing off accumulated in the lung, and the effort to get rid of it caused fatal haemorrhage.

Enslie was a great friend of mine, and exceedingly kind to me all the years I have known him, and I am sure I shall feel his loss deeply. Dr. Miller tells me the end was very sudden and painless, and as he had been gradually wasting away for so long, it was merciful that the end was sudden. As I am anxious to catch the mail I must stop.

Yours Sincerely,

F.W. Playfair

25. Playfair to Satow

Private

Kobe

June 18, 1896

My dear Sir Ernest,

I am sorry to have to broach the subject of the Consul's residence here again, but as no doubt you saw for yourself at even the cursory view you had of it when here, it is in a very bad state of repair.

Even if painting alone were all that were required, the building could not reasonably be considered habitable for some considerable time. I am afraid that when a close examination is made it will be made clear that a great deal must be done.

I may tell you, privately, that I have mentioned in my official to Marshall that I saw Collins, the assistant surveyor, make a pencil note in his copy of the Register to the effect that "Extensive repair necessary if the building is to be inhabited." I could almost swear to the first two words. Moreover that note was not inserted in my copy of the Register of properties, and of course it is no record if Collins erased it; but still I saw the entry quite by accident, as I happened to be watching him sign something at the time. That was on Sep. 20, 1895.

As to the question of Rent allowance, it of course affects [Arthur Morrison] Chalmers as well as myself, since he would draw £100 (instead of £83. 6.8) as Senior Assistant if I got a Rent Allowance as Acting Consul. The Rent of the Vice-Consul, which I presume is sanctioned, is at present in abeyance, as no one holds that post. Entre nous, though I do not know that I have any right to say so, the question of repairs was shelved chiefly owing to Enslie's attitude – viz: putting up a notice on the gate "This house is uninhabitable" or something like that – and doing everything he could to get the house passed on to someone else, and an allowance in lieu therefor given to him. As a matter of fact, (though personally I should prefer an allowance), I would gladly live in the Consulate if the building were in decent repair, but I feel sure that no respectable tenant would give anything like a reasonable rent for the place as it stands – unless of course moved by outside considerations such as situation.

Moreover, apart from the question of the soundness of the building, on which I pass no opinion, the very appearance of it is nothing short of disgraceful: in fact it has frequently been so described to me by outsiders. Mr. Collins only paid a flying visit in 1895, and no repairs – external I mean – have been attempted since I came here in 1893, and I have no notion when the last repairs were done, nor of the nature of the same. I am afraid you will be considerably bored by the above, but I really felt bound to say all that I have.

I saw [Nagasaki Consul John James] Quin on the "Empress". He looks very poorly and says he can't eat. I hope the voyage will set him up.³³⁴

³³⁴ J.J. Quin retired on a pension, November 11, 1896.

One word re Trade Report. Mr. Ensle wouldn't give it up to me until he was obliged to, so I have sent it as he compiled it, and said so in the covering despatch. I wanted to cut out the huge tables, which are quite contrary to instructions, but I didn't want to offend him. I hope you had a pleasant trip down the Inland Sea.

Yours Sincerely,

F.W. Playfair

P.S. Since writing the above Mr. Mowat has told me that Mr. Troup is due back in Japan on October 19th. As it appears probable that I shall remain in charge until then, and as I am aware that it is difficult for you to detach an extra assistant to serve here, may I suggest that Chalmers be appointed Acting Vice-Consul ? I was thinking of applying for him to be made Pro-Consul, but Acting V-C would be very much better in every way.

If I have to proceed to Osaka to pay official visits there is no one left to even attest a signature. It used to be our custom here in the hot weather to take turn about on duty in the afternoon, i.e. Ensle and Griffiths one day, and myself (with Forster when he was here) , the next. An Acting Vice Consul would enable us to continue this arrangement. Of course if anything beyond my powers as Pro Consul arose we used to summon Ensle, if the matter would not wait.

Yours Sincerely,

F.W. Playfair

26. Playfair to Satow

Kobe

June 23, 1896

My dear Sir Ernest,

I am sending you a copy of my letter to Marshall. I hope you won't think I have expressed myself too strongly. I have since gone carefully over the house, and find the inside in very good order indeed as far as appearances go. The woodwork of the verandahs and the floors in places are rotten or warped, but if they were properly rejoined the house would be quite habitable in my opinion. I think however you will quite see that for me to have to move into it for a period of, say, 4 months, giving up my own house to do so, would be rather hard. I cannot afford to run the risk of not getting another house when I am relieved, so I shall keep on mine and hold myself responsible for this. I wish Marshall could be induced to make a few improvements in the servants' quarters here. They are very poor at present, and as 3 or 4 office servants live there, very little space is left for the servants of the Consul, who should require 3 at least. I have not yet found out much about the belly of the house, but the real tenants' repairs appear to me to be too insignificant to growl about. Nevertheless, I don't consider it in its present condition quite safe or comfortable, in spite of the respectable look of the inside, and it would be more satisfactory for all parties if Marshall or Collins could come over and

look at it.

With regard to appointing Chalmers acting V.C. I am most happy to assure you that regular office hours will be kept. Last year Griffiths and I generally kept office in the afternoon. Enslie had his Trade Report notes, and one or two legal cases to study and stayed at home to be free from interruptions. The year before there were 4 of us here, and every one used to do all their business early if possible. However, if you cannot make Chalmers Acting V.C. could you make him Pro-Consul ? I hardly think as Acting Consul only that I could do so? I am obliged to go to Osaka to return official visits and I really dare not leave the Office when Chalmers has no powers.

I enclose the curious bill for the wreath, \$25. I ordered a handsome wreath and left it a good deal to the florist. Of course flowers are dear on an occasion of this sort. There were 82 wreaths in all, most of them from the two florists here, so flowers were scarce.

I am suffering from my old enemy rheumatism in the right hand, but am not so bad as I was a few days ago.

This is the only office paper I have until our new supply arrives, and this does not fit our envelopes!

I think I will wait a little longer about the Rent Allowance until a reply is received from the Office of Works.

Yours Sincerely,

F.W. Playfair

27. Playfair to Satow

Kobe,

July 1, 1896.

My dear Sir Ernest,

The reasons given by the Osaka Appeal Court for reversing the decision of the Lower Court puzzled me somewhat, but I think the meaning is that – the Court by refusing to recognize the transfer from Mascarenhas to an outsider because it had no Kencho [prefectural office] seal was therefore bound to ignore such transfer, and to still consider Mascarenhas as the leaseholder, in spite of the plea put in by him and allowed by the Lower Court that he was no longer the owner of the lease.

The French Consul's memo ought to give a complete resume of the whole case, and as he is very much interested I expect him to produce a very able document.

I am also sending you a certificate of Registration of Wengel, which Mr. Bushfield desires should accompany the petition to the Secretary of State by Wengel praying for British Naturalization. Would you kindly cause this to be done.

We had a terrific thunderstorm last night which has made the air cool and pleasant today.

I return the newspaper cutting.

Yours Sincerely,

F.W. Playfair

28. Playfair to Satow

Recd. July 10

Private

Kobe

July 9, 1896

My dear Sir Ernest,

Mr. de Lucy laid before the Courts a tremendous document giving the whole history of the Mascarenhas case. He insisted on reading it aloud first and took over 50 minutes. It is to be copied or printed, and all the Consuls supplied with copies (at their own expense).

It is most carefully drawn up and I am sure you will be interested in it. I will hurry the printer as much as possible that you may have a copy soon.

I am just off to call on the "Plover" and "Linnet".

Yours Sincerely,

F.W. Playfair

29. Playfair to Satow

Kobe

July 10, 1896.

My dear Sir Ernest,

The application of Mr. Yokoyama seemed to me somewhat difficult to comply with, so I have only asked you to accept the Attorney-General for New South Wales's letter as an official. Mr. [J.H.] Want, I met here when he was travelling [see Satow's diary, January 29, 1896] but Enslie was a personal friend and he has mixed up personal and official relations in his note in quite a curious manner. I hope his note will be sufficient, as according to Yokoyama's statement, the whole thing is more or less a matter of form.

I have heard nothing as yet from Marshall about this Consulate building. I will write to you when anything of interest occurs. I suppose things like the agitation against the rise in prices of washermen don't count ? There is a meeting of residents today to protest against the recent circular issued by the washermen, and to take steps to establish a laundry here. I refused to attend (chiefly because otherwise engaged) and was taunted with being afraid on account of my official position !!!

May I say a word regarding our Surplus balance ? According to Legation Circ. 8 of 1893 I have to notify the Treas[ur]y Chest of Hong Kong at once, and the officer in charge decides whether I remit to him or elsewhere. Last March I remitted \$1600 odd, and that cost \$8.00 odd, exchange being $\frac{1}{2}$ % premium. I believe the Legation draw on Hong Kong at least once every quarter, and it seems to me that the \$1200 odd I have to remit this quarter might more economically be sent to credit H.M.'s Legation at Yokohama branch of HK. & S. Bank for nothing than to Hong Kong @ $\frac{1}{2}$ %. I, of course, have no option but to notify Hong Kong, but perhaps if it were printed out, the T. Chest Officer might see his way to advising me to transfer the amount to Yokohama to credit of Legation. The \$1200 would only reduce my balance to the legal limit, and I could easily remit \$2000 or more, and thus save myself from repeating this operation quarterly, as this Consulate (minus salaries) actually pays its way out of fees !

Yours Sincerely,

F.W. Playfair

30. Playfair to Satow

Kobe

July 27, 1896.

My dear Sir Ernest,

I send herewith the memo. drawn up by Mr. de Lucy. I have made a note in the margin of my copy as it seemed to me necessary to do so for the elucidation of the text. I have only put it in the copy. I am sorry to say there are several misprints, but we went carefully over the proofs and the printer is to blame entirely. I am sending two copies to the Austrian Minister and one to the Spanish Minister. I shall have one spare copy in case you require another (and one in the archives, of course). Probably the interest in this case will now fade somewhat, as it is not to be fought out, owing to Mascarenhas' departure. The document is most interesting, although de Lucy pretends to take no interest in the translation he made !

Marshall informs me he will be here in September, and suggests the house and rent allowance question stand over till then. If extensive repairs are necessary that is running it rather fine for Mr. Hall to come here in mid October.

I have received a most interesting letter from Griffiths re Formosa. He says people there consider the Japanese are acting in altogether too high-handed a manner, and have driven the natives to revolt against their civil rule.

Yours Sincerely,

F.W. Playfair

31. Playfair to Satow

Private

Kobe

August 3, 1896.

My dear Sir Ernest,

I have an interesting and complicated case to refer to you, the outlines of which are as follows.

At 9.30 p.m. on Friday, July 31st I received (at my house) a visit from some Japanese officials, one a veterinary surgeon who brought me a letter from the Governor stating that one of four head of cattle landed by Drewell, a British Subject, from the SS "Kobe Maru" from Shanghai, was suffering from Rinderpest [a highly fatal viral disease of domestic cattle].

At the request of the authorities Drewell allowed the suspected animal to be kept in a boat and not landed, while 3 head of cattle and 40 sheep were taken to a compound just off the Settlement where they have been kept separate ever since by Drewell. The Governor desired that I would "instruct" Mr. Drewell to permit the sick beast to be slaughtered and the others which had been in contact with it to be kept isolated for 14 days at Drewell's expense.

Drewell consented to the slaughter provided he was furnished with a certificate from a qualified vet. certifying rinderpest as the cause of death. The sick beast died on Sunday, having been kept in an open boat since Thursday exposed to the sun, and Drewell's men were not allowed to attend to it, as far as I can learn. Drewell was absent in the country on Friday night and in Osaka all Saturday so that I did not receive his reply till late on Saturday evening. He intimated that he could not be responsible for expenses incurred if the Japanese Authorities insisted on quarantining his beasts for 14 days, to see if they developed Rinderpest, but would keep them so if the Japanese paid.

Personally I am not aware that sheep do suffer from that disease, and the Japanese vet. would not enlighten me. The vet. says that next year the expenses will be paid by the Dept. of Agriculture, but this year no provision is made for such expenditure. The Governor quoted an ordinance of the Agric. Dept. of 1886 as what he was acting under. I cannot find the any regulations enforceable against British subjects prohibiting the import of cattle until after inspection. Hitherto the import of cattle has been exceedingly small, and that of sheep just sufficient to meet the requirements of foreigners. I am confidentially informed that it is quite likely some business may be done in future from Shanghai in cattle, as the price of beef here is much higher than in that port, and consequently a fair profit could be made.

On Sunday night at 11 p.m. I received another letter from the Governor, delivered by the veterinary surgeon and two others, informing me the beast which was sick had died and must be at once buried, in the interests of public health. The expenses were to be paid by Drewell, and his previous consent was necessary. I

accordingly had to refer them to Drewell to obtain his consent, which however he did not give. At present the matter stands thus: - I have received a third letter saying that the burial and disinfecting of the animal is imperative, and must be carried out at once. I am asked to request Drewell to meet an official at the place for burying the beast, and he has consented to send me one of his employés. The question of expenses the Governor says he must arrange with me later. I ought to have mentioned that I informed the vet. on Friday night to kill the animal if I could not get an answer from Drewell on Saturday, but they waited for it to die instead. Drewell being in Osaka I informed the governor at noon on Saturday that I had been unable to communicate with that gentleman. I should be glad if you can inform me whether there are any Regulations governing cases like this. Imports into Japan of cattle and sheep were:

	Cattle	Sheep
1891	109	2,045
1892	457	1,781
1893	809	1,935
1894	1,240	1,394
1895	305	1,654

It seems to me that I have no power to enforce payment of any expenses or in any way to compel a British subject to conform to the Regulations of the Japanese Government unless a notification or other instruction from you authorises me to do so, as in the case of Quarantine Regulations.

It also seems to me that the local authorities might – in the absence of Drewell, and on the plea of agency – have carried out their own regulations and left the question to be settled afterwards.

The affair is not finally settled yet, so I suppose I must send you in an official report on the whole case later.

In England, of course cattle are subject to inspection on landing and before removal; while here there is not only no inspector always available, but no place in which to keep suspected beasts until the time of incubation of the disease has elapsed and they can be pronounced free of infection. That a foreigner can import diseased cattle seems rather unjust: but on the other hand that he should keep a crowd of animals isolated, after he has

obtained delivery of them from the only competent authorities, for a considerable time at his own expense is not quite fair either, especially if no disease develops.

Drewell asserts that this particular beast was very seasick, and collapsed: that it was not suffering from rinderpest, and that it was given no chance to recover, as it was kept in an open boat in the boiling sun for 3 to 4 days without much attention paid it. Of course if a vet. declares it was rinderpest what an amateur thinks is of no weight. I understand that all four beasts were passed as clean out of Shanghai, and that the 3 here are all doing very well.

Yours Sincerely,

F.W. Playfair

32. Satow answers Playfair (copy of letter)

20.8.96

My dear Playfair,

I have just received a request from the Japanese Authorities [Nakada Takanori, secretary of the Japanese F.O., see Satow's diary for August 20, 1896] to "use my influence" with Mr. Drewell to obtain the payment of the expenses of cremating the dead animal and the isolation of the remaining ones for a fortnight. I enclose the report of the Governor as it was shown to me, marking with a blue pencil the essential points. The fortnight has I presume already expired.

I should be glad to hear that Mr. Drewell is willing to refund the expenses asked for, which I presume do not amount to very much, and I request you to ask him on my behalf to oblige me in the matter. y.v.t.

E.S.

P.S. Please return the enclosure to me when you have done with it.

33. Playfair to Satow

Satow's note: Recd. [August] 23, answered 24 directing him to send a report, and to say what he had done in these cases.

Private

B.C.H. [British Consulate Hiogo]

Aug. 21. 1896.

My dear Sir Ernest,

There is not much going on here at present, but I thought I would send you a line to call your attention to the late cases of attacks by Japanese on foreigners here.

A few days ago two men the editor and reporter of the "Chronicle" were attacked and beaten at

Ikutamayé and a gold watch snatched from one of them which was afterwards recovered. One wears specs. and the other is lame ! But it is more than probable that they provoked one Jap. by jostling him and his comrades then took part.

Two days ago however a much worse case happened. Young Cam. Lucas was out on the hill-road with 3 dogs when he was accosted by a Japanese. He talked with him when suddenly the Jap. said sono inu baka! [That dog is stupid!] and struck one dog in the head. Lucas remonstrated when the Jap. struck at him. L. guarded the blow with his own stick, at the cost of a badly bruised knuckle, and then of course a short fencing match resulted. The Jap. sang out, and the coolies employed in two rice-mills nearby came running out. Lucas then ran off, but met a man coming towards him who seized one of Lucas' dogs. Lucas attempted to recover it but had to run before superior numbers. On his run he was pelted by the crowd with stones and clods, and a man driving an ox cart tried to strike him as he passed. Lucas reported the matter to the Police who said that road is a resort of footpads, and Japanese have been robbed!

They tried to recover the dog but feared it would be killed for its skin. I am not aware that any thing is being done in the matter, although I should think Lucas would identify some of the coolies from the mills, if not the pedestrian who first assaulted him. The above account is of course Lucas' side of the story. I have not heard the Jap's version.

These cases are attracting a good deal of attention, people beginning to feel it is not safe to walk about when there is a chance of a number of Japanese being thereabouts. Several other cases have occurred but the details are obscure.

I was sorry to hear from T.B. Glover yesterday that Quin had not improved at all up to Vancouver. I hope the mountain air will set him up.

I have no word from Marshall as to probable date of arrival: he only said "in September".

Yours Sincerely,

F.W. Playfair

34. Playfair to Satow

Ans[wered] 27/8.

B.C.H.

Aug. 24, 1896

My dear Sir Ernest,

Mr. Drewell, in reply to my note conveying your request that he would pay for cremating the dead ox, says that though very annoying to have to give in he will pay up, although he fears he will not be able to recover the money from the people who sent him the cattle. Drewell further says: "I have, as you are aware,

met the Japs. a great deal more over this business than they have me. It was at their special request that I left the sick ox in their care – they admitting at the time that they could not prevent me from landing it. I isolated the other cattle and sheep at my own expense and without any compulsion and there is no doubt in my mind that the Jap. Auths. ought to bear the expense of cremating the animal.”

The statement in the Governor’s report as to Drewell’s refusing to prevent the cattle being landed is slightly (?) inaccurate – at least I never heard of it before. Moreover he gave the Auths. every facility for inspecting the animals whenever they pleased and has altogether in my opinion behaved exceedingly well in the matter. It would be more satisfactory if there were some Regulations re landing cattle etc. but I understand steps are being taken in that direction.

Could you without committing yourself in any way give me a hint as to how long I may remain in Kobe ? I am being turned out of my house and find it extremely difficult to get another, especially as I must stipulate for the insertion of a clause (in a lease for one year) to enable me to leave on one month’s notice if I am transferred.

I will inform the Governor that Drewell will pay the cremation expenses of the ox if he will transmit the amount through me.

I have just received a wire from Marshall saying he is due here on 26th instant.

Yours Sincerely,

F.W. Playfair

[Enclosure ?] Governor’s report in Japanese on Drewell’s case.

35. Playfair to Satow

Private

Kobe

Aug. 27, 1896

My dear Sir Ernest,

Marshall arrived yesterday and after carefully examining the house has made a contract for certain repairs which he says will render the place safe as offices for 6 months or so.

As regards the issue of a rent allowance to me, that will follow now as a matter of course, but the date from which it should commence is the question. Marshall seems to think it ought to begin from now, while I consider it should be counted as due on June 15th. If the house is uninhabitable now it surely was so also on June 15th ? But Marshall seems to be in doubt as to whether Enslie’s estate might not be held responsible for the loss sustained by H.M. Government. I hope that question will not be fought.

However Marshall says he will talk the matter over with you. I have continued to draw my usual Assistant's Rent Allowance, but of course the question is entirely whether I am entitled to Acting Consul's Rent allowance from June 15 to date, or to nothing at all for that period. As I pointed out to Marshall to move into this building would cost me some \$20, then on the expiry of my acting billet \$20 more. And I should also have had to give up my house and find another, not at all an easy job here at present. Marshall will talk the matter over with you, as he says, and I have no doubt a satisfactory conclusion will be arrived at.

I am drawing up a report as to assaults on foreigners, and you should have it in 2 or 3 days. Cremation of Drewell's cow cost \$7.45.

Yours Sincerely

F.W. Playfair

36. Playfair to Satow

[Recd. 4/9]

Private

Kobe

September 1, 1896

My dear Sir Ernest,

Drewell has paid \$7.45 for cremating his dead bullock, and I have today received from the Governor and transmitted to Drewell a receipt for the amount. I enclose a cutting from a local [Japanese] paper detailing the circumstances, where the information was obtained I do not know.

The typhoon has done a lot of damage in the Settlement and town. This building has only lost a few tiles and some paint spoilt through leaks. I have written to Marshall about it.

I forgot to tell him that no work was done on the building yesterday (and very little on board ships or in the Settlement) as all the coolies etc. were requisitioned by Government to attend to the damage done by the Minatogawa overflowing.

Yours Sincerely

F.W. Playfair

37. Playfair to Satow

Private

Kobe

Sept. 28.1896

My dear Sir Ernest,

A very curious instance of the total insufficiency of the Japanese Penal Code has just occurred here, which you might like to hear about.

Some time ago a British subject named Reich had a dispute with a coolie over the amount due for conveyance of baggage. The coolie ultimately went to Reich's house and made a disturbance, and Reich put him out. The coolie ran into the garden from the kitchen and picking up a large knife on his way threw it at Reich. It missed and stuck in the wall.

Reich reported to the police and the man was arrested. On my forwarding the complaint the Kenji [public prosecutor] replied that "Breaking furniture" was no crime ! ! and he could not go on with the charge. I replied that neither in Mr. Reich's written complaint nor in my despatch was there any word about "breaking furniture", and as there appeared to be some misunderstanding I asked him to go on if possible. In reply the Kenji states that the charge is not proven, but that in any case even an attempted assault is not punishable. I see by the Penal Code that § 425 defines an assault with no attendant injuries as a "contravention," and by § 113 "contraventions attempted or unsuccessful are not punishable".

It seems rather curious to me that unless the assaulted party is actually struck no crime is committed even if a dangerous weapon is thrown, while under our law shaking one's fist near another is an assault!

The Interpreter called this morning to explain unofficially that the Kenji is sorry but under the law as at present, he can do nothing.

I of course know nothing of the merits of the case, whether the coolie was justified in going to Reich's house or not, but the Kenji himself has not entered into that part of the affair either. I have no intention of appealing to you to take the matter up, more especially as I can only make out from the Code that the Kenji is right, but it seems to be such a grave oversight of the compilers' that I think it should be pointed out to you.

Yours Sincerely

F.W. Playfair

38. Consul John Carey Hall to Satow

Kobe

13.11.'96 [recd. 15, ansd. 16]

My dear Sir Ernest,

I took over charge from Playfair this morning. Chalmers, I take it, remains Acting Vice Consul under your appointment of June 15th last, and Playfair is simply assistant.

Playfair now does not want any local leave; so if you prefer that he should be Acting Vice Consul instead of Chalmers, will you kindly send the necessary instructions etc. Playfair of course hopes you will give him the appointment, and Chalmers makes no objection.

I have not yet called on the local authorities. I presume they have received from the Guaimu Sho the usual official notice of my appointment.

Yours Sincerely

J.C. Hall

John C. Hall was appointed Consul for Hiogo and Osaka on August 21, 1896 [F.O. List, 1897]. A fresh commission was issued appointing him Consul for the Consular District of Hiogo (Kobe), to reside at Kobe, July 28, 1897 [List of 1898].

39. Satow to Playfair

Private

16 November 1896

My dear Playfair,

The resignation of Mr. Quin leads to a number of moves, the result of which will be that instead of your coming up to Yokohama you will be left as acting Vice-Consul at Kōbe for another year or more. I hasten to let you know of this, as you may be contemplating arrangements with regard to your house in consequence of what I wrote to you before on this subject.

I am sorry you have not been able to pass the interpreter's exam yet, for it of course prevents my recommending [you] for the permanent post.

Yours very truly

Ernest Satow

40. Playfair to Satow

Private

Kobe.

Nov. 21, 1896.

My dear Sir Ernest,

Many thanks for your kindness in letting me know so soon that I can stay on here for about another year. I was obliged to move out of my former house at the end of October, and had to make an agreement for a year for my new one. Mrs. Hall told me on her arrival I need not have troubled, but I replied I must have a roof over me.

Of course at every change I regret more and more not having passed my examination as I find it much easier to forget than to learn, and now have a lot of leeway to make up.

I am sending you under separate cover a collection of match-box labels I lighted upon by chance in a shop. Some of them are remarkably close imitations of foreign labels. I thought it might interest you. The booklet contains 500 samples, but I believe there are about as many more, only some are difficult to get. The pencil marks are only to show that those thus marked are in my duplicate copy, as the arrangement was different in each book.

I do not propose to ask for any local leave at present, as it is too late to go to Miyanoshita with comfort, and I am not keen on going elsewhere.

With kind regards,

Yours very truly,

F.W. Playfair

41. Hall to Satow

Kobe

23. 11. '96

[ans. 26/11]

My dear Sir Ernest,

Best thanks for your note of the 21st telling me of the coming changes. I see that Hampden [Ernest Miles Hobart-Hampden] is said to have been gazetted as V.C. [Vice Consul] for Tōkyo; but it will be good for him to have some practical experience of Consular work for a while at a place like this.

Poor de Wendrick's suicide remains an unexplained mystery. And it was so deliberate. An examination of the revolver showed that he had used old cartridges of which three consecutively missed fire. The fourth shot was effectual. The letter he left to his friend Gill giving directions as to his post-obit arrangements had been written on the 10th, and he had changed the o into a ō. He kept a diary, in German, which is written up to the 13th. Perhaps that may throw some light on his motive. Qustinoﬀ cannot read German, and so is sending the diary up to the Legation.

Small-pox is slowly increasing here. There were 15 cases on the 1st inst. and in a fortnight double that number. I'll report to you officially tomorrow.

We are much pleased with the house we have got; but the dearth of workmen makes it impossible to get small jobs done speedily.

Yours Sincerely

J.C. Hall

42. Hall to Satow

Kobe

4.12.'96 [Recd. 7/12]

My dear Sir Ernest,

I think the definition of Consular Districts which you mention in your note of the 25th ultimo [i.e. last month] is the best that can be made. Niigata is not of much account in any case, and even when the railway connecting it with Aomori is finished it will be more accessible from Yokohama than from the Northern part. I hope you will see your way to re-establishing the assistant Japanese Secretaryship; as we are too much at the mercy of the English-speaking Japanese, and it would be a mistake to rely entirely upon them for information, which we should not always get.

I did not see [J.H.] Longford, as he was too indisposed to come ashore.

If the F.O. have not yet raised the Salary of the two Formosan Consulates and if any portion of the £150 you told me of is still undisposed of I should like to put in a strong recommendation for a portion of it being allotted to increase Constables and native servants' wages at the Consulates. Beside the increase of \$10 a month for rent allowance to Lucas which Playfair has recommended and which I heartily support, I think his wages should be raised from \$70 to \$80. [Kircher (2nd constable George Kircher) at Yokohama grumbled, not without reason at the insufficiency of his pay; but I referred him to Troup as I was only in locum tenens.] A good office writer ought to have \$25 and the best one we had, Yoshioka at Hakodate left after 15 years service, the rise in prices having made it impossible to live on his \$20 a month – of which 4.50 went in rent of a room (or 4.00). The servants here have sent in a plaintive petition and I believe the German and American Consuls have had similar requests. I hope you won't forbid me to [grant ?] the above before you officially.

Yours Sincerely,

J.C. Hall

43. Hall to Satow

Private

Kobe

12.12.'96 [Recd. 14.]

My dear Sir Ernest,

On next page is a draft of a resolution which will be moved, and doubtless unanimously carried, at the next meeting of the Municipal Council here. I was at first not favourably inclined to the scheme, as probably being partially motivated by the necessity of soon having to hand over the Municipal property and funds to the Japanese.

But at a private meeting of the Members of the Council held two days ago the whole question was thoroughly thrashed out, and the necessity and expediency of the proposed measure clearly demonstrated. It is calculated that the sale of the lot will bring in \$38,000 or \$40,000; of which \$8,000 or \$9,000 is required to make up the existing deficit in the budget; the transfer or re-erection of the Municipal buildings on the old Cremation ground will cost about \$18,000; leaving about \$12,000 available of which at least half is required for remetalling the roads of the concession. The Municipal land is the Council's only negotiable asset; and in view of its possible near transfer to the Japanese it would be hard to raise money by mortgaging it. I will report officially to you when the scheme is made public, and merely mention it now nen no tame ni.

Thanks for your note re the servants' wages question. I am making the enquiries as to prices.

Yours Sincerely,

J.C. Hall

Copy: Resolved that in view of the present condition of the Council's finances the Municipal buildings at lot 38 Foreign Concession Kobe be removed and the lot sold and that the proceeds be applied 1stly to the cost of re-erecting the said buildings on the Public Park and 2ndly to other Municipal purposes.

44. Hall to Satow

Yokohama

8.1.'97

5 p.m.

My dear Sir Ernest,

Thanks for your kind invitation to-day; which I should have been glad to accept but that I had already engaged myself for this evening.

I have just seen [Crown Prosecutor Henry C.] Litchfield and [Acting Judge Hiram S.] Wilkinson. I am to be called tomorrow forenoon, and my evidence [in the Carew murder case] will be very brief and formal.

From tomorrow afternoon I am entirely free, and shall be glad to wait on you at any time you may mention.

Mr. Cowan tells me he is going to Miyanoshita tomorrow morning to stay Sunday, and will be in Tokio on Monday forenoon.

Yours Sincerely

J.C. Hall

45. Hall to Satow

January 9, 1897

My dear Sir Ernest,

When I wrote yesterday I had no notion that I should be required to read over to the jury the whole of Mrs. Carew's evidence at the inquest, but that is the unpleasant job I now find myself in for. I am to go on and finish it on Monday morning; and consequently cannot return to Kobe as I thought of doing, by the French mail starting tomorrow morning. I accept with pleasure your kind invitation to lunch tomorrow [recorded briefly in Satow's diary].

I have not seen Mr. Baggallay's letter about yachting. I gather from Mr. Cowan that the O.W. [Office of Works] have no intention of building at Kobe until after the new Treaty comes into operation [on July 17, 1899]. That department seems to imagine that when the change takes place there will be small need, if any, for British Consuls in Japan at all !

Yours Sincerely

J.C. Hall

46. Hall to Satow

Yokohama

Monday

11. 1. '97

My dear Sir Ernest,

Many thanks for your friendly hints as regards my Trade Report. I'll do my best to send it in as soon as possible after the annual Customs Return has been published; and in the meantime had got Playfair to make out an approximate Return from the monthly Returns under the main heads of Imports and Exports. If the Annual Vol. is issued, as has sometimes happened, in February, I think I can send in Report before end of March.

I find I cannot leave by tomorrow's steamer after all; as Lowder has given me notice that he requires my evidence in tomorrow's preliminary examination of the charge against [the Carew housemaid] Miss Jacob; and Wilkinson informs me that he has not yet done with me.

Yours Sincerely

J.C. Hall

47 Hall to Satow

Kobe

Feb. 4, 1897

My dear Sir Ernest,

Mr. Baggallay brought me a book and certificate about yachts which, with his permission, I am sending you by post for reference. The only passage bearing upon the question raised by Count Okuma is on p. 24, the first 5 paragraphs. Kindly return the book and certificate when you have done with them. There are over a dozen yacht owners here, most of them British – anxiously looking for the success of your intervention on their behalf.

Mr. B. is also Chairman of the Chamber of Commerce here and he has asked me to approach you with the view of obtaining some information on a few matters of interest to our commercial men here. One of the questions, as you may surmise, relates to the claim for refund of overpaid Customs dues. It is now known that no joint action in the matter was taken by the Foreign Representatives. What they would like to know is the result or prospect of result of such independent action as you may have taken in the matter.

The other questions relate to the new Treaty. When is the new Tariff likely to come into force ? Or rather up till about what date is it likely not to come into force ? And what modifications, if any, are likely to be made in the British Tariff consequent on varying provisions in the Treaties since concluded and by virtue of the favoured nation clause ? Another query he propounded was whether, in case the new tariff be put in operation in advance of the new Treaty, it would be in the form of Specific duties or in the ad valorem form as in the annex to the protocol ?

I believe I am to be relieved in a few days of the charge of Spanish Interests here; but the information will doubtless come through you.

I have refused to recommend Dr. Moore Graham to you as an eligible nominee for the Hawaiian Consulship here offered to him by Dr. Eldridge.

Yours Sincerely

J.C. Hall

[Hall, Feb 4 1897. Questions abt. tariff ans. Feb. 6]

48 Hall to Satow

Hiogo

6.2.'97

My dear Sir Ernest,

Best thanks for your note, despatch and telegram received last night. I am glad to have Chalmers so much longer with me, as we are truly very busy here.

The small-pox is now down to about 2 deaths a day. Young Japan down here is vigilantly on the look-out for tokens of insufficient respect on the part of foreigners towards the state mourning [for the Empress-Dowager who died on January 11, 1897]. On the other hand some of the foreign newspapers are as

touchy the other way. A paragraph in the Kobe Chronicle of the 3rd headed: "Japsee. Naval Officers and Foreign Steamships" is full of exaggerations. The facts are that a steam launch from the Japanese Flagship came alongside the 3 sailing ships lying nearest and enquired "why their flags were not up, had they not received instructions from their Consuls to fly them etc.". And in one case the Japanese midship mate said to the mate of the "Luiberhorne" [?] : "Well I command you to put up your flag now." No visit appears to have been paid to the Steamships at all. Two of the sailing ships visited were British and the word command was not used in the other case nor in that of the 3rd ship – American. I don't think it worth while to report on the passing gust of Yamato-damashii; but if you wish me to do so, please wire "yes" and I will do so at once.

Yours Sincerely

J.C. Hall

49 Hall to Satow

Kobe

10.2.'97

My dear Sir Ernest,

The yacht-owners here are highly pleased at your success in obtaining for them such a permit as that you have got for the "Isobel". I have read your letter re Chamber of Commerce enquiries to the Chairman and have given him the tenor of it in a memo as from myself, to be read to the Chamber at its approaching annual meeting.

Your note of the 8th re commutation of Mrs. Carew's sentence reached me last night; and an opportunity presented itself this morning for giving the editor of the H.N. [Hiogo News, then edited by P. Skinner] a bit of my mind about his stupid remarks on the subject. I knew they were influenced by his wife's bias, who believes Mrs. C. innocent, and "would like to see Miss Jacob tied with cart-ropes and dragged round the town" – to use her own elegant language. Ex pede Hercules.

I have the greatest contempt for the local press and never seek to influence it in any way. The only opinion I had expressed on your action was to Playfair and Chalmers on reading the Mail communiqué: "a good thing to do, and admirably and gracefully done."

Yours Sincerely,

J.C. Hall

50. Hall to Satow

Kobe

23.2.'97

My dear Sir Ernest,

In view of the present attitude of the Office of Works I feel it would only be giving myself away to press for the building of a Consulate residence here. Brennan tells me that Carles at Chunkiang is having a hard fight to get another room added to his house: the accommodation for himself, wife, 5 children and an English governess being five rooms; i.e. dining and sitting and 3 bedrooms. And this is a Consular residence which was built only seven years ago, with a much larger sum than the Treasury would be likely to allow for Kobe. The former Chunkiang house was burnt down in a Chinese riot; and if I remember right (I was in Shanghai at the time) the sum Marshall claimed and received as compensation was Taels 25,000. And with that they build a 5-roomed house for Consul's residence.

The truly economical and sensible way to set about building here would be to employ the local architect to make a plan of the buildings required. That would cost \$100; and if his plan were approved – either with or without modifications by the O.W. – he would superintend the work of the contractor for a commission of 7% on the outlay. That would be cheaper than the O.W. could possibly do it or get it done otherwise, as Mr. Cowan could not remain here himself all the time to oversee. The local architect – the builder of the Kobe Club, which elicited Mr. Cowan's high admiration – has a fund of local experience as regards materials, climatic requirements, personel [sic] of contract etc. which would be cheaply purchased at the price of his commission. But I can fancy Boyce's indignation at the very mention of such a proposal; and I am told Boyce is likely to be in control for some years to come.

I forgot to mention in my last that we take the Kampo; but so long as there are only three of us here to do the work it would be impossible to find time for the perusal of it. That has to be delegated to the office writer.

Mr. Okoshi Commissioner of Customs at Yokohama, now down here on a visit tells me he does not think the annual volume of Customs Returns will be out till the end of next month – the delay seems unconscionable considering how much has already been published. A little daisoku by way of enquiry from you would surely have a good effect in hurrying them up.

As regards production of telegrams in criminal cases I find that in a case tried at this Consulate before [Nicholas John] Hannen in '87 the Commun. [Communications ?] department on the request of the recipient of the telegram forwarded thro' Inouye, a telegraph clerk was sent who brought and proved the original telegram on behalf of the prosecution. That was in the case of one Woolford charged with forgery.

Playfair reminds me that the newspapers here have not yet been paid for advertising your notification re trade marks etc.

Hampden is looking remarkably well. The climate of Hokkaido has evidently agreed with him.

Yours Sincerely

J.C. Hall

51. Hall to Satow

Kobe

27.2.'97

My dear Sir Ernest,

Mrs. Mowat writes me from Nagasaki that the judge has been ill ever since he arrived there, suffering from fever and insomnia in addition to nervous prostration, and has been ordered by the Dr. to keep away from work or even the atmosphere of work for the next two months; and she talks of going over to Shanghai if he should be well enough to make the voyage. I presume Longford will have given you fuller information but I think it well to let you know, in case there should be any judicial work urgently requiring attending to in the meanwhile.

You will see from the Kobe papers that the plan of selling the Municipal property here was unanimously carried. I called on the Governor [周布公平 Sufu Kōhei, governor of Hyogo prefecture; Meiji 24-30, 1891-97] the previous day and persuaded him to attend the meeting. He not only attended but after some hesitation voted for the scheme. His attending was evidently the means of dispelling a whole cloud of suspicion which had been darkening his mind.

The main reason why I won't recommend Dr. Moore Graham for the Hawaiian Consulate is that he has a wife in Australia and is living with a mistress here whom he at first introduced as his wife. Poor Mrs. Longford was very much taken in by the deception. And otherwise I have no very high opinion of him.

Yours Sincerely

J.C. Hall

52. Hall to Satow

Kobe

27.3.'97

My dear Sir Ernest,

I shall be very glad to have [John Twizell] Wawn stationed here for such time as you may fix, and will do my best for him in the matter of a teacher and leisure for study.

There is a great want felt here for a public hall of some sort. The only place of the kind is the Gymnasium of the Regatta & Athletic Club, which is built on one corner of the Recreation Ground, from which the Japanese, when the new treaties come into force, might see fit to order it to be removed. And even if they don't it has become too small for the wants of this steadily enlarging community. I have been asked by nearly all the leading men of the British half of the colony to bring the subject to your notice in the hope that you

may see your way to sounding Count Okuma [Shigenobu, then foreign minister in the second Matsukata cabinet of 1896-98] as to the possibility of granting us a site for such a building.

The enclosed plan will help to make clear the definite shape which the desire has taken, viz. a plot of about 600 or 800 tsuboes at the back of the Recreation Ground marked in red ink P.P.H. (proposed public hall). G is the Gymnasium. The ground for p.p.h. is a low sand-bank with a few scraggy pine-trees on it; which could be levelled for the site without in the least impairing the landscape. I should mention that there is a wide road across the R.G. at W. which would be the ready made approach to the Public Hall. Somehow or other the leading men here have got the idea that Count Okuma would be very favourably disposed to consider the request. There can be no question but that it would be a very politic concession to a widely and strongly felt wish, to say nothing of the immense increase it would make in Count Okuma's popularity. As the Japanese Government receive no rent for the R.G. the concession of the plot for this purpose would cost them nothing.

The site once granted the building would soon follow; either by public subscription, or, (the more favoured project) by the K.R. & A.C. undertaking the erection and management. The advantage of this latter plan is that it would obviate any objection to the desired allocation of the site, as the said Club is one for recreation and the membership of it is open to all nationalities and it includes several Japanese amongst its present members. If the grant of the site could be made in the course of this Summer the British would receive the ready assent of all other nationals to the new building named the Victoria Hall, which would become the best possible enduring memorial of the Diamond Jubilee.

Your good offices in this matter will be gratefully appreciated in any event; and if successful will be held in lasting remembrance.

Yours Sincerely

J.C. Hall

See H.S. Williams, *Kobe Regatta and Athletic Club: The First Hundred Years*, Kobe Regatta & Athletic Club, 1970.

53. Hall to Satow

Kobe

30.3.'97 [ans. April 1]

My dear Sir Ernest,

I trust you will be able to get from Mr. Cowan a more equitable rent allowance for Wawn than 1/6th of his Student Interpreter's pay. It is not only that rents but nearly everything else here is much dearer than at Tokio or Yokohama, and according to the F.O. memorandum of January 31, 1880 no smaller rent allowance seems to

be contemplated than one sixth of the maximum pay of a First assistant. The difficulty that Wawn is not an Assistant but only a Student Interpreter could perhaps be got over if you would kindly consider him as an Acting Assistant for the time being.

I am sometimes asked by anxious merchants here if anything can be ascertained as to the length of notice beforehand that is likely to be given of the new tariffs coming into force. Some of the merchants here already insert in their contracts a stipulation that in the event of the higher duties coming into force pending the delivery of the goods the Japse. buyer is to pay the increment. But that clause could not be inserted in Govt. contracts, and even in mercantile contracts the Japse. dealer is as much interested as the foreigner in having due warning as to the date fixed for change of rates of impost. The general notion seems to be that 3 or 4 months notice should be the minimum but 6 months would be better still.

A few malcontents are holding another meeting re the D.J. [Diamond Jubilee] celebration, but I don't think much will come of it.

Yours Sincerely

J.C. Hall

54. Hall to Satow

Kobe, 1 April 1897

My dear Sir Ernest,

The Gymnasium was, as you correctly surmise, authorised to be erected on the Recreation Ground by the Municipal Council – in 1877; but they were apparently dubious of their powers, and unfortunately granted the permission subject to the condition that they (the M.C.) could order the building to be removed at any time they consider such a course necessary. It is that unfortunate proviso, inserted when [acting British Consul Adolphus Arthur] Annesley was president of the Municipal Council that renders recourse to a higher authority advisable. I think that the same authority would be required to modify the agreement of 1875 as was required to create it, viz. the Japanese Government and the Foreign Representatives as was instanced in the “endorsement” of 1883 enlarging the area of the Rec. Ground.

If you could by sounding Ct. Okuma make sure of his good-will and cooperation beforehand, no difficulty is to be anticipated as regards your Colleagues of the Diplomatic Body.

I will write you again in a few days in reply to your other query as regards the Constitution of the Co. (the K.R. & A.C.) to whom it is proposed to entrust the scheme. I think there would be no difficulty in making a sound and satisfactory arrangement as regards that part of the question. It might even be possible for you to manage that the defect of the K.R. & A.C.'s title to its present Gymnasium site could be remedied through the opportunity of the new grant. But that would be surely a secondary matter; as the main desideratum is the site

for the Public Hall.

Sincerely Yours

J.C. Hall

55. Satow's answer to Hall [copy of letter dated 2 April 1897]

Hall,

I shall be very glad to do anything I can to help the proposed Public Hall, but before speaking to Count O. [Okuma] I should like to know precisely wherein his approval or assistance is necessary to the procuring [of] the site. I gather from your letter and from the plan enclosed in it that the site lies within and forms part of the R.G. [Recreation Ground]. If that is the case are not the Municipal Council who by the agreement of 1875 have the management of the R.G. in their hands the proper persons to give authority for the erection of a Public Hall. I presume it was they who sanctioned the Gymnasium. If not, by whose Authority was it put up ? I should suppose the Power that sanctioned the one would sanction the other.

Then, what authority does Count Okuma or the Japanese Government possess in the matter ? Is what is sought from them an undertaking that if erected now they would not disturb it after the Treaties come into force ? It might seem to them undesirable to make a binding promise of the kind as to the future.

Another question I should like to have information upon is the constitution of the body which is to have the administration of the Public Hall, and how the trust is to be created, under what law and so forth.

y. s.

E. S.

56. Hall to Satow

Kobe

8.4.'97

My dear Sir Ernest,

I should like to withdraw my request about your speaking to Count Okuma about the site on the Recreation Ground for a Public Hall. We are going to take up the hint thrown out in your letter, and will try to work the matter quietly through the Municipal Council. By asking simply for an enlargement of the present Gymnasium site the difficulties in the way will be very much lessened. The K.R. & A.C. can easily rebuild, and make its theatre large enough for the growing requirements of the port.

I am glad to see that [Hyogo prefectural] Governor Suhu Kohei has been removed. He was strongly anti-foreign at heart; and I blame him for much of the bad feeling agst. the Japanese that prevails here. It seems to grow worse as the time for going under native jurisdiction approaches. That second meeting about

the Jubilee celebration was largely motivated by hostility to my recommendation that the occasion should be availed of to invite the leading Jap. merchants as well as officials, on a rather large scale, to partake in our festivities.

I will keep you informed of our progress as regards the Public Hall. I am sanguine it can be arranged on the lines you have indicated. Only we must abandon any idea of connecting it with the Diamond Jubilee.

Yours Sincerely

J.C. Hall

57. Hall to Satow

Kobe

14 Apr. 1897

My dear Sir Ernest,

I hope you will be able to obtain permits to view the Shogun's palace at Kioto for the two Canadian ladies, Mrs. David and Miss Campbell, named in the enclosed letter from Lord Dufferin.

Will you kindly, in any case, return the letter to me, and order the permits to be addressed to Mrs. David c/o Ya-ami Hotel Kioto, where the ladies will be up to the 21st inst.

We are extremely busy here, but I am giving Wawn only the hours of work you mentioned. He is in comfortable lodgings with a Mrs. Mola, of the S.P.G. [Society for the Propagation of the Gospel], his three fellow boarders being a brother of [A.H.] Lay's, a son of old [James] Summers of Tsukiji [see Ch. 3, *Britain & Japan: Biographical Portraits* Vol. 3] and a son of Capt. Young, one of the N.Y.K. skippers, all very nice quiet young fellows. He seems to be working at Japanese very steadily. Yours Sincerely

J.C. Hall

58. Hall to Satow

Kobe

22.4.'97

My dear Sir Ernest,

There is an interesting little repetition of the Hawaiian immigration complication ³³⁵ now in course of enactment here.

³³⁵ In March 1897 a total of about 1,200 would-be Japanese immigrants to Hawaii on four ships were refused permission to land. The Japanese government protested and demanded compensation from Hawaii. The American government demanded of the Hawaiian government that this problem of compensation be solved prior to annexation. The Japanese demanded 250,000 yen, but received only 150,000 yen. (Nagaoka Vol. 2, p. 119).

The Japse. local authorities, acting under instructions from Tokio, have refused permission to land to some 38 Chinese coolies who are en route to Hawaii under passes furnished by the Hawaiian Govt.

The Coolies arrived here yesterday morning in the Higo Maru from S'hai [Shanghai], intending to trans ship here and proceed in the "China" to Hawaii but arrived too late for that; and the Japanese agent here of the emigration company in China wanted to land them here and send them on in the next Steamer. Guarantees were offered for their maintenance, good conduct etc., but rejected. The police forbade them to come ashore; and the Higo Maru has discharged them into cargo lighters like so many cattle and gone on. That is briefly the situation at the present moment. I'll report more, officially, tomorrow.

Yours Sincerely

J.C. Hall

59. Hall to Satow

Kobe

23.4.'97

My dear Sir Ernest,

The poor Chinese coolies were in the boat all night – the Japse. persisting in their refusal to let them land. The Chinese Consul here consulted me, some days before this incident happened, about the demand, which the local authorities were pressing on him, that all Chinese residents here should be registered at the Kencho. I advised him to comply with the demand, adding that in two years' time British and other foreigners would have to do so likewise. Whether the arbitrary treatment of these coolies may be wholly or partly due to this local misunderstanding I am not yet in a position to say. Probably the stone hits the Hawaiian bird as well.

Yours Sincerely

J.C. Hall

60. Hall to Satow

Kobe

May 5, 1897

My dear Sir Ernest

I hope this will be in time to reach you before you embark.³³⁶ I have been delayed by having to investigate the facts of a fight on board the "Antenor [?]". It was entirely due to the insolence and violence of the

³³⁶ Satow left Japan on May 7, 1897 to attend Queen Victoria's Diamond Jubilee celebrations in London. He returned to Japan on November 21st. (See *The Diaries of Sir Ernest M. Satow, British Minister in Tokyo 1895-1900*, ed. I. Ruxton; Tokyo: Edition Synapse, 2003 Hereafter cited as 'Ruxton' with page numbers).

Japanese coolies who were engaged in unloading the ship. When the Chinese firemen were quietly at breakfast some coolies came and threw dirt and sand down the skylight on their table, and when a Chinaman went up to shut the skylight they pulled him down by his pig-tail (then a fight began) and it was only by the prompt and skilful measures of the Captain and officers that murders were avoided. I don't expect the culprits will be properly dealt with. The Japse. codes look well on paper, but the administration of them here is beneath contempt — not half so good even as it was ten years ago.

I am attaching all the more importance to this case as it seems to be a repetition of what happened on the "Patrochio" at Shimonoseki about 6 weeks ago. There it was coal-dust that the coolies threw on the Chinamens' viands as they were being carried along the deck. There being no Consul there, the Japanese police dealt with the case, and each Chinaman was fined 1 yen, which the Captain had to pay under penalty of having his ship on her homeward voyage detained! My informant is the Captain of the "Antenor", who learned the facts from the Captain of the "Patrochio" at Singapore on his way up here.

A month ago I politely asked a policeman to come with me a short distance that I might point out to him a dangerous obstruction on the public thoroughfare. He flatly refused saying that there was another policeman out on beat — I could go and find him. And he refused either to give me his name or card or to take my card and was most insolent and rude in his language and demeanour. I complained to the Kencho, but no notice whatever was taken of my complaint as that was under the last Governor and he was shelved a week or so after I did not press the matter.

I merely mention these facts — and I might add many more of the same kind — for your information. It would be a wise thing of the Japse. Govt., in the interests of their own peace and quietness — to delay the enforcement of the new Treaties for a few years till the national truculence engendered by the victory over China [in 1895] has somewhat sobered down. But I suppose that would be too good a thing to hope for.

Wishing you a pleasant stay in England and safe return to your post, believe me,

Yours Sincerely

J. C. Hall

61. Hall to Lowther

Kobe

20.11.'97

My Dear Mr. [Gerard Augustus] Lowther,

I have to apologise for my delay in replying to your last note re Wawn's further examination. I have been ineffective for ten days owing to a slight eye attack, but am now all right again. Wawn will come up for examination in the 8th Reader in a week from now.

I must also express my regret for the delay in forwarding your tiffin basket which Mr. Bax Ironside left here. It goes forward today by rail.

I am sorry I cannot say more in favour of Bardens' claim which goes forward herewith, but I believe the truth to be that he is merely the representative of a syndicate which hopes to make a deal with the Govt.

Yours Sincerely

J.C. Hall

F. J. Bardens, manager of Samuel Samuel & Co. in Kobe, was the legal owner of the Hyogo Hotel. During land reclamation to create Kobe port the beachside view from the hotel was destroyed, reducing the hotel's value. Bardens protested through the British consulate to the minister, but in the end sold the land without compensation. Nihon Yūsen bought the land and built on it.

62. Hall to Satow

[ans 25/11]

23.11.'97

My dear Sir Ernest,

Welcome back and congratulations on your safe return to your post.

Everything working smoothly here. Coolie lawlessness on shipboard effectively check-mated by the daily water police patrol which I got the Governor to institute and on shore considerably mitigated.

Your old friend Utsumi has just been promoted to be Governor of Kyoto, his successor at Osaka being Tokitō, one of the old Satsuma gang who feathered their nests so well in the early days of Kuroda's dictatorship in the Hokkaido.³³⁷ Baron Nishi was one of the same ilk and left behind him the reputation of being as capable as he was corrupt.

Wawn promises to be a very good assistant. You did him a real service in sending him down here.

Yours Sincerely,

J.C. Hall

63. Hall to Satow

Kobe, date illegible

Hall thanks Satow for "the indications you kindly gave me of your proposed arrangements...which, so far as I

³³⁷ Kuroda Kiyotaka (1840-1900) was a central figure in the Hokkaido colonization office scandal of 1881. He proposed to sell the office's assets to a trading consortium led by a colleague from the former Satsuma domain for a nominal sum. The terms were leaked to the press and the sale was cancelled. (Kodansha's Illustrated Encyclopedia of Japan)

am concerned, are perfectly satisfactory. I shall be sorry to lose Playfair but he has had a good spell of acting appointment and will not be disposed to give up. You have been misinformed however, as to his intention to try to pass his Interpreter's examination. He has been working steadily at home for a long time back and has made considerable progress so far as regards reading official despatches. I have not tried him in any other area, but I know he can get along fairly well in colloquial [spoken Japanese]. He is firmly resolved to try to pass.

As regards the building of a Consulate here, I think [R. H.] Boyce must have been speaking from his recollections of my fight with him over the accommodation at Hakodate. I have never communicated in any way with him as regards this place. I leave that entirely in your hands; trusting that you will let me have a look at the O.W.'s plans before you express approval of them.

Yours very sincerely

J.C. Hall

64. Hall to Satow

Kobe

3.12.'97 [ans. 4.12.'97]

My dear Sir Ernest,

If Mr. Martin had told me at first, instead of at last, about his law suit in this Court, I should have had no hesitation in registering him as a British Subject and defying the Japse.

I made the best fight I could for him under the circumstances.

I have been having a very tough job of late in negotiating with the Kobe City Water-works for a new site in exchange for the foreign small-pox hospital site which they require for their work. At one time it seemed as if we should have to appeal to the Foreign Representatives, but we are now within sight of an amicable arrangement.

It seems a curious arrangement that Dutch Consular representation here should now be transferred to the Russian Vice Consul after having been in the hands of a German for nearly 30 years.

Yours Sincerely

J.C. Hall

65. Hall to Satow

Kobe

10.12.'97

My dear Sir Ernest,

I was away yesterday afternoon on an official visit to Osaka when your telegram about Consular fees

arrived: hence the delay in replying. Mexican dollars are very rarely seen here and have been rejected for years whenever, as rarely happened, they were tendered in payment of Consular fees.

The business Situation here is deplorable. A complete dead loss: no money to be had.

On dit [French: It is said] that 5 Russian men-of-war are expected to arrive here in the course of today, and the Japse. naval officials are said to be very much on the alert. Some four hundred odd dollars have been subscribed amongst the Germans here to supply Xmas treats to the invaders at Kiao-chow. [The German navy had used the pretext of the murder of two missionaries in September to occupy Kiaochow on November 14th.] Local feeling here amongst the Japanese is bitter against the Cabinet for not dealing more resolutely with the German camp [?].

I am promised the collection of samples of silk (called for by your desp. No. 12) in a few days. May I send the parcel direct to the F.O. (to save double carriage) or shall I send it on to the Legation along with the despatch reporting fulfilment of the Commission ?

Yours Sincerely

J. C. Hall

66. Hall to Satow

18 Dec. 1897

My dear Sir Ernest,

Thanks for your note of the 14th inst. [Nagasaki consul Joseph Henry] Longford's request for an assistant seems only reasonable, and as Hampden appears to be the only man available, I must (very reluctantly) consent to accept the Portuguese clerk in exchange and as Hampden has been shipped [?] about so much of late he would probably like to be allowed to stay on at Nagasaki. For my part I shall take it as a favour if you allow me to keep on Playfair after Wileman comes out. And if you decide to send Hampden to Nagasaki I hope you will let me have him for most of next month, as the beginning of the year is generally a busy time.

I quite agree with you that Martin's case is not a strong one, and expect that his claim will be disallowed. But I thought it due to the Viceroy's commission to do what I could for him. If he is a fair average specimen of the Armenian race I don't wonder at the Turks indulging occasionally in depopulation.

I am getting in facts about the 25 years lease question, and am going to have a test lease tried on with the Kencho. It is perfectly true that for years past they have been doing their utmost to restrict foreigners' leases to that term. [See Satow's diary for March 3, 1898 where he discusses limits on leases in Kobe with then foreign minister Nishi Tokujiro.]

Yours Sincerely,

J. C. Hall

67. Hall to Satow

Kobe

18 Decr. '97

My dear Sir Ernest,

When writing my reply to you this morning, as regards the second of the two points you mentioned, viz. the substitution of Hampden for Playfair at Nagasaki when Wileman takes up his post here I had quite forgotten for the moment that Playfair is Senior by more than 2 years to Wileman; and he would naturally prefer going to Nagasaki to remaining here under Wileman who is not his superior in anything except knowledge of Japanese.

Wawn is a really promising assistant, and would be much more useful to Longford than his Portuguese clerk. Or if you are unwilling to shift Wawn, perhaps you might be able to send [Harold G.] Parlett to Nagasaki when he returns in April ? In that case my staff would remain as it is – which is, of course, what I would prefer. But I am prepared to make the best of any arrangement you may decide on.

Yours Sincerely

J.C. Hall

68. Hall to Satow

Private

Kobe

27 [?] Dec. '97

My dear Sir Ernest,

Many thanks for your note of the 20th. I trust the rumour you mention regarding acting judicial arrangements may turn out to be true and that you will do your best for me if the opportunity arises. I don't suppose Hannen's absence would extend a couple of months or three at the outside; and I should greatly enjoy the change of scene and work.

The contents of cypher despatched herewith were communicated confidentially to F.W.P. today. I don't know the informant.

Yours Sincerely

J.C. Hall

69. Playfair to Satow

Kobe

Jany. 5. 1898

My dear Sir Ernest,

Many thanks for your note. I hoped to go up for examination in 3 or 4 months time, but under present circumstances I propose to come up [to Tokyo] about the middle of next month, if that will suit [Japanese Secretary John H.] Gubbins. I assure you I approach the exam with fear and trembling as I never had any penchant for languages.

Yours Sincerely,

F.W. Playfair

70. Hall to Satow

Kobe

8.1.'98

[ans 11.1.'98]

My dear Sir Ernest,

I enclose a copy of the Osaka Asahi Shimbun of yesterday and a translation of its lying paragraph about my action. I think such reckless fabrications ought not to pass unnoticed; and as you are the alleged wire-puller in the matter I lose no time in bringing the facts to your notice. I shall take no steps in the matter till I hear from you. In reply to a private enquiry from the Kobe Chronicle I have authorised it to say that the paragraph is an utterly baseless falsehood. I have given the same assurance in reply to an enquiry from the local Police Bureau.

Yours Sincerely

J.C. Hall

Enclosed:

- 1) Osaka Asahi Shimbun article (Jan. 7, 1898)
- 2) Translation of part of the article:

A strange report concerning the operation of the Treaties

England took the lead and set an example to the other Powers by the conclusion of the new Treaty published on August 27, 1894; but recently, we are told the British Minister [Satow], under instructions from his home Government, has privately directed H.B.M. Consuls at the Open Ports to secretly investigate the working of our administrative and police system in their several districts. For this reason doubtless, Mr. Hall, H.B.M. Consul at Kobe, in his desire to spare no pains and to concentrate his whole attention upon this enquiry, is said to have engaged the services of two Japanese for the work and to be paying them a liberal

salary, viz. 70 yen a month to one, and 50 yen a month to the other. One subject of investigation may be given as an instance, viz. in the matter of the police system, the comparative efficiency of the Japanese and Municipal police officers, as shown by the number and nature of the arrests effected by them respectively for offences against the person in which foreigners are the injured parties. It is even stated that the real object of this action is that the British Government means to secure a postponement of the date of the operation of the revised Anglo-Japanese treaty. This can hardly be the case; but we have heard a report that there are signs that our Authorities are not, as yet, adopting any counter-measures. Anyway it behoves all Japanese subjects to give the matter their serious attention.

71. Hall to Satow

[ans 15/1]

Kobe,

January 13, 1898

My dear Sir Ernest,

Many thanks for your note of the 11th. I am glad to hear that Port Arthur is in safekeeping. It is to be hoped that the Kaiser will have no pals in his kleptomania.³³⁸ The integrity of China is worth more to us than half a dozen Soudans. I hope before long to see you successful in cementing an alliance with Japan for the protection of the most pacific of peoples.

I heard some weeks ago of the attention of getting up a memorial about coolie violence etc. and was asked if I would sign it. I replied certainly not; but I would forward anything I was asked to forward, adding my own comment. The fact is that coolie violence is on the decrease; and some of the Kobeites are rabidly anti-Japanese. I may mention, e.g. that the Committee of the Kobe Club are bringing forward a resolution at the approaching annual meeting to exclude Japanese from membership. I have induced Playfair to resign his membership of the Committee, so as to dissociate himself from the proposal.

I shall certainly take an early opportunity to make Mr. Hara's acquaintance, and if you have no objection I should like to communicate the explanation you suggested to the Kobe Chronicle instead of to the Mainichi Shinbun – of course entirely as if coming from myself. I think so respectable and straightforward a paper deserves encouragement.

I sent in the test lease yesterday for registration at the Kencho – term 50 years. So I expect to be able to

³³⁸ Germany occupied Kiaochow in Shantung province on 14 November 1897 and secured a 99-year lease in March 1898. Russia then occupied Port Arthur in February 1898 on a 25-year lease, and in April Britain took over Wei-Hai-Wei from Japan (which had held it pending war indemnity payments by China) to protect her commercial interests in China, for as long as Russia should occupy Port Arthur. So Hall's hope was a vain one.

report before long. There is more behind the superficies [surface rights] dummy than either Brinkley or Lönholm have brought out.

Yours Sincerely

J.C. Hall

72. Hall to Satow

Kobe

19.1.'98

My dear Sir Ernest,

I have your two notes ve. [verbales] of the 15th and 18th inst. to reply to. As regards the latter, Captain Walker is English. I was of course aware of the difference between English and Scotch law on the point.

I am leaving no stone unturned (in a quiet way) to prevent the anti-Japanese resolution being brought forward at all at the annual meeting of the Club, which comes off on the 28th inst. I am confident of being able to defeat it if the Committee persist in bringing it forward. Being an amendment to the Rules it will require three fourths of the members present at this meeting to vote in favour of it to carry it. I can already count on more than a fourth of the members to oppose it or – which is just as good – not to vote tho' present at the meeting. But I am in strong hopes that the Committee will yield to the pressure that is being brought to bear on them and withdraw the amendment altogether.

I availed of your permission to communicate the explanation of the false rumour to the “Kobe Chronicle” which is by far and away the best of the 3 newspapers here.³³⁹

It seems to me that “Superficies” being merely a jus in personam (or jus ad rem) , the superficiary may not be in the same advantageous position as a lease-holder in maintaining his interests in cases of trespass, easements, nuisance, to say nothing of the risk of the contract being held by the Courts to be subject to modification or limitation by local custom.

I hope to send in my Trade Report in good time this year. A word or two from you would help to hasten the issue of the Volume of Customs Returns.

Yours Sincerely,

J.C. Hall

73. Hall to Satow

³³⁹ The first issue of the *Kobe Chronicle* (from 1902, *Japan Chronicle*) appeared on 2 October 1891. Edited by Robert Young (1891-1921). Lafcadio Hearn was co-editor in 1894-95. (On the *Japan Chronicle* and its three editors, see *Britain & Japan: Biographical Portraits*, Vol. IV, Ch. 29 by Peter O'Connor.)

Kobe,

21.1.'98

My dear Sir Ernest,

The Committee of the Kobe Club have surrendered at last and withdrawn their proposed amendment to the Rules (viz. "that membership shall be limited to Foreigners residing in Japan"). A request to them to withdraw it was signed by nearly sixty members of the Club; so that it had not a chance of being carried. All the same, however, many of the signatories would be firmly opposed to the admission of Japanese candidates for election. It will take some little time yet to blunt the edge of race prejudice in this port.

I have just received the Governor's refusal to register the test lease for 50 years. He says the term was previously fixed in [Consul James] Troup's time [April 1, 1882 – June 1888] at 25 years, but does not quote the Regulations of 1884 (annexed to de Lucy-Fossarieu's report³⁴⁰ on the Mascarenhas case).

Sorry for my omission to give the names of Lord H. Thynne's friends. The Laidleys are travelling companions from Australia.

I have refrained from ordering a copy of Gubbins' [translated] version of the Civil Code on the chance of the Consulates being supplied with a copy from the Legation.

Yours Sincerely

J.C. Hall

[Satow's note: Extr. to Troup, 24 Jan. Extr. fr. Troup's reply of 24 Jan. to Hall Jan. 25.]

74. Hall to Satow

[ans. 27/1/98]

Kobe

25. 1. '98

My dear Sir Ernest,

Mr. Baggallay, the Chairman of Chamber of Commerce here begs for information as to probable date of the coming into force of the new Tariffs, conventional and statutory. The Chamber gratefully acknowledges [] received from you last year, and now hopes for a repetition of the favour.

At a meeting held a few days ago between the foreign and Japanese Chambers of Commerce here the former dwelt strongly on the imperative necessity of allowing aliens to own land if foreign capital is to be invited or invested in this country.

I hear the memorial about coolie violence has been signed by almost everybody in the place, and is to be sent (copies) to the Consuls for transmission in a day or two.

³⁴⁰ P. H. de Lucy-Fossarieu was French consul in Kobe, 1889-1905.

Yours Sincerely

J.C. Hall

75. Hall to Satow

Kobe

January 29th, 1898

My dear Sir Ernest,

The case of Byrne's leases which Troup mentions had nothing to do with the 25 years' limit question. That was raised by Mr. Creagh. I am bringing in Byrne's case in my report to illustrate the point that a lease for 20 years renewable for another term is not always an equivalent to a lease for 40 years and other points also. But in this case, as in some others, it takes a good deal of time and trouble to eke out all the links in the chain of facts, especially as both Byrne and Lt Brown the only men who knew all the facts are gone to the majority. I am sorry for the unavoidable delay in sending in the report; but it took time to find out that a test case was indispensable, and then to find a Japanese subject willing to run the risk of offending against the regulation [limiting leases to 25 years]. The lessor in the test case is a Japanese subject but of British paternity. I lost no time in putting in a protest. The Japanese will find it rather hard to argue that we have ever agreed to a limit.

Many thanks for your note of the 27th January giving the desired information – which is full and clear as to the likely date for the new tariffs.

Mr. [T. W.] Hellyer [of Hellyer & Co., Kobe] , who has the memorial in hand, tells me that it is strictly moderate. It was got up and signatures obtained under the impression that it should be sent through the Senior Consul to the Doyen of the Diplomatic Corps [Albert d'Anethan, the Belgian minister]. But in deference to your views each Consul is to receive a copy signed by his own national. Hence the delay.

Yours Sincerely

J.C. Hall

76. Hall to Satow

[ans. 3/2/98]

Kobe,

Feb 1st 98

My dear Sir Ernest,

Mr. Hellyer showed me the memorial today. It is perfectly moderate and temperate in tone and language. He tells me that the original will be sent thro' the Senior Consul to the Doyen of the Diplomatic Body and a printed copy to each Minister through his Consul here. He says it has been signed by everybody who is or

represents a firm of whatsoever nationality. I have only seen the memorial itself which is quite short – not the list of cases or the signatures, the latter being in the printer's hands.

My whole day has been taken up in Court over a civil Summary case against a so-called merchant – one of a squad who ought to be deported.

I hope to get the lease report off tomorrow, but my time is fearfully cut up by the general public.

Yours Sincerely

J.C. Hall

77. Hall to Satow

Kobe

Feb. 3, 1898

My dear Sir Ernest,

The Larwills' case, which I reported yesterday, would be a good opportunity for speaking to the Japanese Govt. about Coolie insolence here. There was absolutely no provocation or excuse for the organized foreigner-hunt. I have questioned the Japanese cemetery keeper; and he fully corroborates the Larwills' statement.

I have confined any report on leases here to the question of the 25 years limit. The injustice of the proviso giving the lessor only and not the lessee the right of having transfers registered, and also the untrustworthiness of covenants for renewal in leases to foreigners are points that are only indirectly connected with the limiting Regulation of 1884; so I have thought it better not to deal with them in the same despatch.

Mr. Hellyer tells me it will be two or three days yet before the Memorial regarding Coolie Violence will be ready.

Yours Sincerely

J.C. Hall

78. Hall to Satow

Kobe,

Feb. 4, 1898

My dear Sir Ernest,

I fully appreciate what you say as regards memorials addressed to the Senior Consul or to the Doyen of the Diplomatic Corps. I said nearly as much myself to Mr. Hellyer when he first informed me, nearly a fortnight ago, that it was he who had the memorial in hand. But it was then too late, he said, to act on my advice, as nearly all the signatures had already been obtained, from the other nationalities as well as British, on the

understanding that it was to be a community affair – not sectional: that being so, it had to be put through on the original lines; but substantial effect is being given to your views by the plan of sending a copy to each Consul for transmission to his Minister.

The test case was the only way to bring out the truth about the limiting of leases. At this time of day no ordinary Japanese would be foolhardy enough to take a 50 years [lease] to the Kencho for registration. In the two cases of 1894 and 1895 mentioned in my despatch of yesterday the B.S. [British Subject] had bought the property out and out, and wanted the leases from the Japanese legal and nominal owners for security's sake.

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I am having the monthly Trade Returns added up as you suggest; but for some purposes the annual volume [of customs returns] will be indispensable.

Yours Sincerely,

J.C. Hall

79. Hall to Satow

[ans. 10/2/98]

Kobe

Feb. 7, 1898

My dear Sir Ernest,

As required by your telegram to-day I [shall ?] send copy of lease and of my formal covering letter to Governor asking for Registration.

Following the usual procedure, the lessor took the 2 executed deeds of lease to the Mayor's office (Shiyakusho) in order to obtain the Certificate of ownership which the Kencho require before allowing registration. He also took with him his written Japanese application for registration of the lease and a written tender of the registration fee (1 yen). He was informed at the Shiyakusho that it was useless to tender such a lease to the Kencho and [they] refused to do anything in respect of it. Then the lessee complained to me, and I forwarded the 2 Japanese documents along with the duplicate deed of lease in my letter to the Governor.

Replying to your note of the 5th, - no official report of Creagh's case seems to have been made to the

³⁴¹ On February 7, 1898 Satow spoke to prime minister Itō "about the Kōbe hill lots and the order restricting the length of leases. He said the question was did Japanese Law impose this restriction for Japanese among themselves; that could not be helped...I said the restriction was only as between Japanese and foreigners, and not in accordance with the spirit of his circular, based on an agreement. He replied he would look into the matter, and if the order was irregular, the Foreign Minister or Minister of the Interior would have it revoked." (Diary, February 7, 1898).

Itō had read Robert Young's article 'The case of the foreign residents in Japan' in *Nineteenth Century*, no. 42 (August 1897), pp. 305-16 in which the restriction of 25 years for leases taken by foreigners in Kōbe was mentioned.

Legation. Perhaps Troup may have reported or written about it privately. I'll see what [R.G.] Watson's notification may have had to do with leases in the Mixed Residence zone. My impression is that it can only have referred to land outside the settlements; but as I have been all day in Court I have not had time to look the matter up. More on that soon.

Yours Sincerely,
J.C. Hall

80. Hall to Satow

Kobe

February 8, 1898

My dear Sir Ernest,

When [Acting Vice-Consul at Hiogo William A.] Woolley says in his despatch of Mar. 19, 1883 that since Mr. Watson's notification "no perpetual leases have been granted" he probably meant "by the Kencho". Two 25 years leases renewable in succession every 25 years by mutual consent (the wording is [Abel A. J.] Gower's own) were registered in 1874. One of these two is the Small-pox Hospital lot, about which I'm afraid I must soon trouble you as the Japanese here are not behaving well about it.

So far as I can discover, you will be perfectly safe in assuming that we have never in any way – even tacitly – assented to any limitation of our covenanted rights as to leases on the hill here. In forwarding the Japse. Govt's Notification of 1872, Mr. Watson (Circ. No. 2 of June 1) expressly limits its application to "land beyond the foreign settlements". In a P.S. he adds "It will be sufficient if you affix a notice to the above purport in your office". Then on June 13th he privately tells Gower not to publish the Notification as he intends to substitute another for it; and in his Circular No. 5 of same date he sends a new Notification in which he expressly reserves rights secured by Treaty engagements. I fancy the Notification in question arose out of a dispute between the Consulate and the Kencho here about some go-downs [warehouses, stores] mortgaged to Cabeldu, which were altogether outside the limits of the Zakkyochi [area of mixed residence].

Yours Sincerely,
J.C. Hall

81. Hall to Satow

[ans. 15/2/98]

Kobe,

Feb. 12, 1898

My dear Sir Ernest,

As to the point raised in your desp. No. 2 and your note of the 10th inst it seems to me that the fact of the Japanese lessor having been substituted in leases for the foreign lessee as responsible for payment of the municipal charges and Govt. land-tax is sufficiently accounted for in the passage of Woolley's despatch which runs: "In the case of agreements made between foreigners and private Japanese, the landlord who holds the title-deed is the person upon whom the obligation to pay land-tax rests [i.e. by the great Land Law of 1872] and when land is sub-leased by Japanese to Japanese the landlord pays all dues....Consequently the obligation imposed on foreigners under Arrangement of March 1868, that they are to pay taxes similar to Japanese is in this case void, as the Japanese landlord has a prior obligation imposed on him."

As the point of the limitation of the term of leases was quite distinct from that about which all the previous trouble in respect of hill-lots had been, I purposely made no reference to the long and vexatious controversy you so successfully settled. I am in hopes that for the sake of completeness of the Consulate records here, you will send for preservation in the archives an official despatch recording the fact and the terms of the settlement.

I enclose copy of the Japanese text of the Kencho regulations of 1884, obtained from de Lucy-Fossarieu.

Playfair left this afternoon for Tokio for his exam. I sincerely hope he will pull thro'. He is both plucky and persevering.

Yours Sincerely,

J.C. Hall

82. Hall to Satow

Kobe,

Feb. 17, 1898

My dear Sir Ernest,

Peccavi [I have sinned.] I had not read the two despatches of '96 to which you refer me. I had run thro' the Legation correspondence about ten years previous; but somehow that year not being yet bound completely escaped me. The draft leases enclosed in your No. 23 of July 8 is being copied and will be forwarded tomorrow.

You have hit the nail on the head by claiming the revocation of the order restricting leases to 25 years. I shall be curious to see in what way the Foreign Minister will try to parry that thrust. But the main importance of the controversy, it seems to me, is its bearing on the question [of] lease-holding under the new Treaties. Brinkley's assertion that the Jap. Govt. are disposed to be liberal on the question of land-holding by foreigners seems hardly credible in face of the last reported interview with Ct. Okuma who thinks that if a 25 years lease is good enough for Japanese it ought to be for foreigners also. I am more than ever sceptical as to a

superficies being equivalent to a long building lease under another name. There is an idea prevalent here that the Govt. will be coerced into a more liberal policy in the matter by pressure from the people, who want money, and know that to get it from foreigners they must be able to sell or mortgage land.

Yours Sincerely,

J.C. Hall

83. Hall to Satow

Kobe

Feb. 19, 1898

My dear Sir Ernest,

I enclose the draft lease forwarded with your despatch No. 23 of July 1896, keeping Wawn's copy for our archives here.

Mr. Hellyer called to enquire if it would be in order to communicate to the newspapers a copy of the Memorial about Coolie violence. I told him certainly not – without first obtaining the consent of the Ministers to whom it had been forwarded.

I hope the friendly rapprochements between the foreign and the Japanese Chambers of Commerce here will help to improve the tone of relations generally between the two communities. I am sorry to say that Baggallay who had taken the lead in this movement is leaving Japan soon as the climate does not suit him. The Yokohama Chamber of Commerce might do worse than follow the lead.

The latest rumour about Fegan [W. Fegan, editor in 1895 of daily Shipping List ?] is that he is at Chemulpho. I hope to find time on Monday to report to [Assisitant Judge James] Troup officially. [Troup retired on a pension, 1 April 1898.]

Yours Sincerely,

J.C. Hall

84. Hall to Satow

[ans. 24/2]

Kobe,

Feb. 22, 1898.

My dear Sir Ernest,

Thanks for your note of yesterday, just to hand, along with your despatch re Bardens' claim.

I will communicate to Mr. Hellyer your views as to publishing the memorial and I feel sure he will comply

with them. I felt bound to tell the Governor³⁴² about the memorial, and got him a copy of it from Hellyer. He is dreadfully cut up about it, as he is responsible for the police and is a first-rate man, worth a dozen of his predecessor [Sufu Kōhei]; and I shall be sorry if the memorial were the means of getting him into trouble.

As regards the intercourse between the foreign and native mercantile communities at Yokohama, I have heard that many members of the Japanese Chamber of Commerce were known to the foreign merchants in the early days as mere office-boys. That has probably something to do with the foreigners' aloofness – not that it ought to have.

I note carefully what you tell me as to the position of doyen. The arrangement here of electing the doyen was a pis aller [for want of a better way]. When [German consul at Kobe] Von Krençki goes home on leave next month the question will come up again. We could never consent to take any collective action through old Braess as representative: so we shall have to fall back on the expedient you suggest of electing a Chairman of Committee.

I saw V. Krencki's letter forwarding the memorial before he saw it himself. It was drafted for him by de Lucy and shown to me at the office here before it was taken to him. However I shall ask him for a copy – in case.

I am very glad that Playfair has been partially successful in his examination. It would have been a terrible discouragement if he had failed utterly. He is going to keep on working hard to pull completely through next time.

Yours Sincerely

J.C. Hall

85. Hall to Satow

Kobe

25.2.'94 [should be '98]

My dear Sir Ernest,

Your note with enclosure for the new Admiral reached me yesterday evening, and will go forward in a cover to [George] Jamieson³⁴³ by a blue-funnel steamer leaving here Sunday 27th. It could have gone by the Saikyo Maru which left here this morning – after the N.Y.K. office had given out that she was only going as far as Nagasaki this trip.

³⁴² 大森 鍾一 Ōmori Shōichi, Governor of Hyogo, Meiji 30.4.7 – 33.10.25 (April 7, 1897- October 25, 1900).

³⁴³ George Jamieson, C.M.G. Promoted to be Consul-General and Registrar of British shipping at Shanghai, and commercial attaché for China, November 13, 1897. (F.O. List, 1898).

I have given the Japse. police no rest about Fegen ever since Troup first wrote sending me a description of him; yet they have so far failed to come on any trace of him. It was a foreigner who saw him the only time he is reported to have been seen. I half suspect that Mr. Young of the "Kobe Chronicle" knows more about him than he is willing to communicate; tho' he professes to wish to see him caught, as he wants to try if anything can be done to make Fegen do something towards the support of his wife and children.

Yours Sincerely,

J.C.Hall

86. Hall to Satow

[ans. 5/3]

Kobe

March 3, 1898

My dear Sir Ernest,

You will see that the Kobe people have strictly carried out your views about keeping the memorial out of the newspapers; but the [Japan] Mail's article has made the fact known in spite of them. I hear the same committee is going to get up a further memorial about Japanese prisons.

After repeated invitations from the local officials here I went yesterday to inspect the new prison (on German lines) which is just being finished at Himeji. It is certainly a great improvement on any Japse. prison I have previously seen. The cells are board-walls instead of bars, the arrangements for ventilation etc. excellent, and in winter the cells are to be warmed with hot-water pipes. I propose to report to you officially, and to ask your sanction for my travelling expenses.

There is no foreigner here, English or other, married to a Tokugawa or, so far as I can ascertain, to any Japanese woman of good family.

I have given Hampden a month's holiday. He was in need of it and fairly entitled to it. I hope you will let me have 6 or 8 weeks local leave in July or August next, as it keeps me in health to escape the heat in the mountains. And it would be a great convenience to myself and my landlord if I could tell him whether I am likely to be here in July or not. Popular rumour has been sending me to Yokohama.

Yours Sincerely,

J.C. Hall

87. Hall to Satow

Kobe,

5 March, 1898

My dear Sir Ernest,

It is an open secret here that Mr. Bardens is not the real owner of the Hiogo hotel premises but only represents a Japanese Syndicate. I think the lessee is entitled to compensation for loss of sea-view; as I see the Japanese are now preparing to put up a building right in front of the hotel. In other respects it seems to me that the hotel property has been improved rather than injured by the new reclamation and building operations.

I hear that an order was issued to the local authorities some weeks ago that henceforth no leases of foreshore are to be made [?] between Japanese in respect of the whole stretch of coast between Kobe and Osaka.

The foreign scrutiny and criticism of Japanese prisons and procedure is already beginning to do good. Within the last ten days some 80 of the detained persons awaiting trial in the prison here have been liberated on bail.

Yours Sincerely,

J.C. Hall

88. Hall to Satow

Kobe,

7 March 1898

My dear Sir Ernest,

Thanks for your note of the 5th inst. There is not the least fear of the Committee again addressing the Doyen. They would not have done so in the case of the Coolie violence memorial, after what you said to them thro' both Mr. Dun [?] and myself, were it not that the memorial – as I explained on Mr. Hellyer's behalf – had already been signed – all but a very few names – as the result of some weeks work, and it was thought better to send it in as signed. The sending of copies to the Ministers separately was virtually an acknowledgement of error in the original procedure.

If the memorial had been res integra to me when it came before the Consular body thro' the Doyen it would not have been forwarded to Tokyo at all; for we were all fully aware of the irregularity of the procedure, and it was only in deference to my wishes that Krençki and Fossarieu agreed to send it forward. After what you had said to me in your private note about Enslie pigeon-holing previous representations I did not feel at liberty to put any impediment in the way of this memorial, in which your interest had already been aroused. I was not expecting your official, and had already assured Mr. Hellyer that the memorial was receiving your best attention.

I never grudge the extra hour or two's work in office. There are no interruptions from the public after office hours. My staff are most punctual, diligent and zealous. I could not wish to have a better. When Playfair

leaves the office he goes straight home to study Japanese.

Yours Sincerely,

J.C. Hall

89. Hall to Satow

Kobe,

March 15, 1898

My dear Sir Ernest,

A Hindoo gentleman, Mr. M. Visvesvaraya, who is described in his passport from the Bombay Govt. as an Executive Engineer, Public Works Department, Bombay on tour for the recovery of his health in Japan has applied to me both personally and by the enclosed letter for a permit to visit the Kyoto palaces. He seems an unobjectionable sort of man, and I shall be glad if you can see your way to getting him the desired favour.

Yours Sincerely,

J.C. Hall

90. Hall to Satow

[ans 28/3]

Kobe

Mar. 25, '98

My dear Sir Ernest,

I hope to be able to answer your today's cypher telegram query re pilot to-morrow.

I have not yet had time to begin to look up references in the lease and lex rei sitae question but hope to get time to tackle it next week.

I saw [Tokyo Legation 2nd secretary Ralph] Paget as he passed thro' to Nagasaki; and on the same morning Consul General Jamieson arrived, with 2 daughters and Dr. Macleod [of Shanghai], evidently very much broken up over some trouble or other – I had not the opportunity of ascertaining what. The party is at Kyoto, and a note from Dr. Macleod tells me they propose returning to Shanghai next week. I am sure it would be a boon to Jamieson if you would kindly send down permits for the party (names given below) to view the Kyoto palaces.

At a meeting of the Consular body this afternoon the French Consul, de Lucy Fossarieu, was on my proposition elected (not doyen but) Chairman; so that question is not likely to give any further trouble here. Mr. Braess did not attend the meeting.

The Governor has at last over-ruled the police bureau, and stationed constables on the hatoba [wharf]; so

the number of Coolie rows will certainly be diminished in future. I shall report this officially at any early opportunity.

Yours Sincerely

J.C. Hall

The Shanghai party at Kyoto:

Mr. Geo. Jamieson, the Misses Jamieson (2), Dr. Macleod, Mr. A. Coutts, Mrs. A. Coutts

Kindly address c/o Yaami Hotel, Kyoto

91. Hall to Satow

Kobe

29.3. '98

My dear Sir Ernest,

The delay in answering the cypher query re the pilot cannot be helped. All the Inland Sea pilots are now down at Moji on the look-out for Ships. Mr. B. is a very talkative and rather boastful man but nothing is known by a tolerably intimate friend of his ever having been in the Gulf of Pechili.

I have been expecting to see Paget on his return voyage but no word of him yet.

A line from Jamieson tells me he is returning to Shanghai by the French Mail day after tomorrow.

We are expecting Mrs. Bonar tomorrow to stay a few days with us on her way down to Tainan [Taiwan]. It seems a pity she has to go back.

Yours Sincerely

J.C. Hall

92. Hall to Satow

Kobe

31 March 1898

My dear Sir Ernest,

Two other pilots who know Mr. Bischoff well are quite ignorant of his ever having been to Wei-hai-wei; but he will be asked the question himself in a day or two.

Playfair is not sorry to hear of Wileman's extension of leave. He is in hopes that he may have a chance of getting an acting spell at Hakodate in case you thought of sending Layard soon to relieve [Consul Henry A. C.] Bonar at Tamsui [in Taiwan]. As you know he has been Acting Consul there before, and would, I think, be a good man for the occasion if it should arise.

It would certainly be a great boon to myself and, I opine, also to [Nagasaki Consul Joseph H.] Longford

and Bonar and [Hakodate Consul Raymond de B.M.] Layard if you could see your way to allowing the coming shifts to take place in May instead of in the hot weather later in the year. Of course you would not feel justified in doing this if the earlier date involved extra expense to the Government; and for my own part I should cheerfully waive any ostensible claim I might have to travelling expenses, other than the outfit allowance.

Yours Sincerely,

J.C. Hall

93. Satow answers Hall

Extr. [Extract of answer]

18 April 1898

I may hear something shortly from the F.O. about the new appointments and in the mean time I am not sending for your application, because it is doubtful whether the title of Consul General will be continued at Yokohama. The Germans and Americans are real consuls general, i.e. they are the official heads of the consuls at ports, but that is not the case with us. I will let you know as soon as I can anything that affects yourself. With regard to temporary transfers I wish to postpone them till the commissions arrive.

94. Hall to Satow

Kobe,

April 8th, 1898

My dear Sir Ernest,

Mr. B. the pilot is still away from here; but none of the other pilots have any knowledge of his even having been in the Gulf of Pechili [where Wei-hai-wei, Britain's newly acquired naval base was situated]. What is known about him is that on the occasion of the Tsarevitch's visit to Nagasaki he tendered his services to pilot the two Russian War Vessels to Kagoshima, he never having been there; and when challenged for his impudence he airily remarked that he felt quite competent to do it, because the ships had good navigating officers and there was a good chart of the gulf. From what I can learn he is not a man to be lightly employed or trusted, and none of the pilots here believe that he has ever acted as a pilot outside of the Inland Sea.

I shall report the "Pathan" case in a day or two, but I don't see what we can do to prevent rows there. It's a thousand pities the place was not made an open port, in exchange for the closing of Niigata.

Sir Chas. Mitchell's ³⁴⁴ Steamer the Rosetta, will hardly arrive here before Monday morning at day-light.

³⁴⁴ Sir Charles Mitchell was the British Governor of the Straits Colonies. He arrived in Tokyo on April 23, 1898. (Mentioned in Satow's diary for that day.)

The Governor before going to Tokyo sent me a message to say that he would place a Steam launch and his carriage at Sir C's service on arrival.

Yours Sincerely

J.C. Hall

95. Hall to Satow

Kobe,

April 16, 1898

My dear Sir Ernest,

Mr. Bishop, the pilot, stated two days ago, in reply to an enquiry from Captn. Mahlman that he has never been to Wei-hai-wei in his life.

As regards the leases question my German colleague assures me that owing to lack of archives for the earlier years he could not give me a list of perpetual leases or even a return of their number. The American could but does not want to, as it might require him to make invidious distinctions as to some leases which are held by the lessees to be perpetual in nature and effect. One such was recently exchanged, at Minister Buck's instance, for a new perpetual lease such as those granted to Mr. Hunt and others.

I have applied for a copy of the Circular Instruction mentioned in Governor Ohmori's letter to me of 19th January last, but have not yet received it.

Yours Sincerely

J.C. Hall

96. Hall to Satow

Kobe

20 April 1898

My dear Sir Ernest,

Many thanks for your note of the 18th inst. re the new appointment, and for your kind promise to let me know as soon as anything that affects me reaches you from the F.O. I count also upon your kindly forwarding to the Secretary of State my official application for the vacancy at Yokohama, even if, as you anticipate, the title of the office is likely to be changed.

The Governor has refused to give me a copy of the instructions about leases mentioned in his letter to me of Jan 19th saying that they were private in reply to his enquiries. However he told me the substance of them; viz. that though it may have been unjust in the first instance to impose the restriction, still, now that after the lapse of so many years it had become a local custom, he was to persist in his refusal to register.

Hence I made a mistake in translating Kwaikun by “Circular” instructions as Kwai should have been taken in its other sense of answer.

I’ll do my best to get the information re Mr. B you mention; tho’ naturally it will be rather more difficult than the other point.

Yours Sincerely

J.C. Hall

97. Hall to Satow

[ans. 27/4]

Kobe,

25.4. ’98

My dear Sir Ernest,

I have been favoured with a private perusal of the memorial to Lord Salisbury, of which I told you some time ago, and which is now being signed by the British residents here – I fancy without exception. It is to be signed, I hear, by the Nagasaki residents with similar unanimity, and the promoters expect that a considerable proportion of the Yokohama community will sign it too. Between the 3 ports they expect to get some 500 signatures.

It deals with four questions: land-tenure, foreign newspapers, bail and prisons; setting forth in a clear and temperate way, the familiar common-places of journalistic articles on those topics. The other 3 nationalities German, American and French are getting up similar memorials to their authorities, but those I have not yet seen.

When the memorial is brought in to me for transmission to you I purpose accompanying it with a very brief commentary under each of the heads; which will, of course, be in support of the memorialists views: that is, if you see no objection to my doing so.

I hope to get the silk-report off this week; but I am sorely interrupted and Playfair is laid up with influenza.

Yours Sincerely

J.C. Hall

98. Satow answers Hall

Private

27/4/98

My dear Hall,

I have heard a good deal about the proposed memorial through Dick Robison, Chairman of the [Yokohama]

Chamber of Commerce, tho' I have not seen it, and I believe the Chamber thought it not a wise document. In fact they refused to have anything to do with it, their view being that the reasonable course for foreigners is to make the best of the situation.³⁴⁵

Under the circumstances I do not think that it would be desirable that your despatch should support the memorialists' views.

As to land-tenure I think the course pursued by the Yokohama Chamber of getting legal opinions as to the provisions of the Japanese law from first rate legal practitioners is the best. I am quite clear myself as to the meaning of the civil code, but private persons should of course do as they would in any other country, go to a lawyer.

Foreign Newspapers: Whether after the notice is given as to the Treaties H.M.G. will try to induce the Jap. Govt. to modify the law is very doubtful. I have had correspondence with the F.O. as well as with [editor of *Japan Herald* 1893-1902] J.H. Brooke on the subject, and the view at home is, as it always has been, that the Govt. of every state must regulate newspaper production in the way it considers best in its own interests. Moreover, complaints have more than once been made to H.M.G. of the hostile tone of English newspapers in Japan by the Japanese Government, and the F.O. certainly do not think that this tone has been calculated to promote friendly feelings between foreign residents and Japanese, or between Great Britain and Japan.

As to bail: When the Treaties come into operation it will be the duty of consular officers to take notice of cases of arrest of British subjects, and to see that they have all the rights accorded by the law of the country, [and] to provide them with counsel if they are unable to do so themselves. Before the time comes full instructions on these and many other points will, I have no doubt, be issued to Consular Officers, at least if I am here to do it.

As to prisons, I have sent home your report and it is possible the British Govt. may instruct me to make some representations on this matter.

I gather from something reprinted here from the Kobe Chronicle that the memorialists will suggest that the Japanese Govt. be asked to give guarantees on the four points mentioned in the form of a protocol or other international agreement. That H.M.G. will propose this, or that the Japanese Government would consent, I do not anticipate.

I am exceedingly sorry to hear Playfair is laid up with influenza and that you are in consequence short-handed, but hope he will soon get over its effects.

³⁴⁵ Satow noted in his diary for 31 March 1898: "Dick Robison to lunch. Told him I thought it unnecessary to take any more [action] till Japanese gave notice about Treaties. All the other subjects about which he desired to obtain information were engaging my attention and had been all along. He said he disapproved of a Kōbe memorial that had been communicated to the Chamber of Commerce up here. Replied that if it reached me I should probably take no notice of it, or even return it."

y.v.t.

E.S.

99. Hall to Satow

Kobe

May 11, '98

My dear Sir Ernest,

The long talked-of Memorial was brought in to-day and has been duly posted to you.

Mr. Cowan, of the O.W. [Office of Works ³⁴⁶], turned up this morning and is till busy making a careful scrutiny of this old building.

Hardly a day passes without my receiving enquiries about the date of the coming into force of the new tariffs. I refer them to Brinkley's last article on the subject indicating 19th September as the probable date; but that doesn't satisfy them. Some of them have got hold of the idea that the German merchants have recently had a secret tip on the subject from their Legation. And one conundrum that I have been more than once asked to solve is: whether, if a ship's manifest should be lodged in the Customs on the day before the new tariff comes into force, would it cover the entry of all the goods in that ship at the old rate ?

Yours Sincerely

J.C. Hall

100. Hall to Satow

[answered 20/5]

Kobe

May 18, '98

My dear Sir Ernest,

Mr. Bardens has written to me complaining of not having heard anything further about his Hiogo Hotel fore-shore claim. I won't forward his letter officially, especially as he encloses with it a "Kobe Chronicle" of the 6th inst. with a leading article on the subject; but if you can give me any message for him I'll convey it to him officially or privately, as you may wish.

Yours Sincerely

J.C. Hall

³⁴⁶ Office of Works, later Ministry of Works, later Ministry of Public Buildings and Works, later Department of the Environment. (J. E. Hoare, *Embassies in the East*, Richmond: Curzon Press, 1999, p. 238.)

101. Hall to Satow

[Recd. 8/6]

Kobe

6.6.'98

My dear Sir Ernest,

The [Kobe] Chamber of Commerce will be glad to receive your communication about the date of the new Tariff. I was not aware of the point you mention as regards the German protocol, and I shall not fail to make enquiries about it – just by way of obtaining information.

The Coolie question is always with us here. I hope to report officially on it to-morrow. The long and the short of it is that there are not enough police here, and that an increase cannot be obtained within reasonable time in the ordinary way. Perhaps a strong diplomatic representation to the Govt. might get something done, for unquestionably the need is urgent.

Yours Sincerely

J.C. Hall

102. Hall to Satow

[ans. 9/6]

Kobe,

7.6.'98

My dear Sir Ernest,

The article on the date of the new Tariff question in to-day's Kobe Chronicle came as a surprise. I am told it was a German firm, Simon Evers & Co., who supplied the letter from their Manchester correspondent.

I have carefully considered the wording of the 3rd article of the German Protocol; and I must frankly confess that I fail to see how it supports your point of view. There is certainly an ambiguity; for the second "Sechs Monate" [six months] might conceivably be interpreted to mean a period which was not to begin until after the expiry of the previously mentioned "Sechs Monate" ensuing on the exchange of ratifications: but if that was what the German negotiators intended they have not succeeded in making their intention indubitably clear, and the old rule of interpretation – fortius contra preferentem – is against them.³⁴⁷

I have been so busy to-day – principally with a very important land-registration case – that I have not been able to touch the coolie violence despatch. The Governor's mild reply to our mild collective note has just

³⁴⁷ The 'contra preferentem' (lit. against the offeror) rule is a rule of contract (or by extension treaty) law which suggests that a party who proposes a term of a contract can expect that, if there is any ambiguity in it, it will be construed against him. This is used particularly where it is felt that the term proposed is unfair, or imposed by a dominant party.

come in, admitting that the complaint is not unfounded but that the coolies are as rude to Japse. as to foreigners. That is not strictly true.

Yours Sincerely,

J.C. Hall

103. Hall to Satow

Kobe

June 10, '98

My dear Sir Ernest,

Mrs. Bellew, whose card and note I enclose, called with her two daughters at the Consulate and took up a good deal of my time with travellers' questions. However they seem respectable, and I shall be glad if you can send her the permit she asks for.

Yours Sincerely

J. C. Hall

104. Hall to Satow

Kobe

11 June 1898

My dear Sir Ernest,

Many thanks for your note of the 9th inst. re the wobbling of the Germans in the interpretation of their own treaty. Doubtless they would not have abandoned their first rendering unless they felt it to be untenable. It seems to me a mistake such as we should not likely have made; seeing that a tariff is, after all, simply a law, and that in our legislative practice the date of coming into force of a law is by no means necessarily coincident with its publication.

I have had several anxious enquiries about Consular invoices for imports under the new tariff, but of course could give no information.

I hope the Govt. will make use of the opportunity given it by the Diet to postpone, if it were only for a year, the enforcement of the new treaties. I don't know of any department, be it Post Office, Prisons, Judicial Procedure or Police, in which anything effective has been done in the way of preparation for the coming regime. Nothing whatever has been done to the prison here, partly for want of funds and partly because of the expectation of a transfer of the prisons from local to central budget. The war and armaments expansion have swallowed up all the money that might have enabled Japan to cut a creditable figure in her new rôle of Compeer [person of equal standing with others in a group] of the Paladins of the West.

Yours Sincerely

J.C. Hall

105. Hall to Satow

[ans. 22/6/98]

Kobe

June 16, '98

My dear Sir Ernest,

Thanks for the despatch about Consular Invoices. I had not noticed the Japan Mail's translation of the law. With regard to the lock-up [jail] here, the suggestion that the Japanese should hire it would have much greater weight if coming from the whole Consular body. We have a meeting to-morrow, at which I hope to put it through; though I am not quite confident. I am at logger-heads with my colleagues on the question of allowing a Japanese firm, Murai Bros., to rent and occupy offices in the Foreign Concession. I hold that nobody has any legal power to prevent it, my colleagues, all, contra. We had a two hours discussion over the matter last week, and must arrive at some conclusion to-morrow.

I am glad to say I have got the thorny question of a new site for the foreign Infectious Diseases Hospital settled at last. That has taken up much more of my time and given me more trouble than a Trade Report.

Yours Sincerely,

J.C. Hall

106. Hall to Satow

[ans. 30/6]

Kobe,

28.6.'98

My dear Sir Ernest,

I have told Hampden what you say in yours of the 22nd inst. about reading Kwampo [the official Japanese government gazette] and have given him orders accordingly. I suppose it was the indefiniteness as to date of coming into effect that was the cause of the law about Consular invoices escaping my memory.

After a hard fight with my colleagues on the 17th, I got them to consent to allow Murai Bros. To stay in the Settlement —(they were already in before the application for permission was made). But in the draft letter to the Governor conveying the Consuls' assent a paragraph was added implying that no more applications of the sort would be entertained, as the concession was too small for foreign requirements. This draft was approved by all the Consuls except myself, and a delay of some days elapsed before I could get what I considered a

proper reply redacted and agreed to. One cause of the difficulty was that some 5 years ago the Consuls unanimously protested against allowing any Japanese into the Settlement. At first Ensle dissented but ultimately joined in the protest.

The view you take of the question is precisely that which I have been hammering into my colleagues and enforcing with the same arguments. But M. de Lucy's amour propre made his conversion to more liberal views a hard job.

He has taken an immense amount of trouble over the cemetery question, and I am glad his work is to meet with so much support from the Foreign Representatives. I quite see the necessity of keeping copies of the documents, and I think the most convenient way of filing them for record will be to enclose them in a short covering despatch to you. No harm even if you have a double set in your archives.

I shall bear in mind your proposed code of instructions for the new regime, and note down points as they arise. In the meantime it occurs to me that part of your proposed work might perhaps be conveniently thrown into the shape of a Consular Convention – like the German.

Yours Sincerely

J.C. Hall

107. Hall to Satow

Kobe,

July 2, 1898

My dear Sir Ernest,

The two points you mention, the charge of disputes in merchant Ships and the representation of beneficiaries are undoubtedly the most important that require to be provided for in the new regime, and I hope your Convention will yet pull through.

I hope to report on the Coolie violence question very soon. We are now in the throes of a second collective note to the Governor, ignoring his very unsatisfactory proclamation.

Yours Sincerely

J.C. Hall

108 Satow answers Hall

July 4, 1898

My dear Hall,

I think you had better send me the correspondence with the Govt. about the coolie question as far as it has gone without further delay as some of my colleagues have been in possession of the first letters exchanged for

something like 3 weeks.

What is the meaning of “popular suffrage” in your No. 26 of July 2. It is universal suffrage of registered foreign Subjects and citizens ?

I shall have an opportunity of speaking about the coolie question to the new Foreign Minister [of the Wai-Han cabinet, 30 June – 8 November 1898] next Thursday, the last occasion for 2 months on which I can see him without making a special appointment.³⁴⁸ It is important that I should receive the correspondence to which you should add the Governor’s proclamation in time for that.

y.v.t.

Ernest Satow

109. Hall to Satow

Kobe

July 5, 1898

My dear Sir Ernest,

Mappira dōzō.³⁴⁹ In the hurry of getting off my despatch about Coolie Violence this morning I forgot for the moment about the Governor’s reply to the note identique . I enclose a corrected despatch and the Governor’s reply in copy and translation. Kindly commit the erroneous despatch of this morning to the flames.

Mr. Bardens cannot leave here before the 10th inst.; so will wait on you between the 22nd and the 28th inst., and will enquire your convenience later. I have let him take a copy of Baron Nishi’s note on the subject of his claim.

Yours Sincerely

J.C. Hall

110. Hall to Satow

³⁴⁸ Satow spoke to foreign minister and prime minister Ōkuma Shigenobu on July 9th. “To Ōkuma by appointment in the afternoon. Talked to him earnestly about the violent conduct of coolies in Kōbe, and gave him details from Hall’s despatches. He was much impressed, and said he wished he had known of all this a few days earlier, when the Governor of Hiōgō was up here. He would talk to Itagaki [Taisuke, home minister]. The Governor’s excuse that the prefectural assembly would not vote funds for the police was not a good one. It was his business to see that they did. But during the last ten years, owing to the friction between the Government and the Diet, the authority of the former and of the local governors had been greatly weakened. Now that the Government could look forward to the support of a majority of two-thirds in the Lower House, that would be changed.” (Satow’s diary, 9 July 1898 in Ruxton (ed.) 2003, p. 293).

³⁴⁹ Hall seems to be trying to apologise here for his forgetfulness. But in modern Japanese ‘mappira’ (written 真平) does not have this meaning.

Kobe

July 6, 1898

My dear Sir Ernest,

I hope the official [despatch] herewith on Coolie Violence will reach you in time to be useful in your interview to-morrow with the new F.M.³⁵⁰ I hope you will 'rub it in' well, and impress on him that preparations for the regime of the new treaties are woefully behindhand.

What was running in my head yesterday when I made the slip about not having received a reply from the Governor was that the Governor has not communicated his proclamation to the Consuls, and we intend to ignore it.

Yours Sincerely

J.C. Hall

111. Hall to Satow

Kobe

July 6, 1898

My dear Sir Ernest,

In reply to your query in your note of the 4th inst. the expression "popular suffrage" in my No. 26 of 2nd inst. was somewhat loose, as you will see by referring to rule II of the enclosed Notification as amended at the end. Technically the voter must have an interest in or connection in some way with the Foreign Concession. But as nearly everybody here is so qualified it practically amounts to popular suffrage of registered foreigners.

Yours Sincerely

J.C. Hall

Enclosure:

"Notification

To All Foreign Residents at Hiogo

The undersigned, at the request of his Colleagues, hereby publishes, for the information of the Foreign Residents, the following Rules, agreed to by the Consular Authorities of this port, for the Election of a Standing Committee of the Foreign Community, in accordance with the provisions of Article VII of the Arrangement concluded between the Japanese Government and the Foreign Representatives on the 7th day of August, 1878.

Abel A. J. Gower, H.B.M.'s Consul" etc.

³⁵⁰ Satow saw foreign minister Ōkuma Shigenobu on July 9th. See the footnote on previous page.

[There follow nine rules, Articles I-IX]

“Agreed to at Hiogo, the 26th day of December, 1872.

Approved, Hiogo, 7th January, 1873.

(Signed) Abel A. J. Gower (H.B.M. Consul i/c French, Italian & Spanish interests)

Daniel Turner (U.S. Consul)

Lod Polano (H.D.M.’s Consul)

W.C. Korthals (H.N.M.’s acting Consul)

J.K. Cunningham (H. Belg. M’s Acting Consul)

J.H. Focke (acting Consul for the German Empire)

J. Harris (H.H.M’s acting Consul)

Ed. Fischer (H.M.F.M.’s Acting Consul)

P.H. Fricke (Consular Agent for Switzerland)

Minor Alteration to Article II agreed to by the Consular Authorities on September 7, 1881.

(Signed) Julius Stahl (U.S. Consul)

H. Stannius (H.I.G.M’s Consul)

W.G. Aston (H.B.M.’s Acting Consul)

Llao Sik Ngan (H.I.C.M.’s Consul)

C. Braess (H.N.M.’s Acting Consul)

J.K. Cunningham (H. Belg. M.’s Acting Consul)

J.H. Longford (Vice Consul for France)

112. Satow to Hall

private [copy]

Tokio

9 July 1898

My dear Hall,

At a meeting [held at the Belgian Legation, see diary; Ruxton, p. 292] of the Chefs de Mission yesterday, it was decided to address a Note to Count Okuma, informing him that we approve the proposals regarding the [Kobe foreign] cemetery: 1), 2), 3) and 4) in your letter to the Governor, but as regards the administration we consider Art. XI of the arrangement of 1867 applicable “dans les circonstances actuelles” ; which means of course as long as the existing treaties remain in force.

We considered that the time has not yet come for us to discuss future arrangements, which must necessarily

give rise to complicated ?? We should not endeavour to obtain for Kōbe alone such privileges as are desired.

We consider, or some of us at least, that the Committee of Consuls should not have entered on the question of the administration after the new Treaties come into force, and especially under the form in which they have put it, without first consulting their mimisters.

Y.v.t.

Ernest Satow

113. Satow to Hall

Tokio

25 July 1898

My dear Hall,

Where are you now on the coolie question ? I have an idea you were going to address [Hyogo governor] Ōmori again about the uselessness of his proclamation.

About a fortnight ago I saw Count Ōkuma, and talked to him strongly about the coolies, repeating to him the contents of your despatches and of your letter to Ōmori [see Satow's diary for 9 July 1898, Ruxton, 2003, p.293]. He was much impressed, and regretted he had not known all this before, as Ōmori had been in Tokio for a meeting of governors. You see that the delay in reporting was prejudicial. Yours Very Truly,

Ernest Satow

114. Satow to Hall

25.7.98

My dear Hall,

I think I promised to let you know as soon as I heard anything from the F.O. which it might be of interest to you to know. A few days ago I got a telegram informing me that they propose to raise the Kōbe salary to £950, reducing Yoko[hama] to £900 and increasing Nagasaki to the same amount. This means, I have no doubt, that you will remain at Kōbe, and that Yokohama returns to its earlier condition of inferiority to Kōbe on the point of salary. The title of Consul general at Yokohama will also I believe be discontinued. I wish they could have made your salary at Kōbe £1000, but they were not inclined to ask the Treasury to increase the whole amount of the vote.

I expect [Alfred Ernest] Wileman back about this time next month, and he will then take up his appointment as Vice-Consul at Kōbe.³⁵¹ I do not propose to disturb Playfair's appointment as acting Consul

³⁵¹ In fact Wileman was first appointed H.M. Vice-Consul for Hiogo and Osaka on December 28, 1896 (F.O. List of 1897).

especially as he knows the business of the consulate and Wileman has had no experience of consular work to speak of. That explains the words 'or until further notice' in the letter appointing Hampden.

I am very glad Playfair has passed his exam.

Where are you going for your holiday ?

y.v.t.

Ernest Satow

115. Satow to Hall

Copy

Tokio

26 July 1898

My dear Hall,

On page 2 of your Trade Report there is apparently a slight error in the statement which I have underlined in pencil. From the monthly Customs returns it appears that up to September values were stated in silver yen, after that in yen which means the gold yen.

At Yokohama from October 1 the values were calculated on a gold basis. In the payment of duties, however, it made no difference, as the silver yen was still current on a par with the gold yen.

If you left out the word silver before yen, and the statement that it is the equivalent in value of the Mexican dollar, there would be nothing to object to. But I do not think it quite exact to say that the Mexican dollar is the equivalent in value of the silver yen. In some places it may have been accepted at par, in others it was not, especially after October 1st.

People coming to Japan from Shanghai with Mexicans in their pocket found they were not accepted at par. Intrinsically they were not identical, the Mexican containing a little more silver than the silver yen.

I am told that the Min[ister] for F[oreign] A[ffairs] has recommended the Naimusho to approve the proposals of the Consuls about the new Cemetery, which the Foreign RR. concurred in, that is to say as long as the present regime lasts. And possibly after the new Treaties come into operation, the Japse. Govt. may consent to the Foreign consuls having a voice in the management of the cemetery. By the way I do not think you have sent me the promised despatch which was to place on record the papers about the new Cemetery. We took copies here, so that all that is required is a despatch from you in the form of a coverer.

The date of the new Tariffs coming into operation is still unfixed. Some negotiations with Austria are going on, which it is hoped may be brought to a close by the middle of August.

The new harbour regulations will probably not come into force at Kobe till October. I shall give you official instructions as soon as the date is communicated by the Japanese Government.

Yours etc.

(signed) Ernest Satow

116. Hall to Satow

Kobe,

July 29, '98

My dear Sir Ernest,

Thanks for calling my attention to the slight verbal inaccuracy in my Trade report. I have altered the passage in accordance with your suggestion. I am afraid Wawn may have made, and I overlooked, a clerical error in the last page or last but one, viz. economic "fact" instead of "facts". Will you do me the favour to add the s, if, as in the office copy, the substantive [noun] stands in the singular.

I must apologise for the delay in forwarding the coverer for the Cemetery correspondence. I now send it.

With reference to your circular re Consular Constables: my constable, Lucas, tells me that when he was engaged at Hakodate 16 years ago, being then 44 years old, [John James] Quin told him that he was too old to receive a Civil Service examination. Probably that was correct at the time, tho' I cannot verify it. Lucas is now anxious to undergo an examination, if he can be allowed to do so. I promised to refer the question to you.

Yours very truly

J.C. Hall

117. Playfair to Satow

[ans. 20/8/98]

Kobe

July 31, 1898

My dear Sir Ernest,

Many thanks for your letter of 25th instant, and for the message conveyed in Gubbins' telegram of Sunday last.

I shall be delighted to go to Hakodate, a place I have always longed for, though I had to refuse it some time ago, as I was afraid of the Japanese doctor there, and my wife was very delicate then.

I am very much obliged to you for recommending me for the post, and presume I may count upon going there this autumn, time of course being indefinite. I trust you will be good enough to give me as much notice as possible, as many arrangements have to be made re servants etc.

Would [Raymond de B.M.] Layard [ordered transferred to Tamsuy, Formosa from Hakodate, August 4, 1898; Kuwata 1995, p. 160] wait for me to relieve him ? As that would probably be an arrangement beneficial

to both of us. Mr. Hall is not quite yet certain as to the exact date of his going on leave, as two of his girls are unwell, and he also hopes to receive the Admiral before leaving. We had a most enjoyable holiday at Miyajima [near Hiroshima], but I got a very poor view from the top of Chojo [summit] as the morning of my ascent was very misty.

I expect by the time Wileman arrives the house will be fit for his occupation.

Believe me,

yours sincerely

F. W. Playfair

118. Satow answers Playfair (noted below Playfair's letter)

20 Aug.

The date fixed for you to start for Hakodate is 15 Sept. , and in a day or two I hope to send you the Codes [translated] by Gubbins and Lönholm. Under the new Treaties consuls will have to know the laws as far as possible, so as to be able to clear up the doubts of B[ritish] S[ubject]s, and especially the Penal Code and Code of Criminal Procedure. If when you get to Hakodate you find the Consulate is unprovided with books of this sort, you should apply for sanction to buy them.

E.S.

Aug. 24/98

The official despatch says 15 September, but Layard has written to me that it would be more satisfactory to him to hand over to you on the 30th, because of the accounts. That I think is rather 'n/ad' [not admissible ?], but I have told him to arrange with you the date on which you shall relieve him. If you 2 can agree together on a day I will give my sanction [in] the official despatch informing you of your appointment. I don't know when your commission will arrive; those things have to take their turn for being signed by the Queen. Layard will wait to hand over to you.

If there is an opportunity of seeing you on your way thro' Tokio I should like to see you and Mrs. Playfair, but am not certain yet whether I shall be in town about that time.

y.v.t.

E.S.

p.s. I hope you will not rest satisfied with having passed in Japse., but endeavour to keep it up by talking as much as possible with official people and reading a newspaper daily and looking at the Kwampo [official government gazette]. There are excellent translations of...[rest of text not available]

119. Hall to Satow

Kobe

2.8.'98

My dear Sir Ernest,

Your letter was delivered to the Admiral [Sir Edward H. Seymour in command of British Far East squadron] on his arrival on Sunday afternoon. He went up to Kyoto yesterday afternoon and is expected back to-night. He leaves for Yokohama tomorrow afternoon and is due there on the 5th inst.

I should like, owing to illness in my family, to postpone taking my local leave till the middle of this month, if you have no objection. If however, you would prefer me to take it earlier, I shall hand over to Playfair at once on hearing from you.

Yours very truly

J.C. Hall

120. Hall to Satow

Kobe,

Augt. 7, 1898

My dear Sir Ernest,

Many thanks for your note of the 5th inst. just to hand. I am glad to say that my daughters are steadily recovering and I hope to see them both on Rokko San [Mount Rokko, Kobe] before another week is over.

As I am not going further away than that, it will be little or no inconvenience to me to resume charge at the time you mention, or indeed at any time you may find it necessary to recall me.

Yours very truly

J.C. Hall

121. Hall to Satow

Kobe

11.8.'98

My dear Sir Ernest,

Thanks for your note of the 7th, to hand last night, informing me of [Vice-Consul at Hiogo Alfred Ernest] Wileman's movements. I was under the impression that he was coming viâ Fr'isco [San Francisco] and Honolulu. I am writing to him at Yokohama, advising him not to come on here before his time is fully up, as the repairs to the residence will not be finished till about the 10th proximo [of next month].

Yours very truly

J.C. Hall

122. Playfair to Satow

Kobe

Aug. 24, 1898

My dear Sir Ernest,

Many thanks for your note of 20th informing me that I should leave for Hakodate about the 15th of September. I find that there are steamers on the 14th and 16th, but I presume you would not be particular to a day or so, as I should like to have a choice of steamers – one commanded by a foreigner if possible. There are about three steamers a week, so I can get off at almost any time. I presume you will ask Mr. Hall to resume charge from me ? I am going to spend the Sunday with him next week. Rokkosan is very pleasant after arrival, but 2 to 3 hours hard walking is no joke in this weather.

I am looking out for an Austrian man of war which is expected here any time, as the Austrian Minister has asked me to deliver a packet for him.

Fortunately things are pretty quiet here just now, it is so hot. The repairs to the building are going on very well. I spoke to Mr. Cowan about getting us from the Legation one of the Coats of arms, as there used to be two at the Vice Consulate, but he did not mention them on his return. The thing we have here is a curious shield printed by a Chinaman, apparently according to his own ideas !

I have not yet found out what stay the ship makes at Yokohama, but if possible both my wife and myself would very much like to visit Tokio on our way through.

Yours sincerely

F.W. Playfair

123. Playfair to Satow

Private

Kobe

Aug. 30, 1898

My dear Sir Ernest,

In reply to your private note enclosed in the official notifying my appointment to Hakodate I have written to Layard saying that I should like to be up there before the end of the month and take over on October 1st.

To do that I must catch the steamer leaving here on 23rd proximo [next month] at latest, but I should be greatly obliged if you would allow me to leave it an open question as to whether I sail on 21st or 23rd, as I want the choice of boats and the Co. are unable at present to say what boat sails on what day. I can easily let

you know, and Layard also, by telegram what date I ultimately choose. This arrangement will let Layard get off his wonderful accounts, and give Hall another week just now.

I am going up to spend Sunday next with the Halls. I see all the newspapers have wonderful accounts of the changes – more or less correct – but I know not whence they came.

I will send you a reply to the official about new works at this Consulate as soon as I can. I am writing to Mr. Cowan as to the internal repairs to this house. In his late contract he has only made provision for what external repairs were necessary, and has not even settled as to repapering etc. required on account of walls etc. spoilt by the alterations. Wileman will not get here till about 10th. I hope to see [you ?] on our way through.

Yours sincerely

F.W. Playfair

Satow's answer to Playfair is noted on the letter from Playfair:

“4/9. I see no objection to your deciding for yourself whether you take the steamer of the 21st or 23rd from Kōbe. That means I suppose as far as Yokohama and that you will travel thence overland. I shall be settled in again at Tokio by the first of those dates, if not earlier, and if it is any convenience to you can put you up for a night with your family.

End of file PRO 30/33 5/8.

Continued in PRO 30/33 5/9.

Satow Papers: PRO 30/33 5/9

Correspondence and Papers (private). Japanese Mission. Consular Staff. Kobe.

(September 1898 – March 1900)

1. Satow to Playfair

Extract

4 Sept. 1898

My dear Playfair,

...I hear the President of the Chamber of Commerce has thro' the Fr. [French] Consul addressed the Doyen of the Diplomatic Body on the subject of Japse. merchant consuls giving certificates of origin. I presume you know all about this. Even on the theory of our elected "Chairman of the Consular Body" (which is about as lawful an institution as an Irish self-elected Parliament would be), it would seem strange that M. Lucy [de Lucy-Fossarieu] should take any step of the kind without consulting his colleagues: and as far as H.M. Consul is concerned he ought to report direct to the Legation on any matter in which the interests of B.M. are concerned.

E.S.

2. Playfair to Satow

[Recd. 11/9/98]

Kobe.

Sep. 6. 1898

My dear Sir Ernest,

I have just received a telegram from [Raymond de B.M.] Layard saying that "Bonar's state of health renders it desirable he should leave as soon as possible," and saying he can give over to me any day after the 20th.

I have wired back, as requested, that I will tell him later whether I leave on 21st or 23rd. If you have no objection I propose going on in the steamer as I hate railway travelling, and a small child on a long journey is rather a handful. M. de Lucy keeps very quiet about business to me; I fancy "monsieur le gérant" as he calls me, is very small potatoes in his eyes. All I know of the Chamber of Commerce is that M. de Lucy brought it here personally and asked if it could be copied in this office: [John T.] Wawn copied it.

Hall does all sorts of work for the "Chairman of the Consular Body" and de Lucy presumes upon that. I don't suppose de Lucy consulted Hall: he certainly never did me. The Chairman of the Chamber also – a Scotchman at present – sent in nothing to me, nor has he or any one even alluded to any business being

toward, or I should certainly have informed you.

I think Layard can hardly expect me to change my plans again, and I have no doubt that Bonar's state of health appears far more serious to himself than to any one else, as he is well known as a hypochondriac.

I was at Rokkosan [Mount Rokko] on Saturday and Sunday. Mr. [John Carey] Hall caught a bad chill and is also suffering from boils, so he is a most miserable object at present. My wife and child are up there still.

Hakodate steamers stay a day and a half or more in Yoko[hama] so I will call on my way through.

Yours sincerely

F.W. Playfair

3. Playfair to Satow

[Recd. 12/9]

Kobe

Sep. 9, 1898

My dear Sir Ernest,

I have written to Mr. Bardens [owner of the Hiogo Hotel] asking him to arrange a date to meet you. On Aug, 15 he wrote privately to Mr. Hall saying he had hoped to convey to you his official letter of that date in person, but business interests demanded his continual presence in Kobe. He goes on "if however Sir Ernest Satow should think it advisable that I should see him I think I could arrange to get away for a day or so at the beginning of next month."

I have asked him to give me previous notice of the date he desires to meet you so that I may write or telegraph to you accordingly. I said so because as the head of a large firm he is very busy, and on the date he wishes you might be out of town.

Mr. Hall was in Kobe when the last letter came from Bardens and knows that I merely forwarded it without comment. The private letter I have quoted from is filed in our archives.

Yours sincerely

F.W. Playfair

4. Satow to Hall

Extract of letter

13.9.98

Did the French Consul consult you about sending to the doyen of the diplomatic body [Albert d'Anethan, the Belgian minister in Tokyo] a letter addressed to him by the chairman of the [Kobe] Chamber of Commerce on the question of certificates of origin being certified by Japanese merchant consuls in European countries ? If

not it seems to me and to some of my coll[eague]s: that he is taking too much on himself. When any one addresses to him a letter of general interest of the kind, the least he could do would be to circulate it to the other consuls and ask for their opinions.

5. Playfair to Satow

[Recd. Sept. 16]

Kobe

Sep: 14. 1898

My dear Sir Ernest,

I have fixed upon the steamer leaving here on 23rd Instant to take me to Hakodate. I should be in Yokohama on Sunday and Monday the 25th and 26th and leave on Tuesday morning. I am telegraphing to Layard.

Most of the Japanese officials and some of the Consuls have called to condole with me on the death of the Empress of Austria, and I have returned their calls. I telegraphed for you for leave to half-mast flag because the German Consul came and asked if I had official information as to the death, and said his flag would follow mine.

Sir Edgar Boehm, the sculptor, has been laid up in Hospital here. I have telegraphed to you at his request for permits to visit Kyoto palaces. Mr. Hall says he has rheumatism: if so he ought to come down from Rokkozan, which is a horrid damp place. I presume he is awaiting a note from you as to when he resumes charge.

I have advertised the Harbour Regulations notice in two out of the three papers, one of them is publishing them for sale, but not our copy, only the "Gazette" translation.

The weather here now is very pleasant, much better I fancy than on Rokkozan.

Yours sincerely

F.W. Playfair

6. Playfair to Satow

[Ans 20/9]

Kobe

Sep 17, 1898

My dear Sir Ernest,

I wrote a private note to Mr. Bardens this morning, and enclose his reply. I gave him to understand that you wanted (1) to see and talk with him and (2) inspect the original deeds before you could move further. He offered me the deeds today to send to you for perusal, but I have declined to take the risk of forwarding them

without consulting you first. More than one man here has left by the noon train on Saturday and returned by the night mail of Sunday or Monday, and surely with such interests at stake, he might do the same – when the line is in good order.

Mr. Hall seems to be very bad with rheumatism; perhaps he cannot yet stand the journey down. I don't think Rokkozan is a proper place for rheumatic people. I hope his being laid up will not detain me now, as half my luggage has gone to Hakodate and a large quantity goes forward on Wednesday.

Will you kindly let me know whether a perusal of the deeds without an interview with Bardens will suffice ?

I will telephone to you on my arrival in Yokohama.

Yours sincerely

F.W. Playfair

[ans[wer] as to Bardens, referring him to my two despatches and private letter.]

Enclosure: Bardens to Playfair

Samuel Samuel & Co.

Japan

Address for Telegrams: ORGOMANES

Kobe (Hiogo), Sept. 17th, 1898

Dear Mr. Playfair,

I am much obliged for your letter of this date but am still unable to fix a date on which I can offer an appointment with Sir Ernest Satow as the business here requires my constant attendance for some time to come. I am willing to let you have the deeds asked for to send to him if you think that will do. If after seeing them Sir Ernest still wishes to see me I must make some arrangement to get away for a day or two early in October.

I am

Yours faithfully

F.J. Bardens

7. Hall to Satow

Kobe

September 28th

My dear Sir Ernest,

My illness will I am sure be sufficient excuse to you for my delay in replying to your note of the 18th inst.

When I was in Kobe at the end of last month, the French Consul [M. Lucy] told me about the letter he had received from the Chamber of Commerce. I told him, however, that Playfair was in charge, and that I was too utterly sick to attend to it. However in deference to his importunity I agreed to look at the letter and the draft of his proposed note to the Doyen, if he would bring them to the office about 11 o'clock the following forenoon. This he said he would do. Next morning, however, I was too ill to get out of bed, and I heard nothing more of the matter.

Whether he neglected to consult any of his other colleagues in this instance I do not know. I have never known him to fail to consult them in any previous instance.

My experience of him is that his observance of official forms is as punctilious as his knowledge of them is exact.

J.C. Hall [per Alt. ?]

8. Alfred Ernest Wileman to Satow

British Consulate

Kobe

October 4, 1898

Dear Sir Ernest,

I received your telegram yesterday at 6.30 in answer to mine asking whether you could see Mr. Bardens at ten on Saturday next and have notified him that you will receive him at that time.

Hall is still in bed with rheumatism accompanied with fever and I do not think that he will be out of his room for some time as he has had a very severe attack.

Yours sincerely

A.E. Wileman [Acting Consul, Hiogo]

9. Hall to Satow

Kobe

Oct. 9th, 1898

My dear Sir Ernest,

Best thanks for granting me desired extension of leave. I hope it will not all be required, as I wish to resume work as soon as I feel able, and the Doctor allows me. I am as weary of the idleness as of the illness.

Yours very truly

J.C. Hall

10. Satow to Wileman

Copy

Tokio

Nov. 2, 1898

Dear Wileman,

With ref. To the question leases of ground in the zakkiochi [area of mixed foreign and Japanese residence] at Kobe regarding which you should read the corr[esponden]ce beginning with my No. 33 of Dec. 7, 1897 and ending with my No. 9 of March 15 last. I have been told that the notification of 1884 [limiting foreigners' leases to 25 years maximum] will be cancelled and that Dr. Thornicroft's lease can then be registered.

I suggested that the Chiji [prefectural governor] should inform you in writing that the notification is cancelled, and have been more or less promised that this shall be done. If then you receive a letter from him to that effect it will be satisfactory, but if his letter should merely say that there is no obstacle to the lease in question being registered, or say that the provisions of the Civil Code referring to superficies will be held to be applicable in such cases, you should decline to receive it and acquaint me with what has passed.

You will also see that there has been corr[esponden]ce between Hall and the Chiji about this subject, which you should read also.

Some days will probably elapse before you receive this communication from the Chiji, but when you do please report it without delay as I want to report to F.O. as soon as possible.

Yours truly,

Ernest Satow

11. Hall to Satow

Kobe,

Nov. 17th, 1898

My dear Sir Ernest,

Best thanks for your telegram granting me the desired leave. I must apologise for the delay in sending the official application which will be sent to-morrow without fail.

It is all but certain that the Mikado will consent to pass thro' the settlement and receive an address from the Municipal Council. My whole day since early morning has been taken up in arranging details in view of the probability. I have agreed to the condition that there is to be no looking down from upstairs etc. in consideration of the Governor's undertaking that the whole of the turfed and railed-in space in front of the Bund is to be reserved for foreigners alone.

There is to be a grand illumination in the evening all along the Bund in any case and H.M.'s visit to the

settlement will do a world of good in the way of promoting good feeling.

Yours sincerely

J.C. Hall

12. Hall to Satow

Kobe,

November 19th, 1898

My dear Sir Ernest,

Best thanks for your note of the 17th confirming your telegram of same date. I purposely antedated my official application so as to allow of your telegram being the reply. I think your interpretation of the Regulations is correct, viz. that it is only in case of a continuous leave exceeding three months that the pay is reduced.

We are having glorious weather to-day for the Emperor's visit. The Consuls were presented at the railway station and the Municipal Council's address received. The decorations of the Bund and the line of route are as gorgeous as the time and two days' continuous bad weather admitted of. The Governor tells me that the Premier [Yamagata Aritomo from November 8, 1898 to October 19, 1900] was highly delighted at learning of the desire of the community to welcome His Majesty. It would have been a blunder of the first magnitude if there had been a refusal. A few of the "swelled heads" of the community are vexed that they did not succeed in being allowed to present an address altogether outside of official channels, and I have had to bear the brunt of their resentment at the snub they so resolutely courted. However they blew off the steam yesterday at the Municipal Council and to-day all the arrangements are proceeding as smoothly as well oiled machinery. I enclose 2 expresses in case they might interest you.

Yours sincerely

J.C. Hall

13. Hall to Satow

Kobe,

Novr. 22, 1898

My dear Sir Ernest,

Mr. Marshall has promised to give me a copy of the Superintendent of Customs' reply, stating that Honorary Consuls need not be applied to for certificates of origin. I have taken the opportunity to suggest to Mr. M. that it might be well if he were to continue his predecessor's practice of coming and having a talk with me when the Chamber [of Commerce] wanted any authentic information: that in many cases it would save

him the trouble of writing or printing circulars to all the Consuls, to say nothing of fruitless communications with the doyen of the Consular body. It was in answer to his printed letter of October 26th, [a] copy of which was sent to the Customs, that Mr. Tsukuda's reply was received.

I enclose the copy and translation of the paragraph about the Bailiffs in the Bank's case mentioned in my letter of yesterday. I do not propose to send it officially, unless you think it better for me to do so.

Yours sincerely

J.C. Hall

14. Hall to Satow

Kobe,

Nov. 23rd, 1898

My dear Sir Ernest,

Mr. Marshall, Chairman of the C[hamber] of C[ommerce] has asked me to invite your attention to a point which, I have little doubt, has long ago received it, viz. the vague and unsatisfactory nature of the phrase in Art. II of the Imperial Decree No. 385: 'by the customs, or the proper office'. So far as his own firm, doing a large export business from Glasgow, is concerned, he would like the proper office to be understood to mean, in Scotland, a Justice of the Peace or a Notary Public. So far as the Chamber and the smooth working of the new system is concerned, it is obviously desirable that it should be soon defined and made known what, in each country, is to be the substitute for a Consulate or Consular Agency.

He has also handed me the 2 enclosed slips, neither of which I had seen before. He is a Scot – quite a different sort of man from Baggallay.

Yours Sincerely

J.C. Hall

P.S. There is a doubt entertained whether the Customs of all other countries will be found willing to certify on the certificates of origin.

15. Hall to Satow

Canadian Pacific Railway Co.

R.M.S. "Empress of Japan"

Nagasaki

November 27th, 1898

My dear Sir Ernest,

Just a line to thank you for your despatch and letter re the Emperor's visit. The cover was handed to me just

as I was going on board so that I had no time to acknowledge receipt. I left both with Wileman.

With respect to my second despatch on the subject, I take it that the warmth of the Governor's acknowledgement is due to the fact that it was I who suggested that H.I.M. [His Imperial Majesty] should ride through the settlement. The same idea occurred to my French Colleague, but not till I had already mentioned it at the Kencho [prefectural office]. However I had M. de Lucy's help in drafting the address. The last paragraph of it is entirely his.

Once more thanking you for your kind approval of my action,

Believe me

Yours sincerely

J.C. Hall

16. Wileman to Satow

Private

British Consulate

Kobe

Nov. 28, 1898

Dear Sir Ernest,

I am forwarding to you officially a translation of a Hyogo prefectural decree contained in the "Kobe Yushin Nippo" of Nov 27, with reference to the rescinding of Article II of the Notification of 1884 which you told me in your letter of Novr. 2 would be cancelled by the Governor.

I have not yet heard officially from him on the subject but now that the Notification cancelling this 2nd article has appeared in the "Yushin Nippo" no doubt he will formally appraise me of it before long.

Yours truly

A.E. Wileman

17. Wileman to Satow

Private

Kobe

Nov. 30/98

Dear Sir Ernest,

I hope that the enclosed despatch from the Governor will be satisfactory.

You say in your letter of 2nd November [no. 10 above] "I have been told that the Notification of 1884 will be cancelled and then Dr. Thornicroft's [Thornicraft ?] lease can be registered."

Only article II has been abrogated but this is the one that affects the whole question of Thornicroft's lease so I presume that you meant more particularly that this 2nd article would be cancelled and not the whole Notification.

I shall not communicate officially with Dr. Thornicroft until I hear from you. I presume that I ought to notify him formally that the obstacle to the registration of his lease is removed.

Yours truly

A.E. Wileman

P.S. The Governor never so far as I can find communicated officially to us the Notification of 1884 and I am at a loss to understand why he should say "as requested I recently forwarded etc". as you will see from the endorsement made on the side of the copy I enclose that our copy was obtained from the French consul.

A.E.W.

18. Satow to Wileman

Copy

Tokio

Dec. 1, 1898

Dear Wileman,

The letter from the Governor is satisfactory. You can inform Dr. Thornicroft that the limitation to 25 years is cancelled, but read to him that portion of my No. 2 of 10 Feb. 1898 pointing out to Hall that the clause in the lease by which the lessor undertakes to pay the land tax and other public charges is contrary to the final clause of Ito [Hirobumi]'s letter. According to the view I take the lease in all respects must be in accordance with the agreement made at Kiōtō. In the Mascarenhas case it was a similar covenant that enabled the successors in title to succeed in their action for having the rent raised.

Unless Dr. Thornicroft wrote officially to Hall in the first instance, you should not write to him on the subject. It is sufficient if you get him to call on you for you to speak with him on the subject of his lease.

No doubt the notification was not communicated to you by the Governor. But that I take it is a mere slip of the man who drafted his letter. Troup's letter of 27 June 1887 may perhaps have caused them to fancy the notification or its effect had been communicated.

Yours truly

E.S.

P.S. In acknowledging the receipt of the Governor's letter you would do well however to point out to him that he has made a mistake in saying that the notification was communicated.

19. Hall to Satow

[ans Jan.6 '99 inside]

Kobe,

Jan. 4, 1898 [should be 1899]

My dear Sir Ernest,

I communicated to [manager of Chartered Bank's Kobe branch] Mr. Bruce Webster to-day the purport of your desp[atch] re the [Chartered Bank v] Flood case ³⁵², and I also privately informed the President of the Court here, and urged a speedy trial of the case. As you know the Osaka appeal court has dismissed the objection against the three judges. Mr. Webster assures me that the delay in getting a settlement has been seriously prejudicial to the business of the Bank here for months past, and continues to be so.

I am glad you approve of Wileman's report, as he took a great deal of pains over it. The changing of the course of the Ikutagawa [a small river which now runs from JR Shin Kobe station to the sea, east of the former foreign settlement] was not the only ground which could have been urged in favour of regarding Ono as zakkiochi [area of mixed residence] but of course it would be too late now to raise that point.

Mr. [Arthur Hasketh] Groom ³⁵³ called on me to-day on behalf of the local branch of the China & Japan Association to ask me if I would accept an invitation from the Assoc[iatio]n to meet L[or]d Cha[rle]s Beresford ³⁵⁴ at a dinner they are giving to him and at which he has informed them of his intention to speak at some length on his favourite topic of the desirability of an alliance between England, America, Japan & China. I told him candidly that in my private opinion a branch of the association in Japan was an anachronism; that I did not think Ld. Chas. would do himself any good in the eyes of the Japanese by becoming their guest; but that I w[oul]d refer the point of the advisability or not of my attending the dinner to you for your opinion; as I had no information whatever official or private as to Ld. Chas's mission or status.

Mr. Groom also asked me to write privately to [Nagasaki Consul Joseph H.] Longford asking him to forewarn Ld. Chas. against having anything to do with that mountebank [charlatan, fake, fraud] Pfoundes ³⁵⁵,

³⁵² Chartered Bank and Flood case, decided in the Kobe regional court. A company owned by American George Flood traded illegally outside the foreign settlement and then went bankrupt. The issues were the ownership of the goods in the warehouses, and the question of jurisdiction (consular or Japanese).

³⁵³ Arthur H. Groom (1846-1918). British. Came to Japan in 1868. He joined Glover & Co. in Kobe, but in 1880 moved to Yokohama to begin exporting raw silk and tea. In 1889 he returned to Kobe and began manufacturing and exporting green tea. Director of the Oriental Hotel. Created the first golf course in Japan at the top of Mt.Rokkō in 1901.

³⁵⁴ Sir Charles William de la poer Beresford (1846-1919). British admiral and expert on naval affairs. At the time he was an M.P. visiting China to investigate the commercial situation.

³⁵⁵ Satow wrote privately to his friend Frederick Victor Dickins from Yedo on October 29, 1879: "I have seen notices of Mr. Pfoundes or Pounds' Nippon Institute, and thought it too ambitious altogether. No communications have reached us from it, and I do not expect that any will. You really ought not to give it your countenance. The man is a charlatan and knows nothing. He wrote a Budget of Japanese Notes

who is pretty certain to try to foist himself on him on arrival here. That, of course, I readily consented to do. And for further precaution in that direction I intend going off to the Steamer to meet Lord. B. on arrival if you see no objection to my doing so.

Yours sincerely

J.C. Hall

20. Satow to Hall

Jan. 6, 1899

My dear Hall,

I entirely agree with your reply to Mr. Groom about the Kobe branch of the China Assoc[iatio]n. As to the dinner it proposes to give to Lord Ch. Beresford, if you felt certain nothing would be said in the speeches on Treaty Revision or the position of foreigners in Japan of an indiscreet nature, I do not think there would be any harm in accepting an invitation, and should anything indiscreet be uttered after all, you might make an opportunity of correcting it in a speech on some other subject by yourself. When B[eresford] comes here I shall prob[ably] be asked to meet him in Tokio, and shall be obliged to accept.³⁵⁶

I have been much amused with the Pfoundes episode and the Kobe Chronicle on him. I think there can be no objection to your going off to the steamer to meet Ld. Charles if necessary to forestall Pf[oundes]. Otherwise I think the first visit is due to you.

I know nothing about his mission to the East, nor as to his visit here, except what I have read in the papers. Neither from the F.O. nor from him have I had a word.

y.v.t.

21. Hall to Satow

Kobe,

8.1.'99

My dear Sir Ernest,

Many thanks for your note and advice re Ld. C. B's. visit.

The Pfoundes episode has given us all here no end of fun, and it is not yet over, as you will see from the enclosed – just to hand.

Yours sincerely

J.C. Hall

which were utterly valueless..." (PRO 30/33 11/5).

³⁵⁶ Beresford arrived in Tokyo with his secretary Robin Grey on 17 January 1899. (Satow's diary, Ruxton, 2003, p. 328)

Enclosure:

SPECIAL EXPRESS

“Well done Condor.” Welcome to Kobe.

LORD CHARLES BERESFORD’S WELCOME TO KOBE

Copy of the letter received from his lordship:

Hong Kong Bank, Shanghai, 16th December 1898

Dear Sir,

I am directed by Lord Charles Beresford to thank you for your kind and courteous letter of the 25th November. Lord Charles regrets to say that at present his plans are still too uncertain to enable him to make any fixed arrangements.

He can only say, however, he hopes to spend 2 days in Kobe early in January. It will however give him the very greatest pleasure to bear your letter in mind and, if possible, to comply with your wishes.

Yours faithfully,

Robin Grey

To C. Pfoundes, Esqre.

Kitano Machi, Kobe.

Copy of Mr. Pfoundes’s recent letter to his lordship: subsequent to acknowledging the foregoing &c.

C. Pfoundes, Kobe

Private address, Kitano Machi [3-chome]

27th December, 1898

My Lord,

I have the honour to report that very satisfactory arrangements have been made here to welcome your lordship on arrival, and hold a public reception in the large hall of the Japanese Chamber of Commerce building, granted for the purpose. The Officials of the Prefecture, the Provincial Assembly, Mayor and City &c., the Japanese Chamber of Commerce; and other Public Institutions; and the leading Japanese of the district; join in this humble effort to welcome so gallant an officer and so distinguished a statesman as your lordship; and the leading members of the foreign community have been invited with their wives, over three hundred cards being issued to them.

It is proposed that a deputation shall meet your Lordship at the landing place, on arrival.

The reception meeting will be held, on the day and at the hour most convenient to your lordship – either early or late – in the day, and a short address – on any topic your lordship may select –, say an Anglo-American-Japanese coalition, as my friend the Editor of the writes me, is so favourably viewed

in the old country now; but we do not presume to in any way hamper your lordship's freedom of speech in the slightest degree.....

Since the enthusiastic reception of the Mikado recently, friendly relations between native and aliens are improving; and I am most anxious that your lordship's visit will be successful in forwarding this sentiment of better understanding mutually, there being great need for such now.

.....and your lordship's acceptance of the Japanese invitation, through your humble servant – myself – creates a most favourable impression, that will be highly beneficial to the interests of the foreign community here at large..... China and Japan must be viewed from very different stand points.

Apologizing for being so diffuse,

I have the honour to be, your lordship's most obedient humble servant,

C. Pfoundes.

The following letter was sent to the Editor of the "Kobe Chronicle" [Robert Young] for publication:

Mr. Pfoundes replies:

The Editor, The "Kobe Chronicle"

Sir,

With reference to the statements included in your remarks appended to my communication printed in your columns of this forenoon's issue; I have to request that you will be so good as to insert this contradiction of the para:

"He admits that he had the impertinence and the effrontery to write on behalf of Kobe."

I beg leave to state that I have not, and I do not admit anything of the kind.

If it amuses you and your friends, it does me little harm, to set up "Aunt Sallies" and have a shy at them; but it is very bad taste to drag in ladies and distinguished persons.

This controversy is not of my seeking.

I am, &c. &c. C. Pfoundes

Note to the Ladies and Gentlemen of the community.

Invitations are now being issued, delayed through the holidays intervening; any who do not duly receive the Cards &c., will oblige by communicating with the undersigned at the Committee Room, Occidental Hotel.

C. Pfoundes

NOTICE of the day and hour of arrival and reception will be issued by special Circular, a "Salute" will be fired when the vessel is "sighted" approaching; and a signal for the reception Committee to assemble &c. will be made by fire works, rockets displaying the national flags &c.

Enclosure:

Invitation card to meet Rear Admiral The Rt. Hon. Lord Charles W. D. Beresford, C.B., R.N., M.P. etc. from the Reception Committee

Honorary Organizing Secretaries: Japanese, M. Kambara, City Office

Foreign, C. Pfoundes, Kitano-machi, 3-chome

22. Hall to Satow

Private

Kobe,

11.1.'99

My dear Sir Ernest,

Your letter for Lord C. Beresford to hand this morning. I propose going off with it myself – or if you think it better – sending it by Hampden.

Mr. Kirby called this morning and showed me your letter of introduction to Lord C. Without letting him or anyone else know that I have a letter from you to deliver I offered to accompany him when he goes off. I at the same time suggested to him that as one or two of the head men of the China Assoc[iatio]n are going off to the Steamer also it might be well for him to see Mr. Groom or Mr. Abbott and arrange to go off in the same launch. There is a great deal of irritation against me in the community here for holding aloof from the China Assoc[iatio]n; and I think this proposal may have a mollifying effect. I have since seen Mr. Kirby again in the street, along with Mr. Cook (who has received a letter from Mr. Bevis); and they are to let me know this afternoon what they decide after consultation with Groom.

If you would prefer me not to go off with Kirby in company with Messrs. Groom and Abbott and Cook please send me a cypher message, or the word “yes” which I shall understand to mean “don't go”, and I will carry out your wishes.

Yours sincerely

J.C. Hall

23. Hall to Satow

Kobe

11.1.'99

My dear Sir Ernest,

Mr. Bruce Webster tells me the trial of the [Chartered] Bank's case has been set down for the 16th inst.; also

that he has been urged by Mr. Reynell, on behalf of the Japanese, to consent to a compromise, in view of the long delays that may possibly and most probably will be contrived by the Defendant's lawyers. I strongly suspect that Reynell is really the secret emissary of the Saibansho [Court] , which is very loath to have to give a decision in the case. Mr. Webster is not disposed to compromise; as he believes many of the Jap[ane]se claims to be fictitious.

Since writing to you at noon to-day I have seen Mr. Groom and accepted the China Assoc[iatio]n's invitation to lunch on the 13th inst. Mr. G. showed me the draft of the speech he is going to make, and has agreed to expunge some expressions to wh[ich] I objected. It seems the China Assoc[iatio]n is going off in a body to the Steamer, so I have decided not to accompany them.

Yours sincerely

J.C. Hall

24. Hall to Satow

Kobe

12.1.'99

My dear Sir Ernest,

There was some friction between the Governor and the mercantile Japanese community here with regard to the reception of Lord C. Beresford; but last night a telegram from the Guaimusho [Japanese F.O.] to the Governor approved of a joint welcome being offered by the Chamber of Commerce and by the Jitsugyoka Kwaigi [Japanese merchants association].

Last night I had a telegram from [Nagasaki consul J. H.] Longford saying that Ld. B. wishes to visit Osaka on Saturday and hopes to see the principal factories there; and that he wished to escape from a tiffin or dinner from the Osaka Chamber of Commerce.

Yours sincerely

J.C. Hall

25. Satow to Hall

copy

Tokyo

Jan. 14, 1899

My dear Hall,

It seems likely that the Kobe Chronicle has discovered a mare's nest ³⁵⁷ with regard to the Silver yen in

³⁵⁷ *To find a mare's nest* is to make what you suppose to be a great discovery, but which turns out to be

payment of import duties.

One must look not only at the definition of the yen at the end of the Br[itish] Conventional Tariff, but also at Art[icle] 2 of the Supp[lementar]y Convention itself. The object of that was to ensure that if the rate of exchange of the silver yen fell, the duties should be raised triennially to compensate for the fall in silver. Owing to the adoption by Japan of the gold standard [in 1897] the necessity of such a triennial adjustment has ceased to exist.³⁵⁸ I am writing home about this question for instruction, and in the meantime if importers should be moved by the article in the “Chronicle” to claim to pay duties in silver yen or their equivalent all I could say would be that the question is under consideration. If the Japanese Gov[ernmen]t were to ask H.M.G. to abrogate Art 2 of the Supplementary Convention and to agree that the Gold yen should take the place of the silver yen among the definitions, I think they would consent without much difficulty.

What somewhat complicates the question is the last para[graph] of that Article, providing that the operation of the stipulation shall be subject to the acceptance of a similar arrangement by other powers with whom Conventional tariffs were then being negotiated by Japan. Those Powers were France and Germany, neither of which has ‘accepted a similar arrangement’. The French have agreed that the yen is the Japanese unit of legal tender, i.e. the gold yen, and you have seen the German stipulation.

There are a few misprints in the German Tariff Convention as published by the “Chronicle” which I enclose. Perhaps the Editor might like to know of them.

Yours very truly,

E.S.

Errata in “Kobe Chronicle” version of the German Supplementary Convention.

Annex

No2 before “brocades” insert ‘or printed’

No8 for “Chloride of potash” read “Chlorate of potash”

No23 for “beads” read “braids [? Beans ?]”

26. Hall to Satow

Kobe

January 17, ‘99

My dear Sir Ernest,

Your letter of the 13th was awaiting me on my return last night from Kyoto after seeing Lord Charles

all moonshine. (*Brewer’s Dictionary of Phrase and Fable*, 1894).

³⁵⁸ See Norio Tamaki, ‘Japan’s Adoption of the Gold Standard’, Ch. 10, *Britain & Japan: Biographical Portraits*, Vol. 1. ed. Ian Nish (Folkestone: Japan Library, 1994).

Beresford off for Tokyo; and its contents are having my best attention.

Lord Charles's visit and speech here have had a most beneficial effect in promoting a conciliatory attitude towards the coming régime. Groom was even better than his word. Not only did he tone down the passages I objected to when he showed me the pencil draft of his speech, but he strengthened the conciliatory passages and promised to convey to the Yokohama branch my reasons for refusing to cooperate with anything calling itself a China Association in Japan. Lord Charles, as you have doubtless noticed, dwelt with special emphasis on the conciliatory portions of the toast, and unmistakeably threw the whole weight of his influence into that scale. I hope to send you in a day or two a short official report on his visit to this Consular district.

I feel confident the good sense of the mercantile men here will fight shy of following any such will-of-the-wisp notion as that of the payment of duties in silver yen. I send you the Chronicle of the 12th inst. and have asked the editor [Robert Young] to come and have a talk with me.

I have not yet seen Mr. Bruce Webster, but will do so without delay. I send you to-morrow Hampden's notes of the proceedings at the hearing in Court, and they seem to me to afford good grounds for thinking a compromise advisable.

Yours sincerely

J.C. Hall

The Chartered Bank and Flood case was decided in the Kobe regional court. Flood & Co., a company owned by an American named George Flood, traded illegally in mats and camphor outside the foreign settlement at Fukiai-mura and then went bankrupt. All the employees ran away with Japanese suppliers unpaid. The issue was the ownership of the goods in the warehouses ("godowns"), which the Bank claimed as security on loans made. In October 1898 the Kobe District Court allowed mats to be taken from the warehouse and held by bailiffs. The bank manager (G. B. Webster) and the British consul J.C. Hall protested to the Court and to the Hyogo governor. Finally on 20 February 1899 after much discussion the Court reversed its decision. (Nagaoka, *A-nesuto Sato- Kōshi Nikki* vol. 2, pp. 165-66, based on F.O. archives)

27. Hall to Satow

Kobe

18.1.'99

My dear Sir Ernest,

I have seen Mr. [Robert] Young and given him, as from myself, the corrections to be made in his reprint of the German tariff. I don't think we are likely to have much further bother about "rights in the yen".

I have also seen Mr. [George Bruce] Webster, who has been round with a judge and the lawyers of both

sides inspecting the godowns trying if the keys fitted etc. Everything was found most satisfactory and confirmatory of the [Chartered] Bank's side of the case. He sees no reason whatever for desiring a compromise, except the avoidance of delay. None of the matting he says was unpaid for or put in to be inspected. The course of Flood's business that the matting men drew drafts against the goods with railway receipts attached, (railway bills of lading in fact) and these drafts had to be cashed by Flood before the railway receipts passed into his hands. To my mind, the Bank has a good case.

I had a talk to-day with the master of the Br. S.S. [British Steam Ship] Commonwealth arrived here from Port Arthur. He tells me the Russians could not get labour (Chinese) to discharge his cargo (railway material) and that he had to spend 2 months there and use his own crew to do the work. All available Chinese hands are at work on the railway. A portion of the harbour where some years ago the Chinese men-of-war used to anchor is now so silted up that there is hardly deep enough water for a sampan.

Yours sincerely

J.C. Hall

28. Hall to Satow

[answered 31/1/99]

Kobe,

25.1.'99

My dear Sir Ernest,

Hampden has been very diligent in watching the columns of the Japse. papers for comments on L[or]d B[eresford]'s policy and speeches, and the précis herewith is the first article of the kind.

I promised Mr. Young when he was writing his second short article on "Rights in the yen", to endeavour to procure some information for him as to the state of the question about the Japse. Govt. refunding the overpaid difference of duties charged to foreigners, about which you were in correspondence with the [Japanese] F.O. a few years ago. I did not want to bother you about this while you had Ld. B. on your hands, but if you can tell me anything for Mr. Y's information I should be obliged.

Yours sincerely

J.C. Hall

29. Satow to Hall

Private

Tokio

31 January 1899

My dear Hall,

Pfoundes has written to me officially asking me to put him in communication with the Japanese Authorities with a view to his becoming a Japse. Subject, and for information as to the proper steps to be taken by him. I have answered that I cannot comply with any such requests.

It is a piece of impudence for a B[ritish] S[ubject] to ask a British official to help him to get rid of his allegiance to the Queen [Victoria].

Concerning the Bu [coinage ?] question, the Authorities at home took the view that no wrong had been inflicted on the foreign merchants in the matter of calculating customs duties, or if any disadvantage did actually result to the English merchants, it was extremely small. They therefore instructed me not to press the matter. I was allowed, however, to present a memorandum to the Japanese Government controverting the arguments contained in one they had furnished, but there the question ended as far as I was concerned. That was in May 1896.³⁵⁹

My own opinion is that the case is a peculiarly difficult one to decide as a matter of principle, and still more difficult would be an answer to the question what specific amount of damage did X a foreign importer suffer. He would in any case only be awarded compensation for the damage he proved had been sustained by him, and it is impossible to show.

It was somewhat unfortunate that the foreign merchants in raising the question were misled as to the nature of the Japanese notifications fixing the value of the bu as regards Japanese. There were two of these notifications (1874 and 1885) both of which had for their object to fix the rates at which the old coinage should be called in. Long lists of old gold and silver coins were given, and amongst them the silver bu, the value of which had been proved by assay [a chemical examination to test purity] to be less than that of the imaginary silver bu defined by the Tariff Convention of 1866. It was added that any of these old coins would be accepted in pay[men]t of all govt. taxes and dues, except customs duties.

These notifications did not concern foreigners as they had no hoards of old coins, and therefore they were not communicated [to foreigners] but they were duly published. Foreigners could pay customs dues in the depreciated silver bu and certainly they or their comprador[e]s did so as long as any were to be purchased in the market, and not only that, but for a long time they paid duties in the depreciated gold nibu, which fell as low as 200: \$100, while Japanese merchants, from the time they began to engage in trade on their own account, had to pay duties in the standard silver yen. How it came about that instead of being made to pay at the rate fixed by the convention of 1866 they were allowed to pay at the rates successively fixed by the two notifications of 1874 and 1885 I have never been able to learn. It certainly for a time gave them a slight

³⁵⁹ On May 21, 1896 Satow gave the memorandum here mentioned to then foreign minister Mutsu Munemitsu (Satow's diary, Ruxton, 2003, p. 96).

advantage.

On the other hand, the foreigner who was allowed to pay in bu instead of in yen at 311 for a long time paid duties which were in fact less than those stipulated by the Tariff Convention.³⁶⁰ In 1882 silver bu were 316 = \$100, and shortly after they went out of use altogether. 315 = 100 yen was the valuation fixed by the latter of the notifications referred to.

When damage is alleged to have arisen from a departure from Treaty obligation, such as the discrimination betw. Jap[an] and foreigners in the pay[men]t of duties is alleged to have been, the rule is that the actual damage suffered is to be stated.

It would be difficult to show in any particular instance what the damage was. The issue of the notification of 1875 did by itself not damnify [i.e. cause loss or damage to] the foreign merchant. It could only injure him from the time Japanese began to import or export goods in competition with him, and paying duties at a slightly lower rate, were able to secure to themselves a portion of business that would otherwise have fallen to him. The foreigner in short was only damnified if his business was diminished.

Now see how difficult it would be to show this, or to fix a date from wch. [which] it began. It would not necessarily be from the year 1875, but at earliest only from the time Japanese began to import and export to such an extent as to become serious competitors, and even then the extent to which they became injurious competitors must be shown.

On the other hand there is the advantage the foreign merchant had up to 1882 of paying his duties in depreciated coin.

Putting one uncertain amt. [amount] against the other, the home Auth[orities] seem to have come to the practical conclusion that the balance of loss and gain was so trifling as not to be worth disputing over; especially as the question who in the last resort pays the duties, which is less simple than it at first sight seems, has also to be taken into consideration.

You may show as much of this as you think desirable to Mr. Young, with the stipulation that he will be discreet in whatever use he makes of it.

y.v.t. [Yours Very Truly]

E.S. [Ernest Satow]

30. Satow to Hall

Copy

Tokio

³⁶⁰ See *A Diplomat in Japan*, Ch. II, p. 26. "The fact, however, remains, that in September 1862 the current rate of exchange was 214 *ichibus* for 100 dollars, though the latter were really exchangeable for 311 *ichibus* according to the Treaty."

February 2, 1899

My dear Hall,

Your despatch No. 9 about Japanese seamen's passports. I suppose the question is not a pressing one or you would not have let it slumber for two whole months.

The Governor in his letter of November 29 refers to the Legation Circular of March 17, 1893, the tenor of which was communicated to the Min[ister] for F[oreign] A[ffairs] but seems to be ignorant of the later circular of June 10 which was likewise communicated to the Foreign Minister.

I should be inclined to say that you were authorized not to scrutinize the passports so far as the name of the vessel and her destination and the date of the passport were concerned, but that if you found the man's name was not on the passport you should insist on his getting one. But that would involve the passports being inspected by one of your staff.

As to the quid pro quo [something given in return] you propose: is there a branch of the Japanese Mercantile Marine Office at your port, and if so, what is it called in Japanese? If it were under the Governor you might arrange the exchange of good offices you propose. If I were to take it up with the Foreign Minister, I am afraid it would take a long time to arrange.

I should like to have your ideas on the whole question.

Yours very truly

(sig.) Ernest Satow

31. Hall to Satow

Kobe,

4 Feb[ruar]y '99

My dear Sir Ernest,

Your notes of 31st ultimo [last month] and 2nd inst. [this month] duly to hand.

I am glad you have repulsed Pfoundes. He has been pestering me here with letters and interviews on the same subject for over a fortnight.

I have read to Mr. Young your full exposition of the Bu question, and beyond perhaps an incidental mention that the matter is now ancient history he is not going to touch on the topic any more. I took advantage of the interview to give him a few points for his forthcoming reply to the sophistical [clever but deceptively misleading] article on the Kobe leases question that appeared in the Japan Mail [edited and owned by F. Brinkley, 1881-1912] of January 26th.

The question about the scrutiny of Japanese seamen's passports is not in the least pressing, and I shall be glad to act on your suggestion by trying to arrange with the Governor for the suggested exchange of good

offices with regard to Seamen. At present it is the Coast Office (Ura-yaku-ba) that has the oversight of Seamen's discharges, but a change of some sort is, I am told, soon going to be made. There would be a double advantage in getting the notice of discharge of a seaman from whatever office is to correspond to our Mercantile Marine offices. (1) They w[oul]d know every such case; whereas the Consul cannot be sure that he has written to all the Shipping Companies and Ship-owners in every district; and (2) The seaman would be much more amenable to consular advice if he were officially instructed to see his Consul before being paid off.

At present it may easily happen that a Seaman receives his wages in full at Yokohama, gets drunk and loses all, and a few days later turns up here claiming (and entitled to) Board of Trade relief. This c[oul]d be obviated by the Japanese Shipping office sending the Certificate of Discharge to the Consul to be handed to the Seaman; and in case the latter refused to agree to the usual reasonable precautions for preventing loss or squandering of wages, the Consul might write on the discharge "not entitled to Bd. of Trade relief."

Yours sincerely

J.C. Hall

32. Hall to Satow

(2nd letter of this date) ans[wered] 6/2/99

Kobe

4.2.99

My dear Sir Ernest,

I am certain it would be conducive to good relations and the smooth working of the new regime [post-extraterritoriality, due to begin on July 17, 1899] if a change could be brought about in the Directorship of the Harbour Office here. To enable you to judge for yourself, I enclose an official and its enclosures just recd. from the Public Prosecutor, and it is not the first trumpery [nonsensical] charge of the sort I have had to deal with. Kindly return the papers to me at your early convenience as I can take no action without them.

Yours sincerely

J.C. Hall

33. Hall to Satow

[Ansd. 13/2. See no objection, as he has been recognized by Japse. Govt.]

Kobe,

7th February 1899

My dear Sir Ernest,

Will you kindly give me your opinion as to what amount of recognition should be given by the Consuls to Mr. Petersen in response to enclosed communication. Should he be invited to attend the meetings of the Consular body, or allowed to take a seat as an ex officio member of the Municipal Council ? I ask because I may soon have to decide upon these points as Chairman of the Consular body when [French consul] M. de Lucy Fossarieu leaves, as he intends soon doing. I shall be grateful for your views on the matter.

Yours sincerely

J.C. Hall

34. Hall to Satow

Kobe,

15 February, 1899

My dear Sir Ernest,

I enclose in separate cover the two forms between which the C.P.R. [Canadian Pacific Railway] Co's clerk made a mistake with reference to reporting the "Empress of China's" movements. I have had an interview with the Harbour Master on the subject and hope to get the charge withdrawn. The H.M. [Harbour Master] Captain Tashiro, is an antiquated specimen of the old joi [anti-foreign] school; and his immediate subordinate, a Mr. Hayashi, is a regular Jack-in-office [an insolent fellow in authority]. I had to talk to them both very plainly about the way they are carrying on.

Many thanks for your advice re the Peruvian Acting Vice Consul, which will of course be acted on. My only doubt was as to whether he was not on the same footing as the Acting Vice Consul for Hawaii has been for some years past both at Yokohama and here.

I shall not forget to give a paragraph in my Trade Report to the Trade Marks case. The judgment in the Bank (Flood) case is to be delivered on the 20th inst.

There are indications that questions about land and leases are likely to become troublesome very soon. The Mascarenhas case [see p.6 above] , for instance, is entering on a new development. The Japanese reversioners have been proceeding with a view to have that perpetual lease turned into a terminable superficies. It seems that the Kencho [prefectural office] here have practically identified themselves with the position of the Plaintiffs in the case against Dr. Rhees recently tried in the U.S. court here. Governor Ohmori has been ill for over a month. I am in hopes to put thro' with his aid when he recovers one or two perpetual leases.

Yours sincerely

J.C. Hall

35. Hall to Satow

Ans[wered] 22/2

Kobe,

20 Feb. '99

My dear Sir Ernest,

The point made in the enclosed memo of Hampden's is worth noticing, but seems of hardly sufficient importance to be dealt with officially. However if you think otherwise I will send a short covering despatch.

Yours sincerely

J.C. Hall

36. Satow to Hall

copy

Tokyo,

March 7, 1899

My dear Hall,

I have been in corr[esponden]ce with the Judge about the desirability of relieving [Frank William Walter] Playfair from the trust on behalf of a Jap woman and 3 children which he undertook at the instance of [Robert Anderson] Mowat. As Playfair is going on leave next month it is necessary that something should be done without delay. The Judge is of the opinion that the Vice Consul at Kobe should take it over as an official trustee and I concur with his opinion. He will make the necessary order on learning that [Alfred Ernest] Wileman is willing to act.

Please speak to Wileman about it and I trust that he will see that under the circ[umstance]s he ought to undertake the trust.

Between you and me I should tell you that I propose to appoint [William Joseph] Kenny to Hakodate as a tertium quid [i.e. a third person of indeterminate character or rank] between his returning to Tainan [Formosa] and taking sick leave, so that for the present at least no application for the acting appt. [appointment ?] could be attended to. I do not however wish that it be known until I hear again from Kenny. He was relieved by Hoare [?] about the middle of last month.

The termination of the [Chartered Bank v.] Flood case seems a satisfactory one.

The action of Wills against an alleged pirate of their trade mark seems to have been rightly decided. I shall be interested to see how the other one goes.

I am afraid I shall have to take [Ernest Miles Hobart-]Hampden away from you next month when [Ralph George Elliott] Forster goes on leave, and to send you [Edward Thomas Frederick] Crowe for a couple of months till [Edward Lillingston Stuart] Gordon is ready to pass out of the Legation. Crowe is a first-rate man,

but I shall not be able to spare him for long from the Legation.

Y.v.t.

(sgd.) Ernest Satow

P.S. Please prepare Hampden. I cannot say what will be the precise date, but suppose it will be about April.

37. Hall to Satow

Satow's note at top of letter: "informed H.S.W. [Hiram Shaw Wilkinson] and F.W.P. [Frank William Playfair] 11/3/99."

Kobe,

9 March '99

My dear Sir Ernest,

I have spoken to Wileman about taking over from Playfair the official admin[istratio]n of the Golliver [?] trust estate, and he of course consents to do so.

I am glad you are giving Kenny the offer of the Hakodate vacancy, which if he is wise he will gladly accept.

I am truly vexed at the prospect of losing Hampden so soon. I was in hopes to have been allowed to keep him for a few months at any rate after the transition to the new regime [starting from July 17, 1899], just when his local experience would come in most valuable.

In the other Wills Trade Mark case the defendants were found guilty and sentenced to severe punishments, and I am only awaiting the expiry of the time allowed for appealing to report to you officially.

Yours sincerely

J.C. Hall

38. Hall to Satow

Kobe

20.3. '99

My dear Sir Ernest,

I have instituted enquiries about Mr. McKata [?], and hope to have some result in a day or two.

I must apologise for the delay in reporting to you about the Naval Officers' grave at Hiroshima island. It was T.B. [Thomas Blake] Glover who called my attention to the matter last summer, and I am sending him a copy of Governor Yoshiwara's letter.

I hope the idea of postponing the transition to the new [post-extraterritorial] regime will take root and

spread amongst the Japanese themselves. Another five years of preparation w[oul]d be none too long to allow for bringing judicial, police and postal arrangements into respectable working order.

Yours sincerely

J.C. Hall

Satow notes below the letter:

Ans[wer] 22 March. This idea is without foundation and altogether inconceivable. Others have made the bed, and we have to lie in it.³⁶¹

39. Hall to Satow

[ans 25/3]

Kobe,

March 23rd 1899

My dear Sir Ernest,

Messrs. Butterfield & Swire at this point have asked me to obtain if possible early information as to the progress or result of the negotiations which are said to be going on with reference to the resumption of the emigration of Japanese to Queensland. The firm is interested in the carriage of the emigrants, fishermen, who went in large numbers to Thursday Island. I promised to apply to you for the information described.

Yours sincerely

J.C. Hall

40. Hall to Satow

Kobe,

March 24th 1899

My dear Sir Ernest,

Many thanks for your note of 22nd inst. If the Admiral sends a ship to visit the grave at Hiroshima Island I shall be very glad to join in the trip.

I am glad too that [Ernest Hamilton] Holmes is likely to remain here when he comes, as it is easier to train one man than two.

I believe the rumours and hints about postponing the date of the new régime are due mainly to the wishes of the Buddhist priesthood, especially in the interior. But, as you say, the political reasons against are too

³⁶¹ The Anglo-Japanese Treaty of Commerce and Navigation which provided for the ending of extraterritoriality in Japan exactly five years later was signed in London on July 16, 1894 by foreign minister Lord Kimberley for Britain and minister plenipotentiary Aoki Shūzō for Japan.

strong to allow of temporising. The time is getting very short now; and I am sorry to say Governor Ohmori has been ill (Bright's disease) for nearly 3 mos. now. If he recovers, there could not be a better man for the post; but if any change should have to be made, it is to be hoped that a man who speaks English – like Mr. Mitsuhashi or Mr. Kusaka will be appointed Governor. The Kobe Club is going to pay the same compliment to the four chief Heads of Departments as the Yokohama Club has done, and the Honorary membership will be a distinct benefit to a Governor who can speak English well.

Yours sincerely

J.C. Hall

41. Hall to Satow

Kobe,

25 March 1899

My dear Sir Ernest,

I was a little “too previous” in my note yesterday when I predicted what the Kobe Club was going to do. Although the list of active members on a canvass showed over six to one in favour of the proposal it was lost by 85 votes for to 33 against, the required majority being three fourths. As I took an active part in advocating the measure I have of course resigned membership of the Club. The Committee have also resigned their posts.

It was the youngsters and riff raff [people of low reputation or social class] of the club, aided by a handful of German members who voted against. There was hardly one Englishman or American of any standing or respectability against, and the leading members of the German community were supporters also; but Thiel, the German Acting Consul, was bitterly opposed to it from the first and tho' he did not vote against it himself, his canaille [rabble, from Italian *canaglia*, a pack of dogs] including Mr. Petersen the Acting Peruvian Vice Consul did. I believe the Com[itt]ee are going to try to save the situation as some of the recalcitrants have expressed regret for their action.

I hear from Thiel that a German Admiral is expected here soon.

I have sent in a perpetual lease (Thornicraft's) to the Kencho [prefectural office] to be registered, and they have applied for instructions what to do from the Minister of the Interior. I see in yesterday's Kwampo [official gazette] the phrase perpetual superficies (eitai no chijoken [永代の地上権]) occurs, I think for the first time.

I sent [John H.] Gubbins a wire yesterday asking him kindly to urge forward [G.R.] Sims' yachting permit. He and friends want it for to-morrow; and he was under the delusion that it was valid till April, 1 year but discovered too late that it expired in December. I hope it will not take so long to get as some previous ones.

I had a short note from [William Joseph] Kenny dated 4th inst. He was then awaiting instructions from

somewhere, and wishing to apply for sick leave if doomed to return to Tainan [Formosa].

Yours sincerely

J.C. Hall

42. Hall to Satow

[answered 30/3/99]

Kobe,

March 28th 1899

My dear Sir Ernest,

Thanks for the information re Queensland emigration, which Messrs. Butterfield & Swire have received under strict precautions as to privacy.

With regard to the Superficies question, the Kencho here have always maintained that the Civil Code does not recognize a superficies in perpetuity. On my pointing out to the Vice Governor the phrase eitai no chijoken [perpetual superficies] in the Kwampo [official gazette] of the 23rd inst. he avers that that has reference solely to foreigners' leases in perpetuity registered at the Kencho [prefectural office]; that it is retrospective and does not affect Dr. [T.C.] Thornicraft's new lease; nor can it be interpreted as importing the idea of perpetual superficies into the Civil Code, which as between two Japanese parties contemplates nothing of the kind.³⁶²

My contention is that Dr. T's (new) perpetual lease is entitled to registration under Ito [Hirobumi]'s letter of 1868 and that the Civil Code does not apply to it; and that is the point now under reference to the Home Office. Although I have called the Kencho's attention to articles 1 and 45 of the Law as to the Operation of the Civil Code, it is of no avail. Yet they have registered without demur within the last few days a lease to a British Subject for 100 years. They have promised me to telegraph to the Home Office to hurry up; and if the reply is unfavourable I shall lose no time in referring the case to you officially.

Yours sincerely

J.C. Hall

43. Hall to Satow

Kobe,

March 30, 1899

My dear Sir Ernest,

³⁶² See Satow's diary for November 2, 1898 in which he discusses Kobe hill lots with the Vice Minister for Foreign Affairs Hatoyama Kazuo. (Ruxton, 2003, pp.308-09).

The appeal of the two defendants in the Wills' Cigarette trade-marks forgery case is to be heard at Osaka on the 7th proximo [of next month]; when Hampden, as before, will attend.

I hear that the proceedings for passing the new rule admitting Japanese Heads of Departments [to the Kobe Club – see above] as Hon. Members are being smoothly arranged and that the Chief Prosecutor is to be added to the previous four. [Arthur H.] Groom tells me there will be no risk of any second hitch.

Yours sincerely

J.C. Hall

44. Hall to Satow

Kobe,

6 April 1899

My dear Sir Ernest,

I am sorry to have to trouble you again about the local land question but the delays and equivocations of the Kencho here leave me no option. You will see that your caution as to the lessee paying the taxes was not forgotten.

I have heard nothing whatever of Mr. Hida Heijiro yet.

Governor Ohmori goes up by the "Tamba Maru" on the 8th inst. to get good medical advice and to attend the meeting of Governors.

I hope you will be able to let Hampden remain here till [John Twizell] Wawn returns from his examination trip. It would be very awkward if both were to be away together.

The "International Committee" here are trying very hard to get into direct relations with the Kencho authorities, but have not received much encouragement.

Four of the British Inland Sea pilots interviewed me some days ago to express their dissatisfaction with Art. 22 of the new Pilot Law which prescribes imprisonment (maximum 3 years) for serious crimes of negligence. I promised to mention their views to you, but of course held out no hope of your being likely to interfere.

I glanced over Wawn's report when sending it in; and it occurred to me that it would be useful if you would allow the after portion of it, relating to Kobe, to be published here.

Yours sincerely

J.C. Hall

45. Hall to Satow

Kobe

8 April 99

My dear Sir Ernest,

I have to-day received an official reply from the Kencho re Thornicraft's lease, saying that the (Home) Minister's instructions are that as a perpetual superficies is not recognized by the Civil Code the lease cannot be registered and that the words "at their own convenience" in Ito's letter of 1868 only means that Japanese were to be at liberty to make leases but has no reference to the length of the terms. I will forward the letter officially on Monday.

Mr. [Robert] Young, editor of the "Kobe Chronicle" has asked me to obtain information for him as to whether (1) he will have to make the deposit of caution-money required of Japanese newspapers, and (2) whether his weekly edition will be treated as a separate newspaper. I hope you will be able to give him the desired information.

Yours sincerely

J.C. Hall

46. Hall to Satow

Kobe

10.4. '99

My dear Sir Ernest,

The copy Japanese enclosure of my No.26 was made by Hampden, the office-writer being away on a short holiday.

I am afraid that, if the principle of limiting foreigners' acquired rights by a one-sided interpretation of international agreements be once admitted, it will not stop short at the refusal of perpetual leases.

Yours sincerely

J.C. Hall

47. Hall to Satow

[Recd. April 17]

Kobe

April 12, 1899

My dear Sir Ernest,

Thanks for yours of the 10th and for leaving Hampden here till Wawn returns.

I will let the pilots know you have considered their views. Your answer is just what I expected, and I will again point out to them that they could not reasonably expect anything else.

With regard to Thornicraft's lease the case is different. There is another perpetual lease waiting to be sent in

as soon as the result of Dr. Thornicraft's test case is known; and, failing his claim, the other lessee – Mr. Young of the Chronicle – will be content with a term for 100 years, as two such – one British and one German – have been lately registered at the Kencho. The question of principle involved is really of practical importance and interests British Subjects at this port more than almost any other question.

They have been familiar with the obstructive tactics of the land-office here for many years past; and although I have not bothered you with my difficulties I can assure you that the fixing up of land registration troubles has taken up more of my time and energies than anything else. I would rather write three Trade Reports than go thro' again the worry I had to get Creagh's leaseholds registered in the names of the lawful transferees. That obnoxious local notification of 1884 was ultra vires [beyond the legitimate powers of the issuing body] and illegal and ought even at the eleventh hour to be withdrawn.

However if you decide not to take up Thornicraft's lease please tell me so officially and have no doubt he will be quite content to take a 100 years term.

Yours sincerely

J.C. Hall

48. Hall to Satow

Kobe

21 April 1899

My dear Sir Ernest,

Many thanks for your private note of yesterday. I shall be very glad if you succeed in inducing [W.] Cowan [Inspector of the Office of Works for China, Korea and Japan] to make the refund. I can assure you there was no alternative but to call in an expert. I never had the shadow of a disagreement with Cowan and had cancelled my official despatch when he suddenly took up the position that he wd. not pay the surveyor's fee. As you know, it is the universal practice amongst business men to call an impartial survey when it is desired to avoid future disputes or controversy.

Thornicraft showed me Gubbins' letter, and I at once got him to change the words "in perpetuity" into "for a term of 100 years". I was wrong in saying that the German lease was for that term. It was for 150 [160 ?] years. Yet the Kencho are now objecting to register a lease to a Spaniard for 99 years. What is really wanted is a definite and authoritative statement of the longest term for which the possession of land can be secured, whether the agreement be called lease or superficies is not of much importance. I quite agree with you as to the previous mistakes re the whole Kobe Hill lots question. My idea was that having won more than half the battle and retrieved so much lost ground you would almost certainly have gained the further advantage of protesting against the Home Minister's untenable position.

If it were merely an academic question it would not be worth wasting the time or paper; but if we submit to that rebuff in silence I fear the ademption [legal term: revocation] of sea frontage rights will surely follow.

You will be pleased to hear that the Kobe Club has passed the new rule as to the Japse. Hon. Members by 62 votes to 13.

Yours sincerely

J.C. Hall

49. Hall to Satow

[Ans. 24/4. See no objection.]

Kobe

22 April 1899

My dear Sir Ernest

Instead of registering Thornicraft's lease for 100 years, the land officer of the Kencho sent for the lessor and told him to alter the clause providing that the lessee shall pay the Govt. taxes etc. by inserting the words "in the name of the lessor" (Kashinushi no meigi wo motte).

Do you advise submission to this demand? I can assure you that the action of the local officials here with regard to land leases has roused a very bitter feeling amongst the foreign community.

At Rokkusan [Mount Rokko near Kobe] they have prevented for over a month the building of half a dozen summer bungalows on lots which had already been leased to foreigners' Japanese employees or friends. 'If this is the spirit we are to be met with now,' say the foreigners concerned, 'it bodes ill for the new regime.'

Of course we have no rights whatever in respect of the RokkoSan hill-lots; but it is very difficult to divine what can be the object of such irritating and arbitrary interference with their people who have obliged foreigners with the use of their names as lessees.

Yours sincerely

J.C. Hall

50. Hall to Satow

[Ans 26/4]

Kobe,

25 April, 1899

My dear Sir Ernest,

I enclose a Query from the F.O. which hits Hampden very hard. He will have to refund over £25 if the rule is enforced. Surely an exception to the rule might be made in cases where the Vice-Consul is as fully

employed in discharging the absent Consul's duties as if he the V.C. were away at some other port. It really made no difference in Hampden's work when [Alfred E.] Wileman took over my duties from [Frank W.] Playfair. And the rule is fraught with future hardship to the assistant who will do Wileman's work when I get my Summer holiday. If you see any hope of saving Hampden's well-earned allowance to him I feel sure you will try what can be done.

If it could be done without serious derangement of your plans I shd. esteem it a favour if you can manage to leave Hampden with me for a month or two after Wawn returns. He is so thoroughly up in all the current questions that I cd. have comparative freedom from disturbance to write my trade report if he were left a while longer.

The embargo against foreigners doing anything at Rokkosan – building or even making little gardens round the existing houses – still continues; and the pretexts given by the Kencho – (1) intention to make a forest, (2) precautions against the sand getting into a stream 2 m[iles] distant – are as absurd as the interference. There is some underhand work going on, but it is hard to discover what it is.

Yours sincerely

J.C. Hall

51. Hall to Satow

Kobe

1st May 1899

My dear Sir Ernest,

The two questions about leases asked by Mr. Hida Heijiro were:

“1. Have leases in Zakkyochi [area of mixed residence] for a limited time or in which no time is mentioned been transferred or subleased

2. What kind of leases must be registered in order to be opposable to third party. Are leases in Zakkyochi for a limited time or in which no time is mentioned and the transfers or subleases of them opposable to third party though they are not registered, while perpetual leases in Kyoryuchi [the foreign settlement] and in some part of Zakkyochi are not opposable to third party unless they are registered.”

It appears to me that the artful form of these two questions implies that the Guaimu Sho [Japanese F.O.] holds or intends to hold that leases in which no term is mentioned are not perpetual but terminable: a view which British lessees, some scores in number, will resent as being sheer confiscation. My reply to the first was “Yes; both kinds.”; to the second: “the validity of a lease as against third parties does not, in English law, depend on its being registered, whether the lease be perpetual or for a term of years.”

Hampden goes up by the “Empress” leaving here the 3rd inst. You may rely on my doing my best for

[Ernest Hamilton] Holmes as regards his studies.

Yours sincerely

J.C. Hall

52. Hall to Satow

[Answered 10/5/99]

Kobe,

May 5, 1899

My dear Sir Ernest,

You have sent me a very nice assistant in Holmes, and I shall be pleased if you will allow him to remain here. I presume there will be no question as to his rent allowance but I am not sure whether he is still entitled to a teacher.

Your good offices with Aoki [Shūzō, foreign minister in Yamagata Aritomo's second cabinet, from 8 November 1898 to 19 October 1900] were speedy and effective.³⁶³ The embargo on building etc. at Rokkosan was completely removed within a day or two after your last note.

I hope you will give me leave to get Wawn's report on Municipal Administration published here. There is a very bad spirit rampant at the [Kobe] Club just now, and Wawn has been blackballed – partly, I have no doubt, because I was his proposer. I should like to let the people here see that his time was better employed than in playing billiards or drinking at the Club bar. I knew he would do a good examination, and he will not be long in picking up in the two subjects in which he was weak.

Would there be any objection to my circulating the amended Press Law (forwarded in your desp[atch] received to-day) amongst the three newspaper men here ?

Yours sincerely

J.C. Hall

53. Hall to Satow

[Ans. 22/5]

Kobe,

May 20th 1899

My dear Sir Ernest,

I enclose copies of my two letters of yesterday about the vases, and repeat my apologies for the blunder as

³⁶³ Satow mentioned the Rokko san complaints privately to Aoki on May 1, 1899. (Satow's diary, Ruxton, 2003, p. 356)

to the pronoun – which, by the way, no one here but myself has noticed or is aware of. I suppose the precedent of the present made to me in Nov[embe]r '71 must have been running in my heart; but of course the circumstances in that case were somewhat different.³⁶⁴

The community here are beginning to be anxious to know in what sort of mode the incorporation of the settlement with the Japanese commune is to be effected. Our wish and interest is to be under the Kencho [prefectural office] rather than the Shiyakusho [city office] – which is much the less liberal body of the two.

Yours sincerely

J.C. Hall

54. Hall to Satow

Kobe,

May 30th 1899

My dear Sir Ernest,

I hope you will have no objection to the first or general part of Wawn's paper on municipal administration being also published here. The special on Kobe part has been found of great local interest.

I have been kept waiting some weeks now for a reply to my request to the Kencho for new title-deeds to be issued on the sub-division of a settlement lot. It used to be done as a matter of course at Yokohama; but, as usual, the land office here became obstructive and in Longford's time refused to issue any more new title-deeds. However the Governor has now resumed work and perhaps I may not have to trouble with the matter.

Yours sincerely

J.C. Hall

55. Hall to Satow

Kobe,

June 5th, 1899

My dear Sir Ernest,

Just a line to thank you for your last note and for the kind efforts you are making on my behalf. If your proposal to dock only the ¼ salary paid to the Acting Consul in the case of Consuls taking home leave is adopted you will have conferred a great boon on the whole service. Once that reform is carried I shall not be

³⁶⁴ Hall had been a student interpreter in Japan from December 24, 1867. He was employed in assisting the Japanese Prisons Commission from July to September 1871, and "received the thanks of the Japanese Government for his services." (Kuwata, 1996, p. 77, citing F.O. List of 1921). The gratitude may have been expressed in the form of some kind of present.

long in sending in my application for home leave.

The newspapers here are highly pleased at not having to make a second deposit on account of their Weekly or Mail editions, and Mr. Young desires me [to] thank you most warmly for your good offices in his behalf.

Govr. Ohmori is expected back from Tōkyō today, and De Lucy tells me that it is not at all likely that the settlements will be handed over before the 4th August. Even if the French agreed to 17th July there would still be the Austrian Authority to be reckoned with; and unless under express instructions from the A-H. Legation I should have to hold out for the later date.³⁶⁵ It seems curious that the Central Govt. should have left the local authorities so completely in the dark as to the date of taking over, especially after having had a week's conference with the open port Governors on the subject of the coming change.

Yours sincerely

J.C. Hall

56. Hall to Satow

Kobe,

June 5, '99

My dear Sir Ernest,

When I went round to see Mr. Bardens to-day about the Hiogo Hotel lease he took out of his safe a packet sealed up with the Legation Seal and showed me [Ralph Spencer] Paget's receipt, dated October 8th last year, for two original leases and a third proper all tied together, which he (Mr. B.) at your desire he says, left in your keeping when he was up and saw you in Tokio. You will doubtless have found it after receiving my telegram in Govt. Code. Bardens desired me to say he will cheerfully defray all expenses of taking the photographic copies etc.

From my recollection of the original I should say [foreign minister] Viscount Aoki has committed himself to a very handy proposition. It might not perhaps be irrelevant to the point at issue to remind him that at the same period Governor Ito Shunsuke³⁶⁶ used to sign similar documents that were in English only, unaccompanied by any Japanese version; said documents being the title-deeds and lots in the Foreign Settlement here.

As regards the future administration of the Settlement I have had no direct conversation with the Governor, but I have been closely watching for some indications and as Chairman of the Municipal Council I have had opportunities of insinuating advice which I think will be taken. The test-question with us was as to the

³⁶⁵ Hall seems to have been representing Austria-Hungary in Kobe at this time.

³⁶⁶ Ito Shunsuke (later Hirobumi) was the first Governor of Hyogo prefecture from May 23rd of Keio 4 (1868) to April 10th of Meiji 2 (1869).

re-engagement of Trotzig ³⁶⁷, the Municipal Superintendent and, if re-engaged, on which budget was the cost of his salary to be borne. The Governor has now formally promised to recommend his re-engagement for another term of 3 years and to insert the item for his salary on the Central budget to come before the Diet.

All the indications point to a desire on the part of the Japanese to make the transition as easy and gradual as possible; and even if some or most of the administrative details are entrusted to the Shiyaku Sho [City Hall] they are to be closely supervised and controlled by the Kencho. I anticipate no friction.

It was by a mistake on Wawn's part that the first portion of his paper appeared in the Newspaper before I had time to hear from you. As I felt pretty sure you would see no objection, I allowed it to go on; and as [Robert] Young [Editor, Kobe Chronicle] has offered to print the whole thing in a pamphlet form I hope you will see no objection to that either.

Yours sincerely

J.C. Hall

57. Satow to Hall

Tokio

1 June 1899

My dear Hall,

I am sorry to hear that by a mistake of Wawn's the first part of his paper appeared in the [Kobe] Chronicle before you had time to hear from me, and that as you felt pretty sure I should see no objection you allowed it to go on.

I have great objection to the way in which the matter has been proceeded with. Gubbins sent down to Wawn the part that was to be published. In what he reserved there are several important error[s].

Besides it is not right when a thing has been referred here for my approval, my answer should not be waited for.

y.v.t.

E.S.

58. Hall to Satow

Kobe,

June 7th '99

My dear Sir Ernest,

³⁶⁷ See 'A Swede in Meiji Japan – Herman Trotzig (1832-1919)' by Bert Edström. University of Stockholm Center for Pacific Asia Studies, Working Papers (ISSN 0284-155X) No. 49 (December 1998), 31pp.

Mr. Young tells me that the Japanese original of the superficies contract appearing in the Kobe Chronicle of 2nd inst. was furnished to the RokkoSan land broker by a Kencho official, with strict injunctions to adhere to it in all future compacts with foreigners, as no other form of contracts would be accepted for registration. I sent Wawn to the Kencho [prefectural office] to enquire if the statement was correct, and, if so, to ask for a copy of the Japanese original. The Secretary, Mr. Tokonami, professed to know nothing about it, and sent for the head of the Registration Bureau, who was out.

I shall repeat the query to-morrow, and in any case will have a plain talk with the Governor on the subject. This is a good typical example of the traditions and working of the Kobe land office. No such irritant is experienced at either of the other ports [Nagasaki and Yokohama]. I entirely concur with your views as to freedom of contract and the expediency of employing a Japse. lawyer in such cases.

As regards the Wills' case I have heard nothing since my No. 28 to you of April 19th. I have been several times on the point of writing to [J.H.] Gubbins or some one in Tokyo to enquire the result of Furuga's appeal to the Dai-Shin-In. [Supreme Court, founded 1875, abolished 1947]

I hope the newspapers which have copied the paragraph in the estimates relating to the Japan vote are not correct in giving £900 as the salary for this post ? The extra £50 I am receiving will not cover the increased cost of living under the new tariff. You would be doing myself and [Nagasaki consul Joseph H.] Longford a great kindness if you recommend us each a "personal allowance" increase of salary out of the funds that will be available on the abolition of the Court.

I find that Holmes is entitled to both rent allowance and teacher's salary under despatch from Legation No. 46 of December 12th, 1884.

I will report again as soon as I have seen the Governor about the superficies lease. I think it can only refer to RokkoSan. Many of the Japanese here are jealous of the foreigners having, as they think, stolen a march on them by securing sites there. It's a dog-in-the-manger feeling; for left to themselves I doubt if any Japse. would have been likely to build a besso [villa, cottage, summer house] there within the next 50 years.

Yours sincerely

J.C. Hall

59. Hall to Satow

Kobe,

June 8th '99

My dear Sir Ernest,

I can only repeat my expression of regret for the mistake made in respect of the publication of the first part of [John T.] Wawn's paper. The mistake was wholly unintentional, both on Wawn's part and on mine. And I

am all the more sorry for it now that I learn of the errors in it.

I hope Gubbins will in any case send me a note of the errors; and if you will kindly accede to Mr. Young's request for leave to publish (unofficially of course) the whole paper as a pamphlet, the corrections could be made in that way. I trust you will approve of this mode of remedying the mistake.

I have not been able to see Govr. Ohmori today about the Rokko San agreement; but hope to do so to-morrow.

Yours sincerely

J.C. Hall

Satow: Ans[were]d. 10. Better rewrite and Gubbins will be happy to place materials at his disposal.

60. Hall to Satow

Kobe,

June 9th, 1899

My dear Sir Ernest,

I have seen Governor Ohmori about the Rokko San [Mount Rokko] superficies agreement as published in the Kobe Chronicle of 2nd inst. and he explicitly disavows all connection with it. The fact remains, however, that the broker, questioned again and again, persisted in his statement that the draft contract was supplied to him by the Kencho.

So it is at least clear that the Kencho does not want the question of interference raised at this stage. I fear however that this will not be the last attempt at "trying it on"; the pressure will probably be again applied through the leverage of the regulations as to registration.

The Guaimu Sho [Foreign Office] has at last consented to issue new title-deeds for subdivided lots, but with this innovation that only a Japanese version of the deed will be signed by the Governor as being the original. It was Longford's objecting to this some ten years ago, as reported to the Legation at the time, that brought on the peremptory refusal to issue any more new title-deeds. The lessees are not likely to object to the change.

Yours sincerely

J.C. Hall

61. Hall to Satow

[Ansd. 13/6. No. The cause was Longford's talk with Wydenbruck.³⁶⁸]

³⁶⁸ Count Christoph von Wydenbruck was appointed Austro-Hungarian minister to Japan in September 1895.

Kobe,

10 June '99

My dear Sir Ernest,

I have been rather non-plussed to guess the occasion of the expression of thanks of the Austro-Hungarian Govt.; to which, in any case, I ought to have replied sooner. I hope it is not a preliminary to withdrawing the consular representation from us ? For the remuneration, tho' small – about 1 yen a day – is a very welcome increment to my salary in these hard times. I should not think of asking for an increase, as the duties are very light, but I should be very sorry to lose it.

Yours sincerely

J.C. Hall

62. Hall to Satow

Kobe,

June 12th, '99

My dear Sir Ernest,

Best thanks for your kind two notes received this morning. I shall feel very grateful to you if you get me £100 extra as personal allowance. I have not forgotten that you were in favour of my getting the unreduced salary of the Senior Consulate. I will drop Longford a hint not to ask too much when he applies.

Wawn will be highly pleased to work up the subject of local taxation as you suggest. As I explained for him to Gubbins he merely touched on the subject to the extent of the local administrative law he was commenting on.

I shd. be glad if you would kindly let me know as soon as the date for handing over to the Japse. is settled. I suppose the formal extinction of the only foreign municipality in Japan should be marked by a little ceremony of some sort ? [Arthur] Groom is trying to work up his International Committee to lead off a fête – illuminations etc.; but I can't see my way to supporting any such project. It is for the Japse. to do that if they want to. Perhaps the French Minister, whilst reserving consular jurisdiction till 4th August, might be willing to authorise his Consul here to join in handing over the administrative duties of the settlement on the 17th July ? And also the Austrian or other Ministers who stand out for the French date as to jurisdiction ?

Yours sincerely

J.C. Hall

63. Hall to Satow

Kobe,

June 14th, 1899

My dear Sir Ernest,

Your notes of 12th and 13th inst. are to hand for replies. I enclose Japse. copy of the superficies contract, which unquestionably emanated from the Kencho. The authorship of it is ascribed to Mr. Yamada, head of the Nōshōmukyoku [農商務局, the Agriculture and Commerce authority]³⁶⁹ in the Kencho, who was last month transferred on promotion to Tokio. The copy was got by me from Mr. Young, whose man ascertained beyond doubt that it was supplied from the Kencho to the Rokko San broker.

None of the score of foreigners who have secured sites there have leases in their own names. Hence when I have to remonstrate with the Kencho about obstructions etc. I always preface my remarks with the statement that they are not official but only meant as friendly advice, and to prevent the bad impression etc. etc. As soon as the new treaties come into force we shall have the leases transferred to our own names.

As regards the grant to Trotzig and the Municipal employees, I think we shall have to give way a little. A letter signed by over 170 of the residents has been sent to the 3 elected members asking that a year's salary be given to [Herman] Trotzig. As the Council was about equally divided – (the 2 merchant consuls wd. most probably have gone against the official Consuls, as the Russian certainly would) – I was deputed to see the Governor and ascertain his views. He is entirely in favour of the grant. I am in hopes, however, to be able to effect a compromise by conceding ½ year instead of a year's salary. We are having a private meeting of the [Municipal] Council to-morrow, with a view to avoid quarrelling the next day coram populo [in the presence of the public].

Best thanks for the reassurance about the Austrian arrangements. I am quite content with the 100 florins a quarter, and have told Longford so.

I shall be sorry to lose Wawn, as he is an efficient hand, and has had the benefit of Hampden's training; but he is undoubtedly the best man you can send to Twatutia [in Formosa].³⁷⁰ It will be very hard lines on me, though, having two untrained students for assistants, especially as [Alfred] Wileman can't train them, being quite rusty in the Senior assistant's work. If you could see your way to letting me have [Thomas Joseph] Harrington, who has had some training in Consular work, I should esteem it a favour.

Yours sincerely

J.C. Hall

³⁶⁹ The Nōshōmusho was founded in 1881 (Meiji 14). It was to control agriculture, forestry, commerce and industry. It was divided into two ministries (agriculture and forestry; commerce and industry) in 1925. (Kojien dictionary).

³⁷⁰ Student Interpreter John Twizell Wawn was appointed to the consular service in June 1896. He was sent in 1897 to Kobe from Tokyo by Satow to break a liaison with a Eurasian woman. (See Satow's letter to Cockerell at F.O. in London, quoted in *The Diaries and Letters of Sir Ernest Mason Satow*, ed. I. Ruxton, pub. Edwin Mellen Press, 1998, p. 241.) Wawn retired as Consul in Nagasaki in 1918.

64. Hall to Satow

[ans. June 20]

Confidential

Kobe

June 14th '99

My dear Sir Ernest,

Thanks for your confidential note as to date and preparations for new treaty arrangements. If you are not already committed to the plan you propose, might it not be well to claim exact equality with the French as regards jurisdiction. The “ainsi que des pouvoirs” of their favoured nation clause being merely explanatory, both in form and in fact, of what is implied in the “all functions” of ours ?

It is not beyond the bounds of probability that two stabbing cases, a British and a French or German, might occur in the 17 days interval [between July 17 and August 4], and it wd. look awkward if they were to be dealt with differently. In any case, however, I shall most probably have some civil and minor criminal cases to try in the said interval.

At the private meeting of the [Municipal] Council to-day I did my best to dissuade the elected member (- two of them [i.e. the other two of the three elected members] were absent -) from bringing forward the question of the grant to Trotzig at to-morrow's meeting. At the same time I could not uphold the view which Thiel, under instructions from his Minister, took, viz. that the Council had no power to make the grant. In view of the Governor's distinct approval of the proposal to make the grant, that, I think, was going too far; and luckily was not unduly pressed.

Another question on which some difference of opinion seems likely is that of the Osaka For[eig]n Cemetery. The Osaka residents don't like it. There have only been eight burials in it since it was opened. Most of the deceased Osakaites are buried in Kobe. On the other hand the Osaka Fu [prefecture] want to sell the land, and with the proceeds buy and lay out a much larger cemetery on a much better site – at Tennoji; the sole objection to this being the distance of Tennoji from the Settlement. My own view is that, in spite of the drawback of distance, the proposal of the Japanese is a good one and meant in a good spirit. It is very unlikely that anything can be done in the matter here before the 4th August; but I take it that even after that date the Japse. will have to confer with the Foreign RR. [Representatives] before attempting to close the existing cemetery. I gather from a remark Governor Kikuchi dropped to-day that the American residents of Osaka are in favour of his plan, and they are the most numerous section of the foreign residents there.

Yours sincerely

J.C. Hall

65. Wawn to Satow

British Consulate,

Hiogo,

June 14, 1899

Dear Sir Ernest,

Mr. Hall tells me that you intend to send me shortly to Twatutia [in Formosa]. I have ventured to write and say that I should be extremely grateful, if you could permit [me] to remain in Japan until I have passed the whole of my Interpreter's examination. There is a good deal of work in this Consulate, which is done by the senior assistant, of which the junior knows nothing, and I fear that Holmes will not infrequently find himself in difficulties. When I did Hampden's work while the latter was in Tamsui [in Formosa], I could always apply to Playfair for assistance, but Wileman knows nothing of my part of the work, having never had to do it himself. Even if Harrington comes here, I doubt whether it would make very much difference.

I myself realise now that my Japanese conversation is not nearly so good as it ought to be, and I had hoped to be able to study in the comparatively good climate of Kobe, so as to improve in that department. To tell the truth, I also fear the effects of the Formosan climate.

Please excuse me for troubling you in this way, but it is a subject about which I am very anxious.

Believe me

Yours truly

J. Twizell Wawn

66. Satow to Hall, Bonar (H.M. Consul Yokohama) and Longford (H.M. Consul Nagasaki)

16 June 1899

Dear ----

Should any outsider ask you what arrangements have been made with regard to the period of 18 days fr[om] the date when our Treaty comes into operation and Aug[ust] 4 when the French and Austro-Hungarian Treaties come into force, please confine yourself to informing him that practically there will be no great difference between the position of B.Ss. [British Subjects] and that of the members of other nationalities.

Of course it is hoped here that there will be no troublesome cases between 17 July and Aug 4, and we may perhaps anticipate that they will be the usual refusals of duty or police cases. I must leave it to you however to do what ever seems to you desirable to discourage people from bringing actions during this transitional period.

Yours etc.

Ernest Satow

67. Hall to Satow

[ans. 20/6]

Kobe

June 16th, 1899

My dear Sir Ernest,

The question of giving a donation to the Japse. Servants of the Municipal Council was brought forward to-day, but was discussed in camera. Trotzig retired, on a hint, from the meeting, and I bound the press over to silence whilst we brought the matter to a head by collecting each member's opinion. Of course it was understood that if the grant to the Japse. employees was carried something would have to be done for Trotzig too. The Russian, Spanish and Portuguese Consuls were absent.

The American was in favour of a grant to Trotzig and the Japse. on various grounds. The French, German, Belgian and Danish consuls were against the grant as proposed. I was spared the necessity of giving a casting vote against the grant by the working committee withdrawing their proposal. I think we shall hear no more about it; but all the same there is a strong feeling on the part of all the members of the Council that its employees ought not to be turned adrift without some understanding or assurance as to their future means of livelihood. If the local authorities are unable to give us those assurances we must approach the Foreign RR. on the subject.

Mr. [Robert] Young is very much vexed at not being allowed to issue Wawn's whole report in pamphlet form, and on my explaining to him its imperfections as regards the subject of taxation he suggests that the whole portion relating to that subject might be omitted, allowing the explanation, general and special, of administrative arrangements to stand. I promised to lay his suggestion before you.

It would be a great convenience if you could kindly let me have a copy of either a French or English version of the German Consular Convention. Hardly a day passes now that I am now [not ?] beset with enquiries about what is to happen under the new regime as to all sorts of things, marriages, wills, trusts etc.etc.

I am somewhat rusty in my German. De Lucy has a French version but it is on tissue copying paper and worse to read than the German printed original.

Yours sincerely

J.C. Hall

68. Hall to Satow

Kobe,

June 21st, 1899

My dear Sir Ernest,

Best thanks for your notes of 16th and 20th inst. I should not think of asking for leave till after the 4th August. As for RokkoSan I have only been on it twice this year on Sundays.

I don't think there will be any special outbreak of litigation here on the eve of the new regime. At any time the average number of legal cases here could be about quadrupled by my refraining from working the reconciliation clause of the O. in C. [Order in Council]. But I shall make no change in that respect.

Wawn will be very glad to amend his paper in the way you indicate; and I am glad of the prospect of his remaining longer here.

The opposition, if any, to the closing of the present Osaka Foreign Cemetery, will be from my French and German colleagues. The English, like the American residents in Osaka, are in favour of the proposed new site at Tennoji.

I think the outside movement to give Trotzig a gratuity from the Municipal funds was not so much prompted by a desire to spend the money as by a genuine sympathy for him with perhaps a side intention either to coerce the Council or sow dissension between the elected and the official members. The present elected three men are, however, about the best that could be chosen from the community.

To revert for a moment to a personal matter, I can assure you that Longford like myself, will be both grateful and contented if you obtain for us the personal allowance of £100. He tells me he is preparing a small memo for you on the subject; and I sincerely hope your good offices in our behalf will be successful.

Yours sincerely

J.C. Hall

69. Hall to Satow

Kobe,

June 26th, '99

My dear Sir Ernest,

Thanks for yours of the 22nd. I am glad my little speech at the Judge's dinner meets with your approval. I had no notion when making it that it would be published, as no pressmen were invited.

I suspect the "[Kobe] Chronicle" had an axe to grind in the heavily leaded article on the arrangements about jurisdiction. Messrs. Young and Groom were the most eager advocates for a demonstration by the foreign community on the occasion of handing over the Settlement and the former in trying to persuade me to join in used the good feeling shown by the Japse. etc.etc. as his chief argument.

At the very same interview I discussed with him the “wohl erworbenen Rechte” [well-earned rights] of the German diplomatic note, and he agreed with me that it would be an utter straining of the meaning to claim under it exemption from deposit money – that he might as reasonably claim exemption from taxation altogether. He has now sent me the enclosed. If the tone of it had been better I might have sent it to you officially. I doubt if any reduction is likely to be made for foreign newspapers in the amount of deposit money, but his claim to exemption as regards his weekly edition is reasonable.

I have tried to get relief from applications for information as to what all sorts of persons have to do in view of the coming change by referring the applicants to the Kencho; but to no avail. There is evidently less knowledge at the Kencho [prefectural government office] of what has to be done than we have ourselves. It will take some months to get the new system into some sort of working order. I can hardly get time to look at my Trade Report materials.

Yours sincerely

J.C. Hall

70. Satow to Hall

Draft

28 June 1899

My dear Hall,

I have carefully read Mr. Young's letter.

With regard to para[graph] 1, I am of opinion that the Japanese press law does not contemplate the case of a foreign newspaper that has been published under the present régime, and that any paper which it is proposed to carry on after the new Treaty comes into force is rightly viewed by it as a new enterprise.

The Note as to the convenience of persons giving notice I understand to mean that the notice will be accepted before the Treaty comes into operation so as to enable the proprietor or editor to carry on without a break from July 17. But for this purpose the notice must be given two full weeks before-hand, and the sooner the better. I see no veiled threat in the Note.

At the same time if notice is not given I am of opinion that it will be within the power of the Ministry of the Interior to suspend the newspaper concerned after the Treaty comes into operation, and I have no doubt that this would be the view of H.M.G. [Her Majesty's Government]

I have already telegraphed to you to advise the Kōbe newspaper proprietors to give notice not later than July 3.

I do not think it would be of any use my approaching the Jap[anese] Govt. with a view to the diminution of the amount of security in favour of English papers. Legislation would I take it be necessary for such a purpose,

and I do not well see how the Japse. Govt. could successfully propose to the Diet to make any difference between Japse. and foreign newspapers.

It is possible that, if the weekly edition of the Chronicle bears the same title as the daily issue with the words "weekly issue" or "weekly reprint" or "weekly edition" and contains exactly the same matter, the two might be regarded as one. But I consider it would be easier for Mr. Young to arrange this with the Japanese Authorities than if I attempted to arrange it for him.

Of "Public rights" I have not been able to obtain a definition. But I imagine them to be such things as parliamentary and municipal franchise, right to hold certain public offices and other things attaching to nationality. A foreigner generally has no "public rights" in a country of which he is not a subject or citizen. The para. [paragraph] must have crept into the note of which I sent you an extract by accident. It is copied verbatim from the press law.

We also are much troubled by requests for information. We do all in our power to furnish answers, but it is not always possible to do this. I suppose the governor of Kobe has been here conferring with the Cabinet, and that on most points a decision will shortly be arrived at.

y.v.t.

E.S.

71. Hall to Satow

[ans. July 1]

Kobe,

June 29th, 1899

My dear Sir Ernest

On the receipt of your cipher telegram I lost no time in hinting, as if from myself, to the three newspaper editors here that it wd. be a wise and safe thing to give the necessary notice before the 3rd prox[im]o; and they have all taken the advice. As regards his weekly reprint, Mr. Young, rather than lock up another 700 yen in it, will discontinue the publication. I trust, however, you will be able to secure him exemption from a second deposit on a/c [account] of it.

I learned from my French colleague yesterday that the Governor here was up till yesterday morning firmly under the belief that the jurisdiction of all the powers except France and Austria expires definitively on 17th July. At the instance of Viscount Aoki the French Minister [Jules Harmand] wrote to the Consul here to know if he (de Lucy) cd. induce the French members of the Municipal Council (!) to consent to the administration of the settlement being handed over to the Japanese on the 17th July. De Lucy replied pointing out that the Council's creation was due to diplomatic agreement and that its term of life could only be cut short by the

same means. I know that de Lucy and the Governor have been discussing the matter, and I have just learned that Governor Ohmori is going up to Tokyo to-morrow, I opine [assume, suppose] in connection with this matter. As matters stand now, I think it wd. be a great mistake to alter the arrangement recorded in your circulars no. 17 and 18 of the 16th inst. i.e. that both the administrative and judicial functions sh[oul]d expire simultaneously on 4th Aug[us]t.

If you have a spare copy of the Prison Regulations drawn up for our Consular Prisons by Mr. Plunkett ³⁷¹, the Japanese authorities wd. be glad to have it. It contained a scale of prison diet. We have no copy of it here.

Yours sincerely

J.C. Hall

72. Hall to Satow

Kobe,

July 10th, 1899

My dear Sir Ernest,

I hear that on Saturday the agent of the H'kg & S'hai Bank here received a telegram from the head office, Hongkong, to the effect that L[or]d Ch[arles] Beresford wished to meet the Hiogo Chamber of Commerce. Whereupon a telegram was sent to meet him at Shanghai asking if he meant the foreign or the Japanese Chamber of Commerce. Yesterday when asked by the agent, Mr. R.H. Cook, I gave it as my opinion that of course he meant the foreign Chamber of Commerce; but some leading members of the China Association differed in opinion, and at their request I inquired at the Kencho if there were any truth in Mr. Pfounde's statement that the Japse. C. of C. [Chamber of Commerce] joined with him in inviting Ld. B. I have just received the reply, stating that neither the C. of C. nor any other of the Japse. bodies mentioned by Mr. P. have done anything of the kind.

I suspect that the telegram from Hongkong shd. be taken as a polite hint that Ld. B. does not want to meet the China Assocn. here; but they don't see it in that light – as yet. The “Coptic” is due here at 8 a.m. on Friday the 13th and leaves at 3 p.m. and the C.A. propose inviting him to tiffin [light lunch] after he has met the Chamber of Commerce – if that body agrees to meet him. Yesterday a telegram for Ld. B. c/o British Consulate was delivered here.

I enclose Mr P[founde]'s latest express. He has pestered the Japanese terribly – worse even than he did the China Assoc[iatio]n.

Yours sincerely

³⁷¹ Presumably Rt. Hon. Sir Francis Richard Plunkett. See ‘Sir Francis Plunkett, 1835-1907: British Minister at Tokyo, 1884-87’ by Hugh Cortazzi, pp. 28-40, Ch. 3, Vol. IV, *Britain & Japan: Biographical Portraits* (Japan Library, part of Taylor & Francis Ltd., London, 2002).

J.C. Hall

Enclosure:

SPECIAL EXPRESS

Well Done "Condor."

Welcome to Kobe.

LORD CHARLES BERESFORD WELCOME AND RECEPTION

A meeting will be held in the "Welcome and Reception" Committee Rooms, Occidental Hotel, to-morrow afternoon, at 5.30 p.m. (Half past five o'clock) to complete arrangements for according to Lord Charles Beresford a suitable welcome, and holding a reception at which his lordship will be invited to deliver an address.

Those ladies and gentlemen who desire to co-operate, are cordially invited to attend.

The Invitation Cards are being issued; and those who do not receive theirs, are requested to communicate with the Committee, at the Committee Rooms, Occidental Hotel, kindly placed at the service of the organizers by Mrs. D'Arcy.

Satisfactory arrangements are being made, to offer Lord Charles Beresford a "Welcome" in Osaka, and in Kyoto.

N.B. Foreign Residents are not being called upon to incur any liability, pecuniary or otherwise.

73. A.E. Wileman to Satow

[Answered 22, sending him what Megata said to Lay. E.S.]

British Consulate,

Hiogo

July 19, 1899

Dear Sir Ernest,

Mr. Hall who is at present ill in bed has requested me to write to you privately and to enclose certain correspondence which has taken place – concerning a demand made by the Customs House here for the deposit of the papers of British ships at the Customs.

I enclose therefore:

1. Letter of complaint from Dodwell & Co. July 18
2. Similar letter from Cornes & Co. July 19
3. Draft of a despatch which it was intended to send to you.

The complaint made by Butterfield and Swire referred to in enclosure 3 was verbal. At the time it was made we were under the impression that the Customs required all the "Diomed's" papers to be deposited but during the course of yesterday the Articles of Agreement were returned by the Customs as

it appears there was some misunderstanding on the subject and that the Customs required (in addition to the papers which it is at present the habit to deposit at the Customs, such as Manifest) the Clearance Certificate of last port of entry and the Certificate of Registry. They based their demand on Section 1 of the Customs Regulations, Imperial Ordinance No. 203 of September 8 [?], 1890.

The question therefore at issue between the Customs and the Consulate is whether the Certificate of Registry should be deposited with the Customs or not. I should say there was no objection to depositing the clearance from the last port of entry there, for when it is brought here it is generally torn up after inspection. The Certificate of Registry however is quite a different matter. It is a most important document and the loss of it would be a very serious matter to the British ship which could not sail from this port without obtaining a provisional one from the Consul. It would be highly inconvenient for the Consulate that the Certificate of Registry should be deposited at the Customs as it would interfere with making the endorsements of changes of master etc. required to be made on it by the Act.

The chief objection, however, is that “the object of the Certificate of Registry is to show the national character of the ship and it is only to be used for the lawful navigation of the ship” and should never leave the ship unless in the care of a responsible officer and on demand of production of same by a Consular officer. As a matter of fact, however, it is very frequently brought on shore with the papers required to be deposited at the Consulate (vide Board of Trade Instructions to Consuls, 1888 p.16 sect. 36 and Merchant Shipping Act 1894 sec. 2(3) and sec. 257(1).); this is for the purpose of allowing the particulars of Registry, tonnage etc. to be inserted in the Registry of Shipping.

I understand that it is the practice in England and the United States and other countries that the Certificate of Registry of foreign ships should be always deposited at the Consulate, not at Customs. Mr. Hall instructed me to protest verbally against the Customs’ demand which I have done saying that the Regulations of 1890 do not apply at present in the case of British ships as Mr. Hall insisted that they were not subject to any such Regulations until the 4th August. The result is that as a modus vivendi the Customs have temporarily pending reference on the question to Tokio, consented to let matters be as they were before and to accept the usual certificate of entry given by this Consulate to each ship on entry, which is presented to the Customs as a certificate of nationality, although they contend that the Certificate of Registry is the only true proof.

It would seem inadvisable considering the importance attached to this document by paragraph 10 of the Board of Trade Instructions to Consuls 1888 that it should be deposited at the Customs. The new Customs Duties Law No. 61 coming into force on August 4 contains a similar provision (vide Chapter II sec.10) but this does not apply at present as the Customs base their demand on the Regulations of 1890 (copy of the articles concerned enclosed). The same difficulty presents itself after the 4th August whether

the Authorities waive their claim at present or not. It seems advisable that the authorities should be inclined to accept the usual entry certificate given by this Consulate as due proof of a British ship's nationality without requiring deposit of the Certificate of Registry.

Any additional particulars they might require which are contained in the Certificate of Registry might be written into the Port Entry form which is under the seal and signature of the Consulate and signed by the Shipping Clerk being proof absolute of the nationality of the ship. The idea of the Norwegian Consul Braess is that they want the Certificate of Registry deposited as they are afraid the Consul will not enter the proper tonnage in the Port Entrance Certificate and therefore the Customs would not be able to levy the proper amount of tonnage dues after 4th August.

The deposit of the Certificate of Registry at the Customs seems as far as I hear to be against usage in a good many countries. The draft despatch of the 18th enclosed was not sent as there seemed to be a chance of settling the matter but as a fresh demand was made on Dodwell and Co. on the evening of the 18th and again on Cornes and Co.³⁷² on the 19th Mr. Hall has told me to send you the documents privately. He is in bed and will not be out of his room for a day or two as his eyes are bad. Will you kindly return all the papers after perused.

Yours truly

A.E. Wileman

P.S. The despatch of the 18th was written under the impression that all the papers were to be deposited including the Ship's Articles of Agreement. I enclose a form of Entry Certificate.

Entry Certificate (Form B.B.)

BRITISH CONSULATE189....

Number of Vessel

Name

Master

Tonnage

Consignee

Date of Arrival

Where from

This is to certify that the abovementioned Vessel has deposited her papers in this Consulate.

74. Wileman to Satow

³⁷² On Cornes & Co. see Peter N. Davies, 'Frederick Cornes, 1837-1927: Founder and Senior Partner of Cornes and Company (1873-1911)', pp. 118-29, Ch.11, *Britain and Japan: Biographical Portraits* Vol. IV (ed. Hugh Cortazzi, Japan Library, 2002).

British Consulate

July 27, 1899

Dear Sir Ernest,

With reference to your unofficial letter of the 22nd instant Mr. Hall has asked me to enclose an article which appeared in the Kobe Chronicle of the 21 July.

From what I gather from Agents of Shipping firms here it seems to be the custom for the Ship's papers to be deposited at the Consulate representing the nationality of the ship, both in England and America, but I cannot vouch for the accuracy of the statement. It would seem the most reasonable course to accept the usual certificate of entry given by this Consulate as absolute proof of the ship's nationality, as it is not likely that a certificate of entry would be given illegally to any other ship but a British ship at a British Consulate.

I have reason to believe that the [Kobe] Customs are under the impression that unless a ship's papers are deposited with them they lose a certain amount of power in compelling the ship to conform with their regulations, but I would point out that the papers deposited at the Consulate are never given up to the Master until he has produced the Customs Certificate of Clearance to the Consulate which shows that he must have conformed with all their regulations in order to obtain it.

The master cannot sail without his cert[ificate] of Registry and articles and the Customs have just as much power over a ship when the papers are deposited at the Consulate as they would have if they were deposited at the Customs. The Customs have their own remedy in case of infraction or refusal to conform to regulation i.e. the withholding of a clearance permit.

Yours sincerely

E.A. Wileman

75. Hall to Satow

[ans. 31/7]

Kobe,

29 July, '99

My dear Sir Ernest,

Many thanks for your kind message through Wileman. I am now all right again. Thanks to the willing and efficient help of my staff my absence from the office did not impede the general work of the office, as one or other of them came up to see me every day. I hope to fall to [begin work] on my Trade Report the week after next.

It looks as if foreigners are going to be very much governed under the new regime. It is to be hoped

our Japse. friends will soon get tired of the attempt to regulate or register everything.

Yours sincerely

J.C. Hall

76. Hall to Satow

Private [answered 3/8/99]

Kobe,

Aug[us]t 1st, '99

My dear Sir Ernest,

For the maintenance of discipline on board the Br[itish] Ship "Ld. Shaftesbury" I yesterday found it unavoidable to sentence two of the seamen to imprisonment for 3 days, and, in pursuance of the French Consul's arrangement with the Governor I sent the men with a warrant to the old Municipal Gaol. Last night about dinner time I had a message from both the Kencho [prefectural office] and the Kenji [public prosecutor], objecting to my having exercised jurisdiction, refusing to keep the men in custody and desiring me to take back my warrant. This I refused to do, asserting that the Governor was bound by his agreement to place the police and prison at my disposal till the 4th inst. and I requested that in any case the men shd. be kept till I should have an opportunity of discussing the matter personally with the Governor next (this) morning. I refused to recognize the Kenji as having any say in the matter whatever.

It was amicably settled at the interview this morning. The trouble was that both the executive and judicial authorities here have explicit instructions from the Govt. at Tokio that British Consular jurisdiction was to cease on 17th July [the date originally agreed in the 1894 Anglo-Japanese treaty]. I refused to go beyond your official instructions to me that it continues till the 4th August [in line with the French treaty].

I asked the Governor to let me know his decision – would he keep the men in custody or not. He suggested several compromises e.g. that I should write to the Kenji asking him to take them in charge; also, that I might imprison them on board the ship. At last he agreed to keep them on condition that I shd. not mention to him officially that they were tried and sentenced prisoners and shd. allow the warrant to be given back to my constable. To this I agreed, and promised not to communicate any mention of the case to the newspapers.

The Governor, as usual, was very reasonable and conciliatory. I do not propose to report the case to you officially, unless you wish me to. I hope you will approve of my action in the matter.

Yours sincerely

J.C. Hall

77. Hall to Satow

[Answered 5/8. Told him of telegram from F.O.]

Kobe,

Aug[us]t 4th, 1899

My dear Sir Ernest,

Thanks for your notes of 31st ult[im]o. [last month] and 3rd inst. [this month]

I am glad to say the Ship's papers question is practically at an end, the Customs having quietly climbed down. They now receive the Consular certificate just as before, and have no reasonable excuse for asking for anything else.

I am going to try to get my Trade Report off by taking a week at Rokkosan, undisturbed by anything but earthquakes. I won't even hint at a holiday till that is off my hands.

Yours sincerely

J.C. Hall

78. Hall to Satow

Private & Confidential

Rokkosan

8th Aug[us]t '99

My dear Sir Ernest,

Yours of the 5th inst. [this month] is to hand. As regards the ships papers question our F.O. seems in a very complaisant mood towards the Japanese. I am told that when the Customs here demanded the Certificate of Registry of a German ship, Thiel went round and saw the Superintendent, flatly refused to give up the paper, formally protested against the claim and warned the Customs that the Japse. Govt. would be held responsible if there should be any delay in the transaction of the Customs business with the Ship. There was none.

I purposely delayed my report on the Land Register, as I wished first to convince you privately of the extreme inadvisability of giving in to the Japanese wish to have a record of past transactions. My instructions to [Ernest Hamilton] Holmes some time before I received your circular, were to copy out a list of the lots giving only the present holders. Whatever may be the case at the other ports it wd. be an injustice to many holders of land on the hill [Kitano area of Kobe] to give the Japanese any such record.

Their land register is almost certainly far more complete and accurate than ours, and I could tell you some stories of nefarious attempts to disturb titles here, not at times without official aid, that would surprise you. I shall use moderate language in my report of course; but you will be doing a good thing if, preliminarily, you

give the Guaimusho [Japanese F.O.] quietly but firmly to understand that as regards the Kobe Zakkyochi [area of mixed Japanese and foreign residence] at any rate, their own version of the ancient history of the land lots and transfers must suffice for them.

With your sanction I propose not even to allow a reference to my land register except in the case of an actually pending suit. The Japse. local official action regarding the hill-lots here utterly disentitles them to any consideration in the matter. But I hope to make all this as clear as daylight in my report, which I will tackle at Kobe early next week.

I sincerely hope that [foreign minister] Viscount Aoki has acted "on the square" with you in the matter of the date of cessation of our jurisdiction. I rather distrust him; as I see from yesterday's "Kobe Chronicle" that the local authorities at Yokohama are making a fuss similar to what they tried on with me. In the course of my long discussion with Govr. Ohmori he admitted that he had had private instructions from Aoki to the effect that though British jurisdiction ceased on the 17th July he was to instruct the police to wink at any small offences that cd. possibly be passed over, till the 4th Aug[us]t.

Surely the judicial authorities here ought also to have had notice of some kind that by arrangement with you British jurisdiction would last as long as the French. But I am convinced they had no notice of the kind. The tone of the first communications to me from the Kencho and the Kenji was positively insolent. I felt so annoyed about it, that tho' I made an appointment to call and see the Governor at 10 o'clock next morning I did not go till past 11 o'clock; and finding that the Kenji was seated there waiting for me I talked earthquakes and small talk with the Govr. till the Kenji took the hint and left. However I sincerely trust that we shall not have any further bother about the question.

I will write, as you suggest, to the Judge [Hiram Shaw Wilkinson, based in Yokohama] when the pending cases here [at Kobe] are ripe for hearing.

Yours sincerely

J.C. Hall

79. Hall to Satow

Private & Confidential

Kobe,

Aug[us]t 16, '99

My dear Sir Ernest,

I have hitherto held entirely aloof from the Kobe International Committee and all its doings, knowing that in its origin it was virtually a self-appointed body that, after the Memorial you forwarded to Ld. Salisbury, had exhausted the informal mandate it claimed to have from the community. But it seems to me that the public

meeting held here on the 10th inst. no doubt with the concurrence or consent of the Japanese authorities, has materially altered the situation, and given that body a standing to which it had no claim before. At all events the Advisory Committee of five to be elected under its auspices is (it seems clear) to be the chosen channel of the Japanese authorities for conveying the ideas and sentiments of the foreign community on such matters as the Japanese may wish to consult them.

On Monday a meeting of the Consuls was called by the Chairman of the Consular body to consider a request that had been made to him by a deputation from the International Com[itt]ee – headed of course by Mr. [Arthur H.] Groom – to the effect that in the approaching fête to be given by the foreign community to the Jap. local notabilities, the Consuls should give their “moral support and co-operation”. Only five Consuls attended the meeting. Thiel is away at Arima [a hot-spring resort behind Mt. Rokko not far from Kobe] and his views on the matter are not known. The American and Russian consuls were unable to attend, but wd. agree to any decision the meeting arrived at. The Spanish & Portuguese Consuls were opposed to the request, regarding the Advisory Committee as a derogation from their rights and position. [Norwegian consul] Braess, a weather-cock and crank, was at first opposed to the Com[itt]ee but afterwards veered round. [French consul] de Lucy [de Lucy-Fossarieu] agreed that in case the community is united in favour of giving the fête we ought not to hold aloof, but join with the others in our respective private capacities, just as the Japanese officials did in the recent Treaty Revision celebrations.

From my knowledge of local conditions I feel confident that this is the proper attitude for us to take; and hope you will approve of my action in so responding to the International Committee overture. As the Yokohama Intern[ationa]l Com[itt]ee is virtually the offspring of the Kobe one it seems likely that similar action may be taken there and an Advisory Com[itt]ee chosen by public election. There is a good deal to be said in favour of such an institution and very little against it. It is a germ that may develop into something substantial in the way of communal autonomy; and the Japanese, whatever their motives, must be accounted liberal in fostering its nativity.

Amongst their motives is, I think, a soupcon [small amount] of antagonism to Consular officialdom. De Lucy tells me that a few days ago he wrote to the Governor a private note referring to a previous conversation about something connected with the new cemetery; and in reply he received an official despatch treating his private note as an official one and stating that he (the Governor) had been instructed by the Foreign and Home Departments in Tokio not to consult the Consuls about local matters, and that he had only made an exception in the matter of the Cemetery because de Lucy had asked him his opinion. I don't regret my circumspection in never having even broached the topic of the Intern'l Comm'ee to the Governor.

I came in early on Monday morning expressly to write the Land registration report, but owing to press of current business and yesterday's typhoon, have only just got my materials together. I hope to send it to you

this week.

Yours sincerely

J.C. Hall ³⁷³

80. Hall to Satow

Kobe,

Aug[us]t 23rd, '99

My dear Sir Ernest,

Best thanks for your letter of 19th inst. just to hand. The expression of your views as to the International Committee will be very useful to me for some time to come; though I have a suspicion that after the election of the Advisory Committee the Authorities here will have no very great regrets if the International Comm[itt]ee should dissolve. There will be no need for both, and the one with the credentials of a public election will naturally become the more influential and perennial of the two.

I am delighted to learn that you are likely to come down this way, and hope that we shall have the pleasure and the honour of having you as our guest during your stay here. I feel confident you will find a good deal to interest you in watching the working of the new [post-extraterritorial] régime here.

Yours sincerely,

J.C. Hall

81. Hall to Satow

Kobe,

Aug[us]t 24, '99

My dear Sir Ernest,

I think a glance at the enclosed "expresses" may interest you as showing the great amount of interest

³⁷³ On March 10, 1914 Satow noted in his diary that he recommended J.C. Hall to Professor Lassa F. L. Oppenheim (1858-1919), the Whewell professor of international law at Cambridge since 1908, as the best man to write on consular practices. "O. [Oppenheim] also said he wanted a monograph on Consular practices, and on asking Cecil Hunt to recommend a man, was told by him that I was the best ! I told him John Carey Hall, late Consul-general at Yokohama could do it very well."

On February 17, 1915 Satow noted: "J. C. Hall writes that he has not yet put pen to paper about consular matters and as Oppenheim has told him the production of the series is deferred he hopes it may be sine die." Hall (born 1844) had retired on a pension on January 22, 1914 after serving as Consul-General for the Consular District of Kanagawa, residing at Yokohama, from May 21, 1903. (Kuwata, 1996, p.77).

excited amongst the [foreign] community here by the election of the advisory Committee, now proceeding. The other two ports [Nagasaki and Yokohama] are sure to follow Kobe's lead and ask for the same privilege.

The stranded S.S. "Argyll" is taking up a good deal of my time and attention, and every day brings its crop of enquiries and requests for advice and guidance under the new conditions. I am also privately coaching the Saibansho [Court of Law] people on some points of shipping law – a department in which they are very weak.

Yours sincerely

J.C. Hall

82. Hall to Satow

Kobe,

30th Aug[us]t '99

My dear Sir Ernest,

I enclose for your information copies of two letters that have passed between Mr. [H.P. ?] Reynell [an exporting merchant] and myself about jurisdiction subsequent to the 17th ult[im]o.³⁷⁴ I should hardly have thought the matter worth mentioning to you were it not that Mr. R. in his Answer to the Plaintiff's Petition raises the question; which will doubtless have to be discussed at the hearing of the case. I might have refused to correspond on the matter, or given an evasive reply; but thought it better to give a prompt and direct answer.

The fête to be given by the community to the Japanese in the latter part of next month is going to be a very big affair, estimated to cost over 6,000 yen; and the subscription list of firms alone, before coming to individuals, is already in excess of that amount.

I am working at the Land Register report in the midst of unceasing daily interruptions.

Yours sincerely

J. C. Hall

Enclosures: letter from Reynell and Hall's reply

Hiogo

August 25, 1899

J.C. Hall Esq.

H.B.M. Consul

Hiogo & Osaka

³⁷⁴ See Satow's diary for September 7 and November 30, 1899 (Ruxton, 2003, p. 385, p. 410). The case was brought on July 30th, after the change of jurisdiction. It was arranged that H.S. Wilkinson would hear it as arbitrator, so it would not come before the court (Satow's diary, December 14, 1899, Ruxton, 2003, p. 413).

Sir,

As I have a case filed against me in your court dated the 31st July 1899 I should feel obliged if you would inform me whether the Japanese Government or the Japanese judicial authorities acknowledge the jurisdiction of the British Court after the 17th July, 1899. Awaiting your reply

I am, Sir, Your obedient servant

(signed) H. P. Reynell

Copy

British Consulate,

Hiogo

August 26, 1899

Sir,

I beg to ack[nnowledge] receipt of your letter of yesterday, and to inform you in reply that it was with the consent of the Japanese Govt. as communicated to H.M.'s Minister at Tokio, that this Court continued to exercise jurisdiction over British subjects in civil cases without reserve during the period between the 17th ult. and the 3rd inst., both dates inclusive.

I am etc.

(signed) J.C. Hall

83. Hall to Satow

Kobe,

Sept. 8th, 1899

My dear Sir Ernest,

I confess I was a little bit puzzled by your telegram of the 5th re registration of leases in perpetuity; but I perhaps wrongly construed it in the light of the case at Yokohama mentioned in the newspapers where owing to the formalities of transfer having to be effected after the coming into effect of the new treaties, the local authorities there wanted to treat a settlement lease as being merely a superficies. That, of course, I knew, could never be allowed. If settlement leases were to be included amongst the rights in an immovable referred to in Sec. 1 of the Imperial Ordinance No. 329 then Art. XXIII of our Treaty would be a hollow mockery. If any responsible official of the Central Govt. were to propound such an idea, no copy whatsoever of any Consulate Register ought to be furnished to any Japanese Court or office till the correct interpretation of the Treaty has been formally and diplomatically acknowledged.

I am very sorry to have to exchange [Ernest Hamilton] Holmes for [E.L.S.] Gordon. Holmes has just taken

a lease for two years and furnished comfortably, and also regrets the shift.

I need hardly assure you that we shall be very much pleased if you and [Tokyo Legation 2nd secretary Milne] Cheetham will pay us a visit and make a stay with us at Rokko San. After the unreasonable weather we have had for the last few days there is every chance of its being fine by the middle of the month.

Yours sincerely

J.C. Hall

84. Hall to Satow

Kobe

Sept[embe]r 12th, '99

My dear Sir Ernest

Many thanks for your letter of yesterday just received, telling me of your plans.³⁷⁵ I shall be on the look-out for you on Sunday morning, and will have jinrikishas [rickshaws] and kagos [palanquins; sedan chairs] ready for our Rokko San trip. I hope you will stay the night with us, as we have a room for your servant [Honma Saburō] as well as one for Cheetham. If the Admiral [Sir E. H. Seymour] and his Secretary or one of his officers would care to come up and have tiffin [a light lunch] with us we should be delighted to see them. They could easily return to their ship in the evening. I can assure you that you will not be putting us to any inconvenience by making a stay with us at Rokko San.

There is a transfer of a settlement lot now being effected here, and I have had a talk with the lawyer ([H.] Brushfield) on the subject. He has had preliminary difficulties of a different kind with the Saibansho [Law Court], and would not, of course, give in to his lease being classed as a superficies.

Yours sincerely

J.C. Hall

85. Hall to Satow

Kobe

Sept. 13th '99

My dear Sir Ernest,

It would be a compliment which I am sure the English community here would highly appreciate if you would consent to meet a few of the leading representative men at dinner on the occasion of your approaching visit.

³⁷⁵ See Satow's diary for Sept. 15-18, 1899 (Ruxton, 2003, p. 390-91). The dinner did take place on the 18th as Hall proposed in letter no.85, with a slightly modified guest list.

I propose asking the following: B[isho]p Foss, Mr. Brushfield and Dr. Miller (the Church, Law & Medicine); Messrs. Home, Cook and Archer, the agents of the two English Banks; Ryle Holme, agent of J.M. & Co.; Hellyer, President of the Club; Groom, Chairman of the International Committee; Fearon, Belgian Consul and ex-president of the Club, and [Robert] Young, editor of the "Kobe Chronicle", and Marshall, Chairman of the Chamber of Commerce. If there are any other names that occur to you I shall take it as a favour if you will mention them. I should like also to ask some of the naval men; but, as I don't know them yet, will you kindly give me a few of their names ? With Cheetham and the members of the Consulate the party will not exceed a score. As my house is under repair of damages from the recent storm we should have a room to ourselves at the Oriental Hotel.

I would suggest Monday evening, the 18th, as the best time; as you could easily arrange with the Admiral not to start until the following day.

I most sincerely hope you will approve, and accept my invitation; in which case will you kindly wire "accept", so as to give me more time.

Yours sincerely

J.C. Hall

86. Hall to Satow

Kobe

5 October 1899

My dear Sir Ernest,

I shall not fail to report officially in future the carrying out of any instructions you may issue. It was because I knew you read the "Kobe Chronicle" and would be certain to see my notification that I did not report it.

I have not yet furnished the Japanese with copies of the mortgage entries, but will do so soon. It took Holmes a good while to wade through the Register of Deeds & Mortgages – nearly a thousand entries – and pick out the mortgages and then to find out which of them were still subsisting. He only finished the work the day before he went away. The list of subsisting Bills of Sale has yet to be made out; and then I will furnish both together.

I should esteem it a favour if you will let me have the photograph of the base of the servants' quarters which was enclosed in my No. 27 of 18th April last. I want to send it to the F.O.; and no other copies can be procured.

Yours sincerely

J.C. Hall

87. Hall to Satow

Kobe

Oct[ober] 12th, 1899

My dear Sir Ernest,

I sincerely hope you will approve of my recommendation that [John Twizell] Wawn [born December 24, 1877] shd. be Acting Vice-Consul during [Alfred Ernest] Wileman's absence on leave. He is a thoroughly good officer and most attentive and zealous. In his leisure he is working at the local taxes Report, and the opportunity to give him some recognition and ought not, I think, to be missed.

I have had a busy time of it for nearly a week now getting a serious injustice remedied. A Greek fireman [stoker] of the British S.S. "St. Irene" was sentenced to a month's imprisonment without a fair trial for an unintentional hurt to a ship mate on shore. I must say that the officials of the Court here are giving me all the help they can to get the man out on bail and appeal, but the amount of red tape [bureaucracy] is something surprising. Wawn has been up at the Osaka Appeal Court to-day and will have to go twice again before we can get the man out of prison.

Yours sincerely

J.C. Hall

88. Hall to Satow

Kobe

Sunday

15.10.'99

My dear Sir Ernest,

There seems to have been a hitch somewhere in connection with the Crown Prince's ³⁷⁶ visit to this port. At first it was to have been official, and the preparations were all but complete when yesterday forenoon an order from the Kunaisho [Imperial Household ministry] cancelled everything. At the same time Mr. [Herman] Trotzig came round to inform the foreigners on the Bund and the streets thro' which the Prince is to pass that the same precautions against looking down on the Prince were to be taken as on the occasion of the Mikado's visit [in December 1898, see letter no.11 above]. The German Acting Consul, Thiel, at once got "on his hind legs" and sent a message to the Chief Inspector of Police to enquire if Trotzig was acting under official instructions. Then he and the French Consul came to me to enquire what I was going to do. I soothed them down and with their consent went to see the Governor [Ōmori Shōichi 大森 鍾一] to enquire what were the

³⁷⁶ Prince Yoshihito, later the Emperor Taishō (1879-1926, reigned 1912-26).

arrangements in connection with the Prince's visit. He informed me that it was to be strictly incognito, and that Trotzig had been told to revoke his previous intimation. After a good deal of parleying the enclosed Express was approved by the Consuls and the Governor. De Lucy refused to sign any documents in English; so it fell to me to do it. The pother [needless trouble, bother] will probably end in a fizzle, as the weather prognostics are bad. It seems nearly time that the old ideas as to not looking down etc. should be allowed to die away.

The Prince is to stay at Maiko [west of Kobe, near Akashi] till the end of November making one or two trips down the Inland Sea in the meanwhile.

I got the Greek fireman out on bail without difficulty and the appeal will doubtless go in his favour when the case comes on some day this week.

Yours sincerely

J.C. Hall

Enclosure:

The "Kobe Daily News" Express

Kobe, Sunday 15th October, 1899

THE VISIT OF H.I.H. THE CROWN PRINCE TO KOBE

On the occasion of the approaching visit of HIS IMPERIAL HIGHNESS THE CROWN PRINCE, the cortege, after the landing at the American hatoba [wharf], at 11 o'clock on Monday, the 16th inst., will pass along the Bund and up Kyo Machi and thence along Ura Machi towards Moto Machi.

It is not expected that the houses along the line of route should be decorated even with flags, but assurance has been given by the Local Authorities that ladies who may assemble on the Bund sward [green grass area], as on the occasion of the late visit of His Majesty the Emperor, may rely on immunity from inconvenient crowding at the line of railings.

The usual national courtesy of not looking down on the Imperial Prince from an elevated position will, it is hoped, be spontaneously observed.

On behalf of the Foreign Consuls,

J. CAREY HALL

H.B.M.'s Consul

Kobe, October 15, 1899

89. Hall to Satow

Kobe,

October 26, 1899

My dear Sir Ernest,

Please receive the assurance of our sincere sympathy with you in the loss of your mother [Margaret Mason Satow, born 1812, died on September 10th. Satow's diary for September 13, 1899].

Kang-yu-wei [anti-Manchu radical] and his companions landed here from the "Empress" yesterday evening, with the consent of the Governor, and is awaiting the first direct Steamer to Hongkong. He is amongst friends while here, as the Chinese merchants [of Nankin machi, Kobe's Chinatown], almost to a man, belong to his party and even the Chinese Consul allowed his wife and daughter to join a small party of foreign ladies and Chinese merchants' wives and daughters who appeared on the Bund when the Crown Prince passed through the settlement.

The enclosed Express may perhaps come within the scope of your recent cypher telegram. I am on the alert.

Yours sincerely

J.C. Hall

Enclosure: The "Kobe Daily News" Express

350 issued – Concession, Hill and Principal Japanese Business Houses – YEN 1.50

Kobe, Thursday 25th October, 1899

WANTED TO CHARTER

One steamer of 4,000 tons Gross for **Europe**.

One steamer of 3,500 tons Gross for **India**.

One steamer of 3,000 tons Gross from **Yayami** to **Hongkong** for 6 months.

Please state price per month and full particulars.

Also, wanted to purchase two good sized steamers, old ones preferable.

Apply by letter, with full particulars, to Y.Z.

Care of "KOBE DAILY NEWS" Office.

90. Hall to Satow

[ans. 2/11]

Kobe,

Oct[obe]r 31st, 1899

My dear Sir Ernest,

I am truly vexed at the delay of my Trade Report, but the fates seem against me in the matter of getting it off. I hope it will be in your hands in about a fortnight. These new [post-extraterritorial] arrangements give me far more work than the judicial duties did. For instance, Wawn has been five times to Osaka in the endeavour to get justice done in the matter of the Greek Sailor of the "St Irene"; and to-day the Osaka Appeal Court has confirmed the original disgraceful sentence of the inferior Court. I foresee the case will come to you for

diplomatic action.

Thanks for the expression of your views on the house-tax question.³⁷⁷ I am sorry to find myself unable to follow the logic of the conclusion at which yourself and colleagues have arrived. In my humble private opinion it would be better to take a firm stand on the ipsissima verba [exact words] of the XXII article of the Treaty “in conditions whatever other than those contained etc etc.” If any tampering is allowed with that clause, even by way of reduction of ground-rent, the thin end of the wedge is admitted, and the safe-guard grievously impaired in value and efficiency.

I know you won't take amiss my expressing my opinion. Of course I shall do my utmost to facilitate the acceptance of your decision amongst British subjects here, but it will not be an easy task.

The express about chartering ships for Europe, India and Hongkong was a bit of sheer bluff. On the Portuguese who issued it being offered a British ship answering to his requirements he drew in his horns and said that what his friends really wanted was to buy a ship and suchlike [illegible].

Yours sincerely

J.C. Hall

91. Hall to Satow

Kobe,

November 13th, 1899

My dear Sir Ernest,

I am glad to learn from your note of the 10th inst. that there will be an interval before the F.O. can come to a decision on the house-tax question.

In the meantime you will be able to furnish them with data which will leave little room for doubt as to the result [?].

The telegram I sent you this morning about the plague here was based on the enclosed notes of information given to Capt. Burke of “Orlando” by the quarantine official; but in an interview with the Governor this afternoon he assured me that there are no plague cases: only three deaths, but no further symptoms, the other supposed cases being all of kakke [beriberi] or other diseases. He is confident there will be no further spread of the pest, as the rags in which the germs are believed to have been conveyed have been burnt, and stringent isolative precautions taken.

I had anticipated your cypher telegram as to Van den Laan's departure.

³⁷⁷ Hall was “appointed Senior Member of the Commission to prepare the case in the arbitration proceedings before the Hague Tribunal between Great Britain, France and Germany, and Japan, relating to leases in perpetuity in the late foreign settlements in Japan, September 20, 1902.” (Kuwata, 1996, p. 77 quoting F.O. List, 1921.)

Yours sincerely

J.C. Hall

92. Hall to Satow

Kobe,

November 15th, '99

My dear Sir Ernest,

In reply to your note of the 13th I may mention that I have promised Gordon a fortnight's leave from the 18th instant; and, on his return, 3 weeks to Wawn, who has had no holiday either last year or this, unless his week's visit to Tokio to undergo his examination be accounted as such.

However Gordon has consented to give up his holiday, as he knows that [John Baptist] Rentiers [1st class assistant, Nagasaki] needs one more than himself. He will arrange to be in Nagasaki on or about the 21st inst. if you consider that [Consul Jospeh H.] Longford cannot do without an assistant for a fortnight. [So] unless I get a line or a wire from you on the subject I shall let Gordon go on the 19th or 20th instant. Of course I shall require him back punctually on the expiration of the fortnight.

Yours sincerely

J.C. Hall

93. Hall to Satow

Private

Kobe,

Nov[embe]r 20, 1899

My dear Sir Ernest,

I take your cypher telegram of last night to be equivalent to an instruction to cease issuing clean Bills of Health for this port.

There have been no [?] new cases within [the] last two days; and if I refuse clean Bills of Health there is likely to be an outcry. The N.Y.K. [Nippon Yūsen Kaisha] steamers for London, Bombay and Seattle always get clean Bills of Health; and if I refuse one to the "Tanuki [Sanuki ?] Maru" leaving Wednesday it is not improbable that she may have to undergo a week's quarantine at Hongkong. [William Joseph] Kenny is a passenger by her; and British Shipping interests suffer more than any other parties.

If you think I may continue to issue clean B/H's for a little while longer please wire me "yes".

Yours sincerely

J.C. Hall

Satow's note:

Dear Whitehead

Please read this note from Hall. I do not think his reasons are sufficient, especially as the papers report that at Shimonoseki medical inspection is enforced against vessels.

94. Hall to Satow

Kobe,

November 22, 1899

My dear Sir Ernest,

I send you herewith in separate large cover a blank printed form of the hill-lot title deed granted under the arrangement of 1888. I obtained it from the Kencho [prefectural office]. None of the British holders of perpetual (temporary) leases accepted the draft lease first offered to them, as the fifth condition of it required that on failure of payment of rent the ground with the buildings and erections thereon should revert to the Japanese Govt.

I hope you will be able to get Savas released. I tried my very best to avoid having to trouble with the case but the stupidity of the Osaka Appeal Ct. Procurator disappointed me.

I shall also be glad to have your official statement of the scope of Art. XVI of our Treaty [of 1894], as explained in Art. 19 of the Circular Instructions of July last.

Yours sincerely

J.C. Hall

95. Hall to Satow

Kobe,

Decr. 9th, 1899

My dear Sir Ernest,

Soon after the receipt of your no. 41 of 25th ult[im]o re registration of transfers of perpetual leases, I had a conversation with the Governor, and informed him of the purport thereof, and asked him if he had received similar instructions. He replied that he had received a brief telegram from the Home Minister saying that if any transferees of foreign perpetual leases applied to him to endorse a note of the transfer on the lease he was to comply with the application.

He was careful to add, however, that the instruction was so brief and vague as to be not quite intelligible, and that before he could act on it he would require further instructions by letter, which he expected to receive

in a few days' time. I accordingly waited and wrote to him officially on the 4th inst. enquiring if he had received instructions and have since been awaiting his reply. As soon as it comes I will of course report officially.

The day before yesterday 8 of the leading men here came and asked me for advice as to the reply they should make to the mayor's claim for house-tax, the collectors' notes for which have been sent in to them. Mr. Marshall, Chairman of the Chamber of Commerce their spokesman, stated they were strongly of opinion that the claim was illegal as contravening the 18th article of the Treaty; that the German Consul had advised his nationals to refuse payment and to refer the Mayor to the article of the Treaty; and he asked me if I was prepared to give him the same advice and allow my name to be used in support of their refusal.

I told them in reply that I could not do so; that though in my private opinion the claim to levy house-tax was not well founded, I had no official instructions that would justify me in going further than the advice which I should now give them, vizt. [viz.] that instead of either giving a point-blank refusal or entering into an engagement with the Mayor they should politely inform him that they were informed by their Consul that the question of their liability for the tax was at present under the consideration of the Japse. Govt. and of the British Minister at Tokio [Satow] and that until this question has been decided by the higher authorities it was desirable that the claim for the payment of the tax should not be pressed.

To this advice some of them objected, on the ground that it might be understood as implying a promise on their part to pay if the British Minister's decision should be in favour of the Japanese claim. I thereupon remarked that the Japse. Govt. would doubtless have recourse to their own Courts to enforce their claim.

After some further discussion they came round to my opinion that it wd. be better to reply in the first instance with the dilatory [delaying] plea; and I believe they are going to hold an informal meeting with a view to common action.

I am told that some thirty British Subjects in Yokohama have already paid the tax. If three can be found to pay it here I shall be surprised. Is it wise of the Japse. Govt. to imperil their reputation for good faith by persisting in the claim ? I doubt it.

Yours sincerely

J.C. Hall

96. Hall to Satow

Kobe

Decr. 22nd, 1899

My dear Sir Ernest,

I must apologise for the delay in replying to your kind letter of the 11th breaking the news of the refusal of

any increase of my salary. Perhaps you may be more successful when the abolition of the Court for Japan affords the Treasury the means of being more considerate.

I have had to jog the Governor's memory again to-day for a reply to my letter of the 4th inst. enquiring if he had received instructions of the same tenor as your No.41 to me regarding transfers of land. I hope to forward it officially to you to-morrow.

I return with thanks your memo regarding "Consulate registers". It is complete, and ought to be convincing, even to Vis[coun]t Aoki. The only slight alteration I would suggest wd. be in the penultimate paragraph, 2nd sentence:

for "at Kobe and Osaka the lists" etc. read "At Kobe and Osaka lists were also kept by the Municipal Councils or their employees for tax-collecting purposes."

At Osaka, as the number of lots was so small – 36, or with subsequent subdivisions about 40 – there was no book specially prepared or kept by the Municipality. A list of the lots and owners was kept on some pages of the big account book.

It seems to me that the responsibility of furnishing a correct list of foreigners' leaseholds as on 17th July last shd. be thrown on the Kencho; and that for this purpose they shd. exercise the same quasi-judicial functions as an Indian settlement officer does when preparing the Record of Rights of a new province or district. For this purpose the title-deed would be prima facie evidence and in the vast majority of cases it would be found to agree with the Kencho Daicho [prefectural register]. In cases like that of Mr. [Leonard Joseph] Healing ³⁷⁸ of Yokohama or Mr. G.D. Clarke here where there might be a seeming discrepancy (due to the fluctuating practice of the Japanese so-called land surveyors) other documentary or verbal evidence shd. be admitted to account for the seeming discrepancy.

I'll venture to say that after a preliminary comparison of the Kencho registers with the leases such discrepant cases would be found to be a very small residuum. As regards the Japanese supposition that Consular registers were kept of titles that may be correct as regards German Consulates, but I don't think [it is correct] of any others.

Yours sincerely

J.C. Hall

97. Hall to Satow

³⁷⁸ L. J. Healing and W.S. Fraser had applied in August 1899 at the Yokohama ward court to register the superficies (i.e. surface rights) of their land 'in perpetuity' but this had been refused as inadmissible wording. (In addition the number of tsubos of land differed from that in the consular register.) Satow protested to Aoki, but the appeal was rejected in the Yokohama court on 15 December. (Ruxton, 2003, p. 383; Nagaoka, vol. 2, p. 288).

Kobe

Dec.23, '99

My dear Sir Ernest,

The telegram from F.O. about rent-allowance is rather annoying but as I had received an enquiry paper from the Chief Clerk by the last Canadian mail on the subject I was not so startled as I otherwise might have been. I will report fully on the matter very soon. The main [?] facts of the case are that I recommended to Mr. [W.] Cowan [Inspector of the Office of Works] that the residence here should be for the Vice-Consul instead of the Consul; that after having exchanged views with you, as he informed me, at Tokio, he adopted my recommendation; and that it has been with his full consent, knowledge and concurrence that the Vice-Consul has been in occupation since the house was again made habitable. The arrangement, it is true, was only verbal at the time; but Mr. Cowan's consent and approval was so clear and unequivocal that I never for a moment imagined that any doubt or misunderstanding as to the fact could arise afterwards.

Yours sincerely

J.C. Hall

98. Hall to Satow

11 January 1900

My dear Sir Ernest,

Thanks for the 5 yen remitted in yours of 8th inst. I will try to dispose of the change as you direct, but a 'deserving' beggar is not an easy character to discover in this neighborhood [sic].

I have been waiting for your official communication, now received, of the Amended Ordinance as to registration of Immovables before issuing a Circular to British lease-holders. At this port, as you know, the application of the Ordinance is somewhat complicated by the Zakkyochi leases; and I shall wait before issuing the Circular, for the decision of the District Court here in Carrera's [?] case; which you will doubtless have noticed reported in yesterday's Kobe Chronicle. As Chiba, the President [of the Court], is taking the case himself I anticipate the decision will be sound and satisfactory, and in that case it will dispel illusions cherished here by many Japse. landlords, mostly successors to the Reversions of the original lessors.

I have some letters here waiting for [Basil Hall] Chamberlain³⁷⁹; but I don't know when or by what line he

³⁷⁹ Basil Hall Chamberlain (1850-1935). One of the foremost interpreters of things Japanese. Born in Southampton, England and educated in Europe. Arrived in Japan for the first time on May 29, 1873. Taught at the imperial naval school in Tokyo, 1874-82. Professor of Japanese at Tokyo University from 1886. Translated *Kojiki* (1906). Wrote *A Handbook of Colloquial Japanese* (1888); *Things Japanese* (1890); *A Practical Guide to the Study of Japanese Writing* (1905). With W.B. Mason he wrote *A Handbook for Travellers in Japan* (1891) which superseded the *Handbook for Travellers in Central and Northern Japan* (1881) by Satow and A.G.S. Hawes. Retired to Geneva in 1911.

is coming.

Yours sincerely

J.C. Hall

99. Hall to Satow

ans. 17/2. para right [?]

Kobe

Jan. 24, 1900

My dear Sir Ernest,

A paragraph in the local papers recently stated that owing to pressure brought to bear by the Home Govt., the Govt. of Queensland had consented to delay for a year the putting into force of the law of that colony excluding Japese. labourers as immigrants.

Messrs. Butterfield & Swire on business grounds are anxious to know if that statement is correct, and whether the Japese. Govt. have any official information on the subject. You will be doing them a great service if you can kindly ascertain for them if the news is true; as in that case they would send emigrants from here as before the stoppage some two years ago.

Yours sincerely

J.C. Hall

100. Hall to Satow

Kobe

26.1.1900

My dear Sir Ernest,

You are quite right in your conjecture that the list of perpetual leases enclosed in my No. [] was of all (or nearly all) that had been granted to British Subjects, not of actually subsisting ones. For in many cases Japese. bought from the foreign lessees; and such buying was carefully encouraged or promoted by the Kencho in the cases of lots on the native bund [quayside]. It was in consequence of this extinction by transfer of foreign rights that the Japanese have been able to disregard the provision in [then prefectural governor] Ito [Hirobumi]'s letter of March 30, 1868³⁸⁰ as to the strip of land along that bund being kept as a thoroughfare

³⁸⁰ Satow spoke to Itō Hirobumi at Atami on January 28, 1900. "He said something about the [Kobe] hill-lot leases, but I rejoined that the government in granting them had undertaken to treat them as if in the foreign settlements. He said he had been much attacked for that letter of Mar. 1868." (Ruxton, 2003, p.423). Itō's letter of 30 March 1868, which was in response to requests from the British, French and Dutch ministers, permitted foreigners to live in the 'zakkyochi' (area of mixed residence) between the Ikutagawa and Ujikawa rivers. The requests were made because the construction of the Kobe foreign

of 100 feet in width.

It is probably some recollection of this policy that has suggested the scheme of purchase of settlement leases that is ventilated in to-day's "Kobe Chronicle".

Visct. Aoki's letter to you of the 15th will appear in Monday's issue. I will consider carefully the points you suggest, but feel very diffident about venturing on an opinion as to the interpretation of the [Japanese] Civil Code. Your final suggestion seems to me the best that has yet been made. The more fully the perpetual leases are treated as virtual or bonitarian³⁸¹ ownership the easier the problem becomes.

Yours sincerely

J.C. Hall

101. Hall to Satow

Kobe

30 Jan, 1900

My dear Sir Ernest,

I have looked up the sections of the [Civil] Code [presumably as translated by J.H. Gubbins in 1897]³⁸² you indicate but can't find in them the elements of a solution of the confirmation of leases difficulty. Superficies ["surface rights"] cannot, I think, be stretched so as logically to mean perpetual leases. The limitation of the right of user in the very definition of Superficies is one obstacle to the proposed incapsulation. And it is not a merely theoretical one either. In Osaka one of the most useful settlement lots has been used for years as a tennis ground, without either a structure or [illegible] or [].

Following up your other and much more hopeful suggestion, how would this do as a solution of the difficulty. To article 20 [?] of the Civil Code let this clause be added:

"A right of perpetual lease, vested in a foreigner or foreign juridical person before the coming into effect of this Code, is a subject of ownership."

This would avoid the pitfalls of article 35/37 of the Law concerning the operation of the Civil Code; and art.

settlement was delayed. (Nagaoka, vol. 2, p. 344)

³⁸¹ bonitarian: a word from Roman law.

³⁸² The New Civil Code (*Shin Minpō*), closer to German than French law in both structure and content, was translated into English by J. H. Gubbins and published in December 1897 as *The Civil Code of Japan* (Tokio: Maruya & Co.; Yokohama: Kelly & Walsh Ltd. 1897). The code was passed by the Diet in March 1896, and promulgated on April 23. (The date of its operation was left for subsequent determination by Imperial Decree.) Gubbins acknowledged assistance received from Mr. R. Masujima, *Hōgaku Hakushi* of the Japanese Bar, and Barrister of the Middle Temple, and Judge G. Akiyama, President of the Yokohama *Chihō Saibansho* (District Court). He also wrote that he had consulted Dr. Ludwig Lönnholm's German translation of the Code, and the Commentary written by Messrs. Kakizaki and Yamada. (Ruxton, 2003, p. 240.)

45 of that law would still have a useful sphere of application in the leases for terms of years.

The Kobe water-works have refused the application of a British hill-lot lease-holder (term 25 years) for an installation unless the facility [?] is endorsed by the lessor. It might do good if you were to mention this fact to Visct. Aoki as a fair example of local enlightenment and liberality – especially as Governor Ohmori is now in Tokyo.

I have given Wileman short leave to go up to consult Dr. Whitney about his eyes, as recommended by the local Dr.

Yours sincerely

J.C. Hall

102. Hall to Satow

Kobe,

March 2, 1900

My dear Sir Ernest,

I shall be glad if you will kindly obtain a permit to view the Kyoto palaces for a Major H.M. Hughes and his wife, British subjects at present residing here. They propose visiting Kyoto early next week. Please let the permit be addressed to my care.

A question of some interest to London wine merchants lately arose here with the Customs. Mr. Raspe, a Br. Subject, imported from a London house a lot of old Port and asked to have it passed under the Conventional Tariff. It had been some 30 years in the London cellars, but had a certificate of Portuguese origin. I claimed for it the lighter tariff as being British “merchandise”, under the favoured nation clause and the Dutch Treaty; but the Customs overruled me; as I think wrongly. To bring it under the Portuguese Treaty strikes a blow at the London Wine Export trade. If you think I am right I will fight the question again at the next opportunity.

The Office of Works have reconsidered their decision and agreed to pay the architect’s fee for surveying the rotten Servants’ quarters here the year before last.

Yours sincerely

J.C. Hall

103. Hall to Satow

Kobe

20 March 1900

My dear Sir Ernest,

I will report officially to-morrow re the Kencho Notification calling Perpetual Leases “merely Superficies”.

On receiving a despatch on the 8th inst. from the Governor calling my attention to it I at once went to the Kencho and entered a verbal protest against it; but the Secretary, Mr. Tokonami (the Governor was out) – made light of the matter, saying that as the Kencho Notification referred to an Imperial Notification in which Superficies was followed by “(Perpetual Lease)” there could be no possibility of mistake.

I am told that if the term Superficies is not discarded altogether British settlement lot-holders intend to address a petition direct to Lord Salisbury as in the case of the petition regarding Coolie violence.

Both Wileman and Gordon have been on the partially ineffective list for the last fortnight or so. I do hope you will succeed in having this troublesome Superfices incubus removed before you go on leave. When that is over then comes the turn of the Kobe Zakkyochi [area of mixed residence] leases for terms of years. On registering transfers of such leases the Ku Saibansho [ward court] here takes the value of a tsubo at 20 yen, charging stamp duty of 5 per cent.

Yours sincerely

J.C. Hall

Satow received a telegram from Lord Salisbury offering him the Peking post on March 29, 1900.

104. Hall to Satow

Kobe

26 [?] March 1900

My dear Sir Ernest,

I am glad Wawn has qualified for the Interpreter's allowance. He is a very steady and satisfactory assistant.

I am reporting no cases of inconvenience from late arrivals of certificates of origin. At the same time the said certificates are felt to be a nuisance, by the abolition of which Japan would not lose much, even if India did not adhere to the new Treaty.

What answer should I make to the enclosed letter from Mr. Letwin [?]. The only imports he could name, in the interview I had with him, as affected by the delay, were cotton yarn and ivory and as regards the latter I could not reconcile his statements with the tariff [?]. If you wish me to send his letter to you officially, please let me know; and in any case return to me.

I was in hopes to hear from you whether there was any serious objection to my suggested solution of the superficies perpetual lease difficulty. I take it that the enactment could be made by a Chokurei [Imperial Ordinance, 勅令].

Yours sincerely

J.C. Hall

105. Hall to Satow

Kobe

27 March 1900

My dear Sir Ernest,

I have examined and enquired at the Oriental Hotel here, but they have no such shrub or tree as Ma [illegible]. I have enquired of a principal botanist gardener here; but he knows nothing of it. I wrote him the characters as given in [Capt. Francis] Brinkley's dictionary³⁸³ and he showed me some pots of kōbai [黄梅 ? Japanese plum with yellow blossoms] with small single yellow flowers (specimens enclosed) and has promised to make search for double ones if haply any may be found. I will try some of the other gardeners.

Yours sincerely

J.C. Hall

106. Hall to Satow

[ans. 3 April. Will send Griffiths]

Kobe,

March 30, 1900

My dear Sir Ernest,

Dr. [Ralph S.] Miller tells me that Wileman's eyes are not getting better, and that they will require three months absolute rest from any kind of work. He will have to go either to hot springs or for a sea-trip.

Under these circumstances I must ask you kindly to send some one to take his place. If I may be allowed to express a wish I should prefer Hampden; as he is well up in the intricacies of the land questions here, and I foresee that we are going to have trouble in that direction before long.

Whoever may be sent need not be put to much expense of moving, as Wileman's rooms, furniture and servants will be at his disposal.

The quarter's accounts will probably be finished by the middle of next month, and it will be a boon to me if you can let me have Wileman's remplaçant [replacement] here by that date. Of course I will make the application officially as soon as the doctors' certificates arrive.

I hope to forward you Gordon's memo on the Tansan label case.³⁸⁴

³⁸³ Capt. Brinkley's Dictionary was published in 1896 and 'remains in somewhat limited use as a guide to Meiji usage'. J.E. Hoare, 'Captain Francis Brinkley (1841-1912)', Ch. 9, *Britain & Japan: Biographical Portraits*, Vol. III. (pub. Japan Library, 1999).

³⁸⁴ "Mr. [Clifford] Wilkinson is the proprietor of the favourite Tansan mineral spring near Kobe, which he bottles for table use. A Japanese firm had imitated his label. He obtained a judgment against this firm, who thereupon appealed and went on imitating the label. He then applied for an injunction to inhibit

Yours sincerely

J.C. Hall

This is the end of PRO 30/33 5/9, the second and last file of consular correspondence from Kobe for 1895-1900.

them from doing so, pending the results of the appeal. But the judge decided that the Japanese firm might continue to imitate the label in question, His Lordship opining that, as it was winter time probably very few bottles of Tansan water would be drunk and Mr. Wilkinson's loss could therefore be but slight. (!!) By the way, we should apologise to Mr. Wilkinson for speaking of the case as amusing. It was amusing to the public, but doubtless appeared in quite a different light to him, as the butt of this Japanese juridical joke." Basil Hall Chamberlain, *Japanese Things*, 5th edition, 1905, p. 497. (Many Tuttle reprints)

Satow Papers: PRO 30/33 5/10

Correspondence and Papers (private). Japanese Mission. Consular Staff. Nagasaki.

(August 1895 – February 1900)

1. Consul John James Quin to Satow

John James Quin had been appointed a Student Interpreter in Japan on August 3, 1867. Consul at Nagasaki since October 1, 1888. He retired on a pension on November 11, 1896 and died at Kingstown, Ireland on February 2, 1897 (F.O. List, 1898 as quoted in Kuwata, 1996, p.108)

Nagasaki.

23rd Aug. 1895

My dear Sir Ernest Satow,

I have been beastly ill for nearly a year now off and on. I have no appetite and when I try to eat I am at once (sea ?) sick. I have been now for some months on a diet of plain milk and rice, and was in hopes that such a simple diet would re-establish my digestive organs, but contrariwise I am feeling worse. I am either suffering from sprue [a digestive disease, also called celiac disease] or dyspepsia [indigestion] or something of that kind, and the local medicos [doctors] do nothing for me. So if you can let me go, on say a fortnight's sick leave, I should be very much obliged. I had hoped to wait till October and then ask for leave to go North after sending off my quarter's accounts but my patience is quite exhausted, and every one seems to think I should get good advice in Shanghai. If I get cured, would it be possible to get further leave later on ?

There is nothing at all going on here. We hear of cholera, but no one takes any heed of it. I shall be most happy to write to you often if you care to hear from me.

The mail takes three or four days to get up, and as many to come down, so I trust that if you grant me leave, to have [Ralph George Elliott] Forster's authority to act, in my hands by the end of the month. I will of course notify you officially when I leave.

I hope your trip to the hills has rested you.

Yours very truly

John J. Quin

2. Quin to Satow

Nagasaki

31 Aug. 1895

My dear Sir Ernest

I thank you very much for granting me the sick leave asked for, and I more especially appreciate your kind thoughtfulness in telegraphing it to me, as it might have enabled me to get over quicker, but unfortunately now there is quite a gap in steamers going to Shanghai and there will be none that I can hear of for several days. I do hope something can be done for my innards. I'd sell the present lot cheap. Forster has been up at Onsen [hot springs] for the last week and returns tomorrow. It is getting to be quite a summer resort. Over a hundred people are up there I hear. The Archer leaves for Yokohama on Sunday. Her new commander has not yet turned up. The French Admiral and two gunboats are here at present.

Yours very sincerely,

John J. Quin

3. Quin to Satow

British Consulate Genl.

Shanghai

14th Sept. 1895

Dear Sir Ernest

I got here on the afternoon of the 10th having been obliged to anchor for nearly 24 hours to avoid a typhoon and then we crossed in a heavy blow though fine overhead. I must have got a cold or chill just before starting as I have been full of aches and pains since and have not had a night's sleep yet. It is rainy here too which is against me. The man attending me for my complaint tells me that he shall require me under his eye for at least a fortnight to see how his medicines work. At present they are so drastic that I am in bed as weak as a cat but he says all the mucous coating to my inside must be removed. I fear therefore that my estimate of a fortnight's absence was an erroneous one, and I should esteem it a great kindness if you should let my leave run on sine die [indefinitely]. I promise to return as soon as I am told I may, but having come over for special treatment, I would like to give it every show. The hot weather seems to have broken, and we are using a blanket.

Trusting I am not too far trespassing on your kindness by asking for more leave.

Believe me

Very sincerely yours

John J. Quin

4. Quin to Satow

Private

H.M.'s Consulate,

Shanghai

21st Sept. 1895 [Recd. Oct 4]

My dear Sir Ernest,

As I see there is a steamer leaving for Japan today I will send a few lines reporting progress. I am feeling decidedly better and stronger the last few days, and have been able to get up by tiffin time. Two days ago I ate a part of a mutton chop, the first solid food I have touched I may almost say for months, and I was able to go out for a stroll in the consulate grounds.

[Crown Advocate Hiram Shaw] Wilkinson took me out the day before yesterday for a drive. It does not sound very grand but it is such a decided improvement that I feel quite encouraged. My appetite is decidedly returning. The weather here is very changeable just now which prevents me getting out when I am up.

The great topic here is the promotion of Sir N. O'Connor³⁸⁵ and who is to be his successor. It certainly was a long jump from Peking to St. Petersburg.

Will anything soon be decided about Formosa. If it is incorporated (without the men) in the Japan [consular] service, it will be a good thing for the Junior men in our service, but if, as some think, it comes to Japan with its present men, then it will be an unmitigated evil. However time will show.

I trust you have benefited by your sejour [French: stay] at [Lake] Chiuzenji and believe me dear Sir Ernest

Yours sincerely

John J. Quin

If you see the Kirkwoods³⁸⁶ remember me kindly to them. I shall not be able to write today.

5. Ralph G.E. Forster to Satow

Nagasaki

Sept. 28, 1895

Dear Sir Ernest Satow,

I am very sorry to be troubling you again about my pay as Interpreter, but Admiral [Sir A.] Buller [Commander of the China and Japan squadrons] who knows all my people at home, said that if he received an official communication from you on the subject he would do his best to get me the balance to which I was entitled. I think Mr. [Le Poer] Trench³⁸⁷ in his despatch to Admiral Fremantle of 8th November last, quoted

³⁸⁵ Sir Nicholas Roderick O'Connor (1843-1908) was British minister plenipotentiary and envoy extraordinary in China from April 1892. In October 1895 he left to become ambassador at St. Petersburg. He was replaced in China by Sir Claude Maxwell MacDonald (1852-1915).

³⁸⁶ William M. H. Kirkwood (1850-1926). Came to Japan in 1874, lawyer in Yokohama. From 1885 legal adviser to Justice Ministry till his return to England in 1901. (Nagaoka, vol. 1, p. 49).

³⁸⁷ Hon P.H. Le Poer Trench (1841-99). Secretary of legation at Tokio, May 28, 1882. Chargé d'affaires at Tokyo from August 30, 1883 to March 15, 1884; and from August 8, 1887 to March 7, 1889. Secretary of Embassy at Berlin from October 1, 1888. Chargé d'affaires at Berlin several times, 1889-93. July 1, 1893 appointed Minister to Mexico. June 25, 1894 appointed Envoy Extraordinary, Minister

the last precedent for this advance. Admiral Fremantle told me when he passed thro' Kobe on his way home that "he had suggested a compromise": Admiral Buller however seems to think if the allowance has once been paid, it should be again.

I have kept this letter back hoping to be able to send you some news of Mr. Quin's state of health. The last I heard was that he was progressing favourably although still confined to bed. The Steamer from Shanghai should have arrived yesterday but there is no sign of her up till now. One or two men from Shanghai say that they believe Mr. Quin's trouble to be a kind of inflammation of the stomach but no one seems to know for certain. The Admiral arrived here on the morning of the 26th and left the same afternoon in the "Edgar" for Woosung. The "Centurion" is still here.

Yours very truly

Ralph G.E. Forster

6.Quin to Satow

Shanghai

Sunday, 29 Sept.

Dear Sir Ernest,

I had hoped ere this to have received a line from you saying that I might remain till cured or on the fair way to recovery, but I presume you have been very busy, and again I suppose if I had been wanted you [would] have wired for me to return. I am decidedly better though still weak as a cat and only able to be up half the day. I was not told myself but my medical attendant told a friend that mine was as bad a case as he had had for many years. It appears my intestines were full of some fungoid growth, which naturally prevented my taking any food, or being able to digest anything. Tons of it have come away and I believe that a clean bill of health will be signed in a few days. I am most anxious to get back, as I know nothing duller than to be an invalid in a strange house. I have been no where and met no one except a few of the Consular people with whom I have exchanged calls.

We have had very changeable weather and today it is pouring hard since dawn and there are rumours of Typhoons in various directions.

Yours very sincerely

John J. Quin

[P.S.] Tuesday. Your kind letter making my mind easy as to staying here has arrived. I am improving every day now and trust my next letter will be to say I am on my way back.

Plenipotentiary and Consul-General in Japan despite ill health. Served till May 10, 1895. Satow was appointed his successor on June 1, 1895 by Lord Kimberley. Trench retired on a pension on January 20, 1896.

7. Quin to Satow

Nagasaki

18th Oct. 1895

Dear Sir Ernest,

I have just returned by the P & O [Peninsula & Oriental steamer] Formosa – and I feel as fit as a fiddle. I must thank you ever so much for the leave you granted me thus enabling me to undergo the cure. I was practically out of the medico's hands on the 11th inst. and have taken no medicine since, but both he and every one else pressed me to stay a few days longer, to make sure matters were all right. So I did. I trust you will not consider that I have overstepped the line in the matter of leave. After 9 months seediness it is so jolly to feel well.

The weather at Shanghai during the last fortnight was simply perfect. As I am rather busy today I will not inflict a longer letter on you.

Yours very truly

John J. Quin

8. Quin to Satow

14th Jan. 1896

Dear Sir Ernest Satow,

I answered your Desp[atch] about Telegraph lines this morning but have now got Captain [William H.] Henderson [of the "Edgar"]'s letter by which I see that the information required is different from what I thought.

I thought the route of the Formosa cable was wanted, and asked for that whereas I find that the Great Northern Tel. Co. chart and a Japanese chart in possession of the Admiralty differ, and the correct route is wanted. This I do not doubt I can get from the people here, and I just write to correct my mistake of this morning. The information then refused related solely to the Formosa cable.

Yours very truly

John J. Quin

9. Quin to Satow

Nagasaki

4th Feb. 1896

My dear Sir Ernest,

I have been holding on as long as I could, but my patience has at last given way, and I have written you officially to ask for a month's sick leave. I think I told you that shortly after my return from Shanghai, all my disagreeable symptoms came back, and I have been struggling on, on the ragged edge ever since. I look all right, and so get no sympathy for the constant misery I am in. Now the general impression seems to be that a change is what I want more than medicine. It is hardly the time I should choose for leave, but the weather will soon get warmer I trust.

Yours very truly,

John J. Quin

10. Forster to Satow

Nagasaki

March 11, 1896

Dear Sir Ernest Satow,

I much regret that owing to a sudden pressure of work, succeeded by a slight attack of influenza, I did not forward to you sooner the despatch in which this is enclosed, on the subject of the visit of the Sanitary Officers to Ships arriving from Hongkong. We are absolutely destitute of any news of interest here, all our information is derived from the Yokohama Papers. The U.S.S. "Charleston" leaves here tomorrow for Chemulpo [Inchon, Korea] and Chefoo [China]. The German Admiral left yesterday for Taku in the "Kaiser". There has been quite a rush to take up the vacant lots in the Settlement. I am told that property in the native town on the side of the Creek separating Deshima [the artificial island used by the Dutch] has increased in value enormously and in consequence of the near [?] approach of the new Treaty coming into force, the remaining vacant lots in Deshima on the other side of the Creek have been taken up. The track of the railway has been marked out by posts, but nothing more has been done. There is a talk of a large land reclamation scheme at the head of the harbour and I believe the Railway Terminus will be placed there when it is eventually needed. The filling in would present very little difficulty as the head of the harbour is practically dry at low water.

Yours very truly

Ralph G.E. Forster

11. Quin to Satow

Canadian Pacific Railway Co.

R.M.S. "Empress of China"

18th March 1896

My dear Sir Ernest,

We are through the Straits of Shimonoseki, the weather perfectly lovely and everyone on deck without overcoats. We shall be at Nagasaki at daylight tomorrow morning. I had a pleasant sejour [stay] at Kobe and had my run to Kioto and made my purchases of crape dresses for my womenfolk. When first I called to see [Kobe Consul J.J.] Enslie he had other visitors so I did not see him till after he had seen Dr. Baelz ³⁸⁸, from whom you will be able to get a better and more reliable account of his health than any I could give.

He seemed much relieved by having his liver tapped and I trust will soon be on the highroad to recovery. I sounded him about his taking long leave, but could get nothing out of him. Of course he is confined to his bed all the time.

Poor [Frank W. W.] Playfair was very down [in] the mouth at the prospect of being passed over, and when I raised the question of promotion to the grade of first assistant being given to those who had passed the Interpreters' examination in preference to a senior man who had not, I left [Ernest Alfred] Griffiths a sick man also at the bare possibility. [Arthur Hyde] Lay I know was talking of raising the point. I shall be anxious till I hear whether [James] Troup's application for further leave is till August (as [J. C.] Hall thinks) or for three months from August, as I shall be sadly disappointed if I cannot get away. I hope I am not getting nervous and fanciful, but I am not nearly so well as I was in Tokio. I have had several returns of my old troubles (inability to retain any food) though I have been exceedingly careful in my diet.

Thanking you for your kindness to me while in Tokio

Believe me, yours very truly

John J. Quin

12. Quin to Satow

Nagasaki

21 March '96

Dear Sir Ernest,

I wired to you on arrival to know about Lord Spencer's movements ³⁸⁹ and on getting your answer, I tried

³⁸⁸ Dr. Erwin von Bälz (1849-1913). German physician resident in Japan 1876-1905. Physician-in-waiting to the imperial household and professor at Tokyo University Medical School. His diary *Das Leben eines deutschen Arztes im erwachenden Japan* (1931; translated into English as *Awakening Japan: The Diary of a German doctor*, 1932) is insightful. He was also medical officer to the British Legation from February 1, 1882 to March 31, 1905 (F.O. List, 1920) and attended to the British minister Hugh Fraser before he died in 1894.

³⁸⁹ John Poyntz, 5th Earl of Spencer (1835-1910). Liberal peer. First Lord of the Admiralty 1892-95. He inspected the new Japanese naval dockyards at Kure (Hiroshima prefecture) and Sasebo (Nagasaki prefecture). Satow wrote two letters to Thomas B. Glover in advance of Spencer's visit, and Spencer wrote to Glover from Miyanoshita on April 8, 1896 thanking him for his attention and for notes of the

to make arrangements so that he could visit Sasebo [naval dockyards]. The “Empress” was to come in about 7 am on the 23rd and leave about 5 p.m. So I arranged with Captain Pelly of the Porpoise which can steam 15 knots easy to have steam up, and be ready to start as soon as Lord Spencer could get ready. We calculated that if he got away [from Nagasaki] by 9 am he could get to Sasebo by noon, spend two or three hours there and be back in Nagasaki by 5 or 6 pm. I got the agents to wire to Hong Kong for permission to detain the Empress if necessary till eight pm and on receiving as I hoped an affirmative answer I had a wire ready to give you all the particulars but late last evening answers were received from Hong Kong and Shanghai, that the Empress was detained at or near Amoy by fog and so would be late, not getting here at any rate before 4 pm on the 23rd and that the steamer must not be delayed. So there is no chance of his going to Sasebo, and his steamer will go on a little before midnight probably, after coaling. The most we can do for him therefore is to show him the local [Nagasaki] docks etc. etc. and give him and Lady Spencer a run round the town, to the Knockneed brown horse, and then if they will come feed them at dinner. If there are any further developments I will wire at once but unless he stops over I fancy all will go as I have stated above. I have seen [Thomas Blake] Glover³⁹⁰, who will go round with us while H[is] L[ordshi]p is here.

Yours very truly

John J. Quin

13. Quin to Satow

Wednesday

25 March 1896

Dear Sir Ernest,

After all, we went to Sasebo as I wired to you yesterday. The day before the arrival of the Empress, news came that she would not be in till daylight on the 24th and that she was to take 1900 tons of coal on board. That, ensuring her remaining till dark, I at once made arrangements for the Porpoise to take Earl Spencer to Sasebo on arrival. I sent up to the Kencho [prefectural office], to let the Governor know our movements according to his request, and inquired at same time if he had heard by chance of the anticipated visits to Sasebo and Kure. He had not, so I gave [Ralph G.E.] Forster a telegram to send you mentioning that we

dimensions of Sasebo dock. (See *The Diaries and Letters of Sir Ernest Mason Satow*, ed. I. Ruxton, Edwin Mellen Press, 1998, pp. 461-62. See also Ruxton, 2003, p.78)

³⁹⁰ Thomas Blake Glover (1838-1911). Trader. Born in Scotland, adviser to Mitsubishi. At age 20 went to Shanghai, then in 1859 to Nagasaki, where he was Jardine Matheson’s agent. Founded Glover Trading Co. in 1861. Sold arms to Satsuma and Chōshū. Bankrupt 1871. When Mitsubishi took over Takashima coal mine he joined that company. Moved to Tokyo in 1885 to work at Mitsubishi head office. See *Scottish Samurai* by Alexander McKay (Edinburgh: Canongate Books, 2nd edition 1997). Also the very comprehensive *Thomas B. Glover Shimatsu* [“Thomas B. Glover from Beginning to End”] by Naitō Hatsuho (Tokyo: Atene Shobo, 2001).

intended going, and asking if leave [permission to visit the naval dockyards] had been duly obtained. This telegram I am sorry to say by some oversight Forster omitted to send and I only learnt the fact after I was on board the Porpoise yesterday morning so I sent up a wire to let you know we had started. All turned out however capitally: Admiral Shibayama on being telegraphed to by the Governor on the previous day, at once wired Tokyo, and permission having been given, we found a despatch vessel waiting for us outside Sasebo harbour which took us in, and Lord Spencer was received by Admiral Shibayama and co. and we all made a tour of the place.

Lord Spencer seemed much pleased with what he saw, and everything was shown him and all details given. As you will see and hear all from him I need not recapitulate. We got there at 1 p.m. and left at 3 pm, getting back to Nagasaki at 6.15 pm, after a most successful day. [Thomas] Glover was the one who mostly took him in hand, and gave him information of all sorts about past and present. Lady Spencer did not care to come, and so she was taken charge of by Miss Glover, and she lunched at Ipponmatsu. She made the usual round of the town and got something or other of tortoiseshell and was on board again when we arrived, apparently very much pleased with the kindness and attention shown her. It was a pity I could not divide myself, and pay her some attention; but she was well looked after. Miss Glover gave her two boughs [?] made out of a piece of the steel hawser which formed part of the barrier at Weihaiwei, and she seemed very pleased to have them as a souvenir.

I am more pleased than I can say that there was no hitch, for when I found my wire had not gone to you, and that we had actually started without apparently any leave to do so, my heart was in my mouth for fear of a hitch. T.B. Glover however had your letter to show, in case of demur by the Japanese authorities, in which you said you had seen (admiral) Ito ³⁹¹ and that he said they would be most happy to show Lord Spencer everything including Sasebo and Kure, so we decided to chance it and all turned out well. Forster was terribly *shinpai* [worried] at his carelessness. I do not fancy [he] will let such a thing occur again.

The German admiral arrived here this morning in the “Kaiser” and the Porpoise leaves today for Chemulpo [Inchon] where she will relieve the Rainbow which will then come here in a few days. The other men of war in harbour are, Russian, Nicolai I (flagship of Admiral Chouknine), Bobr, Manjour, Kreisser, and two torpedo boats, French, Forfait, German, Arcona, American, Bpston, and one Japse. Gunboat the Akagi.

Yours very truly

John J. Quin

³⁹¹ Itō Sukeyuki. In the naval battle of the Yalu River (J: *Kōkai Kaisen*; literally “Naval Battle of the Yellow Sea”) 12 warships of the Imperial Japanese Navy under the command of Vice Admiral Itō Sukeyuki engaged and defeated a Chinese fleet of 14 warships under Admiral Ding Ruchang (Ting Ju-ch’ang) on 17 September 1894. After this battle Japan controlled the Yellow Sea. (Kodansha’s Illustrated Encyclopedia of Japan, p. 1724).

14. Quin to Satow

ack[nowledged] 20/5

Private

Nagasaki

7 April 1896

Dear Sir Ernest,

Ever so many thanks for your note, and I trust that all will go well, with [J.J.] Ensle and others so that no hitch may occur. The End of October or the beginning of November is the exact time that I wish to get away if possible, as the so-called cold weather in India (where I wish to spend two or three months with my brother Col. Quin) will have then commenced.

Nothing new here. The Russian [cruiser] Admiral Korniloff came here from Kobe on the 2nd and the Isly (French) yesterday from Chemulpo. I fancied that the Rainbow would have been here before this, as the Porpoise on leaving said she would come over at once, but she is still at Chemulpo.

I have heard no news from there whatsoever, and presume things are quiet. The local paper mentions that 42 Russian marines and 15 horses entered Seoul on the 30 ultimo. A Russian Volunteer steamer the Taratoff, arrived on Sunday morning, and has 1500 troops from Odessa for Vladivostock. Henry Siebold ³⁹² passed through today, having been relieved at the Austrian Consulate General at Shanghai by Von Hase who has returned from leave.

Yours very truly

John J. Quin

15. Quin to Satow

[Recd. 17, ack 20/5]

Nagasaki

14th April 1896

My dear Sir Ernest,

There is nothing specially startling to write about, but as we have such a large number of men of war in harbour, I cut the list out of this morning's paper and enclose it. I believe we are to have several more Russian and French soon, and the Rainbow ought to be here about the 18th from Chemulpo. I found a couple of days

³⁹² Heinrich Philipp von Siebold (1852-1908). Interpreter and Secretary at Austrian legation. Second son of noted Japanologist and physician Philipp Franz von Siebold (1796-1866) who was in Nagasaki 1823-29. Heinrich breakfast with Sir Ernest Satow in Kobe on April 30, 1896. (Satow's Diary, Ruxton, 2003, p. 86).

ago an effusion of mine to you written about the 1st of the month, and mislaid and never posted, but as it contained nothing special I tore it up. We expect [Joseph Henry] Longford and [Ernest Alfred] Griffiths here tomorrow morning en route for Formosa.

The weather has been most enjoyable the last ten days, and the blossoms everything one could wish. A heavy gale last night accompanied by rain however washed them all away. I presume you have about finished with Lord Spencer. It is to be hoped that after all the trouble taken for him he has enjoyed his visit to Japan.

Yours very truly

John J. Quin

MEN-OF-WAR

SHIP'S NAME	COMMANDER	FLAG & RIG
<i>Akagi-Kan</i>	Tanji	H.I.J.M. gun-boat
<i>Imp. Nicolai I</i>	Felkerzam	Russian battle-ship
<i>Ussuri</i>	Pogoratsky	Russian t.-b.
<i>Sungari</i>	Ivanoff	Russian t.-b.
<i>Boston</i>	Wildes	U.S. cruiser
<i>Mandjour</i>	Podiapolsky	Russian sloop
<i>Kreisser</i>	Belklemisheff	Russian sloop
<i>Admiral Korniloff</i>	Molas	Russian cruiser
<i>Yamamoto Kan</i>	Mukoyama	H.I.J.M. cruiser
<i>Isly</i>	Rivet	French cruiser
<i>Machias</i>	Houston	U.S. cruiser
<i>Bayard</i>	Foltin	French flag-ship
<i>Gremiastchy</i>	Bubnoff	Russian torpedo-catcher
<i>Pamiat Azova</i>	Rodionoff	Russian cruiser

16. Quin to Satow

[Ack 20/5]

Nagasaki

25 April 1896

Dear Sir Ernest,

With reference to the inquiries that you made about the [Russian] troops sent to Vladivostock, I regret very much that my wire and first despatch on the subject stated no particulars could be obtained for 1895, for I have since been able to get what I believe to be reliable information and which I send you today officially. Everything connected with the Russians is surrounded with such an air of mystery that it is difficult to ask a question without being at once looked on with suspicion. The new cruiser the “Ruric” seems a most powerful monster.³⁹³ I do not know how long she will remain here. The three Russians [ships] which left are said to have done so to leave room for the “Ruric” and “Dimitry Dovskoi”, as the harbour is awfully crowded at present.

The Admiral (Buller) is I am told to be here on the 30th Inst. and then go on to Kobe and Yokohama. I presume we shall have most of the fleet here for a day or two on their way north.

Yours very truly

John J. Quin

17. Quin to Satow

[ack 20/5]

Nagasaki

29th April 1896

My dear Sir Ernest,

The “Pamiat Azova” which has been flying Admiral Alexieff’s flag left this harbour yesterday for ports unknown. One report says they went to Korea, and another that Port Arthur is their destination; but I hear that the captain left with sealed orders. The admiral shifted his flag before her departure to the “Ruric”. We have now the Ruric, Korniloff, “Dimitri Dovskoi” (the last out of dock this morning) the “Otvajuy” and 2 torpedo vessels. The French admiral in the Bayard left yesterday for Kobe.

Admiral Buller is to arrive tomorrow. Sir Andrew Noble ³⁹⁴ passed through on the last P & O [steamer] and

³⁹³ See Satow’s diary May 23, 1896 (Ruxton. 2003, p.97). “Dined with [Secretary of Legation Gerard A.] Lowther. Sir Andrew Noble told me that Japanese anxious with regard to Russia, and the real object of his visit is to agree with them about increase of their navy beyond what is sanctioned by Parliament. Armstrongs to build ships ostensibly not for Japan, and to keep them in stock, as it were. Particularly desirous to have a ship that can beat [Russian cruiser] Rurik. Has told them he can build one 2000 tons less, with less coal-capacity, which they do not need to be so large as that of Rurik, 3 knots more speed and 18 broadside guns instead of 15, so that they would have the weathergauge of her. The Japanese want to be strong enough to cope alone with Russia.”

³⁹⁴ Sir Andrew Noble, Vice-Chairman and Managing Director of Armstrong Mitchell Co. Ltd. As Captain Noble he had showed the Iwakura mission representatives around Armstrong’s Elswick Engine and Ordnance Works on October 22, 1872. Like Sir W. G. Armstrong, Noble was awarded the Order of the Sacred Treasure of the Rising Sun in 1895, for assistance rendered during the Sino-Japanese War of 1894-95. (*Britain and Japan : Biographical Portraits*, vol. 1, chapter 8. ‘Armstrong, Vickers and Japan’

Admiral Dunlop (retired) who was formerly captain of the “Leander” came from China to meet him. He is employed by Armstrong & Co. I got a long cypher wire from [British minister] Sir C. Macdonald at Peking asking me to tell Sir A. Noble “that Carlowitz ³⁹⁵ was endeavouring to get a contract for heavy guns from Chinese Govt. for a million taels, and was saying that Armstrong guns are only good for small and quick-firing guns, advising him to send an energetic agent to look after his interests. Luckily the telegram arrived a couple of hours before the P & O left, and so I was able to hand it to him.

I see by the paper you are going to take a run to Kobe. I hope you may continue your visit down here. I can put you up and I think make you comfortable.

Yours very sincerely

John J. Quin

18. Quin to Satow

[ack 20/5]

Private

May 11th, 1896

Dear Sir Ernest,

I have not written to you for the last ten days or so as I saw by the papers that you were away at Kobe. [Satow left Tokyo for Kobe on April 27, 1896 returning on May 2. See his diary, Ruxton, 2003, pp.85-87.]

Since I last wrote all the Russians have left and five Germans have come here to change crews, their reliefs, over 800 men, having come by the Weimar. We have also had the Rainbow here all the time, the Immortalité, the Pique and the Porpoise. The two latter only in for a day and left again for Kobe and Singapore respectively. The Centurion came in yesterday P.M. and leaves for Port Hamilton [Komundo] ³⁹⁶ today at 4 then for Kobe and Yokohama.

I heard today that the Chinese under advice from the Russians would most probably refuse to pay the indemnity on the 18th Inst. and that in view of possible difficulties the Russian fleet were in commanding

by M. Conte-Helm.).

³⁹⁵ Carlowitz & Co. A German company founded by Richard von Carlowitz (born 1817) in China in 1846.

³⁹⁶ The British navy occupied the islands of Port Hamilton (Komundo) 1885-87. It was a small group of islands off the southernmost coast of Korea, considered important as a coaling station and for strategic reasons. The Komundo (J: Kyobuntō) Incident of 1885 was a dispute over the islands between Britain and Russia. “Russia’s increased influence in Korea following the Imo Mutiny of 1882 aroused British interest in using the island as a commercial and naval base to counter Russia. British naval forces seized the island in 1885. China, Russia and Japan immediately joined Korea in demanding their withdrawal, accomplished in 1887 after China and Russia promised neither to approve nor attempt occupation of Russian territory.” (Kodansha’s *Japan: An Illustrated Encyclopedia*, p. 822).

positions in the Yellow Sea [between Korea and China], and that certain troops supposed to be in Vladivostock were massed in the number of several thousands in two spots, one ready to command the road to Pekin, and the other to Moukden [in Manchuria]. I give the rumour as I heard it for what it is worth. Since my last letter the "Petersburg" went up with 65 officers and 1527 men, and 85 private passengers. The French ship "Algers" is here also.

Everything here is very quiet and I have heard no other news, reliable or otherwise.

Yours very truly,

J. J. Quin

19. Quin to Satow

Private

Nagasaki

20th May 1896

Dear Sir Ernest,

Late last evening I got your note inquiring if H.M.'s Govt. could sell the Consular lot. I wired this morning Yes as I know of nothing to prevent the sale. The title deeds are in [R.J.] Marshall's name as representative of the Board of Works. Is there any talk of selling this Consular lot? There is not absolutely a vacant lot now in Nagasaki, and if we left this lot I don't know where we could open another office.

There is nothing going on here. Immortalité is here and 5 or 6 Germans, but I saw the Admiral lately and he says they will soon be off in various directions. I have been more seedy than usual and the doctors are very strong upon my getting away at once. I have explained to them the difficulty there is on account of being shorthanded, but they tell me there will be another hand short if I do not make a bolt of it.

I wish personally that I could wait till October or November, but after what they say I presume it is my duty to apply for sick leave, which I shall do officially tomorrow or next day. If I can get away I shall go straight to some one or other of the German resorts and see what can be done for me. I can eat or retain nothing. I am daily losing weight and am as weak as a cat, but I look very well, everyone says.

Yours very truly

John J. Quin

20. Quin to Satow

[Recd. 28. ansd. 28.]

Private

Nagasaki,

24th May 1896

Dear Sir Ernest,

I should have written a note along with my application for leave, but just as I had drafted the Desp[atch] I was taken ill with a bad attack of vomiting and diarrhoea – which sent me to bed and kept me there for three days. I am all right again now, but feel rather shaky. The certificates sent were by Dr. Gravell now doctor on board the Charleston and some years ago the doctor at the U.S. naval hospital in Yokohama and Dr. [W.H.] Abercrombie now our U.S. Consul, but formerly in a large medical practice in New York. Both have been treating me for the past year (the latter of course only as a friend) and Abercrombie seems to think an immediate change is absolutely necessary. I myself do not think I am so very seedy though of course weak and unable to eat.

This morning I got your kind note marked “confidential” and as my application for leave had gone forward I wired to say I was writing.

I know that if a vacancy occurs at Kobe it will be extremely difficult for you to let me go, and as you say in your note, doubtless the change of climate will do me good, at any rate temporarily. On the other hand if the vacancy does not occur immediately, from what the medicos say they fear the summer heat for me – especially since this last attack which has rather puzzled them. Faute de mieux they put it down to some strawberries which I was advised to eat.

I am perfectly ready to be guided by you in the matter and I think if a change could be made soon it would do me good, but if no certainty within a month or two, then it is a question if it would not be throwing away my chances of permanent recovery. I have now been out of gear nearly a year or 9 months, gradually going down hill all the time.

In my last letter I spoke of going direct to some German spa but I have been strongly advised to go first to London or Paris and consult a specialist before deciding on any course.

I was shocked to see the death of poor Adair. I liked what I saw of him when he passed through here. The French man of war “Algers” leaves today and the Charleston [is] also homeward bound. The small Russian the Bobr came in yesterday, so as to be able to fire a salute on the 26th I suppose.

G[eorge] Jamieson [Consul-General at Shanghai] with his wife come through tomorrow. She is suffering from gastric trouble also, but I hear has put off her move till too late so the doctors say. I hope not.

Yours very truly

John J. Quin

21. Quin to Satow

[Recd. 31]

Nagasaki

26th May 1896

Dear Sir Ernest,

Since writing on Sunday the Niji [?] Novgorod came in from Odessa [on the Black Sea] with 750 emigrants on board, and left again for Vladivostock yesterday. The Petersburg homeward bound with 8 first, and 20 second class passengers is now in harbour.

Poor Mrs. Jamieson made her move too late, or rather did not make it in time, as she died on the 18th. Jamieson is on board the Empress of Japan with his girls, going now only as far as Yokohama.

I hear on all sides bad accounts of poor [J.J.] Ensle. I was asked whether a vacancy in Kobe would affect me, and an hour later I got a long letter from my doctor, in which he laid great stress on my getting away at all, never mind what happens – saying it would be almost criminal on my part to stay, if I am able to get away. The weather here is very pleasant and I don't know why I cannot pick up.

The Narcissus came in last evening from Chemulpo, wishing to dock if possible. No other news. I am getting anxious for your answer to my application.

Yours very truly, John J. Quin

22. Quin to Satow

Private

Nagasaki

31 May 1896

My dear Sir Ernest,

I suppose in a short time my suspense will be at an end, and I shall know whether you can grant me the sick leave requested. I am very anxious to know so as to pack up and make all my preparations. I mentioned in a former note that I thought of returning by P. & O. but on this coming to the Doctor's ears, I have been absolutely forbidden to return via Suez Canal.

I thought more of the quiet and rest I should have, and forgot the heat of July in the Red Sea. I think I told you in my last that even if a vacancy occurred at Kobe, I did not feel strong enough to go and take up the work at present, and I am advised that it would be most prejudicial to my health to make the attempt.

When I know about my leave I shall get ready to start by the earliest available P.M.S. co. or Canadian Pacific. I shall have to be guided by their departure.

Nothing going on here. The weather has been wretchedly wet and muggy the last week, but today it is fine again.

Yours very sincerely

John J. Quin

23. Quin to Satow

3rd June 1896

My dear Sir Ernest,

Your telegram kindly informing me that my leave had been granted was a great relief to me, and I thank you exceedingly for your kind thoughtfulness in sending me a wire ahead. Unless there is something in the Despatch which may modify my movements I shall leave this [place] by the next Empress steamer on the 14th or 15th going home via Canada. Now comes the bother of the sale and deciding what few things shall be packed up. I am amused at the advice I get from every one as to where to go and what to do. It would take half a lifetime to visit all the places suggested as [being] sure to cure me, but I think my wise course will be to go to London and get the best advice there.

Nothing new here. I see by a par[agraph] from a national paper that you are going to Chefoo in the Centurion. Is that so ?

Yours very truly

John J. Quin

24. Quin to Satow

11 June 1896

Dear Sir Ernest,

I fear I have been very remiss in not having written to thank you before for kindly granting me my sick leave, but I have been so seedy and tired every day that I have always put it off till the next. My sale comes off tomorrow and I shall be glad when all the bother of moving and packing is over, and I can lie down on board for a good stretch. I leave this [place] on Monday 15th, by the Empress of Japan I think it is.

I think you will find Forster a very careful good officer. He knows office work thoroughly and I have found him a most efficient assistant. If I am well enough I shall run up to Tokio, to say goodbye, but [if] I am as seedy as I am now I shall not attempt the exertion.

I must again thank you for all your kindness.

Yours very truly

John J. Quin

25. Ralph G.E. Forster to Satow

Nagasaki

June 15, 1896

Dear Sir Ernest Satow,

Please accept my very grateful thanks for giving me the acting appointment here as Consul. I trust I shall be able to give you satisfaction, while holding it.

I heard yesterday of an extraordinary affair on board the Russian Vol. Fleet Str. 'Nijui Novgorod'. It appears that Captain de Wozack, the Russian Military Attaché, arrived here by the "China" and shortly after the arrival of the "Nijui Novgorod", went on board and asked to see the Captain Akimoff, by name. He was shown into the Captain's Cabin when he suddenly produced a revolver and fired point blank at the Captain. The latter fortunately had just time to seize his arm and throw it up, the bullet passing over his head and lodging in the deck above. Capt. de W. was seized and is now on board the Russian man of war "Bobr", in this harbour under arrest. It is supposed that the cause of the trouble is some affair with one of Akimoff's lady passengers as it appears that he is notorious for his gallantries. The matter has been kept a profound secret as far as possible, but I heard it through a Frenchman who was formerly the Shipping Clerk in charge of the Russian Steamers.

An interesting sign of the times was afforded me in conversation by a Russian Captain of a whaling steamer. In speaking of Fusan [Pusan], he said that last year there were no other foreigners than those in the Customs, but going ashore there some days ago he said he found several of his Russian friends there including an Officer of Cossacks. He told me that the latter was in command of a party of 50 men, stationed some distance from Fusan. He also made some vague remarks about some batteries King [?] in Corea also, but as his English was rather defective I could not exactly make out what he meant. The small whaling steamer he commands with her sister-ship have been most successful this spring and they are reported to have made several thousand dollars in the past few weeks.

Please excuse this hurried note but I am very busy settling up with Mr. Quin etc.

Yours very truly

Ralph G.E. Forster

26. Forster to Satow

Nagasaki

June 15, 1896

Dear Sir Ernest Satow,

Just a line with reference to my private note enclosed in Mr. Quin's Despatch: it was the naval attaché Lieut. Boudiowsky who shot at the Captain of the "Nijui Novgorod".

Yours Sincerely

Ralph G.E. Forster

27. Quin's last letter to Satow

Canadian Pacific Railway Co.

R.M.S. "Empress of China"

18th June 1896

Dear Sir Ernest,

Here we are just outside Yokohama being medically inspected. We had a lovely passage up the whole way, the rain having cleared off as soon as we left Nagasaki. So poor Enslie is gone. He was buried on Tuesday at 5 pm, having as you know died on Sunday [June 14th] at 11 pm. I got your kind note by the Alacrity and wired you when I left, but I regret to say I don't feel well enough to leave the ship – so far the voyage has not settled my stomach, and I have been lying down all yesterday and today, and am only sitting up to write this note. The food looks very nice, but I can't swallow it. I am very sorry I can't go to Tokio to see you, as there are lots of things I wanted to say but it cannot be helped. I shall send a wire to let you know I cannot come.³⁹⁷

It is about the time for [William Montague Hammett] Kirkwood to start for Frisco I think. I hope I shall see him. Thanking you again for all your kindness to me, I am your sincerely attached twin,

John J. Quin

28. Forster to Satow

Recd. June 23

Nagasaki

June 19, 1896

Dear Sir Ernest Satow,

I had an interesting conversation with the Captain of the Br. S.S. [British Steam Ship] "Linlithgow", which arrived here this morning from Niigata after discharging a cargo of rails, fish plates etc. for the railway between Naoetsu [on the coast south of Niigata] and Niigata. The cause of our meeting was his wish to consult me in connection with the loss of two rails and some other things which fell overboard when discharging. If there had been a British Consul at the port, he would, of course, have noted [?] a Protest, but there being none, he wished to ask my advice on the subject. I suggested that he should make a Statutory Declaration before me, stating that, as there was no British Consul at his port of Discharge, he had reported the matter to the first British Consular Officer he had come across, after leaving it. I also suggested that he could get a Certificate from the Japanese Customs Officials, who saw the accident, which would doubtless be

³⁹⁷ Presumably the 'wire' (telegram) would reach Satow faster than Quin's letter if sent at the same time.

accepted by the Ship's underwriters, in lieu of a protest, as there was no British Consul at the port. After discussing the matter he finally decided that as the loss was only a trifling sum, about £5.0.0 he would not take any steps in the matter. He told me that another ship was due in Niigata with a cargo of railway material about August next, so I deemed it advisable to let you know this.

I questioned the Captain about the facilities for discharging cargo at Niigata ³⁹⁸ and he told me that the Nippon Yusen Kwaisha, by whom he was chartered, had provided a certain number of lighters, which proving insufficient some of the rice lighters were cut down to enable them to take the rails. The anchorage is however very dangerous being in close proximity to the bar at the mouth of the river. In reply to my questions he informed me that the coolies [here: dockers] available, although strong and active, were quite inexperienced in handling such heavy cargo as rails etc. and he eventually was obliged to obtain some dozen or so of coolies from Yokohama to act as foremen and instruct the local coolies. He spoke in enthusiastic terms of the strict honesty of the men, who although intensely interested in every detail of the ship, never stole the slightest thing.

His ship, he tells me, is the first foreign ship that has come direct to Niigata to discharge her cargo, and he considered that the discharging of 5000 tons of iron in 19 days, was a most creditable performance, under the circumstances. He says that it is hoped that 35 miles of the railway between Naoetsu and Niigata will be completed within the present year. The total distance is 68 miles and it is intended carrying on the railway further to the North of Niigata, to connect with the main line between Aomori and Tokio.

He also told me that a scheme was mooted for starting a company to ship the fish which is obtained in vast quantities and of excellent quality, at the mouth of the river, to Tokio and elsewhere. I heard from him, what I never knew before, that in addition to three missionaries living there, there is one European, an Italian by the name of Miola, formerly a silk merchant in Yokohama, who has lived in Niigata for 21 years ! He keeps a kind of café. The Captain told me that directly the Missionaries, who were away in the country, heard of his arrival, they came down to Niigata to see him and invited him up into the hills for some shooting, which they said was excellent. Apparently the Game Laws are not so strictly enforced there as in other Treaty Ports.

Trusting that the above may be of some interest to you.

Yours very truly

³⁹⁸ Niigata was opened to foreign residence in 1868-69. "Niigata was a complete failure from the beginning... The main reason for the failure of Niigata was the fact that large ships could not enter the port because of a sandbank across the mouth of the river on which the town stood. Vessels had to unload and load in the open roadstead which was a hazardous business in bad weather. The trying climate of the region, with long hot summers and very cold winters, was an additional disincentive to residence. By October 1871, the foreign community consisted of four people, and the British consulate, the only one functioning at Niigata, was closed, although it occasionally functioned in later years." J.E. Hoare, *Japan's Treaty Ports and Foreign Settlements* (Japan Library, 1994), p.19.

Ralph G.E. Forster

29. Forster to Satow

Nagasaki

June 24, 1896

Dear Sir Ernest Satow,

I am sending you a copy of the corresp[']ce [correspondence] enclosed herewith, as you might hear about it from other sources. The matter in itself is trifling, but it seemed hard that Lessner [?] should have to pay double fees, viz. to his own Consul and also to the German. I hear, however, that the latter has now refunded him the fees charged in the German Consulate.

The "Alacrity" left yesterday for Port Hamilton and Chefoo: the "Immortalité" is in dock. The French Vice Consul told me with regard to the P/Attorney [Power of Attorney ?] question that on two occasions his signature to P/Attorneys executed by French citizens in favour of German subjects, has been verified by Mr. Müller-Beck's predecessor, so that his opinion on the subject is not universal.

The "Immortalité" gave a very successful Smoking Concert on the night of the Queen's Accession Day, and afterwards in the wardroom Captain Chich[ester] proposed the health of Capt. Molos[?] of the Russian "Bobr" which was well received. He was the only Foreign Officer on board. Mr. [Walter C.] Hillier [of the Peking legation] writes he is coming over here on leave about the 15th July.

Yours sincerely

Ralph G.E. Forster

30. Forster to Satow

Nagasaki

June 29, 1896

Dear Sir Ernest Satow,

Marquis Ito [Hirobumi] ³⁹⁹ and Saigo [Tsugumichi] ⁴⁰⁰ and Viscount Katsura ⁴⁰¹ arrived on Saturday

³⁹⁹ Itō Hirobumi (1841-1909) of Chōshū. Foremost statesman of modern Japan. Chief architect of the Meiji constitution of 1889, and four times prime minister. He and Inoue Kaoru first met Satow in 1864, just before the allied fleet's Bombardment of Shimonoseki, as described in *A Diplomat in Japan*. With Mutsu Munemitsu, Itō also represented Japan at the Treaty of Shimonoseki which concluded the Sino-Japanese war on April 17, 1895.

⁴⁰⁰ Saigō Tsugumichi (1843-1902). Admiral and politician. Born in the Satsuma domain. A younger brother of Saigō Takamori, he took part in the Boshin Civil War (1868). In 1869 he accompanied Yamagata Aritomo to Europe to study military systems. Commanded Taiwan expedition of 1874. In the Satsuma rebellion of 1877 he refused to side with his rebel elder brother Takamori and served as commander of the imperial guards. He served as navy minister and home minister in several cabinets

morning by the Yoshino Kan from Amoy [on the Chinese mainland]. I had the honour of calling on them yesterday morning with Mr. Müller Beck, the German Consul, and we were most courteously received by Marquis Ito and Viscount Katsura, Marquis Saigo being engaged. We had a most interesting conversation in German with Viscount Katsura on the subject of Formosa. He stated his intention of residing at Taipeh where there is one European house, built for a Foreign Trader, which is being added to for the accommodation of the Gov'r Gen'l and his staff. He deplored the scarcity of harbours, especially on the Eastern [i.e. Pacific] side. Marquis Ito remarked that the difficulty with regard to the camphor question was satisfactorily arranged. I subsequently had the honour of meeting Their Excellencies at Tiffin [light lunch] at Mr. T.B. Glover's.⁴⁰² The Governor of Nagasaki, Capt. Chudgate [?] of H.M.S. "Immortalité", the Yamasaki, the Supdt [Superintendent ?] of the Mitsu Bishi Dockyard, Mr. Baker of the Hongkong Bank and Mr. A.B. Glover⁴⁰³ were also of the party. Marquis Ito had a long conversation with Mr. Baker and he several times remarked on the inconvenience caused by the absence of a Foreign Bank in Formosa, and questioned Mr. Baker as to the above Foreign Bank doing business in the East.

The party are leaving for Sasebo this morning whence Marquis Ito proceeds to Hiroshima and Kobe and Marquis Saigo to Kure. Viscount Katsura expects to return to Formosa in the course of next month. Enormous crowds conjugated in the streets to see the Ministers. Foreign Residents here were much struck by the number of police accompanying the party and stationed along the streets. Marquis Saigo remarked on the crowd of people who turned out to see them, but this is doubtless due to the rarity of a visit of a Cabinet Minister to Nagasaki. After tiffin Their Exc's visited the Dockyards and Engine Works and the newly erected Tanks for the reception of the Japan-Formosa cable. The new Cable Ship the "Okinawa Maru" arrived here on Saturday.

The "Immortalité" leaves today to join the Admiral at Port Lazareff [Wonsan, Korea], whence the squadron

and was later appointed to the Privy Council. With Shinagawa Yajirō he founded the *Kokumin Kyōkai*, a progovernment political party in 1892.

⁴⁰¹ Katsura Tarō (1847-1913). Army general and politician of the Meiji period who held key positions in the army command and served as prime minister in three cabinets (1901-06, 1908-11, 1912-13). Born in Hagi, the castle town of the Chōshū domain (now Yamaguchi prefecture). Served as general of the Third Division under command of his mentor Yamagata during the Sino-Japanese war 1894-5. Appointed governor-general of Formosa (Taiwan) in 1896; army minister in successive cabinets from 1898 to 1900.

⁴⁰² Thomas Glover's single-storey house occupies a prominent position overlooking Nagasaki harbour, and can still be visited today.

⁴⁰³ Alfred Glover (1850-1904). Thomas Blake Glover's youngest brother. He sailed for Japan in 1867 and joined Glover & Co. in Nagasaki. In 1876 he joined Henry Gribble & Co. In 1879 he joined Holme, Ringer & Co., his last career move. He competed in the 1879 Nagasaki regatta, winning a tankard as stroke of the *Beautiful Maiden*. In 1886 he founded Nagasaki's St. Andrew's Society. Tomisaburo, Thomas Glover's son, joined Alfred at Holme, Ringer & Co. in 1895. In 1904, after 37 years residence in Japan, Alfred decided to return to Scotland. He fell ill on the first leg of the journey and died in Hong Kong. He was buried in Nagasaki at the Sakamoto international cemetery on 7 June 1904. (See A. McKay, *Scottish Samurai: Thomas Blake Glover, 1838-1911*, Edinburgh: Canongate, second edition 1997).

proceeds to Hakodate. The “Alacrity” which arrived yesterday from Pt. Hamilton, leaves tomorrow afternoon for Hakodate direct.

In connection with the visit of the Ministers the old question of the status of Merchant Consuls vis à vis those ‘de carrière’ came up again. Mr J.C. Smith, junior partner of the British firm of Holme Ringer & co., is the Senior Consul in view of length of residence, but has been refused official recognition as Senior Consul by those ‘de carrière’ here, and in consequence of a letter addressed to him by Mr. [J.C.] Hall [Acting Consul in Nagasaki, 1890-92], stating that he had received Mr. [former Minister 1889-94, Hugh] Fraser’s authorization to no longer regard him as Senior Consul, Mr. Smith has refused to assume the duties of Doyen [Dean of the Consular body]. Consequently it was impossible to arrange a reception of the Consular Body as such, and Mr. Müller Beck and I accordingly called, in white undress uniform, semi-officially. The heat of the weather entirely precluding the wearing of a frock coat and high hat.

Yours very truly

Ralph G.E. Forster

31. Forster to Satow

Nagasaki

July 1, 1896

[Recd. July 4, 1896]

Dear Sir Ernest Satow,

The gentleman who supplied me with the information embodied in the accompanying Memo: is Mr. Kragh, the Supdt [Superintendent] of the Great Northern Tel[egraph] Co. He particularly asked me not to mention his name in any Official Document for fear of its coming to the notice of the Japse. Authorities. For some reason they have kept the whole matter entirely to themselves, and he is naturally anxious not to give them any cause to be offended with him.

The French Flagship “Bayard” arrived today and is to stay a week. We have had wretched weather for the last two months, hot and raining hard. Writing Despatches is consequently attended with difficulties. We have had a very busy time the last few days, but today has been freer. The local Supdt. of Customs is reported to have resigned, but he has not yet notified the Consuls to that effect. Dr. Abercrombie the U.S. Consul has gone on leave and Mr. Hepburn, late of Yokohama and Manager of the Standard Oil Co. has been appointed Vice Consul. Dr. Abercrombie had recommended Mr. Devine to the State Dept. at Washington, but the latter objected to the appointment on the ground that he was an Englishman, and that Mr. Hepburn an American citizen was equally suitable.

Yours very truly

Ralph G.E. Forster

32. Forster to Satow

Nagasaki

July 8, 1896

Dear Sir Ernest Satow,

I am sorry to trouble you about these Cingalese [natives of Ceylon, now Sri Lanka], but I am in a dilemma what to do about them. I cannot let them starve in the streets, altho' of course as having arrived here in a Japse. St[eame]r I have nothing to do with them officially. I had to arrange to give them board and lodging, but I do not at present see how I can escape paying the cost out of my own pocket. I think the Japse. Govt. are decidedly bound to send back these men, but as the Governor refused to acknowledge any obligation but discussed the subject of relieving them purely from the charitable point of view, I thought it best to lay the matter before you at once, without waiting to receive the answer to my official letter.

There is a ship called the "Balmoral", chartered by the Nippon Yusen Kwaisha, leaving Kobe on the 19th inst. bound for London via Colombo, which seems an excellent opportunity for the Japanese to send these men back, otherwise they may be here for weeks. The local agents of the P. & O. refuse to book any deck passengers beyond Hong Kong, owing to the prevalence of the Plague, and other Steamers to Colombo from here are few and far between. I saw by the papers that you were leaving for [Lake] Chiuzenji on the 1st inst.⁴⁰⁴ Trusting you are experiencing the benefit of the change.

Yours very truly

Ralph G.E. Forster

33. Forster to Satow

Nagasaki

July 15, 1896

Dear Sir Ernest Satow,

Herewith I am sending you copies of the corresp'ce between myself and the Governor on the subject of the Cingalese. They are leaving by the German Mail at daylight tomorrow and I have sent a full report of the case and a Statement of the Disbursements made on their a/c by the same mail to the Colonial Secretary of Ceylon.

A case has arisen here on the subject of which I may have to address you officially later on. The circ[umstance]s are briefly as follows: A British firm named Adams & Co. who carried on business as General Store keepers and Naval Contractors, had a lot of ground outside the Settlement, granted at an annual rental to

⁴⁰⁴ Satow was at Lake Chuzenji from 1st to 4th July, 1896. (Ruxton, 2003, p. 451).

them many years ago by the Local Authorities, for use as a slaughterhouse and for the storage of Kerosene oil. Two other lots adjoining were also placed at the disposition of any foreigner who might wish to take them up for use for the purposes above stated. Messrs Adams & Co. were however the only ones who made use of the lot for the purpose of slaughtering cattle, and as time went on, there being no need of further slaughterhouse accommodation, the adjoining lots were used for building Kerosene Godowns [storehouses].

It must be borne in mind however that from the beginning the slaughterhouse was only used for killing cattle, sold for naval and private consumption by Adams in their own business. Last year Mrs. Adams, widow of the M.C. Adams who started the affair retired from business and sold it to an American firm of storekeepers named Powers & Co. The latter however did not buy the lot of land on which the slaughterhouse stands, but rented it from Mrs. Adams for a term of one year, which ended on the 30th June last. Mrs. Adams had during the course of the year received an offer to buy the land from the Standard Oil Co. of New York, and she accordingly intimated to Messrs. Powers & co. that she could not renew their lease of the slaughterhouse lot.

Powers & Co. protested and attempted to prove that this ground was for use as a slaughterhouse only, but this was shown not to be so by the Title deed. One of the terms of the title deed being that the permission of the Governor was necessary when transferring it to a subject of another Treaty Power, this was obtained and the Title deed sent to the Kencho [prefectural office] for registration of the Transfer. Before the Deeds were returned however, the U.S. Consul asked the Acting Governor, on behalf of the Standard Oil Co., whether they might erect Oil Godowns over the whole lot, to which he replied the consent of the Consular Body would be necessary thereto.

As the transfer to a U.S. citizen was not yet complete the U.S. Consul asked me to send out a circular asking if any Consul objected to the use of the whole lot as a Kerosene Godown. The view I took of the matter was that the ground was granted to Adams & Co. for the special purposes of their own business and they might use it how they liked, as long as they did not trespass the terms of their lease, and that consequently it was a matter which did not affect the Consuls, the land being outside the [foreign] settlement. However, I sent out a Circular asking my Colleagues to favour me with their opinion on the subject. The Circular came back today and I find that my German, French and Russian colleagues (all Consuls de carrière) as also the U.S. Vice-Consul are entirely of my opinion that the matter does not affect any other Consul than that of the person at present holding the land. On the other hand however the Consuls for Denmark, Belgium and Vice Consul for Portugal all object on the ground that if this Lot is used for Kerosene, no ground will be available for a Slaughterhouse for which purpose it was specially put aside. Thereby causing the inference that the public have a right to the use of the ground, which is not, nor ever has been, the case. I pointed this out in conversation with Mr. Smith, Danish Consul, today but he failed to see my point and ended his argument by saying that I must prove to him that a Settlement Slaughterhouse was no longer necessary before

he would assent to the ground being used for storing Kerosene.

It is a curious coincidence that the Consuls for Belgium, Denmark and Vice Consul for Portugal (Messrs. Ringer, Smith and A.B. Glover) are respectively the partners in the Firm of Holme Ringer & Co., and as such, Agents for the Russian Tank Oil Co. They have hitherto let their Kerosene Godown adjoining Mrs. Adams' lot to the Standard Oil Co., but now the latter would prefer to build their own if they could get the ground. The result is that Mrs. Adams is now unable to sell her property, whereas the public are no better off as they cannot force her to allow other people's cattle to be slaughtered on her ground. I am having an interview with the Governor on the subject tomorrow and shall write to you again.

Yours very truly

Ralph G.E. Forster

34. Forster to Satow

Nagasaki

July 23, 1896

Dear Sir Ernest Satow,

I am sending you in a separate cover a Memo on Shipbuilding in this place. I have requested you in my official letter to regard the information as confidential, as if Mr. Clarke's employers were to hear that he had been giving me particulars of the new ventures it might be unpleasant for him. I don't think he had any idea that I was talking to him for any other object than to get information for myself. He seems rather an innocent kind of man and I hope through him, to keep myself au fait [informed] with all that is going on in the Dockyard. I trust the Memo: may be of some interest to you.

With regard to the Lot of land set apart for slaughtering purposes about which I wrote to you some days ago, it appears that the land was at first granted solely for that purpose. The storage of Kerosene Oil was subsequently allowed as a special favour. Consequently Mrs. Adams has, by my advice, stopped further negotiations for the transfer of it for the present. The French V. Consul told me the other day that an English, a French and a German man of war had been told off to watch the laying of the Japan-Formosa cable, so as to know the exact spot where it could be taken up in the event of War. I don't know if this is true or not. I am hoping to be able to send you shortly a plan of the proposed alterations to Nagasaki Harbour. The greatest secrecy has however been observed with regard to the scheme as it is a private enterprise. Messrs. Holme Ringer of the port have, however, been consulted on the subject and I hope to be able to obtain some information on the subject through one of their Bantos [clerks].

The Firm however is so dreadfully afraid of compromising themselves with their Japanese constituents that it is very difficult to get any information on any subject from them. It is the same in all matters pertaining to

trade. They seem to fear by giving information that they will meet with competition in their business, and they appear to look with suspicion on the most ordinary questions with regard to the trade of the port.

Yours very truly

Ralph G.E. Forster

35. Forster to Satow

Nagasaki

August 11, 1896

Dear Sir Ernest Satow,

I am sorry to have troubled you about this business with the Hawaiian Ship, but the only point on which I was in any doubt was the fact that the men must be handed over to the Jap'se Authorities. I hear that Mr. [Robert Walter] Irwin ⁴⁰⁵ had asked Mr. Hepburn Vice Consul for U.S. to take charge of Hawaiian interests as far as the Ship was concerned and that Mr. H. had agreed to do so. In the meantime, Dr. [W.H.] Abercrombie U.S. Consul returned at the end of his leave, and said that he knew nothing on the subject, so that eventually the Ship's papers were deposited with the Japse. Authorities, in the absence of an Hawaiian Consul. When the men were brought here, I tried in conjunction with the Captain, to get them to go on board again, but they absolutely refused. One man, evidently the ringleader I am told, was a beachcomber at Shanghai for some time, and was eventually shipped on board this Vessel.

It has been very hot lately and as I have also been busy I have not been able to write to you for some time.

Yours sincerely

Ralph G.E. Forster

36. Forster to Satow

Nagasaki

August 17, 1896

Dear Sir Ernest Satow,

I am writing you a hurried note to let you know the particulars of the "Gaelic" accident at Shimonoseki. It appears from the Captain's statement that a junk was crossing at the narrowest portion of the channel on this (W.) side of the town and the ship was steered to pass astern of her. When just under the "Gaelic's" bows, the junk went about [turned sharply] and was capsized by the St[eame]r. A boat was immediately lowered and the crew rescued. It was while manoeuvring the ship to keep her near the boat that she got ashore [ran aground].

⁴⁰⁵ Robert Walter Irwin (1844-1925). Hawaiian minister resident (*benrikōshi* 弁理公使) and consul-general (*sōryōji* 総領事) in Japan. Contributed to Japanese emigration to Hawaii and the Formosan sugar industry. Died in Tokyo. See also Satow's diary 14 Jan 1898 (Ruxton, 2003, p.231)

A 7 or 8 knot current was running and it was very low water. The ship got into the power of the tide and was put ashore on a reef, striking just below the bulkhead dividing her 2nd and 3rd forward compartments. Both of these soon had 12 feet of water in them but luckily the 2nd compartment did not fill, otherwise the Vessel would probably have broken in half and gone down with all on board. The Japse. Quarantine Officials seem to have been more than usually bound up with red tape, as they wanted to muster the crew prior to landing any of the passengers. As all hands were busily engaged lowering the boats and doing all that was possible for the ship, this was of course out of the question.

The Captain seems much shaken by the accident and I have not yet been able to get all the details for the B/Trade [Board of Trade] report. I asked him if he intended to apply for a Naval Court, but he prefers to wait [for] a telegram from the Ship's owners. The Ship is to be docked for temporary repairs here and she will then go to Hongkong to have them completed. The "local" Dock is engaged up till the 11th November, so that the repairs cannot be executed here. I am told that her keel is badly injured and the foremast lifted a foot above its proper level, which would indicate that all her frames are out of position.

I hear that the men from the Hawaiian ship about whom I wrote to you some days ago have all run away to Kobe; at least so the Police say. I am very glad to get rid of them. We have had it very hot this last day or two and today the Barometer has fallen so much that we are on the lookout for a typhoon. Mr. [W.] Beauclerk⁴⁰⁶ of the Legation at Peking is on board the "Empress of China" passing thro' today but I have been so busy that I have been unable to call on him.

Yours very truly

Ralph G.E. Forster

37. Forster to Satow

British Consulate

Nagasaki Sept 12, 1896

Dear Sir Ernest Satow,

I had intended telegraphing to you the arrival, this morning, of the "Saratoff", but the line is down and the Telegraph authorities can give me no idea when communication will be again open. I have consequently sent a cable showing the movements of the Russian Vol: Fleet, since my last report. We have been very busy here lately in various ways, chiefly shipping and Court Cases in connection therewith, and I have not been able to do more than the current work of the office.

I heard from a man the other day who has travelled from Vladivostock with a Russian General that the

⁴⁰⁶ W. Beauclerk was chargé d'affaires at the Peking legation in February 1896. (J.E. Hoare, *Embassies in the East*, p. 32).

latter said that Russia was preparing to make a demonstration, but he would not say how or when, so the information is not of much value. The people of Nagasaki are much interested in the Harbour improvements and the Governor is proceeding to Tokio in connection with the matter. If the scheme at present suggested is carried out many holders of Bund⁴⁰⁷ lots in the Foreign Concession will lose their water frontage. It was this question which put a stop to the improvements suggested some 8 years ago, when a similar scheme was discussed. I am hoping to be able to send you a Memo: on this subject shortly but it is very hard to obtain any information here.

I had a letter from Mr. [John J.] Quin by last Canadian Mail. I am sorry to say he is worse than when he left Japan, having lost 7 lbs. in weight since his departure. He writes rather despondently, but says he is going [?] to London to consult a specialist, from whom he hopes to obtain relief from the continuous nausea. Mr. Beauclerk passed through here on the "Empress", and the French Minister to Peking is here on board the "Bayard". He is going direct from here to Tientsin in the "Isly". I received a copy of the new Cypher R from the Captain of the "Pique". I reported the fact to the Foreign Office as directed by the instructions.

Our hot weather is, I think, practically over now and we are all very glad as it has been a trying summer.

Yours very truly

Ralph G.E. Forster

38. Forster to Satow

[Recd. Sept. 20]

Nagasaki

September 15, 1896

Dear Sir Ernest Satow,

The information contained in the accompanying Despatch was given me by the Supdt. of the Great Northern Tel. Co. and I have sent it on to you, in case it may be of interest. The Telegraph Service is now so completely disorganized that it is good news to hear of a second line between here and the North.

Mr. T.B. Glover told me this morning that an 8 ft. seam of coal had been discovered on the Island of Koyaki [Koyagi-cho, no longer a separate island] at the mouth of this harbour at a depth of some 300 feet. It is however not believed to be of the same quality as that of Takashima.⁴⁰⁸

The railway to connect with Tokitsu on the Gulf of Omura [North of Nagasaki] is being rapidly finished

⁴⁰⁷ Bund: an Anglo-Indian word for 'quayside'.

⁴⁰⁸ Takashima coal mine (Takashima Tankō). One of the largest and most important mines in Japan. Discovered in the early 18th century on the small island of Takashima, south of Nagasaki. First controlled by the Saga domain, with which T.B. Glover's company cooperated from 1868 by introducing new mining equipment from England. Then controlled by the government, and later sold to Gotō Shōjirō who in turn sold it to Mitsubishi in 1881. The mine was closed in November 1986.

and hopes are entertained it may be opened shortly. As you may perhaps be aware, the Overland Mail Service from here to Moji [on the Kanmon straits] is conducted viâ Tokitsu. Thence it is conveyed to Sonogi, on the other side of the Omura Gulf, by Steamer, and thence to Tokio by messenger, to which place the Kiushiu [Kyushu] Railway has now reached.

Yours very truly

Ralph G.E. Forster

39. Forster to Satow

[Recd. 13 Oct.]

Nagasaki

October 9, 1896

Dear Sir Ernest Satow,

I have been so busy with my Accounts and with the Men of War arriving here that I fear I have allowed a long interval to elapse since I last wrote.

The Mexican Admiral called on me yesterday forenoon and asked me to act as Consul for Mexico. I pointed out to him that the right course would be for him to apply to the Mexican Minister at Tokio who would communicate with you. He then said that his Minister was having a holiday and that there would be no Chargé d’Affaires having any diplomatic rank. Under these circumstances I sent you my telegram of yesterday, altho’ feeling that the procedure was irregular. The Admiral seemed so very anxious to arrange the matter that I said I would telegraph to you. I don’t know why he is so anxious to have a Consular representative, unless it may possibly be to have an Interpreter. I met him on board the Austrian Cruiser “Saida” when she was here, and had a good deal of conversation with him, as I understand Spanish, although I have quite forgotten how to speak it.

The “Immortalité” arrived here yesterday and is to stay 10 days. The Admiral (Sir A. Buller) is expected here tomorrow or Sunday in the “Centurion”. He will probably transfer his flag to the “Alacrity” and go on in her to Yokohama. Admiral Oxley in the “Grafton” with the “Undaunted” is I believe also going to Yokohama. Admiral Buller is at present at Fusan [Pusan]. The “Daphne” is going to Manila, and I hear the “Rainbow” and “Pique” also.

Yours very truly

Ralph G.E. Forster

40. Forster to Satow

[Recd. 18]

Nagasaki

October 15, 1896

Dear Sir Ernest Satow,

The following is an extract of a letter received from Mr. Quin this morning, dated August 18th.
“I lately wrote to Madame Fugue [?] who has I presume made you acquainted with the contents of my letter.”
(It was the contents of this letter that I telegraphed to you the other day. R.G.E.F.) “The medicos think most seriously of my case and fear all sorts of complications. Of course they may be quite mistaken in their diagnosis and as yet there is no clearly indicated disease and I may recover and have to come out again for a further spell of service. Meanwhile I have got a year’s leave.”

The rest of the letter is taken up with instructions to me as to disposing of securities etc. deposited here, so I fear he is very anxious about himself.

I am very sorry I forgot to telegraph to you the Admiral’s arrival on Saturday afternoon. I fully intended to and had decided on the exact wording of the telegram when coming on shore in the boat, but when I landed I was met by the Constable who reported to me some trouble between the police and sailors that took me some time to enquire into and I then had to go off again to dine with the Admiral and somehow the matter went out of my head.

Your letter addressed to the Admiral and forwarded to me by Mr. Playfair only reached here this morning, although posted in Kobe on the 5th inst. The envelope although addressed to me in Japanese has a stamp which looks very like Yokohama, but it is so lightly impressed that it is difficult to decipher. I am writing to the Post Office to make enquiries about the delay in delivering it.

The Admiral leaves here tomorrow morning and will probably arrive in Kobe on Sunday and in Yokohama on Wednesday. This information was given me by one of the officers of the Alacrity, but not by the Admiral himself.

I received your telegram authorizing me to take charge of Mexican interests last night and shall call on the Admiral today to inform him. We have been very busy here during the last week or ten days with the usual trouble incidental to ‘General Leave’ to Men of War, but fortunately no serious cases.

Yours very truly

Ralph G.E. Forster

41. Forster to Satow

[Recd. 5/11/96]

Nagasaki

November 2, 1896

Dear Sir Ernest Satow,

I sent you a telegram this morning, saying that the Senior Consul's archives prior to 1889 were not to be found up to 1889. Mr. Iwersen had been Senior Consul and apparently had not handed over any of the Archives to Mr. Reddelion [?] who became Senior Consul in February 1889. The latter in handing over to Mr. J.C. Smith in July 1889 says in his letter that all Correspondence to February 1889 had been retained by Mr. Iwersen.

Mr. Iwersen is since dead and it appears almost impossible to get at the Archives prior to 1889. However the German Consul who has charge of Mr. Iwersen's Estate and all papers found in his house has promised me to make a search for the missing correspondence. In the meantime I am going to ask the Governor's Interpreter, who has been here a great many years if he can give me any information on the subject.

I had a letter from Mr. Quin by the last Canadian Mail. He says that he is losing weight still and the Doctors are most anxious about him. He adds however that no further malignant symptoms have developed. He writes that he is much disappointed at Mr. [John C.] Hall getting the Kobe Consulate, and adds that he will now retire, as the Doctors say it is utterly impossible for him to return to the East.

I have been so dreadfully busy lately that much important work has been necessarily put aside. The presence of so many Men of War and all giving their men General Leave has occasioned a good deal of work with the Police etc. There is also an Austrian Man of War here and I have continual visits from the Paymaster with documents to sign which break up one's day's work. The work on the Railway connecting this place with the Kiushiu system is being vigorously pushed forward, and it is hoped will be finished in January next. The new Dock on the other side of the harbour is also nearly complete.

Yours very truly

Ralph G.E. Forster

[P.S.] I hope to be able to answer your Despatch about the foreshore question tomorrow when I get the German Consul's answer to my official letter requesting him to make a search for the correspondence.

42. Forster to Satow

Nagasaki

November 16, 1896

Dear Sir Ernest Satow,

Herewith I am sending you my official report of the fracas between the French and our Bluejackets. I had intended sending it earlier but as I found there was nothing to add to my private letter of the 9th inst. I held it over until the matter was finally arranged. I had come to the conclusion that the French were entirely to blame in the matter, as far as the "Peacock" men were concerned, but the fact remained it was a case of revenge

against our men irrespective of the ship they belonged to, and consequently I considered it wise to telegraph to you, before taking upon myself the responsibility of refusing the French Consul's offer to divide the damage.

I fear there may yet be some difficulty in getting the other half of the damage out of the "Peacock's" men, as Captain St. John was strong in his opinion that his men were quite innocent in the matter. If he should refuse to make his men pay the money, I do not see how I can compel him to do so. The arrangement with the French Consul being that each party should pay half, it would be very awkward if he should afterwards become aware that the Englishmen had not done so.

The "Peacock" is expected back here tomorrow, and I shall do my best to arrange matters. Unfortunately I have no knowledge of how affairs were arranged between the Captains of the various ships, but you will doubtless be informed by the Admiral, to whom I understand the whole matter has been reported. I hear the Mexican Admiral stated to the French Admiral his intention of demanding an Indemnity from the French Govt. for the injuries sustained by the men from his ship, but I believe all has now been satisfactorily arranged.

I duly received your letter addressed to the Consulate General at Shanghai, forwarded to me by Mr. Hall. I gave it re-sealed and under cover to a Mr. Hall, a personal friend of my own and a Shanghai resident of many years standing, for transmission to Shanghai. He was a passenger by the "Sankio Maru", which left here yesterday afternoon, so the letter should arrive some time tomorrow. I can place the fullest reliance on Mr. Hall delivering it as requested.

I heard the other day from the Supdt. of the Great Northern Tel[egraph] Co. that when the Japse. first started laying the Cable from the "Okinawa Maru", whose machinery has lately been so fully described in the "Mail" [Japan Mail], they broke it in several places from ignorance of its working. They had some idea of bringing an action against the builders for faulty workmanship, but this was afterwards abandoned. The Official of the Tel[egraph] Construction & Maintenance Co. who came out in charge of a portion of the cable, guaranteed to lay it from Japan to Formosa in six weeks, but his offer was refused.

The Japse. have only succeeded after all these months in laying it as far as Okinawa. So also in the construction of the Cable Tanks, they were guided entirely by what they had read in books, and refused to take the advice of such a practical man as the Superintending Engineer of the Great Northern Tel[egraph] Co. It appears that the Japanese Engineer had read somewhere that it was necessary to have a drum or cone in the centre of the Cable Tank and one was accordingly placed in each of those on shore. In vain it was pointed out to them that these cones were only used in tanks on board a ship, where the cable entered the Tank from the hatchway above. They persisted in their ideas and elaborate winding machinery had to be put up in the roof of the Tanks, instead of having the cable passed through the door on the same level as that on which it was to be stowed.

Mr. Clarke, the new employé of the Mitsu Bishi Dockyard & Engine Works, told me the other day that the Engineer who had charge of the fitting of the Bilge keels to the “Zaragoza” [?] had learnt all he knew from books, never having had any practical training whatever. The result was that when the “Zaragoza” came out of dock, the Bilge keels were found to be most unsatisfactory, and on Mr. Clarke going on board to inspect them, he discovered that a great portion of them would have to be removed and refitted. It is a pity that the Japanese with all their praiseworthy efforts to rival Occidentals [Westerners] will not even make use of the trained experts whose salaries they pay !

Yours very truly

Ralph G.E. Forster

43. Forster to Satow

Nagasaki

November 18, 1896

Dear Sir Ernest Satow,

I am very sorry that I am so late with my report on the Wages etc. paid in Japan. I wished to make it as complete as I could, and only received some of the information two days ago. [Illegible phrase], but for some reason, the employers dislike telling me the amount of Wages they pay.

Yours very truly

Ralph G.E. Forster

44. Forster to Satow

[Ans. 8/12]

Nagasaki

December 3, 1896

Dear Sir Ernest Satow,

I am very sorry to have to inform you that last night a grave scandal was brought to my knowledge in confidence: the facts as reported to me are as follows. It appears that a young girl, an orphan, who had been adopted by an American Lady helping a Missionary School here, complained of illness and after a medical examination by a Lady Doctor here, was discovered to be enceinte [French: pregnant]. The girl is I am told a Russian by birth, but both her parents are either dead or have disappeared. In any case she has been adopted by an American lady for some years past. On being questioned as to her condition she confessed that she had had connection with an Englishman of this place named Mountifield, an employé of the China & Japan Trading Co. He is considered to be a gentleman and is a member of the Nagasaki Club [?].

On being questioned further the girl confessed that she had first had connection with Mountifield when aged only twelve years ! She is now 16 or 17. Mrs. Sukanuma, the lady doctor who examined the girl and who is married to a Japanese, sent for Mountifield and told her of the condition in which the girl was. He then said that he would marry her and would break off his engagement to a Miss Adams, also a resident of this place. It appears he informed Miss Adams of his inability to marry her, whereupon [?] she also went to Mrs. Sukanuma and stated that she was enceinte by Mountifield also. This assertion was also verified by Mrs. Sukanuma.

Miss Adams comes of very respectable parentage, her father [M.C. Adams, see letter 33 above] having been a Storekeeper and Naval Contractor in this port for many years. The father died some time ago and the Mother and Son are both residing here. The matter was brought to my knowledge by Messrs. Kragh and Jordan of the G.N. Tel. Co. [Great Northern Telegraph Company] who are intimate with Mrs. Sukanuma. They asked me for information with regard to the law on the subject of seducing a girl under age, as, all the parties to the matter being ladies, they had some difficulty in consulting me in person. I gave them the information they desired (this was at 10 o'clock last night) but up to the time of writing this (2.30 p.m.) no charge has been laid. I think it is possible that after all no charge may be laid in order to avoid a public scandal, and it will perhaps be better that the matter should not gain greater notoriety than is inevitable.

When Mr. [Joseph H.] Longford passed through here I asked him to let you know that if you had no objection I should much like to stop on here. I have been put to a certain amount of expense in furnishing my quarters here and should be sorry to leave Nagasaki for many reasons. Trusting this may be possible.

Yours very truly

Ralph G.E. Forster

45. Forster to Satow

Nagasaki

December 14, 1896

Dear Sir Ernest Satow,

I have to thank you very much for your kind letter of the 3rd inst. I shall be sorry to leave Nagasaki, but I quite realize how shorthanded the [Japan Consular] Service is at present.

With regard to my telegram to which you refer I must apologize for having troubled you with it, but as I had given you all the particulars of the affair in my private letter, I forgot for the moment that it was a matter on which I ought to consult the Judge. No more has been heard of the case and I think the man probably left for America by the last mail.

The local paper issued an Obituary notice of Mr. Quin this morning, based on a report to that effect given

by the "Japan Gazette". After telegraphing to Mr. Parlett [?] to find out if there was any truth in the report, I wrote to the Editor directing him to contradict it. The Harbour is full of Russian Men of War: the "Narcissus" is here and leaves on Saturday for Chemulpo. The "Immortalité" left today for Hongkong.

Yours very truly

Ralph G.E. Forster

46. Forster to Satow

[Recd. Dec. 24]

Nagasaki

December 19, 1896

Dear Sir Ernest Satow,

I am sorry to have to trouble you again with the enclosed Despatch about a Lunatic, but I am acting by [Judge for Japan at Yokohama] Mr. [R.A.] Mowat's directions.

Just as I write this a petition has been brought in to me by a friend of the Editor of the local newspaper, Norman by name, asking that the latter may be put under restraint as a Lunatic and incapable of managing his affairs. I am telegraphing to Mr. Mowat on the subject.

The "Undaunted" arrived here two days ago and will probably go into Dock on the 13th prox[im]o. The Russian Admiral gave a large afternoon dance yesterday on board the "Rurik" in honour of the Czar's Name Day, at which I was present.

I am very busy today which must be my excuse for not writing a longer letter.

Yours very truly

Ralph G.E. Forster

47. Joseph Henry Longford to Satow

J. H. Longford came to Japan in February 1869 as a Student Interpreter. He was transferred from Formosa where he was Consul to Nagasaki to be Consul there on December 28, 1896. (F.O. List of 1897). He was in attendance on H.I.H. Prince Akihito of Japan at the Coronation of King Edward VII, August 1902, and retired on August 15, 1902. (F.O. List, 1921).

41e Tsukiji [Tokyo]

January 2, 1897

Dear Sir Ernest,

May I come up to see you for a little while on either Monday or Tuesday or any other early day that may be

convenient to you, and in which you can spare half an hour to me. There are one or two matters on which I should much like to speak to you.

I venture in the meantime to send you the enclosed rough notes for your kind consideration. If nothing can be done in the terms of the suggestions, I trust you will think I am willing to do my best in every way, rather than give you unnecessary trouble, but my time is now drawing very short, and as I have not at all regained strength as I hoped, I can't help feeling some anxiety at the prospect – especially in its early stages. Everything at Nagasaki will be entirely new to me, and of a nature in which I have had scarcely any experience since I left Kobe [where he was Acting Consul] in 1890.

Believe me,

Yours very truly

Joseph H. Longford

Enclosed “rough notes” by Longford:

Nagasaki Consulate

Shipping work (always large) and miscellaneous questions appear to have greatly increased at Nagasaki and to be constant and arduous. The great number of men of war in harbour gives risk of disturbances on shore and naval courts have been more numerous at Nagasaki than any other port. The fees are, though perhaps separately of small amount, very numerous and the stamps require constant attention. It appears to be the custom, which is not the case at other ports, for the consuls to call on all men of war. There were, I think, 18 in harbour when I passed through the other day, and there were quite as many in April. This service requires a great deal of time, and if dropped might occasion offence.

The constable is I believe, an excellent man but he is discontented, feeble in health, over 60 years of age and might break down any day. I have now had no practical experience in shipping for over 6 years, and must in consequence be rather rusty, especially as during this period many changes in procedure have occurred.

Hitherto the services of an assistant at Nagasaki have been considered as necessary, that no matter what has been the stress or exceptional condition of whole service the consulate has never been without one.

In 1880 [?] there was one assistant (or Student Interpreter) at Yokohama, one at Kobe, and in Tokio one officer discharged all duties of Japanese Secretariat and the one assistant was still kept at Nagasaki through all this time.

In 1881. Rather than leave Nagasaki without an assistant, [Henry A.C.] Bonar was detached from Legation after 10 months service (Hall, acting Consul).

In 1884 (?) under Sir F. Plunkett, [William Abram] Woolley when on way home on leave of absence, was detained for four months at Nagasaki.

Some relief might be obtained by temporarily engaging the services of a Japanese clerk. Provision is made in the Regulations for temporary assistance whenever required, and a good Japanese clerk could be temporarily obtained for probably \$20 a month and passage. But rather than this might not the period for which one consulate must, under present circumstances, be short handed rather be divided between three, say Yokohama, Tainan and Nagasaki, than the whole burthen be thrown on the one which is not the best able to bear it ?

At Yokohama, in case of unusual pressure, the Registrar of the Court might assist, as has been done before, or the senior asst. in the Consulate act also as Registrar temporarily.

At Tainan [Formosa], if the Consul lives at Anping he can easily do the whole work, and he has the assistance of two most competent clerks, a Japanese and a Chinese, the latter a most valuable man, thoroughly acquainted with all consular detail and shipping routine. These two men are together quite equal to an assistant in the services they render. It is not likely that [William Joseph] Kenny will break down in health, fresh from England, at the very best season of the year – the climate in the South cannot be called really trying till June – and should Bonar break down – which is possible any time – relief could quite possibly be sent more promptly from Nagasaki than from Anping. From [the] latter there is only one opportunity every 10 days. In the S.W. monsoon sometimes not one in 20 days, and in the N.E. monsoon the steamer has taken 6 days on the trip from Takow to Keelung. No reliance at all can in fact be placed on regularity of communication.

In my present state of health and inexperience of the principal duties at Nagasaki, I can't help viewing with some anxiety undertaking the whole duties of the consulate at once, but I hope I should be quite fit to do so if Forster were allowed to remain for the first two months or so after my arrival until an assistant could be regularly appointed. And I should be very glad again to have [Ernest Alfred] Griffiths' services whenever they could be made available. I think I have a good influence on him, and in a year would hope to get him through his examination which he has not yet passed. I have already spoken very seriously to him on this point and I think with good effect. He is a very competent man and only requires application and encouragement. But in Formosa, serious study is very difficult. He is I think due for home leave towards the close of this year, but if he does not pass the exam before taking it [i.e. the leave] he never will, as he is now about 24 years of age. A continued effort for a year is all he requires, but that he has failed in for the past 7 years. The same may probably be said of Forster. In every respect, save that of having passed the examination, both men are, I should say, among the very best in the service, and it will be lamentable if either is shelved on this one account, which in either case can be very easily remedied. Hitherto they have had all discouragement in their way, but now in the new conditions of the service [illegible word – prospects ?] are very fair.

Note: When Longford came to say goodbye to Satow at the Legation in Tokyo before leaving for Nagasaki on January 16, 1897, Satow was not sympathetic to his appeal for an assistant. See also Satow's discussion of the matter with Thomas Blake Glover recorded in his diary for February 13 (Ruxton, 2003, p. 161): "L. [Longford] had been so long at the Legation doing nothing that he thought any work 'drudgery'." Yet Longford persisted doggedly, as the following correspondence shows.

48. Longford to Satow

Nagasaki

February 1, 1896 [Satow's correction: 1897]

Dear Sir Ernest,

It is hopeless, or almost so, to get any temporary clerical assistance in the Consulate here.

No European is available on the spot, and I am most strongly advised that none could be induced to come from either S'hai or H'Kong, for temporary employment, on the terms I could offer, except men of ill repute on whom I could place no reliance myself and whose presence in the Consulate would be viewed with great mistrust by the community. [Margin note] Note – My advisers are merchants of long standing and the managers of the H. and S. Bank.

I am equally advised that respectable and competent Portuguese will only accept employment that promises both permanency and advancement. Even with those prospects they cannot be induced to come to Nagasaki. They go where communities of their countrymen are already established as at Kobe and Yokohama, but there are none here and no new ones will come to live solitary lives. At either Kobe or Yokohama a young clerk, the son of some old resident awaiting employment, might be willing to accept a temporary engagement to be given up the moment a vacancy occurred for him in a merchant's office, but there is not the most remote chance of that here. H'Kong and S'hai Chinese are now most averse to coming to Japan on any terms and none would come on temporary engagement. The Japanese remain, but as you disapprove of that, I need not discuss it.

Since I saw you, I consulted both Troup and Hall who have had long experience of this Consulate. Both are of opinion that the services of an Assistant are necessary here, and the work, importance, and wealth of Nagasaki have almost marvellously grown since their time. All mail steamers call here now, it is the head quarters in Japan of the fleet, and constant enquiries from ship masters at Moji have to be answered. At Moji alone British shipping is now as great as was in Troup's time the whole shipping of Nagasaki, while the latter has grown from 185,000 tons to 749,000. Fees have doubled, and the amounts in such cases [?] being relatively small, labour connected with their levy in stamps is very arduous.

All my colleagues, German, U.S., French and Russian, all very old residents here and with fair ideas of

the work of this Consulate, have told me that it will be a heavy burthen to work alone, and the principal merchants [e.g. Thomas Glover] express that opinion in much stronger terms. In every instance, the opinions were volunteered.

One week's experience has shown me there is only too much ground for these opinions. I have hardly known where to turn some days. All day long there are constant interruptions and inquiries, there are difficult and puzzling cases to deal with, and the drudgery of the office is exacting in the extreme. The constable is old and infirm, a most excellent man but cannot do one iota more than he does, and a large part of his time is taken up with the jail. Three days last week I was in the office till after 9, and well could have been on two other days but that on one I was taken away by a funeral and on another by a wedding, at both of which I was expected to attend as Consul. Yesterday (Sunday) I was obliged to be in the office during the entire forenoon. This I can scarcely keep up, and you will understand the hardship of throwing all the petty drudgery, for the first time in the whole history of this Consulate, on a man of my age and length of service.

The reasons which induced your decision were, I understand, that Forster has done the work to your satisfaction and that Quin informed you an assistant was not necessary.

Well Forster has done the work practically for a year, Quin's frequent absences and illness having continued for over that period, and done it, I can see, extremely well, keeping all books and registers up to date and winning the respect and confidence of the community. But he tells me the strain has been more than he can bear, that he could not have continued it, and that its cessation is a great relief to him. If this is the case with a very young man in vigorous health with all the inducement of responsibility and large extra pay, what can be expected of the results in my own case? And while the work has been extremely well done, there have been some omissions – serious ones – caused simply by absolute inability to attend to or remember a multitude of affairs at one and the same time. A difficult case of lunacy during the past month has added to cares and anxieties, and it combined with other matters has in January alone caused:

- (1) the preparation of the Jury list to be delayed till too late in consequence of which the whole panel will be invalid for 1897.
- (2) an inquest not to be held where I am clearly of the opinion that it should have been
- (3) an important report to the B[oard] of Trade on gross misconduct of a master to be delayed.

These are three instances and well show you the results of loading the most willing of horses with more than he can carry.

As to Quin, I can only explain his statement to you as the outcome of mental infirmity of some sort. He was here about 7 years as Consul and I think as long as Assistant and never hinted at such a thing before. So far from that he actually applied to [Maurice William Ernest] De Bunsen for an extra assistant on account of increasing work. This was not known to me when I saw you, but Wileman has a clear recollection of it.

Whenever his assistant was absent on local leave, he solved the difficulty by letting everything that could be deferred accumulate till his return, and old members of the community here tell me that on such occasions he was in a constant state of grumbling and unwillingness.

I thought at first of placing these facts before you formally, and if you would like me to do so, I shall be most willing, but I think it best to write privately in the first instance at any rate. I think that the continued deprivation of an Assistant here may at any time result in a deadlock and serious public inconvenience. The necessary work is not equally spread from day to day, but as at every other consulate in Japan, comes in big rushes, and when one of these occurs I find it difficult to see how it can be dealt with. Such things as calling on Foreign Men of War will have to be given up entirely, and the general position heretofore occupied by the British consul in a community rapidly increasing in size and wealth, considerably abridged.

Pauper Lunatic I am venturing to bring this case again before you. The expenses of carrying out your instructions in No. 10 might run into a couple of hundred pounds even if they could be carried out at all, and I think there would be some chance of its sanction being entirely refused. The Consular Instructions appear to admit of what I propose. It is however doubtful whether I can collect any money as there are many local burdens on this community and I can only apply to them on the grounds of common charity. If I do apply would you permit me to head the list with a subscription from yourself, say \$20. That would exercise the best effect, and it would no doubt much gratify the people here to see that you took a local interest in the place.

Yours very truly

Joseph H. Longford

Partial copy of Satow's reply to Longford:

My dear Longford,

It will not be necessary for you to put into a despatch the contents of your private letter about your need of clerical assistance. When you have discovered a man that will suit as clerk, all you have to do is write a short despatch saying that you find you want help in the office and asking for sanction.

I must disabuse your mind about Quin. His opinion as to the amount of work at Nagasaki was given to me in Feb. [1896] when there was no idea of his going elsewhere, and on his journey home he was too ill to come ashore so that I did not see him. [See letter 27 above].

49. Longford to Satow

Nagasaki

February 22, 1897

Dear Sir Ernest,

Mowat has been more or less ill from the day of his arrival here (yesterday week) and for the last four days

has been entirely prostrated and confined to bed by a sharp attack of malarial fever. Worry and overwork have largely conduced to it, and two doctors now say that he will - no matter how the attack of fever results - be entirely unfit for all work and must have perfect rest for at least two full months. I hope to telegraph to you tonight. I have tried to induce him to do so sooner but it is only today that I have succeeded. He is also going to telegraph to [Hiram Shaw] Wilkinson.

Meanwhile, the case on which he came down has not advanced one iota. It is a lunacy case with which only the court for Japan can deal - it is of great urgency - in fact of the most pressing urgency - involving the management of an intricate estate, and already far too great delay has taken place in it. Mowat was originally to have come here on the 18th ulto. but the Carew case ⁴⁰⁹ detained him, and the present unfortunate circumstances have followed. I hope therefore you can make arrangements for filling Mowat's place very speedily. His idea is that Wilkinson should come over here, and he might arrive on Sunday next in which case we might manage to get the lunatic off to Hong Kong by the P. and O. S.S. [Steam Ship] of the following Thursday. It would be well to send [Head Clerk of the Court Charles Davis] Moss down to meet him (Wilkinson). Forster can tell you all about the case. The unfortunate man has been kept here now for over two months and there is no approach to proper facilities for his detention, while once the necessary forms and procedure are completed he can be received in the Government Asylum in Hong Kong.

The pauper lunatic is still here, as I cannot find anyone to take him to Shanghai, and the Dr. absolutely forbids his being sent without a trustworthy keeper, as he has marked suicidal tendency. I circulated a subscription list, headed by your donation of \$20.00, which I duly received, and by persistent begging have got nearly \$150. This is the utmost I can hope to do. The man had not a particle of claim on the community, and the Indian Famine was a simultaneous tax. It will cost fully \$50 to get him to Shanghai so I shall have only \$100 to remit to [Judge of Supreme Court for China and Japan & Consul General at Shanghai, Nicholas John] Hannen. Mowat will go to Shanghai by the Gaelic on Thursday if fit to move.

Yours very truly

Joseph H. Longford

50. Longford to Satow

Nagasaki

April 26, 1897

⁴⁰⁹ Walter R. H. Carew was secretary of the Yokohama United Club. He was poisoned by his wife Edith and died on 22 October 1896. Preliminary hearings took place in the Yokohama consular court 11-19 November. The trial commenced on 5 January 1897 and ended on 1 February. Edith was convicted and condemned to death, but Satow had this commuted to life imprisonment by virtue of an Imperial pardon for criminals proclaimed on 11 January 1897.

Dear Sir Ernest,

I have made a rough memo. of my day's work today and it is fairly typical of almost every day.

Not one [day] passes without a string of persons in in one matter and another, and one is no sooner got rid of than another crops up. It is absolutely impossible for me to keep up the office work with the constant interruptions, and in the office there is abundant work for a qualified assistant. The copyist does what he was engaged for well enough, but of course in matters of today's nature he is useless. I am trying him now with the Customs Returns, but his figures are not reliable, and I have to go over and check everything he does in that way. We shall have several ships here almost immediately, including two admirals, involving more calling and constant applications and references, and how I am to get through it all is more than I can see. Would it not be possible to transfer my copyist to Yokohama or Kobe and let me have one of the assistants thence. It seems a more equitable arrangement and at either place the remaining assistant could supervise and make use of the copyist, himself doing all the registration and notarial [legal] work. I am almost [?] hopelessly in arrears now, and as [the] present state of affairs will [?] continue for some months to come, I see no chance of working it off unaided, while if this naval court or police cases come, there must be an utter block.

[Rear] Admiral [Charles L.] Oxley [second in command, British China and Japan squadron] is annoyed that I have not called on the Russian admiral as the Russian consuls call on him, but I told him it was impossible for me to afford time, and from what he saw while here himself this morning he admitted that I was very fully occupied. A call on a man of war – dressing in uniform etc. – takes a whole forenoon, and then there is the return call to receive. I find it difficult enough to call on our own ships, as I must, and much though I should like to show every courtesy and politeness to the Russians above all others, it is under present circumstances absolutely impossible for me to do so. I had no idea or appreciation of what Nagasaki has grown to. The shipping now frequently enters right to the mouth of the harbour where formerly they scarcely passed the bund [quayside].

People here, as I suppose they are elsewhere, are much exercised over the new Tariff and my telegram today was sent at the request of the directors of the new Hotel company. A first class hotel is to be built, [Josiah] Conder ⁴¹⁰ has commenced it, and as large supplies of fittings etc. are necessary from England it will be a matter of vital importance to the company to get these in before the new tariff comes into operation. In fact their estimates of coal will be entirely upset, if they have to pay duties on the new scale. The compilers of

⁴¹⁰ Josiah Conder (1852-1920) was in Japan from 1877-1920. Often described as the Father of Japanese modern architecture. Taught at Imperial College of Engineering. See *Westerners in the Modernization of Japan* by Teijiro Muramatsu (Tokyo: Hitachi Co. Ltd. 1995). See also 'Josiah Conder (1852-1920) and Meiji architecture' by Dallas Finn, Ch. 5, *Britain and Japan 1859-1991: Themes and Personalities*, ed. Cortazzi and Daniels (London: Routledge, 1991).

the statutory Tariff have in their eagerness to tax foreigners, which seems to be the main idea of a great number of the items, shown themselves most shortsighted. Men of war spend over \$150,000 per month in Nagasaki (e.g. there are now eight Russian men of war in harbour). They will all be driven away completely by high prices.

Loading and unloading Cardiff coal gives employment to large numbers of the people, and brings a great deal of money into the port for storage, boat hire etc. If there are no drawback systems, that will all go to Shanghai. All that I have been able to say as to the time of enforcement of the new Tariff is that if the last Treaty to be concluded, I think the Austrian, is similar to the English there will be six months respite from the day of ratification. The duties on the necessities of foreign life are placed in so high a scale that the alleged revenue object will be defeated, and the only result will be to deprive foreigners of many comforts and luxuries they have hitherto been able to enjoy with good conscience. The first year will probably be discounted in advance both by storekeepers and consumers, and after that people will strive to do without. Such high duties will also encourage the preparation of fraudulent invoices, which are now all absolutely honest. It is a melancholy outlook.

Apart from the Tariff, the natural rise of prices – beef, bread, milk, vegetables etc. wages on account of increased demand in Nagasaki has been enormous, in many instances amounting to 200 percent in two years. Land is as high as at Kobe, and is rising all the time. In the case of Norman's estate, land, business, plant and everything was bought two or three years ago, I forget the exact time, for \$10,000 easily deferred payments. The committee now wants \$40,000 for the land alone, and may very likely get it.

Yours very truly

Joseph H. Longford

Monday. April. 26. 97

In office at 9 o'clock.

Three despatches, telegram and private letter to Mowat.

Callers Mr. Stone – long talk on state of lunatic Norman, responsibilities of committee etc.

Mr. [Josiah] Conder.

8 Seamen of "Grafton" – applying for riding passes. Warned them seriously to be very careful in demeanour to Japanese.

Admiral Oxley – Long visit. Remonstrated with me for not calling on Russian admiral.

Dr. Paul – Inquiring as to new Tariff – enforcement etc.

Mr. Ringer – Requesting me to call a meeting to arrange for [Queen Victoria's Diamond] jubilee celebration. Discussing particulars and places.

Mr. Baker (Agent Hon[kong &] S[hanghai] Bank). Transfer of land with doubtful title. Several difficult technicalities.

Mr. Birnie [?] (Messrs. Browne & Co.) Wreck of Yik Jang [?] at Shimonoseki. Urgent need of passport. Disposal of crew if total wreck. Naval court etc etc.

Mr. Morgan —Secretary Church committee. Request [?] call meeting of committee. Examination of accounts.

Mr. J.C. Smith —Application for new Title Deeds of land. Can they be got, fees, registration etc.

Browne & Co. Second visit with Marine Superintendent of Jardine Matheson & Co. Long talk as to naval court, means of disposal of crew, salvage etc.

Letter from Governor enclosing Title Deeds for new Co. if land granted to British Subject for registration

Telegram to Minister [Satow] re Tariff.

Telegram from Mowat in reply to this morning.

Letter to Capt. Mercer R.M. [Royal Marines] British Legation Söul, explaining mails, forwarding etc.

Eight applications for travelling passports.

Left office at 5.20, having in interim been absent for 1½ hours at farewell tiffin [light meal, especially lunch] for [by ?] Mrs. Ringer who leaves for England on Thursday.

It may be said that completion of all formalities in regard to a transfer of land takes one full hour in each lot. Three cases came in today, and there are already 13 from last week awaiting completion on granting of new deeds from Japanese.

51. Satow to Longford (Draft copy of letter)

Tokio,

May 4, 1897

Dear Longford,

A very exact account of how the Tariff negotiations stand was given in the annual report of the Kōbe Ch[amber] of Com[merce], Hall having been authorized by me to furnish them with the information on that head wch. they had asked for. So if the Hotel promoters get that they will know as much as any one else at the moment.

I am sorry you are not satisfied with the arrangement by wch. you have a clerk. Some time ago I asked Troup if he could dispense with his second assistant, but he said he could not. Hall is a[l]ways asking for a

fourth man, and I am sure he would object to being deprived of Hampden. Besides this the F.O. have not had time to say what view they take of the engagement of a clerk. I am afraid you must be content with what you have. As to calls on foreign Admirals, as Oustinoff did not call on Ad. Buller at Hakodate last year, they can put against that year not calling on the Russian Admiral this year. You might have saved your expenditure on telegs. about an assistant; as your despatch was on the way I naturally awaited for its arrival.

As far as I can see at present, it will not be possible to give you an assistant before the students pass out of the Legation in August of next year, unless any of your colleagues [fellow consuls] should be willing to sacrifice his convenience for yours, and the F.O. should approve of his getting your clerk instead.

y. t.

E.S.

52. Longford to Gerard A. Lowther

(Lowther was Secretary at the Tokyo Legation, and also Chargé d’Affaires while Satow was away in England for the Diamond Jubilee of Queen Victoria from May 8 to November 21, 1897).

Nagasaki,

September 20, 1897

My dear Lowther,

It has occurred to me that you (nor Sir Ernest for that matter) may not be aware of the position of affairs among the members of the Consular Corps here and that enclosures 4 and 5 in my [despatch] No. 22 may mislead you in regard to it.

For a great number of years the two senior Consuls have been Mr. J.C. Smith (Danish) and Mr. F. Ringer⁴¹¹ (Belgian) both British subjects, merchants, and as both are permanent fixtures in Nagasaki, they are likely to remain so for a great many years to come.

For some years, their seniority was (I believe) contentedly recognised by the Consuls de carrière [full-time, professional consuls], but in 1890, the question as to a merchant consul becoming doyen occurred at Kobe, the consul in that case being a German subject and consul, J. Meik [?], for Holland. Three consuls there refused to recognize him in any way – either officially or socially – as senior. The three were British, French and United States. In the first two cases, positive orders were given to the Consuls by their Legations to adhere strictly to this course, but I think those to the British were contained in private letters, though these may be and probably are preserved in the archives at Kobe. I do not remember whether the U.S. Consul communicated at all with his Legation on the subject, but at all events he took up the position very warmly

⁴¹¹ Frederick Ringer founded Holme Ringer & Co. in Nagasaki with Edward Holme on 2 November 1868. He had previously worked for Glover & Co. as a tea expert.

and adhered to it.

Nagasaki then seems to have followed suit, and I find the enclosed letter sent by Quin to the Governor. Quin's communications with the Legation must also have been private, as I find nothing in the archives. In 1892 however there are three despatches on the subject, No. 1 from and Nos. 2 and 10 to Legation.

Since then the position of affairs has continued to be most unpleasant from a social and most unsatisfactory from a business point of view. The Consular corps never can act together on any matter, and there are many on which they should, and their failure to do so has allowed a great many things to be neglected (what is everyone's business is no one's) and the affairs of the municipality to run utterly to seed. No one knows now where the Consular archives are, and there are cases now in hand which render reference to them most advisable. Socially, several of the Consuls de carriere are prevented from assisting [being present] at all functions, entertainments etc. whether given by the Japanese or others, savouring at all of an official nature. The results are, however, fully described in No. 2 of 1892 to the Legation, and I need only say that whatever were the inconvenience and unpleasantness then, they have since rather increased than the reverse.

The recent Harbour Improvement case was so serious, both from the tone of the Governor's letter, the interests immediately affected, and the precedent that would be created by it, that it appeared to the French and German consuls and myself that it would be advisable that for once at least some concerted action should be taken. The matter was taken in hand by the German, as the junior, and all the consuls having been brought together at his private residence, the letter of protest to the Governor was signed in alphabetical order – the questions of doyenship and seniority being ignored. In doing this I thought I was not going against either Mr. Fraser's instructions or the line followed by my predecessors. But in the Governor's reply you will see he puts the addresses in order of precedence – though he was specially asked to address his reply to "The Treaty Consuls" – and as I believe this was done with deliberation, we are all thrown back again on the old position and both the French and myself prevented [from] taking any further joint action.

Since writing this, the German consul has (privately) shown me the telegram he has received from his Minister. There seem to be several difficulties in the way of carrying out the suggestions or instructions, I don't know which to call them. (1) The other Consuls (Chinese, U.S., Russian, Spanish etc.) will probably not join in any further protest unless specifically instructed (2) I can't see what further protest can be made. The first has been rejected and the matter is one in which the Governor has no power, the sanction to the [harbour improvement] scheme having been given by the Imperial Government. (3) The question has already been referred by the Consuls to their several Legations, and would appear to be one for settlement (in principle) with the central Government. (4) Further concerted action will be difficult without complete surrender to the claims of the merchant consuls, creating a precedent which it will be difficult to set aside hereafter, and making a position especially unpleasant to myself as British Consul.

I have had to write this as usual with many interruptions and hastily. But I hope you will find it clear enough. I am heartily sorry now that I joined in the first collective protest, instead of writing as usual, “off my own bat”. But the importance of the case must be my excuse. If the Japanese gain their point now, there is nothing to prevent them reclaiming the front of the entire lengths of the bund here – shutting out from the sea every house in it – and perhaps doing the same at Kobe and Yokohama.

Yours ever sincerely,

Joseph H. Longford

P.S. The foregoing was commenced at 9 am written at considerable intervals, and just finished when your telegram came at 12.25. Its terms are not in accord with those of the German one, as far as I can remember them. I can’t see at the moment how I am to move my colleagues as I have no seniority or other claim to do so. Arguments will be thrown away on the Governor who has no influence in the matter – and my view was that I had already exhausted all means at my disposal and that the matter was finally in your hands for settlement with the central Government. Further action here seems to me entirely useless – No matter how long continued it will leave us precisely as we were and the whole must come finally to you.

Please consider this hurried p/s as a feather [?] to show how the wind of my opinions go. I shall think over your telegram and consult with the German and French consuls and perhaps telegraph to you. I cannot keep on the work of this office and deal satisfactorily at the same time with such a case as this. I have been in the office since 9 a.m. – am not going out for tiffin – have a Board of Trade case at 2 o’clock to try in court, two transfers of land with all their voluminous registration and attestation on the desk awaiting action – and tomorrow fully provided for, and so it goes on from day to day.

J.H.L.

September 20/97

53. Copy of letter from Quin (addressee not stated)

Copy No. 35

British Consulate,

Nagasaki

June 15, 1890

Sir,

I have the honour to inform you that, being of the opinion that the seniority among the Members of the Foreign Consular Body at this Port should rest solely among the officially paid Consuls, and not with the unpaid Merchant Consuls, it is not my intention in the future to recognise Mr. Ringer, Belgian Consul, as Senior Consul, nor any other Merchant Consul who may so designate himself. I shall not therefore attend any

Consular Meetings called, either by him or any other Merchant Consul, nor be present at any official Meeting or reception, when such seniority is accorded him.

In the future therefore, I beg that should you, at any time, desire my decision upon any matter of general Consular interest, that you will address me separately on the subject, when I shall be most happy to give the matter my most careful attention and consideration.

I have etc. (signed) J. J. Quin

54. Longford to Satow

Negishi [N.E. of Ueno park, Tokyo]

December 12, 1897

Dear Sir Ernest,

If it is not troubling you too much will you kindly telegraph a word to me tomorrow to say on what day you would like to see me in Tokio. I propose to return to Nagasaki by the Rosetta leaving Yokohama at the end of the week. The Rio leaves a day or two earlier, but she is unreliable, and the Rosetta will probably reach Nagasaki quite as early.

Yours very truly

Joseph H. Longford

55. Forster to Satow

[recd. 17/12]

Nagasaki

December 13, 1897

Dear Sir Ernest Satow,

I have been making enquiries regarding the conditions on which the proposed new land at the head of the harbour is to be disposed of to purchasers. In the letter from the Governor to the Consuls, in August last, on the subject of the Scheme for the reclamation of the harbour, a plan of the proposed alterations was enclosed but nothing further. Nothing was said with regard to the disposal of the reclaimed land. Opinions on the subject seem to vary greatly. Captain Crichton who is the Chief Director of the operations told me this morning that he had applied to the Govt for a frontage lot on the reclaimed ground and that he had been told that nothing could be done in the matter until the ground was above high water mark. A Japanese friend also told me that two Japanese had applied to the Mayor for permission to buy the whole of the reclaimed ground as a speculation. The application was however refused and the applicants told that they must wait until the ground was actually existent before this application could be entertained.

It seems clear that the reclaimed land will be included in the limits of the City of Nagasaki and that applications for purchase will have to be made to the Municipal Authorities. On the other hand a Japanese has informed me that he is of [the] opinion that the whole of the ground has practically been already apportioned. In view of the conflicting opinions on the subject, I have deemed it wise to await the result of the private enquiries I am having made before addressing the Governor officially on the subject. Since writing the above, I have learned from young [Tomisaburo] Glover (son of T.B. Glover) whom I asked to procure me some information on the subject, that the Company undertaking the work will have a portion of the land to dispose of, the rest being divided between the Customs, the Railway Company and the Municipal Authorities.

Nothing definite has yet transpired but it is believed that the ground will only be leased for a term of years and not sold outright. I fear the above will not be of much value, but I think it may be taken for granted that no definite scheme for the taking up of the land is yet existant [sic]. I shall write to you again directly I receive any further information on the subject.

Yours very truly

Ralph G.E. Forster

56. Longford to Satow

Nagasaki

January 17, 1898

Dear Sir Ernest,

It is quite possible – in fact probable – that I shall have to refer to you later on the matter dealt with in the accompanying enclosures:

1. To Procurator
2. Mr. Sands – sworn statement ⁴¹²
3. Extract from Chiuji [?] Nippo

But as I see it has already got into the Jiji Shimpō at Tokio, you might like to know something about it at once. The enclosures are already docketed so that they can be added to a despatch if it should have to be

⁴¹² Around midday on 1 January 1898, William Frank Sands, secretary of the American legation in Tokyo, while returning from a visit to the American consulate in Nagasaki was surrounded by four or five drunk tradesmen on Nami no Hira hill. After an exchange of words, one of the Japanese (Inoue) tried to hit Sands with an umbrella. Sands punched him, and fled to the nearby house of the British consul Joseph Henry Longford. Inoue bled from the right eye, while Sands was unhurt. Sands tried to sue for assault and trespass to the property of Longford, but the case was dismissed by the Nagasaki prefectural governor (Komatsubara Eitarō) for lack of evidence. Komatsubara reported to the foreign minister Nishi on 26 February. (Nagaoka, vol. 2, pp. 59-60, summarizing from *The Nagasaki Press*, 4 March 1898 and Japanese diplomatic archives.) The Sands case is mentioned in Satow's diary for February 20, 1898.

written. The two first describe very mildly what occurred. It threatened at one moment to become serious, and had it not been for my own house boy might easily have done so. My son was with Mr. Sands all the time and can give a very clear account of what happened, but I have not yet put it in writing. I have had no answer from the Procurator. The three men arrested were handed over to him by the police, and an official of his department subsequently came and viewed the scene, but for the present the case remains there.

The Admiral has just come in in the Centurion, and I am going off to him now. Admiral Fitzgerald was here all last week in the "Grafton", but left on Saturday under sealed orders.

Yours very truly

Joseph H. Longford

57. Satow to Longford (partial, in answer to 58. below)

"As to prospective moves I cannot say anything at present. Until the question of Troup's retirement is settled it would be premature to make any proposals to the F.O. When that event happens I shall carefully consider what is likely to be best for the public service. I hardly think anything can be settled before midsummer. I should like to see whether Kenny is to remain on at Honolulu. As soon as Wileman or Parlett returns I hope to send you an assistant, if nothing new arises in the meantime to disturb my present calculations.

Litchfield has not said anything about your a/c of expenses, wch. of course have nothing to do with the question of subsistence allowance for consular officers travelling fr. one port to another. I believe they get all their expenses, such as rlwy and st[eame]r fares, boat hire and jinriki, and the subsistence allowance when travelling by trains, e.g. from Hakodate to Yoko[hama] tho' they may not go to a hotel. If I had any representation from any one that they did not cover his expenses, I wld. take the matter up, but hitherto none has reached me.

Jan 25/98"

58. Longford to Satow

[Asked Lay whether the allowance covers jinriki hire and he says not: students get everything paid, so do juniors of the Consular service, besides hotel and wine allowance.]

Nagasaki

January 19, 1898

Dear Sir Ernest,

In the account of my travelling expenses to Yokohama for the Cuthbert trial, which I have sent to Mr. [Henry] Litchfield direct, I have put down a charge of £1/0/0 per diem for maintenance and hotel expenses while in Yokohama. I don't think this question has ever been raised before, but I hope you won't mind my troubling you with it now as, in view of increasing prices in Japan, it may be of some importance to the

service in the future.

This rate (£1/0/0) is what is allowed to the European Consular Service, it was granted to [Byron] Brennan during the whole of his tour through China and Japan, and it is allowed in Japan to all members of the Diplomatic Service. It seems therefore only reasonable and proper that it should also be allowed to H.M.'s Consuls, whose expenditure on this account cannot be any less than young secretaries in the Diplomatic Service.

There are two reasons against immediately sanctioning it in my immediate case. (1) Last year Hall, when attending the Carew case [in Yokohama] charged \$6.00 per diem. I can't imagine what basis he went on. (2) Your circular No. 20 of Sept 7, 1896 fixing allowances at \$7.00 per diem for married and \$4.00 per diem for unmarried officers on transfer from one port to another by land. This circular does not apply to my present case but the principle would be the same.

These allowances are however utterly insufficient at the present day, whatever they may have been in 1875 when they were fixed. In 1875, \$7.00 represented 29s/9d. Now it represents about 14/- [14 shillings], and to say that because hotel accommodation could be had at that rate in 1875 it must be had now is as reasonable as to say because beef could be bought at 1d [penny] a lb. [pound] in the reign of Charles II, it must be bought at the same rate now. According to my memory the general rate at the best hotels then was \$3.00 per diem. Now, at the Grand in Yokohama it is \$6.00, at the hotel here \$5½, at the Imperial at Tokio (I think) \$7.00, at the Hongkong hotel from \$6.00 (for a bachelor's room on the top story) to \$10.00 – all these for one visitor. When to these charges are added those for wines etc., jinrikisha [rickshaw] hire, tips, extras for fire, £1/0/0 seems a moderate enough allowance. In China, the scale laid down in the circular has been found impracticable, and it has been increased in Shanghai and Tientsin.

The question is not likely to affect myself very much, as it is only in a very exceptional case that I am ever likely to have to make a charge of this kind, and for the sake of one instance only I should not attempt to raise it. But it may often affect younger members of the service very considerably in the future, and to have it settled in their favour now may be a boon to many.

In case you may be able at any time to tell me of the prospective date of my removal to Kobe, if it is to take place, it would or might be a great saving to me to know it early. My house here costs quite \$400 a quarter, and I have to give a quarter's notice of termination of tenancy, so that it would be advisable to take the first opportunity of doing so, whenever anything is definitely in view. I don't know of any other house here that would be available for my successor, but mine may be too large for him, and as rents are steadily rising he may not be able to get mine even at the present high rental. And six years ago, it was let fully furnished, at \$50 per month ! There is literally not a spare foot of ground now available for foreigners in Nagasaki, and persons requiring residences have simply to pay what the landlord asks. If one refuses, another comes forward,

and once the reclamation at Decima [Dejima] is commenced there will be several houseless families.

The Admiral leaves tomorrow, and the two other ships now here also go. The American Admiral went off in high disgust at the result of the trial in the case of the murder of one of his men, and I believe he has telegraphed in strong terms to Washington about it. The recent change in American Consuls here is most unfortunate. The former had been here for 8 years and was in every sense a most excellent official and colleague. The new one is a Western farmer, who never even saw a ship until he embarked at San Francisco on his way to take up his post here, and has not, I am told, the remotest conception of what a Consul's functions are.

Yours very sincerely,

Joseph H. Longford

59. Longford to Satow

[Answered 2/3]

Nagasaki

February 15, 1898

Dear Sir Ernest,

I understood from Forster that he had sent the information you required about the harbour scheme and as he had plenty of time to do it I did not suppose he would have left it undone. I am very sorry for the delay which I shall try to remedy as speedily as possible, but I am well nigh distracted with affairs of daily occurrence. There are four cruisers and two sloops here, all giving general [leave] to their men who have been boxed up in their ships for two months or so. The place is pandemonium today, and the whole day long I've been investigating charges. My jail is full and I expect several charges in writing to come. There are two large merchant ships also here from Philadelphia with crews of the worst type, and I have one or more of their men almost daily before me. With all this there is the formal calling to get through and I simply don't know how to manage. It is impossible for any one man to do it.

Not having had a word of answer in respect to what I shall call the Sands case, both the U.S. Consul and I wrote a few days ago requesting information as to what had been done. The answer was: "The case is now under trial and you will be informed of the result when finished." This almost six weeks after the occurrence !

A little side quarrel is taking place between the Prefect and U.S. Consul in regard to the latter insisting (as the Germans do) in corresponding direct with the Prefect alone, while the Prefect refers him to the Court.

I shall endeavour to send you privately another matter with the Prefect, illustrating the idea he has as to the inviolability of hou[s]es [?] or in the Treaty [?] words of "respecting houses". The german Consul has been ordered to report generally on Japanese procedure in criminal cases, but it is difficult to get any authentic

information. The report was, I think, called for in regard to the shameful case of the Olympia murder, but except for the unhappy seriousness of the latter, it was not, I think, nearly so glaring as our “Grafton” case last June. I quite expect a full acquittal of the three accused in the Sands case, and if that is so, there will be an end to any hope whatsoever of justice for foreigners in Japanese courts. I am perhaps anticipating what may never happen, but if it does, take the three cases of the “Grafton”, the “Olympia” and Sands, and these alone will give very good grounds for forming a sound opinion.

Yours very truly

Joseph H. Longford

60. Longford to Satow

[Ans. 2/3]

Private

Nagasaki,

February 24, 1898

Dear Sir Ernest,

I send you at last the documents connected with the Harbour scheme – all in original – and I trust they will satisfy your requirements. I have said nothing about translation in my covering despatch, as I am sure you will readily believe it would be hopeless my commencing such a task now – I received the documents late last night and have been able to give them only the merest glance. The missionaries, I may mention, have recently applied to me, by instructions from their chiefs at home, for information as to the position in which the matter now stands. In uncertainty as to future, they are deferring [postponing] necessary repairs and alterations to their buildings, not wishing to spend money on a site which may shortly become useless for their purposes.

Last night, I also at last received from the Kenji [public prosecutor 検事] the reply to the charge I made on the events of New Year’s day [the Sands case], and I send you a copy of it. It is even worse in result than I expected, the Kenji having declined to prosecute at all. I fully expected dismissal in Court, but I thought it would at least have gone through the fiction of a trial. I shall of course now write to you formally on the matter as soon as I can possibly do so, but daily pressure continues here to such a degree that it is more than difficult for me to undertake a really serious question such as this. The Rear Admiral (Grafton) and five other ships are still here and I am in constant communication both with him and the C. in Chief at Tienghai [Shanghai ? Tientsin ?]. The latter will probably come here next week, with the Centurion, Immortalité, Pique etc. all now at Tienghai, the fleet here at present doing general post with them, and then we shall have all the pandemonium of general leave over again. Affairs were so bad with the present fleet that I had to request that a picket [guard] should be permanently stationed at the Consulate, in addition to two patrolling the town, but

withal [despite] this there were numerous disturbances and charges. The settlement is a perfect nest of the vilest grogshops, the men get madly drunk in them, then they are baited by coolies, always on the lookout for a tipsy sailor, and the police never interfere for the protection of the foreigner. I have spoken about the indifference of the police till I am weary of it, but it is just beating the air [a vain effort] and some day sooner or later, there will be a serious case. There is such a spirit among the lower orders here that I suggested to the flag captain the inadvisability of giving general leave at all, but there is no choice about it with the ships ringing the changes only on Chemulpo, Tienghai and here.

The state of the harbours here is another subject of constant worry. One day last week there were 36 ships in it, all and each anchored just where it suited the convenience of each individual master, and egress and ingress of the large mail steamers rendered most difficult. There have been three cases of collision but happily I got all settled after long arguments but without formal proceedings. The German Consul had three cases of collision also in, I think, one day. The Japanese navigators are utterly reckless, and it is by the merest good fortune that accidents have not been more numerous. A few days ago, the Empress, in avoiding a collision with an outgoing Japanese steamer that charged her at full speed, nearly ran into a large English sailing ship at anchor, and the Doric was very nearly ashore in Shimonoseki, in avoiding another Japanese steamer that deliberately crossed her bows. The Empress was close behind the Doric and it was just touch and go that there was not a big smash up.

The coal requirements of the fleet are becoming very pressing but good opportunities have been lost by hesitation. The admiral did not accept an offer I got him after long correspondence and telegrams of 2800 tons the other day, and now the price has gone up \$3.00 per ton, that lot having been in the meantime snapped up. The Takashima [colliery] refuse to sell any more coal to anyone to whom they are not bound by previous contract, and an embargo is shortly expected also on the Miike [in Omuta, Fukuoka prefecture, Kyushu 三池] coal, the next best to Takashima [高島, a small island southwest of Nagasaki city].

Yours very truly

Joseph H. Longford

61. Longford to Satow

[ans 11/3]

Nagasaki

March 4, 1898

Dear Sir Ernest,

I send you a copy of another Board of Trade Query, similar to the last one, together with my reply to it. The Mitsui Bussan are on a different footing to the Nippon Yusen, so that the reasons which made me hesitate to

apply to the latter are not applicable in this case, and in addition the man was engaged in London, so that it may be considered the Mitsui are liable, fairly speaking, for his return [trip]. But they had already done more than perform their contract with him and evidently looked upon it as a great grievance being called upon to pay anything extra now. They said they would leave it to their London office, which was responsible for the engagement and would have to explain it to their director. I think myself it is a great mistake pressing the matter. The amount is utterly insignificant and entirely unworthy of the irritation it well may produce. It might make the Mitsui hesitate before ordering their next ship in England, be the feather which would turn the scale in favor [sic] of Germany. I have not had any instructions from you yet on my despatch reporting the previous case, and pending their receipt I deferred my reply to the B. of Trade. The Mitsui Bank here easily afforded a nice illustration of commercial faith. They made an ordinary telegraph exchange contract and finding it would involve a loss of a few hundred dollars made every effort to get out of it, and were only kept to it at last by threat of proceedings and exposure in the [news]paper. If the Mitsui will condescend to this pettiness what can be expected of [illegible].

I have had another case of trespass with curious results. I had to complain of the pupils of a neighbouring missionary school (American) behaving in an unseemly way in the English church compound. The police remonstrated with them but could do nothing more, because to render "trespass" an offence there must either be a notice in the gate forbidding entry or the gate must be kept fastened. Trespass is at best (or worst) only an Ikeyai [?], and to constitute it at all in this ken [prefecture] the conditions I've mentioned must be fulfilled. I wonder the procurator did not take this point in the late judgment. As it is, I believe my own is the only foreign house in Nagasaki with a notice forbidding entry. In no business premises are the gates kept closed and in very few dwellings, so there is no protection practically against Japanese of any class entering at night. The police are more insufficient than inefficient, though [they are] both. I endeavored [sic] to get the Consuls to take up the question after New Year's day, but it was a failure. In the present condition of affairs here concerted action is impossible except in such an exceptional affair as the Harbour.

The Rear Admiral's division of the fleet is still here, the other having, instead of coming here, suddenly broken up at Chusan and departed for Hong Kong, S'hai and elsewhere. The change was suddenly decided on, almost in a day it seemed, and after frantic enquiries for coal, this too dropped in a moment. The Admiral here knows no more than I do of the trend of affairs. He is always asking for information but I have none to give him. He [Oxley ?] is unfortunately even more deaf than [Vice-Admiral Alexander] Buller, and not easy to get on with in consequence.

I am far from well again, headaches and sleeplessness having come back much worse than in November, and sometimes I can scarcely sit up at the desk or give an intelligent attention to anything. I want to hold on if possible till the weather admits of going away, but I may have to telegraph to you for leave any day. The past

two months have been too much for me.

Yours very truly

Joseph H. Longford

62. Longford to Satow

Nagasaki

March 21. 1898

Dear Sir Ernest,

I telegraphed to you today in answer to your two telegrams of Friday. I had the two persons watched as well as possible, but the best was very poor, as on the bluff roads here there are few foreign passers and to keep an unobserved eye on any one continuously would be perfectly impossible.

The two landed and went straight to the hotel quite openly. They had a long and apparently serious interview with another Russian in the afternoon whom I believe from description to be the rear-Admiral second in command, at present here. Then they went to the Consulate, were there some time, after that to Grisbergs [?] the Russian business agent here. Then they were lost sight of, but were probably among a number who went on board the flagship, where also they possibly dined as they did not dine at the hotel.

Yesterday morning they remained in their rooms at the hotel, but were visited by several Russians, apparently officers, in company with some of whom they went out but could not be followed as they noticed that they were being observed or at least my informant thought they would do so. The French Mail [steamer] arrived about 1 o'clock and they were on board to meet several Russian passengers with whom they landed.

The names of the Russian passengers in the list were:

Mr. Nicholas Matunine, Consul General (but for where not stated)⁴¹³

M. Werth

M. Rydyensk

M. Belareff

After that all trace of them was lost, but [Stanislas] Poklevski [First Secretary, Russian legation in Tokyo] returned by the French Mail without booking his passage at the agency, and Chichkine has engaged his passage to Kobe by the Empress leaving here this evening. So far everything seems very commonplace. The one point that I have noticed that may be of some significance is that one of the persons with whom they had serious interviews was a pilot named Bischoff, a licensed inland sea pilot, residing at Kobe, and either a German or Norwegian subject.⁴¹⁴ He had several long talks with both at the hotel, and I believe left also for

⁴¹³ N.G. Matunin was Russian minister in Korea, April 1898-January 1899.

⁴¹⁴ See J.C. Hall's letters to Satow from Kobe dated March 29 and March 31, 1898 in which he mentions Bischoff. Satow clearly made further enquiries of Hall after receiving Longford's letter above.

Kobe by the French Mail last night. That is all I am able to tell you. I saw neither [man] myself at any time. The watching was all done by my clerk, and I think he has done the utmost. He was not previously known at the hotel, and therefore would dine etc. there without attracting any special attention.

The reason of my second telegram to you was that it appeared possible that both on arrival would go straight on board the flagship or the Russia. If they had done so I might have lost sight of them altogether from the first, as there are six landing places, three of which are made most frequent use of by men of war boats. I could not possibly keep a watch on all three, not to say all six, and the senior naval officer whom I consulted told me that boats with officers in plain clothes are so constantly passing from the Russian ships to the shore that he could not possibly keep an effective watch on any particular individuals on board either, especially two who were altogether unknown and of whose appearance I could give him no description whatsoever. So I thought if you could suggest in any way the object of their visit, it would be of some assistance in finding them after having been lost in the first instance. The place is full of Russian officers, passengers, visitors from Vladivostock, and residents who are all over the town at all times, and there is such a strong national resemblance among all Russians that recognising any particular two would be a very doubtful matter.

We are today for the first time for about five months without a single one of our own ships in harbour. The Rainbow having left for H Kong on Friday, the Powerful on Saturday and the Iphegenia last night, the two latter to join Admiral Fitzgerald's fleet at Chefoo. The Undaunted and Daphne were both at Chemulpo [Inchon] but were yesterday recalled to Chefoo, where there should soon be a very strong fleet.⁴¹⁵ The Dmitri Doriskoy and Russia are the only Russian ships here, and the latter will leave on the 26th for Port Arthur or Vladivostock.

Jamieson (Consul General at S'hai) passed through in Empress today for Kobe. He seems quite broken up, anything but clear in his mind. His two daughters and a Dr. [Macleod] from S'hai were with him.⁴¹⁶ He told me his pay as Commercial Secretary is only £100 per annum, £1500 of the whole being as Consul General, and the former is not even yet confirmed. I think it took about 20 minutes to cypher my telegram this morning, but I was nearly three hours over it before it was done, visitors coming in all the time from the Empress which is crowded with passengers.

Yours very truly

Joseph H. Longford

At last Longford was granted the services of an assistant, as the following letter shows. John B. Rentiers

⁴¹⁵ Chefoo is west of Wei-hai-wei on the Chinese mainland.

⁴¹⁶ See J.C. Hall's letter to Satow dated March 25, 1898.

appears as a first class assistant at Nagasaki, appointed on August 10, 1898. (Kuwata, 1995, p. 160).

63. Longford to Satow

Nagasaki,

April 6, 1898

Dear Sir Ernest,

In view of the coming of an assistant, I write to ask if you can think in any way or would approve of the retention of Silva's (the clerk's) services at any Consulate in Japan ? He is a most excellent man in every way. I have found him absolutely trustworthy, steady, regular in his attendance, neat and willing. He understands too now all routine office work, has a very fair knowledge of shipping, and is always willing to be useful in any way he can. It seems a pity to lose his services just when they are most valuable. I've not spoken to him on the subject and don't know whether he would be willing to remain, but if so he would be well worth employment at say \$100 a month, rising by annual increments of \$10 to say \$150.

Portuguese clerks are employed, I believe, in several Consulates in China, though I don't know on what terms or conditions. After the new Treaties come into force I fancy assistants will be very often required to attend in Japanese courts, and such a man as Silva could take a large part of the office work at either Kobe or Yokohama.

Should it be necessary to dispense with his services I hope I may give him a month's notice. He is entitled to his passage to Hong Kong, but I believe he wishes to go to Kobe and instead of the passage for himself to Hong Kong, I might be permitted to pay both for himself and his wife to Kobe which would be a less amount.

Yours very truly

Joseph H. Longford

64. Longford to Satow

H.M. Consulate

Nagasaki. April 25, 1898

Dear Sir Ernest,

Nothing but difficulties has attended Silva's passage to Yokohama. It was taken [booked] by the Robilla [?] on Thursday last, but she was put in quarantine where she remains. Then both the Doric and Satsuma Maru were to leave today. The Doric was due at daylight but is not yet in, and she too may perhaps be put in quarantine. So I've told him to go by Satsuma Maru. Unfortunately she only goes to Kobe on this trip and her second class is full and no more tickets will be issued for it. I have therefore taken a first class ticket for Silva to Kobe and for his wife to Yokohama. She can remain in Kobe till the first opportunity occurs of going on,

but I've told him to go on himself by train. To enable him to do this a passport has had to be obtained at the cost of \$2.00 from the Portuguese Consul, which should go down in his travelling expenses. The difference between first and second class fares in the steamer is not very great as discount is allowed in the first and not in the second. I shall write officially to you on the whole.

While writing even, I have to alter this. The Company won't give any tickets through to Yokohama, so I have only got them to Kobe, and both can go on by train. I've advanced him \$30 for his travelling expenses over and above steamer fare. His salary has only been paid up to the 20th.

Yours very truly

Joseph H. Longford

65. Longford to Satow

[Answered 20/5 that Komura says Mexican dollars is right.]⁴¹⁷

Nagasaki,

May 11, 1898

Dear Sir Ernest,

Mr. [W.] Cowan [Inspector of the Office of Works for China, Korea and Japan] will speak to you about the payment of the ground rent here, so I have deferred writing to you officially about it. But it is as well to let you know the facts. You have several copies of Nagasaki title deeds in the Legation, and in any case will find them in "Treaties and Conventions". Both in Japanese and English versions it is stipulated in the clearest manner that the rent is to be paid in Mexican dollars, and I may state that of this stipulation the Japanese took full advantage when satsu [yen] were at a low ebb. In recent years, when Mexicans and yen have been practically the same, yen have been received in payment.

The rents are due on the 1st of April. Their method of collection is peculiar. The Japanese send receipts to the Consuls of the lot holders among whom they are distributed by the Consuls. The holders then take the receipts to the bank, where the Kencho a/c is kept, and there pay the amounts. The receipts are usually sent to the Consuls around the middle of March. This year there was a long delay, and inquiry having been made as to the reason of this, it was said that "they were under investigation and some delay would take place". At last on the 23rd ulto. they came in the ordinary covering despatch, and were at once distributed without any particular examination. It was not till several days afterwards – in fact just as I was going to pay our own rent – that my attention was drawn to the fact that the old term Yōngiu [Yōngin ?] had been altered into Kiu

⁴¹⁷ Komura Jutarō (1855-1911) at the Japanese Foreign Office. See Satow's diary for May 18, 1898. "Ground rents at Nagasaki. Said to him that the title deeds stipulated for Mexican dollars, and therefore it seemed irregular to refuse them when tendered. He said that in his opinion only Mexicans could be demanded." (Ruxton, 2003, p.276).

[Kin ?] in the receipts and I was informed at the same time that Mexican dollars, when tendered, had been refused in payment. Nearly if not all the landowners however paid in yen – though grumbling and protesting. For myself, however, I sent the amount in Mexicans which was refused. Then I wrote formally to the Governor requesting him to give instructions that payment should be accepted in Mexicans according to the specific terms of the Title deeds. After having apparently referred to Tokio, he replied that only yen would be accepted. There the matter rests – nearly all land holders have paid except myself, but being an Office of Works matter I consider that I should hold on even in the nicest questions of value. I consider still more on that of principle.

I should perhaps have examined the receipts before circulating them. If I had done so I should have held all back and referred the question to you. But they were sent to me in a separate packet and as I've said in the ordinary covering despatch, without a hint that they differed in the least degree from those heretofore in force. It was an underhand proceeding to say the least of it.

Then the amount at stake – the difference between Mexicans and Yen (about 10%) – is small in respect of each individual holder. Therefore nearly every one prefers to pay – though considering he is cheated in being called upon to do so – rather than take the trouble of arguing. But the aggregate amount is considerable, and then there is the question – Are the authorities to be allowed to alter the most specific terms of their contracts at their own will and convenience ? If so, where will their powers be limited ? And supposing by any wild chance the Mexican rose in value to 2/6d [two shillings and sixpence] or 3/6d – will they then adhere to the yen as now demanded ? It is not very likely – so that unless something definite is decided in the matter it may be for some years a game of “heads I win tails you lose” for the local authorities as vis a vis with the foreign landholders, and that is the game that of all others the Japanese dearly [?] loves.

I shall await the result of Mr. Cowan's mention of the matter to you, before referring the matter to you officially, but in the meantime this hurried statement may be of use to you.

Yours very truly

Joseph H. Longford

66. Longford to Satow

Nagasaki,

June 15, 1898

[Ans. 22/6/98]

Dear Sir Ernest,

When the Princess Wilhelm, the last of the German ships here, went off at full speed today for Manila,⁴¹⁸ I

⁴¹⁸ The decisive battle of the Spanish-American War of 1898 was the Battle of Manila Bay in the

thought it worth telegraphing to you. On her arrival there she will be the fifth German man-of-war of substantial tonnage and strong fighting capacity in the spot. The Kaiserin Augusta left on the 8th and the Kaiser on the 11th, and the Admiral transferred his flag from the latter to the former in order to proceed in her, although there was such a short interval between the two sailings. Some sensational telegrams have gone to London from here, stating that the Germans make no secret of their intention to force the blockade of Manila if necessary, but one of the Captains told me that the ships were only going to Manila to relieve those on the spot. It is difficult however to reconcile this innocent intention with the haste in which the Admiral especially went off. I have not yet been able to find if any of their ships have gone direct from Kiaow Chow.⁴¹⁹

I hope my first telegram this morning will not have given you too much trouble. The Admiral is going up to Unsen [雲仙 hot spring area in Nagasaki prefecture] for one night and when dining with him last night I suggested proceeding to Obama [小浜] by one of the torpedo boats as a very easy and expeditious way of getting there. I anticipated no difficulty about it, but thought it well to mention it to the Kencho [prefectural office] this morning when the Admiral told me he was going to adopt my suggestion. The answer came from the Kencho that “they had no power to give a man of war permission to visit an unopened port.” The Governor is unfortunately away in the Goto Islands just now, and the Vice[-Governor] is as obstructive and assuming as he could be, else I am sure there would have been no hesitation about such an insignificant matter. I hope I may have an answer from you, as the Admiral will be disappointed if he misses his little trip, and it is only in this way that he can manage to find time for it, as he will only require to be away one night.

The Victorious was here for a week, and the Rear Admiral and present fleet (Grafton, Barfleur, Undaunted, Iphigenia and two torpedo destroyers) will remain till Monday. Then they proceed to Hakodate [函館] via West Coast, stay there three days, then to Yokohama [横浜] via Sendai [仙台], arriving about the 30th instant, remain a week there, then back to [the newly acquired] Wei Hai Wei via Kobe [神戸]. The Powerful will, I fancy, be with you before this letter arrives. [Second Secretary Hugh] Grosvenor (of Peking) is on board her. The captain of the Undaunted [5,000 tons] is Clarke, whom you knew in S. America.⁴²⁰ His wife is also going to Yokohama. She is exceptionally bright and attractive, an American.

I have no answer from the Kencho as yet about the Land Rent and Mexican dollars, and our rent is still

Philippines on May 1, 1898. The Spanish Pacific fleet was defeated by a U.S. Navy squadron commanded by George Dewey. Spanish casualties numbered 381, American less than 10. After token bombardment, Manila surrendered and was occupied on August 13. This battle made Commodore Dewey a national hero and helped establish the reputation of the United States as a major naval power. (Summarised from *Encyclopedia Britannica*).

⁴¹⁹ In November 1897 Germany had occupied Kiaochow in Shantung province, provoking the Russians early in 1898 to take Port Arthur and the British to occupy Wei-hai-wei on the opposite side of the Gulf of Pechili. The land-grabbing of the Powers was dismissed as ‘vulgar greed’ by Basil Hall Chamberlain, *Japanese Things* p. 334 (5th edition, 1905, reprinted by Tuttle as a paperback since 1971).

⁴²⁰ Satow was Minister Resident and Consul General at Montevideo, Uruguay, 1889-93.

unpaid. They have referred the matter again to Tokio, although I quoted the opinions of the Finance and Foreign Ministers to them. The Sands case (of New Year's day) was reopened, Terence's [Longford's son's] evidence taken, and one of the accused committed for trial, some weeks ago. Since then I have heard nothing more of it, but a request of the American Consul that I should be given an opportunity of identifying another of the accused, repeated several times, has been entirely ignored. There have been some other cases of truculent coolies assaulting foreigners recently but none of the latter [were] English. The American Consul may be bucolic [a country bumpkin], but he is a very serious and determined old gentleman, and he has been expressing his opinion to the Governor as to these assaults on foreigners in pretty strong terms. But I do not believe the evil can ever be remedied while the law remains as it is. The heaviest punishment that can be inflicted for an assault unaccompanied by visible bodily injury, is 10 days detention, and this is nothing to a coolie. At that risk he may mob ladies and children to his heart's content. He has the chance of not being detected at all, and if detected he goes before a judge, ready to believe his denial in the face of the most independent and trustworthy foreign evidence that could possibly be produced in a court of justice. I had a curious illustration of Japanese testimony here a little while ago. There were three accused, A.B.C., A of assault the other two of abetting. Prosecutor first positively identified A, but at the close of his evidence changed his mind and identified C as the chief offender. Second witness positively identified A, was quite close at the time and could not be mistaken. Third witness identified C and fourth A, all more or less positively. There was not much similarity of appearance between A and C, marked difference in height, while B was utterly unlike the other two, bearded, while the other two were quite smooth faced. All these witnesses were persons of [] and ability.

Yours very truly

Joseph H. Longford

67. Longford to Satow

Nagasaki

June 28, 1898

Dear Sir Ernest,

We are sending [our son] Terence home to school by the P. and O. [Peninsular & Oriental] steamer "Shanghai", which will leave Shanghai for London, without any change, on the 16th proximo. I purpose taking him to Shanghai myself by the "Belgic" which will leave this [port] on the 11th, and starting him on his way, and that is the reason of my present application for leave. I have mentioned a fortnight, but there is very little likelihood of my being away for anything like that time. There will be no temptation to stay in Shanghai at this season one day longer than I can help, but the steamers are not so frequent now that some of the P.M.S.S.

[Pacific Mail Steam Ship] Co. are put off the line, and I might possibly be delayed. [John Baptist] Rentiers will of course require an acting appointment during my absence. It might possibly be worded in such a way as to save a second one in case of subsequent absence.

My Trade Report is finished and I hope you will have one copy in time to send home by the Canadian mail. Do you wish a second copy to be prepared for the Legation ? The latter has in recent years always seemed to me to be useless labour. It was originally required for the compilation of the Legation Summary, but the latter has long since ceased to have any being, and the printed copy of the report, when received, could be preserved in the archives instead of another written one from here.

Yours very truly

Joseph H. Longford

68. Longford to Satow

[Recd. July 8. Answered July 9.]

Nagasaki, July 5, 1898

Dear Sir Ernest,

I have telegraphed to you today altering the date from which I have applied for leave from the 11th to the 16th, though I suppose it is not of the smallest importance. I find that it would be most unlikely that I could get back from Shanghai in less than a fortnight, owing to the P.M.S.S. Co. steamers being "off". I should just miss the Yusen Kaisha steamer, and the next on which I could rely would be the Empress, a week later. I have therefore determined to go instead to Hong Kong and return in the "Rosetta", leaving this on the 16th, and being due back on the 27th, and starting my son thence instead of from Shanghai. It makes his journey alone a week shorter and his departure hence almost as much later.

I am sorry to refer to another subject and do so with the greatest reluctance, but our circumstances are such that I am forced to do so. My wife's health renders her quite unable to continue teaching the children, and we had arranged with a young lady to come out to us from Dublin as Governess. We did not wish to have her here, however, when moving, and so put off her arriving till October, when she will have a most suitable escort to Japan. We must write to her by the next Empress to say definitely whether she is to come or not, as we cannot keep her any longer in expectation, but in our own entire uncertainty as to the future we find it impossible to decide. At present we cannot rely on having a home to give her if she comes, as I cannot count upon being able to find a house for some time at Kobe. If I could rely on the fact that I am going there I could commence arrangements for getting one at once and should have one by October, but as it is I fear to do anything. You will understand how great our difficulty is when I tell you that I see no choice between having the governess out and sending the family home, and neither decision is one to be arrived at hastily. I cannot, [J.C.] Hall tells

me, rely upon the house he has at Kobe, as the owner may require it, and there do not seem to be many others. Even without the question of the governess it is a most anxious position for a family, but except for that I should chance it.

I hope under these circumstances you won't mind my asking you if you can tell me anything about the future as far as I am concerned in my post and probable date of taking it up. Of course, as it relates to myself only, it would be quite confidential until such time as you choose. In our circumstances the whole question is one of great worry to both my wife and myself, as we cannot but feel that we are behaving unfairly to the young lady at home. And her ultimate coming is of such importance to us, that we don't like, for our own sakes, to lose her altogether as we could not hope to find such another.

In case your answer cannot reach me before the 16th, would you mind writing to my wife so that she may receive your letter a few days before the 25th when the next Empress will leave this [place]. She knows that I am writing to you now, and can act on what you may be able to tell her.

Very truly yours,

Joseph H. Longford

69. Copy of Satow's reply to Longford

9 July '98

Dr. Longford,

I have your letter of 5th and quite understand your difficulty. You know the F.O. are never in a hurry about new app[oin]tments, and I do not yet know what their intentions are. As they are so dilatory, I wrote home on June 16 by Vancouver asking that they wld. telegr. to me, and hope therefore to hear in a fortnight or so. As soon as I hear, I will lose no time in letting you know how you are affected..

y.t.

E.S.

70. Longford to Satow

Nagasaki,

July 14, 1898

Dear Sir Ernest,

Very many thanks for your note. I hope you may soon have the information as the circumstances are very trying to us, made worse by a letter received today that the escort I mentioned is leaving home in September instead of October as I thought. When you hear, will you mind telegraphing to my wife, either direct or through Rentiers if it is confidential. I have arranged a code with my wife so that she can telegraph to me in

Hong Kong, where I shall be until the 23rd, and I might be able to write home by the English mail thence of that date. I shall leave here on Saturday next, and expect to be back on the following Wednesday or Thursday week, so that my absence will be a short one.

About the Decima [Dejima] land question ⁴²¹ I have as yet received no reply from the two British claimants interested. They appear however inclined to adopt my suggestion as a fair basis for compensation – viz. the difference per tsubo [3.3. square metres] between the prices of the latest front and rear lots in the settlement that have either been sold or for which it can be shown a definite offer was refused. I can't speak for the French, but a few days ago, the German Consul had as yet no instructions, and I have advised our people to come to an arrangement with the French and German holders, so that all claims may be uniform. There may therefore be some further delay for which the former are not responsible.

Meanwhile the Japanese are making the most indescribable meal of the works so far, and the American engineer who has been engaged for them is so disgusted with the utter disregard of his warnings and the mutilation of his plans that he has flung up his post and is going home in September. Estimated time and cost will both be far and far exceeded through the incompetence and arrogance of the Japanese engineers and the whole may end in a fiasco. Corruption too is said not to be wanting. A dredger, the cost of which cannot have exceeded \$100,000 is put down, I am told, at \$250,000. The space enclosed for reclamation is now far larger than the dredged soil will be sufficient to fill, and the system of enclosure is deficient in the extreme. These are only a few among many instances of mismanagement.

The Sands case reached its conclusion a few days ago. The original accused was sentenced to five days *koru* [detention 拘留 *kōryū*] and has not yet been found to undergo this punishment. When I come back I shall get all the papers from the American Consul and if it appears worth it shall report it to you officially. But it is all a burlesque, a miserable travesty of justice both in procedure and conclusion. Half an hour would have sufficed for its settlement in a London police court. Here we have over six months, with diplomatic interference in between. Sands might easily have been killed on that occasion. It was only because his assaulters did not have clubs in their possession that they did not use them. If they had had them, they would have had no more compunction than the murderers of the English sailor Kennedy or of the German sailor the other day in Yokohama. And similar cases will go on, I am convinced, until very drastic measures are taken to stop them. Some of the consuls, who have practically no subjects, don't care about them and have therefore no reason to report the prevailing spirit to their ministers. And where subjects are numerous and meet with

⁴²¹ 出島. Dejima, also Deshima. Artificial island constructed in Nagasaki Harbour by the Tokugawa Shogunate (1603-1867) between 1634 and 1636. Its 1.31 hectares (3.24 acres) was the only place in Japan where Westerners, first the Portuguese and then the Dutch from 1641, were allowed to reside from the 1630s to 1856. During the reconstruction of Nagasaki Harbour in the Meiji period (1868-1912), Dejima was connected to the city by landfill. It is now a historical monument.

these incidents, they, on their part, don't report them to the Consuls, having got the idea that it is no use, that the offender won't be found, that if found he won't be punished, while they themselves may have to attend in a Japanese court only to have their evidence contemptuously rejected. But, at the same time, the most prevalent form of offensiveness on the part of the coolies [labourers] here is such that it would be difficult to take any legal notice of it – suddenly springing in front of or behind ladies and children and frightening them with sudden roars, hailed with loud guffaws from all the bystanders. You can easily understand how startling that may be to a nervous woman, and what can be done afterwards even if the offenders were taken on the spot ?

I have seen the French Consul since I commenced this letter this morning and he has no instructions either as to the Decima land.

Yours very truly,

Joseph H. Longford

71. Longford to Satow

Nagasaki,

July 29, 1898

Dear Sir Ernest,

The contents of your telegram of the 20th instant took me utterly by surprise, as whatever anxiety I had been entertaining as to the date of my removal to Kobe, the possibility that it should not take place at all as the natural sequence of movements on [Consul General at Yokohama] Mr. [James] Troup's retirement [on April 1, 1898] had never occurred to me. I was wholly at a loss to account for or suggest to myself any reason for the intimation in your telegram and would have written to you at once on my return on Wednesday, had it not been that I have since been continuously engaged with an important inquest before which my private affairs had to give way. I am glad, however, of the delay, as I have now heard of the Foreign Office proposals.

I hope you will not consider it presumptuous of me to point out that a more unfortunate time could not have been selected for decreasing the pay of any of the senior posts in the service. There never was a time when Japan had such political and commercial importance as the present. And not only have the expenses of living at every port in Japan risen during the last three years from one to two hundred per cent but they must undergo a still further and large advance on the new Tariff coming into operation. I had hoped that the Foreign Office would have recognised this, and instead of decreasing the pay of any post would have been prepared to make substantial increases in that of at least the senior ones held by officers of such long service as Mr. [John C.] Hall and myself. Yokohama and Kobe are now, next to Shanghai, incomparably the two most important commercial centres in the East, the expenses of living at either are more than twofold those of any post in

China, and yet the Foreign Office proposes to attach salaries to them of £900 and £950 respectively, when held by officers of nearly 30 years service, while such posts in China as Amoy, Yoochow, Hankow, and Tientsin have salaries of £1000 or more in each case.

I trust it will not be too late to point this out and if possible procure a serious consideration of the proposal before it is too late. But if this is unfortunately so, if the matter has been irrevocably decided on, and if Mr. Hall, my senior, does not take the post at Yokohama on the reduced salary, may I prefer to you my own claim for it and the reasons why the proposed increase in the salary of my present post would be far from repaying me for its loss. These reasons are, I venture to think, as much public as private.

I have for years made a specialty of trade questions, and the writings of no Consul in the East have – with the exception of Mr. Jamieson – received more unqualified public commendation. Either Kobe or Yokohama would afford full scope for their continuance, and questions are constantly occurring in both which demand or at least render it most advisable that a consul should have extensive acquaintance with commercial matters. Nagasaki, on the other hand, is by comparison utterly insignificant as a seat of trade, and the hope of its ever becoming of any importance to British trade is, at least for many years to come, of the smallest. Whatever qualifications I have in this respect are practically thrown away here. Legal qualifications may soon [after the abolition of extraterritoriality in 1899] be of little moment, but in this respect also I should be glad to submit to and abide by the opinions of Mr. [Robert Anderson] Mowat or Mr. [Hiram Shaw] Wilkinson, from the former of whom I have several times received strong expressions of approval of my practice.

Privately, even with the same salaries, there can be no comparison between the two posts.

Yokohama is healthier, pleasanter, offers a larger scope, and is in every sense an incomparably superior place of residence. And pecuniarily, the consul there would be in a much better position than here. He is provided with medical attendance for himself and his family, for which in my case an expenditure of from £40 to £50/0/0 annually must be estimated for. House rent is here 20% to 40% higher than at Yokohama, and all the daily expenses of life are at least equal, local conditions in Nagasaki having greatly intensified the national rise of prices that has taken place through Japan.

I feel sure that the justice of these points will at once commend itself to you, and that, as you kindly did before in the case of Tamsui, you will remedy by telegraph before it is too late the misapprehension under which the Foreign Office now seems to be. As time may be of much importance I am telegraphing to you my hope in the latter respect.

Yours truly,

Joseph H. Longford

72. Satow to Longford

Chiuzenji

7 August 1898

Dear Longford,

I have carefully considered all that you urge in your letter of July 29, but cannot find that there are sufficient grounds for my asking Lord Salisbury to alter the arrangements already made. For a great many years the Yokohama post was occupied by a man who was junior to the Consuls at Kōbe and Nagasaki, and it was only in 1882 when [Marcus Octavius] Flowers retired that a change was made. The present arrangements are a return to the former state of things. I fully admit what you say about the attention you devoted to commercial affairs while you were Vice Consul at Tokio [1884-89], but I cannot think the production of an annual trade report is a matter of prime importance. The duties of a consul are I take it in the first place to render what services he can to his countrymen resident in the post where he is stationed, to smooth over difficulties between Shipmasters and their crews, to cultivate friendly relations with the local authorities and to keep the Minister informed of all that passes having any bearing on political affairs. I should put the trade report after all these. Of course the longer a consul remains at a post the better able he is to perform these duties, because of his accumulated experience. As far as salary is concerned you will be no loser, and the free medical attendance which the Consul at Yokohama gets is an accident attached to the fact of a medical man being provided for the [consular] gaol, and it may very possibly come to an end next year. I trust you will not think it hard if I do not see my way to complying with your request, as my first duty is to consider what is best for the public service.

y.v.t.

E.S.

73. Longford to Satow

Nagasaki

August 13, 1898

Dear Sir Ernest,

I had hoped that I should not have to trouble you again, but I have received your letter and I think that the points mentioned in it justify me in supplementing what I have said in my despatch to Lord Salisbury.

It was in 1877, not in 1882, that Nagasaki reverted to its former position of juniority to Yokohama. Under very special and exceptional circumstances, in connection with the establishment of the court for Japan, the consulate there was held to be an office senior in point of service to the consul at Yokohama for the short space of six years, from May 1871 to April 1877, over the whole period of 40 years that has elapsed since Consuls first existed in Japan. Kobe, however, continued to maintain its seniority till 1882. But even if the

seniority of Nagasaki had been continuous prior to 1882, are the present circumstances of Japan the same as they were or could the relative importance at the present day, from any possible point of view, of the Consulates at Yokohama and Kobe on the one side and of Nagasaki on the other admit of even a minute's discussion ?

The public utterances of Lord Salisbury ⁴²² and, more especially, of Mr. [George Nathaniel] Curzon ⁴²³ and of Chairmen of Chambers of Commerce throughout the United Kingdom, as well as the articles that are of frequent appearance in the Press and the repeated instructions of the Foreign Office on the subject have led me to attach greater importance to the commercial duties of a Consul and to give them a far higher position than you do. But I have never considered that these duties are confined to the production of an annual Trade Report. Reports on Trade are impossible where there is neither Trade nor the prospect of it, and since leaving Tokio, more than two years ago, I have had no opportunity of writing on the subject more than I have done in the annual Reports, but during my last year in Tokio I instituted, entirely of my own motion, a system of quarterly reports, compiling three in the last nine months I was there, all of which were received with public favour, besides writing short memorandums on special subjects. I had a large correspondence with manufacturers and Chambers of Commerce in England, I had long and frequent interviews with agents and travellers who came from England as representatives of British firms or industries, and also with the members of the Commercial Missions from Australia, gave them advice and assistance for which they were invariably most grateful, introduced them to the principal Japanese merchants in Tokio and to English merchants in Yokohama, and so highly did you then value my experience and knowledge of commercial matters that it was your custom to refer to me all persons from England or elsewhere who sought your own advice or assistance in regard to them. And, may I add that the growth of the bald summary, formerly annually compiled in H.M. Legation from the statistics in the Consul's reports, into the present elaborate report is entirely of my creation ?

As to the duties of a consul which you consider of first importance, may I refer to them seriatim ?

- a. To render what services he can to his countrymen resident at the post where he is stationed I am wholly unaware of ever having failed in this respect in any way or that a single word of complaint has ever been uttered of me in any post I have ever occupied for having done so. So far from that, I have, over and over again, been warmly thanked for services of the most miscellaneous kind rendered not only to residents but to visitors. I have so far succeeded in smoothing difficulties that during the 18 months I

⁴²² Robert Arthur Cecil, Lord Salisbury (1830-1903) was Conservative prime minister 1895-1902 and foreign secretary 1895-1900.

⁴²³ George Nathaniel Curzon, Marquess (1859-1925). British statesman, later Viceroy of India (1898-1905) and foreign secretary (1919-24). Travelled in China, Korea and Japan, became author of *Problems of the Far East* (1894, 2nd edition 1896) and Under Secretary of State at the Foreign Office from June 30, 1895 to October 14, 1898.

have been here not a single civil case of any kind has come into court and among those which I have amicably settled there have been no less than three cases of collision, which otherwise must have gone to the Court for Japan. And as to the confidence reposed in me by residents I have held or been offered the following positions at Kobe (when acting as Consul) and here:

At Kobe – Chairman of International Hospital.

Chairman of Seaman's Home

President of Rowing and Athletic Club (one of the largest and best known clubs in the East)

Chairman of Municipal Council – declined by me, as I considered it would not be in good taste to accept it as Acting Consul to the exclusion of the Consul of the United States.

At Nagasaki – Chairman of Church Committee

Chairman of Public Hall Committee

President of Nagasaki Club – declined, as I anticipated leaving the post.

Chairman of Jubilee Celebration Committee.

When I arrived in Nagasaki, there was no organized system of charity and never had been. A Ladys' Benevolent Association, by which all cases for which relief is asked is now closely investigated and which is doing most excellent work, has since been organised after great opposition. The only hospital in the place was that of the Local Government where seamen of the navy and mercantile marine were treated with medical skill, but where the physicians were ignorant of the rules of foreign diet, where there were no adequate foreign comforts, where the difficulty of language must often have had a most depressing effect on the patient, and to which very often no admission could be had at all. Now there is an excellent foreign hospital with foreign physician and trained nurses of the French Sisterhood, which has been largely used not only by seamen and officers, both naval and mercantile, but by many invalids of the better classes. In the promotion of both hospital and Benevolent Society I took a large share and my efforts and active cooperation in both had a large share in their success and in reconciling differences.

b. To smooth over difficulties between ship masters and their crews

I have already given to the Foreign Office ample evidence of my interest in merchant seamen, and at present am engaged in the preparation of a report, supplementary to a former one, which will I hope be shortly in your hands.

c. To cultivate friendly relations with the local authorities

I cannot recollect that I have ever failed in this respect, and while I can scarcely give you positive evidence that I have not while in Nagasaki, I can as to my former posts refer you to the letter written to me by the Governor of Tainan [Formosa] when I left that post, a copy of which I think I sent to you, and to the marks of friendship which I received on leaving Tokio, the Prime Minister among others having personally called at my

residence to bid farewell to me.

d. To keep the Minister informed of all that passes bearing on political affairs

The only fault which has ever been found in me in this respect in any post has been by yourself, and it was that of overzeal.

As you consider the above to be the primary duties of a consul and at the same time that it is best for the public service that I should be debarred of the promotion to an infinitely more important post that should naturally now come to me, I must assume that you are of opinion that I have failed in them in a way that an officer, at least more than eleven years junior to me in the service, would not. I have therefore been compelled to refer to my own discharge of them, as I am absolutely ignorant of how, where and when you consider I have failed. The argument that the longer a consul remains at a post, the better able he is to perform these duties because of his accumulated experience would, if carried to its logical conclusion, keep a consul at one and the same post for ever, and thereby depriving him of every hope of promotion remove all incentive to any but the most perfunctory discharge of his duties.

You have not mentioned the duties which a consul is called upon to discharge towards H.M. Navy, but these are of no small importance, and I should be very glad if reference were made in England to the late Commander in Chief, to either of the present admirals or to any port captain on the station, for their verdict on me as one of H.M. Consuls.

My despatch to Lord Salisbury was already of such length that I could not extend it with these details. But they are of much importance to me, and I venture to ask therefore that you will, in common justice to me, forward a copy of this letter to Sir T. [Thomas] Sanderson [Permanent Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, 1894-1906], or even officially to Lord Salisbury. It makes me sick at heart having to write of myself and my services at all, especially for the purposes of urging my claim to preferment to which I believe I am as honestly entitled as I would be to draw a balance at my bankers, but I have no choice but to do so. The carrying out of the proposal would mean to me the virtual close in humiliation, disappointment, and a strong sense of injustice, of a career which has lasted for 30 years, which has been without stain either officially or morally, and which has been marked by loyalty and an earnest effort to discharge all my duties with zeal and efficiency.

Yours truly,

Joseph H. Longford

74. Rentiers to Satow

H.M. Consulate

Nagasaki

August 17, 1898

Dear Sir Ernest,

I am sending you, under official cover, notice of a marriage to the holding of which in the Legation you very kindly gave your consent in April last.

I expect Miss ---back to arrive by the "Empress of China" on September 26th and I will then inquire on what day soon after that it will be convenient to you to perform the civil ceremony.

Yours very truly

John B. Rentiers

75. Satow to Rentiers (copy of letter)

5/9/98

My dear Rentiers,

My telegram of this morning will I am afraid disappoint you, but I fear it cannot be helped.

By § [paragraph] 2 of the Act of 1892 combined with Art. 6 (1) (a) of the O. in C. [Order in Council] of 28/10/92 you must have been resident within my district for a week before giving notice and continue so to reside (Art. 6(2)) for another fortnight.

Now your notice would be all right enough if Nagasaki were in my district. But by the instructions sent to the Legation dated Jan. 30/92 and confirmed Nov. 1/92, the district of the Legation is limited to 10 miles in every direction from the house.

Consequently, residence at Nagasaki will not do. It must be residence within 10 miles of the Legation. I was not aware of this when you spoke to me first on the subject, nor in fact till my return here the day before yesterday.

There is also another para[graph] in the instructions which says that in the event of it being at any time desired that a marriage shld. [should] be allowed to be solemnized at the Legn. [Legation] between parties who are B.Ss. [British Subjects] or members of the Legation, enjoying extraterritorial privileges, the Secretary of State is to be applied to for instructions how to proceed before allowing such a marriage to take place, care being taken, when making the application, to state fully all the particular circumstances connected with it. Since the instructions were recd. one marriage has taken place at the Legation without, as far as I know, any application being made to the Secy. of State, but I cannot help thinking it was irregular. The real difficulty however is residence within the district, and this it seems to me can most easily be got over by having the marriage at Nagasaki, cancelling the notice you have given here, and giving a fresh one there.

Cannot you find a married couple at Nagasaki who would be willing to put up your bride for the necessary interval which I suppose may elapse before the marriage can take place. If you give notice at once, that need

not be more than 3 or 4 days after her arrival.

y.v..t.

[Ernest Satow]

76. Rentiers to Satow

Nagasaki

Sept. 5, 1898

Dear Sir Ernest,

I have to thank you for your telegram of today, according to which I can have the civil marriage in the Legation. Had that not been possible I think I should have been content with the church ceremony, for there would necessarily have been an interval of at least 3 weeks between it and a Consular marriage, and one does not like to have, after such a long interval, a second ceremony that seems to imply a doubt as to the validity of the earlier one. As the notice given at home [in England] was for a marriage to be held in Tokio it would be of no use here, and so the ceremony could only be held three weeks after our return here.

Mr. Longford has given me two weeks' leave, but declines to extend that unless he obtains assistance for which he promised to apply officially. As the greater part of that time will be taken up by the journey to and fro – there is no “Empress” available either way – might I ask if someone could possibly be spared from Kobe to relieve me ? I fear I may be presuming in making this request, or even suggesting it, if I am will you kindly excuse me. Had I been in Yokohama there would have been no trouble in obtaining leave as in [Ralph G.E.] Forster's case a month, and considerably longer in Layard's who practically lived in Tokio for about two weeks before his marriage. May I ask your kind consideration of this matter.

I am, dear Sir Ernest,

Yours very truly,

John B. Rentiers

77. Harold George Parlett to Satow

British Consulate,

Nagasaki

Sept. 26, '98

Dear Sir Ernest,

This is just to let you know that I arrived here yesterday – Sunday – afternoon, having done the journey in something very near record time. It was my fortune not my good management which enabled me to do this, for the Pacific Mail left Kobe immediately after I arrived there, instead of waiting till the evening.

I take over charge today if the Circular [?] note can be issued, and Rentiers more or less demented hurries up to Yokohama to his bride. He is indeed a laggard in love through no fault of his own. Longford they say is very ill. I lunched with them today.

Believe me,

Yours sincerely

Harold G. Parlett

78. Parlett to Satow

[Ans 6/10]

British Consulate

Nagasaki

Oct 2/98

Dear Sir Ernest,

I was hoping to have been able to send you a report of the recent assault made by a Japanese coolie in the employ of one of the rice merchants here on Miss Lesschen [?] but the German Consul here to whom I applied for information refused to let me see his report until he had sent a copy to Tokio for fear that I should report before him. I cannot tell when he is likely to write to Tokio but for your own private information I shall tell you what I know about the case.

Miss Lesschen [?] a girl of about 17 or 18 was going up one of the bye roads on the [] hill settlement here when a coolie passed her. She went on not noticing him, when presently he came after her and spoke to her in a threatening way in Japanese. He then thrust her up against the wall and seems to have put his arm around her head. She then began to scream for help and a Japanese boy in the service of Mrs. [] whose house was close by came running out. But in the meanwhile the Japanese after throwing her on the ground had decamped. There were thus no witnesses to the assault itself. The boy however could testify to Miss Lesschen's distressed condition. As soon as she was able to explain matters – at first she could only say “Nipponjin ! Nipponjin !” – the police were informed of the case, and from further statements of the boy and the gardener, who said they had noticed a coolie loitering about the compound for some days, a man Araki Chūsaburo was arrested as the culprit. He denied however ever having seen Miss Lesschen. The case nevertheless went on through the German Consulate into the Japanese Courts and Araki was eventually found guilty of having publicly ridiculed – I quote Mr. Müller Beck's expression – Miss Lesschen and sentenced to three days imprisonment under Criminal Code Art. 46 No. 12.

I could not exactly find out the Japanese expression for publicly ridiculed since the report was only in my hands a few seconds. There is no Japanese copy of the code in this office but it looked like the following

(公嘲 [*kōchō*, public scorn]).

Please excuse the scantiness of the information given you. It is all I have been able to extract from the German Consul.

Longford has gone off to Unzen with his family. I don't think the change will be sufficient if as the doctor says he is suffering from nervous debility or mental breakdown or brain worry or whatever it is. He looks very well, but the people who know him say he is very far indeed from that.

I hope you had no difficulty in successfully uniting Rentiers to the object of his affection. They say she is very nice. I hope she has a firm chin: Rentiers wants a wife with that very badly.

The Assistant's Quarters here are very comfortable. It is true the windows etc. are not very shapely and the doors and their frames are all awry, while the floors go down in the middle, owing to there being no supporting pillars underneath, but that is the fault of the Office of Works and their business. The place itself is pleasant enough for a newly-married couple and it was indeed a kind Providence which prompted you to send Rentiers away from Yokohama to a place where he might at all events without shame lodge his wife.

But I will not bore you any longer.

Believe me,

Yours sincerely

Harold Parlett

79. Rentiers to Satow

Tokio

October 4, 1898

Dear Sir Ernest,

I have just received your despatch with the kind explanatory instructions sent through Crow [E.T.F. Crowe ?] for me. I thank you very much. I do not yet know whether there is a Nippon Yusen Kaisha boat reaching Nagasaki on the 17th, if not, I shall go by the French Mail arriving two days earlier.

With very kind regards and thanks in writing which my wife joins.

Yours very truly

John B. Rentiers

80. Longford to Satow

Nagasaki,

March 7, 1899

Dear Sir Ernest,

I communicated your letter of 21st ultimo to Mr. Ringer, and as there has this year already been a large import of coal I expected some figures from him to show how it has been affected by the new duties, but he has not sent them. I also spoke on the subject and showed my despatch to you to the French and German consuls. The point had not occurred to either of them before, but they have since written, one to his Minister and the other to his Admiral. If the Japanese refuse to see how they are killing the goose that lays the golden eggs, I hardly hope that our Admiralty will take up the question very strongly. With Wei-Hai-Wei at hand the quantity of coal that they must take at Nagasaki need not be very large and if it is taxed can be made very small indeed. The same applies to the Germans and Russians. The French very seldom come here and the American Admiral boycotts the port altogether. His anger over the Olympia murder case⁴²⁴ was intensified by the refusal to dock his ships here, and I am told he declares he will never come near it, if he can avoid it. The new Tonnage dues will do immense harm to the port – the peculiar value of the shipping trade here making them press exceptionally heavily on it, and altogether it seems as if the Japanese, in their anxiety to twist the foreigners' tail or in the pen prick policy, were determined to risk all the future of Nagasaki. I shall probably write to you officially on the Tonnage dues as affecting British shipping.

I have at last this morning got the claims in the Decima seafront question. It is hardly one of practical politics, but it appears advisable that it should be settled before the 17th of July next. They amount only to \$83,000 from all nationalities, so there should not be much difficulty about it. I should have given a much larger sum myself, had it been left to my arbitration.

Yours truly,

Joseph H. Longford

81. Longford to Satow

[Answered 22 April, recommending him to accept.]

Nagasaki

April 18, 1899

Dear Sir Ernest,

I enclose copy of a despatch which I received a few days ago from the Austrian Chargé d'affaires. I have today sent him a simple acknowledgment of it, but I have also written privately to say I must refer it to you.

On the two occasions on which Count [Christoph von] Wydenbruck was here he was able to see the large amount of work I had to do for Austrian subjects, the Austrian residents here exceeding, I believe, in number those of any other port in the East except Shanghai and the majority of them being of a very troublesome class,

⁴²⁴ See Satow's diary for February 3, 1898. (Ruxton, 2003, p.236) and the *Nagasaki Press* of January 12, 1898. Fines of 100 yen and 50 yen were imposed on the murderers of a black seaman named Francis Epps of the U.S.S. *Olympia*.

and when on his way home he told me that he had specially reported my services to his Foreign Office, that I had served as Austrian Consul for 18 years, at every port from Hakodate to Formosa, and that I had a specially large amount of work to do here. M. de Flesch [Dr. A. von Flesch], consul at Yokohama, also told me that he had reported to his government that my Austrian duties were (almost) as large as his own. I have referred to them before in writing to you. They are at times extremely vexing and disagreeable – there is nothing whatsoever to show for them. They produce no fees whatever – at all events I never collect them, except in one instance and the proceeds of these I devote to charity – and they are altogether thankless in the extreme. For the past fortnight I have almost continuously been engaged in Austrian work in two cases, neither of which is yet finished.

A few years ago, when [Maurice] De Bunsen was Chargé d'affaires, [J.J.] Enslie threw up the Austrian Consulship at Kobe, in consequence of being ordered to refund certain fees which he had collected from the Austrian Lloyds S.S. Co. An annual remuneration was then given to him in lieu of these fees, but I forget its amount and I don't know whether it has continued to be drawn or not. You will find the correspondence in regard to the first incident in that with Kobe between June 1892 and May 1894, but the remuneration part of it never came through the Legation at all, as far as I can remember, and the only way I have ever known of it is through Coudenhove [Heinrich Coudenhove-Kalergie, Austrian Chargé d'affaires] having asked me to draft the despatch to Enslie informing him of it. Coudenhove used to ask my assistance in this way in all his English correspondence.

The feeling with which I have received this intimation is one of intense disgust (if you will pardon the use of such a strong word) and my own inclination would be to decline to accept the remuneration mentioned. Forty pounds a year is a good deal of money to me personally, and I would do a good deal to earn it, but it becomes little short of offensive when given to H.M. Consul as a recompense for 18 years representation of Austrian interests and two years very considerable work. Had it been £100, or even had the £40 been dated two years back, I should have yielded to the temptation of accepting it without a word, or even if it had been accompanied by any official expression of thanks direct to our own F.O. acknowledging my services, which was what Wydenbruck's remarks led me to expect, I should have felt bound to take it, but, as it has come in form and amount, I feel very much disposed to the contrary. I hope I may ask for your opinion as to what I should do, as it is a delicate matter to refuse it.

There can be no comparison at all between Austrian work here and at Kobe. A small army of grog shop keepers of the very lowest class here give constant trouble and "protecting" them after July next will be no easy task. At Kobe there are a few Austrian residents of respectable class, and all the service that the Consul is called upon to discharge is practically entering and clearing one Austrian Lloyd steamer per month. This does not trouble the Consul himself at all.

Yours very truly
Joseph H. Longford

Enclosure 'Copy no. 59' dated: Tokio, den 10. April 1899

Hochwohlgeborner Herr,

Das K.u.K. Ministerium des Aussern in Wien [Imperial & Royal Foreign Ministry in Vienna] hat sich bewogen gefunden, Euer Hochwohlgeboren eine Jahres-Remuneration von 400 Gulden Gold für Ihre Mühewaltung als Vertreter unserer Konsularinteressen zu bewilligen.

Diese Remuneration wird angefangen vom 1 April 1899 in Trimestralraten per je 100 Gulden von der K. und K. Gesandtschaft in Tokio Ihnen (Euer Hochwohlgeboren Herrn Joseph H. Longford Ihrer britischen Majestät Consul und Acting Consul für Austria Hungary Nagasaki) ausbezahlt.

Indem es mir zur Ehre gereicht, Euer Hochwohlgeboren hiervon in Kenntniss zu setzen, behalte ich mir vor in einigen Tagen den entsprechenden Cheque für das Quartal vom 1. April bis Ende Juni Ihnen zukommen zu lassen.

Empfangen Euer Hochwohlgeboren die Versicherung meiner vorzüglichsten Hochachtung.

(sd.) Grubbisich [Antoine Grubbisich-Keresztur, Secretary of Austro-Hungarian Legation]

82. Longford to Satow

[Answered 22 May]

Nagasaki

May 19, 1899

Dear Sir Ernest,

My attention has just been directed to the fact that Rentiers' name does not appear in this year's Foreign Office List in the list of pro-Consuls in Japan, and on referring to the archives I find that no approval has ever been received of his appointment as such. It was reported to you in my despatch no. 6 of the 18th of April 1898, the day of its date, and as there has therefore been plenty of time to admit of its publication I fear there may have been some oversight. Rentiers has a very considerable amount of work in that capacity, the number of "callers" at this Consulate being such that it is seldom possible for me to attend to it satisfactorily.

Very truly yours,
Joseph H. Longford

83. Longford to Satow

[Answered 31/5]

Nagasaki,

May 26, 1899

Dear Sir Ernest,

I send you the two enclosures in reference to your note of the 22nd instant. What they relate to is just an instance of what frequently occurs here, though the cases that I have had to deal with have been rather on the part of coolies than schoolboys. The young ruffians in the present one, all quite old enough to know better, had not the least idea that I was behind them as I had just come out on the road from our own avenue, and otherwise the road was entirely deserted. When they saw me coming after them they all ran off at full speed, almost with one accord, without a word on my part, showing that all knew perfectly well what had occurred. Both the lady and children were entire strangers to me and must therefore be visitors, and their appearance made me think they were Russians. The Governor is, I think, perfectly honest in his desire to stop these things, but while law and magistrates are as they are, he can't, I think, do much. A notification, however, such as I suggested might have some effect. At present no Japanese, either in press or otherwise, utters a word of disapproval. Coal coolies here are a vile lot. After dealing with the Cardiff coal, they are black from head to foot with the dust and they take a thorough delight when returning from their work in that condition in terrifying both ladies and children, spreading entirely across the road, and shouting and gesturing. I give them a very clear berth myself.

Yours very truly

Joseph H. Longford

Enclosures: Copy of letter from Longford to Nagasaki Governor (Hattori Ichizo) and of his reply.

British Consulate,

Nagasaki

May 25, 1899

Dear Mr. Hattori,

Yesterday afternoon about 3 o'clock I was walking from my house to the Settlement along the Naminohira upper hill road. Five Japanese schoolboys apparently from 14 to 17 years of age, one or two of whom were wearing uniform caps, were proceeding in the same direction about 100 yards in front of me and, having their backs turned to me, did not see me. A lady and two children, girls of about 10 or 11 years of age, came from the opposite direction and as they passed the schoolboys one of the latter, without a particle of provocation or excuse of any kind, gave one of the children a blow under the chin. Seeing this most distinctly I hurried up to the place but unfortunately the schoolboys saw me coming and all ran off at their very utmost speed, and I was unable to overtake them. All of them saw the blow given, and the boy who had given it was not the first to run. I informed the policeman on duty at Naminohira of what I had seen, and he used his best endeavors

[sic] to find the boys but it was too late as they had made their escape.

The lady and children were all utter strangers to me and by their appearance, I believe, Russians. Being anxious, if possible, to catch the boys, I did not stop to ascertain their names but I have no doubt I can, if necessary, find them. In the meantime I think it right to inform you of this incident in order that it may again show you, with reference to our late [recent] conversation, what foreign ladies and children may suffer from Japanese at this port. The assault in this case may not have been serious (I cannot however say) but such an experience might easily cause a most dangerous shock to a child's system, and it is incidents like these that prevent foreign ladies when unprotected using the streets with any sense of security from assaults and insults.

I have etc.

(sd.) Joseph H. Longford

Nagasaki Kencho [prefectural office]

May 25th 1899

Dear Mr. J. Longford,

I beg to thank you for your letter informing me of the behaviour of schoolboys who gave a blow to a child without a particle of provocation of any kind.

Mr. Furukawa, Superintendent of Umegasaki Police Station, is endeavouring to find out the boys, since he had received an information from one of the police about that matter, but he is yet unable to catch them, and I have already caused the Mayor of this town this morning to instruct every schoolmaster in Nagasaki to take strict measures of the behaviours of schoolboys.

I am,

Yours very truly,

(sd.) Ichizo Hattori

84. Longford to Satow

Nagasaki,

June 5, 1899

Dear Sir Ernest,

I am afraid your view that coolies might be affected to their good by any remonstrances addressed to them by European employers is founded on your knowledge of them as they were years ago rather than as they are now. They are now as truculent, offensive, and independent as formerly they were gentle and submissive. It is not they who seek employment but employers who beg their services, and these services are rendered as and how they please. They won't stand the least reproof or work one iota beyond their time or scope. Not long ago

large gangs were engaged to coal an O. and O. steamer from San Francisco, expected to arrive at 5 p.m. The steamer was less than an hour behind her time, and in the interval the coolies all struck and departed, though the gangers were urgently begged to remain. The result was that the steamer, with mails and passengers, was delayed here for nearly 20 hours. Holme Ringer & Co. employ a hundred for every one employed by Jardine Matheson & Co. but their story is always the same. "When will the steamer go?" "That depends upon the coolies – if we can get them to work, at 6 o'clock, if not...." Both the present and former Governor entirely agreed with me that an alteration in the law as to assaults is required and that the present maximum punishment for common assault is inadequate.

The threatened arrest of the German was not necessary as he was able to give satisfactory explanations showing that he had not absconded. The German consul here was fully aware of the attitude that might be expected from the Japanese and of course taken by us on previous occasions, but he said his instructions are to insist on his right of arrest and his intention was to bring the prisoner straight on board the man of war in port. The Japanese knew of what might happen – the telegram having come from the consul in Shanghai en clair [uncoded] – and both prisoner and German constable were shadowed by police for some time. The German Legation is apparently not aware of the instructions to Consuls in this respect. A similar case occurred when I was at Kobe subsequent to the Lampes [?] case. Then the arrest was made, but the Japanese either did not know of it or shut their eyes to it. The consul was then ordered to make the arrest by force if necessary. But strange to say two years later, when I was in Tokio, the German Chargé knew nothing whatsoever of this incident and could find no record of it in his Legation.

Yours truly,

Joseph H. Longford

85. Longford to Satow

[Answered 16/6/99]

Nagasaki,

June 13, 1899

Dear Sir Ernest,

I send you the enclosed letters as showing what foreigners may have to endure from the caprice, ignorance and despotism of petty local officials. The Rev. Mr. & Mrs. [James] Hind⁴²⁵ are well known missionaries of the Church Missionary Society, who have lived in Kiusiu [Kyushu] for over ten years. Miss Freeth, the writer of the first letter, is also a member of the C.M.S. She is a daughter of the Chief Commissioner of the Inland

⁴²⁵ Satow met Reverend James Hind (1861-1934) at a dinner for the Synod of the Anglican church in Japan held on April 24, 1899. (Diary, Ruxton, 2003, p. 355).

Revenue for Ireland, a young lady of exceptional qualifications, and a trained hospital nurse, who, being well off in the worldly sense, without a particle of necessity for earning her own livelihood, has come to Japan solely in the idea that there was work here which she could do. All three, Mr. and Mrs. Hind and Miss Freeth, are among those who believe and will believe nothing to the disparagement of the Japanese, think that everything the latter do is right, and their letters show what they will submit to rather than make official complaint. Others however are not of the same nature, and in six weeks hence a repetition of what has occurred in this case might entail very serious consequences.

You will see that the case was a mild attack of typhoid, which, I believe, is not considered either infectious or contagious. The Japanese doctor, the principal medical officer of the [Kokura] garrison ⁴²⁶ told the local authorities that there was no necessity to isolate the inmates of the house and that confinement to it might seriously injure their health. The heat in Kiusiu is already very trying, last week it was accompanied by excessive dampness, and under such circumstances you can imagine what strict confinement in a small house, standing on the street, with no garden, and not a room in it larger than eight [tatami] mats, one occupied by a fever patient, must have been. Persecution seems to me the only word applicable to the conduct of the local authorities. Both the doctors resident here say that it was utterly unnecessary and uncalled for, while on the other hand the consequent irritation and worry might have had very bad consequences on the patient. If these things can be done in a mild case of typhoid, what may be expected in one of cholera or dysentery ?

On the receipt of Miss Freeth's letter I telegraphed to Mrs. Hind to say if the restrictions continued I would telegraph to the Chiji [Governor知事] of Fukuoka, in whose jurisdiction Kokura is, but as her reply, received this morning, shows that the troubles are passed, I do not now propose to address him at all, rather leaving the matter to you if you think right to do anything in regard to it. There is not the least likelihood that any formal complaint or report will be made by the Bishop [Henry Evington, Bishop of Kyushu since 1894] or any other member of the C.M.S. ⁴²⁷ They all stand in such dread of injuring the susceptibilities of the Japanese that they would submit to anything rather than risk that, and the interests and welfare of foreigners in general are of very small consequence in their eyes as compared with the toleration of their work by the Japanese.

Will you kindly return both letters to me. Miss Freeth's was addressed to my second daughter, who strongly objects to part with it, but I think it best to send her story to you, precisely as she has told it, without a thought that it would ever go beyond my own family. The matter is, however, too serious for me to pass over in silence once it has come to my knowledge.

Very truly yours,

⁴²⁶ Probably Mori Ōgai (1862-1922). In 1899 he was appointed head of the medical corps in Kokura, Kyushu for three years. He met Hind on April 10-12, 1900. (Mori Ōgai, *Kokura Nikki*)

⁴²⁷ The headquarters of the Church Missionary Society in Kyushu was at Nagasaki. See Julia Boyd, *Hannah Riddell: An Englishwoman in Japan*, Tuttle, 1996.

Joseph H. Longford

P.S. If you make any official use of Miss Freeth's letter, will you kindly omit her name and also the domestic portions of the letter that I have put in brackets. I have given a copy to the French Consul headed simply "Extract from a letter from a lady member of the C.M.S.", and the American Consul is writing to Mr. Maynard for a report on the case. J.H.L.

86. Longford to Satow

[Answered 16/6/99]

Nagasaki,

June 12, 1899

Dear Sir Ernest,

I have been warned by the doctors that I cannot spend the summer in Nagasaki and that I shall require not only change but complete rest; and as with the damp and the heat, the headache and insomnia, which prostrated me last year, are beginning to reappear, I feel that the warning is not to be neglected. As soon therefore as I can finish Trade Report I shall apply to you for twelve weeks leave, from about the 15th proximo, by which time the accounts etc. should all be finished, and I hope it can be given without inconvenience. This period would bring me over all the worst of the hot weather here which continues until well on in October, and my specific advice is for three months.

I consider it would not be advisable to leave Rentiers by himself for the whole of this period. He might get on for a month, especially as all the fleet will be absent and no sailing ships are expected until the middle of August, but things would be sure to accumulate and after a month I think he should have an assistant – a student would do – to relieve him of copying and such other duties as an intelligent youth could speedily do. I have not spoken to him on the subject, but perhaps the extra £225 per annum and [] when responsible, may induce him to do more than he does even now, when he seldom leaves the office before five o'clock – I might say never. My present proposal for myself is to go to Hakodate and join the fleet there, and afterwards have some time in the hills with my family.

Yours very truly

Joseph H. Longford

87. Longford to Satow

Nagasaki,

June 15, 1899

Dear Sir Ernest,

I send you another letter which I have received from Mrs. Hind, which please return along with the others. My object in sending you these letters in original is that you may see how very patient and uncomplaining these people are under what their letters show are most trying circumstances, much more so here on account of the more exhausting climate than they would be in the Northern Islands. I don't think it likely that this could occur in an open port, in the case of such an illness as the present, but it might perhaps in that of a really infectious one, and if it did I fear it might meet with very strong opposition at any cost on the part of the sufferers. When one of the O. and O. [Occidental & Oriental] steamers was recently in quarantine here the utmost indulgence was shown to the passengers by the quarantine officials, but those who would have to deal with a case on shore might be less liberal. And there are British subjects residing at Fukuoka, Kagoshima, Kumamoto, Moji, Nobeoka and Oita, all of whom have to be considered. At Kumamoto, the demeanour of the students and school boy classes towards the foreigners is very offensive, I am told.

Yours very truly

Joseph H. Longford

Enclosure:

98 Imonoshi [鑄物師] Machi ⁴²⁸

Kokura

14th June 1899

Dear Mr. Longford,

Your most kind letter came this morning. My husband is getting on well I am thankful to say and within three days time we may possibly be considered free of infections. Most of the restrictions are quite bearable but Miss Freeth and I do rebel at our undoba [exercise yard 運動場] which is behind the prison and extends a short way beyond. It is true it is beside the sea, but the smells from drains and an open cess-pool are very disagreeable and as the exercise is about as limited as the fresh air we don't enjoy our walks ! I entreated the officials to let us go to the hills near for fresh air, but as in order to get there we must pass through a small village just beyond our house the inhabitants strongly objected on account of the great risk they would be exposed to !! Our doctor begged for us but it was of no use, for none of the Keisatsu [police 警察] nor Yakusho [town hall 役所] officials know anything about Eisei [sanitation 衛生] as he remarked. I am so glad for the sake of others this matter is to be looked into, as in the case of a really long illness it might be serious for the nurses to be so shut up. Our time of anxiety and discomfort is I hope nearly over.

Kokura people are very much behind the times, and since we came to live here in November last there have been several instances of their utter ignorance of foreigners and foreigners' rights.

⁴²⁸ 'Imonoshi' seems to be an alternative reading of 鑄物師 which is nowadays read as 'Imoji'. Imoji machi is to the west of the present JR Nishi Kokura station.

With our kind regards and very many thanks,

Believe me, Sincerely yours

A.Theo Hind

88. Satow to Longford

16 June, 1899

Dft [Draft]

Dear Longford,

I have read very carefully the enclosures in your letter of June 13, which I return herewith, but I have not taken any extracts from them, as I think it might be inconvenient to Rev. Hind if I made a row about what has happened. Your telegram seems to have had all the desired effect. It is of course very annoying to be isolated by the Sanitary Authorities, and personally I think an unnecessary amount of fuss is made by most people in respect of measures against the spread of infection.

I remember in the River Plate [Uruguay, where Satow served 1889-93] the quarantine authorities insisted on cremating the body of a person who had died after influenza, but that did not prevent the epidemic invading Uruguay. Sanitary Authorities have everywhere been allowed to get too much [power] into their own hands.

y.v.t.

E.S.

89. Satow to Longford

16/6/99 Copy

Dear Longford,

I am very sorry to hear that you are beginning to be troubled again by headache and insomnia, and wish to apply for leave fr. [from] about 15 July. It would I think be extremely inconvenient if you were to be absent from your post just then, as you will see from the despatch which you are receiving abt. [about] the jurisdiction of the Consular Court. Very delicate questions may possibly arise during those 18 days that will elapse from July 17th to August 4th, and I feel for myself that it will be quite impossible to leave Tokio.⁴²⁹ Under the circumstances it would be preferable that you should remain at least till

⁴²⁹ The Anglo-Japanese treaty of 1894 had stipulated 17 July 1899 as the end of extraterritoriality and start of Japanese jurisdiction. The French treaty, however, stipulated August 4th. Thus it is correct to state that "Extraterritoriality and all the special legal rights of foreigners came to an end at midnight on 4 August 1899. The foreign courts continued for some months longer, to clear up outstanding cases; otherwise the new order had come to stay." J.E. Hoare, *Japan's Treaty Ports and Foreign Settlements*, p.104.

August 6th.

It is quite likely that I may be able to give Rentiers the assistance of [E.L.S.] Gordon while you are away, as he has just passed his examination, but I do not like to say anything definite in advance, as experience shows that it is not safe to promise what subsequent events may make it impossible to perform.

E.S.

90. Longford to Satow

Private

Nagasaki

June 20th, 1899

Dear Sir Ernest,

In reference to your intimation that you may send a student here, I think it well to take the opportunity of suggesting a few points for your consideration in regard to the future. It is rash to talk of it, for it is always the unexpected that happens in Japan, and every anticipation I have may be falsified by experience, but on the other hand I don't like to remain silent till too late.

I believe that there will be constant police cases here, that on every visit of the fleet a large number of men will get into trouble – the majority of whom will be quite guiltless of any legal offence. What part will the Consulate have to take in their trials ? Will it be necessary for these to be personally watched ? If so, it will be advisable to have a junior assistant stationed here. The work of the office already keeps one man constantly at it. If he is to be absent for long periods at Japanese Courts it will all fall behind, and if reports of what he sees are required they cannot possibly be made. Rentiers has now a good deal of experience of both Kanagawa and Yokohama consulates, and he considers the necessary work of this at least equal to that of Yokohama. Any addition to it would be more than he could do. Then as to the senior assistant I consider that he should have a commission as Vice Consul – but that it should be only a local one, on the plan of that at Canton or the shipping V.C. at Shanghai, the holder retaining his relative position in the Assistant's class. Japanese local authorities place great stress on rank. In attending the courts, one going as Vice Consul would meet with such attention as is proper, as Assistant he would be entirely ignored. There is an amateur V.C. in the United States Consulate here – a dissenting missionary of the commonest type – appointed Vice by the Consul, under his own hand only and at his own will. He is invited to every official function. No notice whatever is taken of Rentiers, though personally all the authorities know him well. And this has always been the case – throughout my own career as assistant in all Consulates in Japan. It will be so in the Courts, and if attendance is to be required in them, the Consulate official should be issued with proper credentials.

I suggest 'local rank' – if I may call it so – for two reasons. One that I think no young man could remain a long time continuously in Nagasaki without strong risk of deterioration. The community is socially inferior to those at Kobe and Yokohama, narrow and prejudiced. There is not among the British community one man who could exercise a beneficial or improving effect on any young consular assistant. Two years might, I think, be the extreme limit of any assistants' continuous service here as a rule. Second, I want the best man in the service for the work he'd have to do – one so thoroughly conversant with spoken Japanese of the present day that he could follow without doubt or even take part in the proceedings in a court of Justice. There are perhaps only two available assistants in the service who answer this description. Kobe has already its V.C. These might receive the local commissions at Yokohama and Nagasaki – and speaking for my own part – one of them would be most suitable [?] for Nagasaki.

Then there is the question of Moji. The returns of its trade and shipping last year speak for themselves. It is a place where when once seamen are allowed to land, I expect constant trouble. Shimonoseki has for some extraordinary reason [the fact that it is on Honshu ?] been included by the F.O. in the Kobe jurisdiction – Moji [opposite Shimonoseki on the Kyushu side of the Kanmon straits] in that of Nagasaki. The two ports are essentially one – they are both within 12 hours of Nagasaki, with communication five times daily by train, whereas they are 24 hours from Kobe, with a large break in the railway that will not be filled for two years to come. If a V.C. is not appointed for the two – either independent or under Nagasaki, or I should say until one is, for that that will be found necessary I have no doubt, it will be advisable at least to maintain a Consulate office at Moji, which should be frequently visited from Nagasaki.

I venture to mention all these points to you lest they may have escaped your notice. The only person to whom I have done so heretofore is [Judge for Japan H.S.] Wilkinson on his recent visit. Of course there will be a certain diminution in work here in consequence of the abolition of the [Consular] Court. Except police cases, however, legal work here is not large, and in what there has been the assistant has not, in my time as Consul, had a particle of share, except in keeping the registers. The only instance in which I've asked Rentiers to be present in Court was in one naval court, where the assistance of a naval clerk was not available. The abolition of the court will practically make no difference in the work of the assistant. For one case that came to trial in this, there will, I believe, very soon be ten in the Japanese court.

Yours very truly

Joseph H. Longford

P.S. I enclose a late Moji Shipping report which will show you what the traffic there is.

Enclosure:

MOJI SHIPPING LIST

ARRIVALS

AFRID, Capt. Golding R.N.R. British str., 2,354 tons, from Kobe, General. June 11.
 IDOMENEUS, Capt. Riley, British str., 4,298 tons, from Kobe, General. June 11.
 KWANGSE, Capt. Harris, British str., 1,240 tons, from Tientsin, Ballast. June 11.
 CHEFOO, Capt. Sanderson, British str., 684 tons, from Nagasaki, Ballast. June 11.
 FORELAND, Capt. McCatcheon, British str., 2,832 tons, from Kobe, General. June 11.
 FAUSANG, Capt. Mitchell, British str., 1,410 tons, from Hongkong, Ballast. June 12.
 ULABRAND, Nor. str., 1,224 tons, from Singapore, General. June 12.
 FERNMOOR, Capt. Harroway, British str., 1,992 tons, from Port Arthur, Ballast. June 12.
 KENDAL CASTLE, Capt. Watson, British str., 1,813 tons, from Shanghai, General. June 12.
 EASTERN, Capt. Ellis, British str., from Shanghai, General. June 13.
 ICHANG, Capt. Derby, British str., 1,240 tons, from Kiauchau, Ballast. June 13.
 TAMSUI, Capt. Brown, British str., 919 tons, from Shanghai, Ballast. June 16.
 COLUMBIA, Capt. Dobson, American str., 1,719 tons, from Kobe, General. June 17.
 TANTALUS, Capt. Thompson, British str., 2,282 tons, from Shanghai, General. June 17.
 WUFU, Capt. Benson, British str., 1,250 tons, from Kobe, Ballast. June 17.
 VICTORIA, Capt. Panton, American str., 1,992 tons, from Kobe, General. June 17.
 GLENLOCHY, Capt. McGregor, British str., 2,997 tons, from Kobe, General. June 17.

91. Longford to Satow

Nagasaki,

June 21, 1899

Dear Sir Ernest,

I venture to hope that, on the abolition of the Court in Japan and the consequent reduction of the annual expenditure, you will be able to recommend that personal allowances of £100 a year each may be granted to Hall and myself in addition to our present salaries. Allowances of this kind are very usually made to Consuls in all parts of the world (they are not without precedent in Japan) after long service and both the circumstances of Hall and myself and of our respective posts and the opportunity that will soon present itself would seem to encourage the hope that they might now be granted if spontaneously recommended by you. I have put down on the enclosed memo. a few suggestions in favor [sic] of such a course, to which I trust you will give your favorable consideration. Kobe is now, next to Shanghai, the greatest seat of foreign trade in the East. Nagasaki, of course, falls far behind it as such, but it bears very favorable comparison with Chinese ports, and as a shipping port it both is and promises to be of primary importance, and if Shimonoseki is added to the district the place it will occupy in regard to British shipping will be second only to Shanghai.

Hall and I stand quite by ourselves in the service, belonging to an entirely different generation to all the other members of it. Our personal circumstances [i.e. large families] are such that any increase to our pay would be more than a boon – it would soften what is now a very hard struggle for us. That which I have mentioned would be most gratefully accepted and in my own case give courage for the future in which I am now very wanting. The sole hope of its being granted rests in your own recommendation, and that I trust may be strongly given.

Very truly yours

Joseph H. Longford

P.S. I might mention that both the German and U.S. Consuls here have asked their Governments for substantial increases of pay on account of the increased cost of living. The German, who has the same pay that I now have, has asked that it should be raised to £1200 per annum. His interests here are not 1/3rd of mine.

Private Memorandum

The foreign trade of Nagasaki in 1898 amounted in value to \$26,285,921

And that of the four subsidiary ports 19,544,702

Making a total for the Consular district of \$36,830,623

[Margin note] This total could be increased by five million dollars if Shimonoseki were included in the Nagasaki district.

	Tons
The tonnage entered in Nagasaki in 1898 was	1,765,938
and at subsidiary ports	<u>1,151,324</u>
<u>Making a total for the Consular district of</u>	<u>2,917,262</u>

Of this, that under the British flag was	Tons
at Nagasaki	760,377
at subsidiary ports	<u>474,087</u>
<u>Making a total British tonnage in the Consular district of</u>	<u>1,234,464</u>

[Margin note] And the British tonnage in like way [i.e. including Shimonoseki in the Nagasaki district] by tons 452,828 making in that case Nagasaki by far the largest shipping district in the East next to Shanghai. At present it is inferior only to Shanghai and Kobe.

The sterling value of the Foreign Trade in 1898 was

at Nagasaki £2,689,354

at subsidiary ports £1,076,397

making a total for the Consular district of £3,759,751 [should be £3,765, 751 ?]

Compare these totals with those of three Chinese ports.

	Direct Foreign Trade in 1898	Total Tonnage	British Tonnage
Amoy	£ 2,545,961	861,826	706,480
Foochow	1,346,270	309,225	213,707
Hankow (1897)	539,260	864,238	554,532

The Consul's pay at Nagasaki is now the same as it was in 1877, when the trade was not 1/10th of what it now is, and it is less by £100 than that of the Consul at each of the three Chinese ports mentioned. While the expenses of living for foreigners have in recent years greatly increased all over Japan, local circumstances have caused this increase to be largely intensified in Nagasaki. Supplies have always been limited, and the demands now made by the large number of men of war which make long stays in the port [Margin note: There are at present seven large foreign men of war in the harbour and this is a very usual number.] and by mercantile shipping with its enormous passenger traffic [Margin note: Russian Volunteer ships carry from passengers, all of them being frequent visitors here. At the present moment there are two Chinese transports in harbour, with over 1,100 men in each, provisioning for the voyage to San Francisco, and there will be a constant succession of these for the rest of the year, probably for several years.]. almost completely exhaust them and raise them to fancy prices.

The requirements of residents in many of the most ordinary necessities of life have therefore to be satisfied from Shanghai and residents are also now finding it necessary to have recourse to Shanghai for domestic and skilled (e.g. carpenter) labour. It is no exaggeration to say that in ten years, the expenses of foreigners in Nagasaki have increased fourfold, and this has been recognised by banks, merchants and even missionary societies, who have all substantially increased their employees' remuneration. Shanghai is the most expensive port in China. Residents with recent experience both of Shanghai and Nagasaki say that the necessities of life even in the latter double what they do in Shanghai.

The fact that Nagasaki is the greatest naval port in the East and that it is a port of call for all mail steamers throws upon the consul absolutely unavoidable burthens of entertaining from which Consuls at such ports as Foochow and Amoy are wholly exempt, and as far as the navy is concerned those at other ports in Japan are,

by comparison, now almost wholly so.

The present consuls at Kobe and Nagasaki both belong to a generation, one degree in advance of all the other members of the service. Both have served for over thirty years, both feel keenly the burthens imposed on them, both having large families, by the advance in the cost of living, and neither has the slightest prospect of any improvement in his condition or advance in the service. Both therefore furnish cases especially meriting personal allowances on their present pay. In either case, the allowance, if granted, can only be enjoyed for a few years, but during those years it could do a great deal to render life more easy and to alleviate its constant struggle for both. The changes which must soon take place in the Japan Establishment, consequent on the abolition of the Court, afford a very favorable [sic] opportunity for granting them.

The recent increase of £50 per annum in the pay of both consuls will not be sufficient to cover the additional cost of living for a family, entailed solely by the recent increase of import duties.

92. Satow to Longford

Private Dft.

Tokio

29 June, 1899

Dear Longford,

With reference to your letter of June 20 [no. 90 above] containing various suggestions as to the reorganization of your consulate, I have already made certain proposals to the F.O. regarding future arrangements for carrying on the work of the various consulates, as I in my despatch of Jan 3 [?] said I was about to do. The despatch got home about the end of March, but I have recently heard by telegram that the F.O. are still discussing its contents with the Treasury, and that they cannot give an immediate reply. I must wait till I hear from them before making any fresh suggestions. But I will keep in mind what you say about the title of Vice-consul; and also the question of a Vice-consul for Moji and Shimonoseki. Perhaps I may take an opportunity of running down there myself to look into the question. I know that some 12 years ago something was said about it, but it has been lost sight of.

I do not see my way at present to stationing an additional assistant permanently at Nagasaki, and I am afraid I cannot promise to change your present assistant for another who knows Japanese better. I try to do the best for each Consulate, but there are many things that have to be taken into consideration, especially arranging for men to take leave home, which I should like to render possible for everyone after 5 years in Japan. A rule that no assistant should remain more than two years at Nagasaki sounds ideal, but I am not sure that it could be worked.

y.t.

E.S.

93. Satow to Longford

30 June 1899

Dear Longford,

I quite see the force of the consens [comments ?] contained in your letter of 21st [No. 91 above] about your desire to have a personal allowance. Some of the grounds you mention are, however, rather reasons why the salary should be increased, or a local allowance given, but those are just the grounds on which a rise might be asked for on behalf of every one, and I fear it would not be much use to do that. I don't think the Treasury could be got to agree to a difference between the China and the Japan Services in the matter of salaries. If they were urged on the subject they would say the climate of Japan being so much better compensated for other disadvantages. I also could not make any observations to them on the higher salaries at the China ports you mention.

I have written to the Undersecretary to sound him on the point of a "personal allowance", as it is better to find out how the land lies before doing anything official.⁴³⁰

I am also asking the F.O. to alter the rules about deductions from salaries on leave. There is no reason why a consul should have more deducted from his pay than is given to his locum tenens [temporary replacement]. The case seems to me a strong one for a complete change in this direction.

94. Longford to Satow

Private

Nagasaki

July 4, 1899

Dear Sir Ernest,

Many thanks for your two notes of the 29th ulto and 1st inst. In regard to the personal allowance, a good many of the grounds I mentioned would certainly be reasons for an increased salary or local allowance. But there would be much better prospect, I thought, of the first proposal being favorably entertained. It would bind the Treasury to [J.C.] Hall and myself only and that probably for only a very few years. Being granted in consideration of our long service, no one else in the service could claim it for at least eleven years to come, and in both our cases we have peculiar claims for it, both having especially suffered from the great rise of prices: no one else in the service can feel this to the same extent as we do with our respective families. So far

⁴³⁰ In fact Satow wrote to the Assistant Under Secretary Francis H. Villiers on June 30, 1899 requesting personal allowances for both J.H. Longford and J.C. Hall. Longford had four children, Hall six. 'They are both poor men.' (Ruxton, 1998, p.269)

the new Tariff has not sensibly affected us, as we have imported nothing ourselves this year and local tradesmen have not yet appreciably increased their prices, all having laid in large stocks before the 1st of January. But, since I last wrote to you, I have made a rough estimate, based on what I got from home in 1898 and my bills with local tradesmen, of what I shall have to pay in Customs duty in 1900, assuming that my consumption remains the same, and I find it amounts to \$754 – to this at least, possibly more, as I may have omitted several items. In 1898 it was probably about \$80 but possibly much less. This more than completely does away with the increase of £50 of last year.

The conditions of Nagasaki make the increased cost of living particularly severe on its Consul, in consequence of the constant presence of men of war here. In the last fortnight I shall, including the Austrian, have had five here, this too at the particular time when I expected to be entirely free from them, and four of the five with captains and officers coming here for the first time. The F.O. say there is no necessity to entertain them, but this is said in absolute ignorance of all the axioms of Eastern life. Unless I want to break off all social relations with the navy, to get the reputation of a churl, it is impossible to avoid some entertainment. On their part, they absolutely shower hospitality on all my family. With the means at their disposal, everything almost provided for them, this no doubt costs them little and perhaps they think my small returns cost just as little. But this is not so. And their invitations cannot be refused without what would be almost absolute rudeness and some return must be made for them. Then they leave their wives here – there are nearly always some here. We can't leave them unnoticed in hotels, not knowing a soul in the place and eating their hearts out in dullness. Our own house is the only one in the whole place that is open to naval men. No one here ever calls on them or takes the least notice of them in any way, and the gun room officers are not admitted even to the club. Then, as to passengers by mail steamers, this place is also in a worse position than other ports. At Yokohama, they go up to Tokio: at Kobe, the stay of the steamer is so short and her distance from shore so great, that most of them don't land at all unless they are going to remain. Here the steamers all remain one full day, close to the shore, coaling and therefore very unpleasant on board. Everyone rushes on shore and being there can find little or nothing to do, so that callers at the Consulate are very frequent. Yesterday from the Empress, I had more than twenty, fully half of whom expected to be asked to tiffin [light lunch] – all of them being people who would certainly have asked me had I gone to S'hai or H'kong.

The original reason why China salaries were fixed on a higher basis than those in Japan was solely that the former was considered a much more expensive country to live in. You will find this explicitly stated in a long despatch from Lord Clarendon [Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, December 1868 – July 1870] at the end of 1869 or early in 1870, preparatory to the Parliamentary Commission on the Foreign Office. Circumstances have now entirely changed. All necessities of life in Japan cost double what they do in China, where also imports are practically free. And as to the question of "climate", the two are on the same footing, both

“unhealthy”, and I doubt if, from the point of view of health, there is much choice between them, though that of Japan is certainly “pleasanter”. And all the advantages of climate, if any, are lost twice over by mental worry in a perpetual struggle to keep up appearances on altogether insufficient means.

As to the deductions of pay on leave of absence, it has long been in my mind to write to you in regard to our regulations, which, never having been altered since 1861, when the passage here cost over £150 and took two months, are now altogether out of date.⁴³¹ Your proposal, if accepted, would be a great boon to us, but why not assimilate our regulations entirely to those of the general Consular service (F.O. General Instructions to Consular Officers 1893, pages 99 et seq.) now that Japan is in time so close to England and has been placed on the footing of European nations ? These, exclusive of the time occupied on the passage, would give two full months pay and six months with the deduction of the amount paid to the substitute, any balance on half pay. It would encourage members of the service to take nine months leave frequently, and for that period cheap return tickets are issued by all [shipping] lines. Failing that, a great boon would be to qualify our own regulations that when leave exceeds three months deductions are to commence from the day of quitting the post. It might be altered so as to allow three months full pay if the whole time of absence does not exceed nine months.

I have now been ten years continuously in Japan. I believe Hall has been nine. Neither of us can afford to think of home leave, as the pay which we would receive for one year at home would not do more than pay the cost of our passages there and back, and so far from being able to save here at present, in my own case at least, it has been rather the other way. Under these conditions, I have no hope of being able to go home till I retire, although I am medically advised in the strongest terms that a complete change and rest are urgently necessary for me.

I have troubled you with a long letter but I hope I have said everything that I need and, unless you should make any inquiries to me, that I shall not do so again. All our hopes of anything being done for us rest entirely on your recommendations, and failing them there is nothing for it but to continue a very heart breaking struggle – one that is little short of cruel after such long and unbroken service.

Very truly yours

Joseph H. Longford

95. Longford to Satow

Nagasaki

July 6, 1899

⁴³¹ Judging from Satow’s own trips to and from England to Japan via Canada in 1895-1900, the trip took about a month at this time. (Ruxton, 2003, p. ix.)

Dear Sir Ernest,

I shall telegraph to you tomorrow urgently asking you to let me have another assistant here at once, as it is impossible for us to carry on the work that is now in hand as we are. I made up my mind on receipt of your letter [no. 89 above] to try and remain till the 4th of August and still hope to be able to do so. But at present I am in great risk of breaking down completely – I suffer from constant headache, hardly sleep for 3 hours each night and drugs have no effect on me, so that I am quite worn out. Rentiers has his own anxieties. His wife is just on the point of being confined, and he has to be a good deal with her, and any day may require to be altogether so. [(private) She is not very strong and may have a very bad time.] Under these circumstances he cannot be of as much assistance to me as under ordinary ones, and I cannot foresee what is to come in the way of work. Last night the prefect [prefectural governor, *chiji* 知事] suddenly fired at us long electric light regulations, all in Japanese, which I never heard of before, requiring licenses for two English companies here from Tokio before the 17th instant, on which date, he says, the Revised Treaties come into operation. They are all of a highly intellectual nature and it will be difficult to comply with them even before the 4th of August. I don't know if any more similar ordinances will come, but if they do it is important for us to get them translated and copied. The quarter's accounts are to be made up. I am trying to get a Trade Report made, but I find it difficult to give more than a couple of hours a week to it, though I never go home to tiffin, taking some sandwiches in the office, and both Rentiers and I have been here till late in the evening. All day I have callers, every forenoon this week has been occupied in receiving or returning visits, from which there is no possible escape, and even the afternoons are not free.

The local Kencho [prefectural office 県庁] does not itself publish notices as does that at Kanagawa. It leaves all their circulation to us. I shall go up tomorrow and point out to the Prefect that the Treaty ceases on the 4th of August not as he states, and also ask him what other notices he is likely to send. I expect I shall have strong protests from the two electric light companies as to the Regulations just communicated. I don't see how they can possibly conform to them in time, and the Prefect threatens suspension of work in case of failure.

The Land Register here is also giving us a good deal of work in consequence of former carelessness and neglect. The records are to be handed over by the Kencho to the Court on the 17th inst and the Kencho records being apparently as imperfect as our own, they are anxious to get them straight, and are constantly coming for inquiries, which take a long time to answer. I have warned the parties to the arbitration, about which I have written to you, that I cannot have the hearing till the end of the month and that my ability to have it then depends on my health, but as it is most advisable that it should be made a rule of court before the 17th instant, I wrote to you at once about it.

My letter is hasty and not very clear but I am writing under difficulties – at the end of the day.

Yours very truly,

Joseph H. Longford

96. Longford to Satow

[recd. 14/7]

Nagasaki,

July 8, 1899

Dear Sir Ernest,

I was not able to telegraph to you yesterday and as my letter of the 6th should reach you tomorrow, I think it is not necessary for me to do so now, or at least to telegraph more than the mere fact that I have written. Mrs. Rentiers was confined yesterday morning and is going well, but under the circumstances Rentiers' thoughts are naturally much occupied and not with office matters. There was the usual number of callers here yesterday, including passengers by the Gaelic, and early in the afternoon one of the oldest residents suddenly died. He was in Japanese employment, unmarried, and making arrangements for the custody of his papers I took the great part of the afternoon. All these occurrences left me not a particle of time, and I felt unable to compile a proper telegram to you, and the case is almost the same today. There is a constant string of people coming in making inquiries about registration etc. The local people [Japanese officials at the prefectural office] seem to know nothing of [Imperial] Ordinance 272 [chokurei, 勅令] allowing six months for registration, and are intimating that all formalities must be completed by the 17th inst.

I am in the worst condition for coping with all these worrying questions and my need for an extra assistant, who can do copying and especially help me to get the Trade Report finished is most pressing. I trust you will be able to let me have one of the students at once. He will relieve me of a great part of my present sources of worry, and I hope enable me to carry on till the 4th of August. The weather here is exhausting in the extreme – thermometer on the border of 90° - with excessive dampness.

There are 2500 American soldiers on shore here – the greater part of them at least on shore. Last week we had 1100. The ones here at present are going to call at Yokohama, so you may see them. In all these crowds, there has not been one single instance of a man even approaching tipsiness, no one case of anything savoring [sic] of misconduct though they have all come here straight from the front [the Philippines ?]⁴³² and with pockets full of money. I do not know what the difference between the two peoples can be, but last Thursday night one of our ships gave leave to about 60 men. They cannot have been on shore much above an hour when I saw three of them as drunk as they could be without being incapable, and that too though they had all been specially warned before coming on shore.

⁴³² The Philippine American War (formerly the Philippine Insurrection) began on February 4, 1899. On July 4, 1902 President Roosevelt declared the Philippines pacified.

Yours truly
Joseph H. Longford

97. Longford to Satow

Nagasaki

July 11, 1899

Dear Sir Ernest,

Fortunately I have not been able to go to the Kencho since I last wrote to you, so that I have not raised the question of firms with the prefect, and your telegram of last night, for which many thanks, has removed the error I had fallen into that the date was extended to August 4th. I thought the greater included the less, and that jurisdiction having been extended till then, the performance of minor formalities might also be so. I am now somewhat puzzled by [Imperial] Ordinance No. 272 of June 15 giving a period of six months from the operation of the commercial code for purposes of registration. That would give until November next instead of only to July 17th.

I have numerous complaints of the formalities required in the registration but I can only tell people they must make the best of them. Our land register here is full of omissions, which are being gradually discovered, and in two cases I am afraid there may possibly be considerable trouble.

Yours very truly
Joseph H. Longford

98. Longford to Satow

[Recd. July 21]

Nagasaki,

July 18, 1899

Dear Sir Ernest,

Since receiving your telegram, telling me to apply officially for another assistant, I have not been able to write to you till today. Our hands have been full of land cases, trying to get things put straight at the last moment, and there is a constant incoming of people making inquiries on registration etc. I have confined myself strictly to the point in the application for the assistant, as anything else I might say would be merely a repetition of what I have told you in my private letters. As to the permanency of the additional assistant, that can of course be settled later on, but if the Japanese courts are to be officially attended when British subjects are on trial, it will be absolutely necessary to ensure the proper working of the Consulate. I paid 46 official calls on men of war last year. Every one of these requires an entire forenoon [morning]. There is no escape

from them, and as it is when men of war are in harbour that “cases” are most likely to occur (and unless the whole temper of the people here changes I anticipate an abundance of them) the consulate might have to be left entirely unattended, the sole assistant being at Court and the consul afloat. One assistant should also, as I said before, be a proficient in Japanese. Since I wrote I have heard that the authorities are going to insist on translations accompanying all despatches, a thing which has not been done for 20 years past. Well, if that is so it will make a competent interpreter more necessary than ever.

I am most anxious that you should grant my leave from about the 1st. If I can hold on till then it will be the utmost I can do, as I am now quite worn out, and the daily attendance at the office is becoming more and more of a struggle. I say about the 1st, for I think the Bonaventure will be leaving here about that time for Hakodate, and I want to take the chance of going in her, which will be a great boon to me. She is due here on the 26th.

Yours very truly

Joseph H. Longford

99. Satow to Longford

Copy.

Tokio,

22 July 1899

Dear Longford,

Your despatch No. 15 is not sufficient for me to lay before the F.O. as an explanation of the grounds on which you consider the permanent addition of another assistant to the staff of your Consulate to be necessary. I cannot make use of your private letters on this subject, as they are not on record.

As to a proficient in Japanese, I have told you already that I cannot provide you with one. You are supposed to be a proficient yourself. I have not heard of any intention to insist on letters being written in Japanese, but if that were so, the easiest way would be to dictate to a writer, and have a translation made into English for the archive.

If you wrote officially about the burden which official visits to men-of-war entail on you I should endeavour to get it lightened. I have long thought that one exchange of official visits to the same vessel in one year would be a reasonable arrangement.

In your official no. 15 you speak of the stress of work during the past month. It has been the same everywhere.

100. Longford to Satow

[Ansd. Aug. 4]

Nagasaki,

July 31, 1899

Dear Sir Ernest,

Subsequent to the receipt of your telegram of the 22nd inst. I had some hopes that I might see [Erwin von] Baelz ⁴³³ and obtain from him a medical certificate such as you asked for. He left however without seeing me after that date. Dr. Paul, who was my doctor and in constant attendance on me, left this [place], you may perhaps have heard, to commence practice in S'hai, in April last. Since then a Dutch doctor has attended us, but he has been away now for a month and shows no sign of returning. There is another doctor here, an American, but he does not attend us. To get a medical certificate from him, I should have to enter into my whole history, and it would involve a fee of probably \$25, medical fees being much higher here than in either Yokohama or Kobe, quite double what they are in the latter. No doctor is provided for us by the Government as you know, and providing medical certificates is therefore a very different thing to me to what it would be in either of the other ports. I had no idea you would require one and my application, while mentioning my health, was more intended as one for the ordinary leave that has always been given to consuls every year or when asked for. Except on medical certificate of a very urgent nature, I have now had only ten days leave since 1895 and my last official leave was in 1892. Fortunately, during the last fortnight we have had a marvellous spell of cool weather such as has never been known in Nagasaki before, and I have been able both to work and sleep. But had it not been for this I am sure I should have broken down as I was quite worn out. The Aurora left for Hakodate on Saturday and that took away my last chance of getting up there by a man of war [warship], and so I am now in no immediate hurry on that account, and I must try and answer your despatch on the Land Registers. This will be a long affair but Rentiers would be utterly incompetent to deal with it. During the last six weeks we have been constantly engaged in trying to rectify matters in regard to land and so I know to a certain extent how matters stand.

The Bonaventure's mishap was a very bad one. She will be four weeks in dock here being patched up sufficiently to enable her to proceed to Hong Kong and there there will be several months work on her. Her wooden casing alone saved her. Had it been any other large ship in the squadron, except herself or the Hermione, it would have been a total loss. The fleet was entering Korniloff Bay in single line. The Bonaventure was fifth in order and was ordered to fall out, go ahead of the others and take up position in the inner bay. In a few minutes she bumped heavily on the rock – unmarked on the chart and previously unknown, and remained fast on it just under her magazine, bow and stern both in deep water, and balanced as it were

⁴³³ Baelz was medical officer to the British Legation at Tokyo from February 1, 1882 to March 31, 1905. (Kuwata, 1996, p.54)

amidships on a pivot, with five feet of water under her. After 700 tons had been taken out of her and numerous hawsers broken she was towed off. Had the fleet been entering as is usual in double line, the Barfleur leading would have met with her fate, and nothing could have got her off. These items may possibly interest you, and as they are not likely to appear in public, I think them worth telling, though of course my associations with the Navy make me take more interest in naval affairs than most do.

I thought I might have had to trouble you with a question with the Customs. They intimated to Messrs. Ringer & Co. that after [August] the 4th ships papers must be deposited with them and that the Consular certificate would no longer be accepted [as in the case of Kobe ⁴³⁴], producing a whole book of new rules, in which this appeared incidentally as one of many items. I asked for a copy of these rules, but they had not a spare one to give me, and I pointed out to the Superintendent that by English law and custom all over the world the papers must be deposited in the Consulate and remain there during the vessel's stay in port. He has now got instructions from the Okurasho [Ministry of Finance大蔵省] not to ask for the papers, but he still maintains that he has a right to do so by Japanese law and may if he wants.

Yours very sincerely

Joseph H. Longford

101. Satow to Longford

Copy

4 Aug. 99

Dear Longford,

I have your letter of 31 July. Many thanks for the interesting details of the "Bonaventure's mishap."

If you had not mentioned your health both in private letters and in your despatch it would have been only an ordinary application for leave which under present circumstances I consider ought not to be given to a Consul. The transition from extraterritoriality to Japanese jurisdiction in my opinion requires that consuls should be at their ports. I was obliged therefore to regard your request as one for leave on the grounds of ill-health, under which circumstances the rule is to furnish a medical certificate.

I am glad the Authorities [Customs] have agreed to dispense with the deposit of the Certificate of Registry.

I do not know where you find the law that the certificate of registry is to be deposited at the Consulate. § 11 of the Merchant Shipping Act seems to imply the contrary. Para[graph] 36 of the Board of Trade instructions does not mention it among the documents that have to be delivered to the Consul. In some countries it is certain that the certificate of registry is deposited with the Customs, who give a receipt for it.

⁴³⁴ See Wileman to Satow, Kobe correspondence, July 19, 1899 et seq. The Kobe Customs 'quietly climbed down', Hall to Satow, August 4, 1899.

However to make all clear I telegraphed to [the] F.O. and have just got their answer that if the Japanese Authorities demand delivery of the Certificate it cannot properly be refused.

y.t.

E.S.

102. Rentiers to Satow

[Ans. 12/9. Will see what Hall says.]

Added later ? [Gordon must be at Kobe by Oct. 15, so he can keep him till the 12th. After Longford's return, it is to be hoped he will be able to give you leave and carry on by himself as I understand has always been the practice in such cases.]

Nagasaki,

September 9, 1899

Dear Sir Ernest,

I have just received your despatch No. 22 of the 6th instant directing that [E.L.S.] Gordon be instructed to proceed to Kobe as soon after the 18th instant as shall be possible. Since Gordon has been here the office work has been quite sufficient to keep both him and me fully employed eben before Mr. Longford's departure. I am now awaiting your instructions respecting the sending of copies of the Land Register to the Local District Court [chihō saibansho] and should they be to the effect that copies are to be sent, the amount of work entailed will be really much more than one man could attend to in addition to the current routine of the Consulate. May I therefore ask if you would be able to accede to my request that Gordon should be allowed to stay here at least till Mr. Longford's return and if possible for 3 weeks or a month after that date.

My reason for asking this is that I had hoped to be able to obtain leave of absence myself to get a change of air which would greatly benefit the health of both my wife and myself: this leave I know Mr. Longford would at once refuse were he alone without any assistance during my absence. My medical attendant has recommended that my wife should go away for a change, and she can hardly do so unless I take her.

I trust that you will not mind my applying to you privately in the first instance as, if my request should not meet with your approval, I shall not apply officially.

I am, dear Sir Ernest, yours sincerely,

John B. Rentiers

103. Longford to Satow

Hakone,

Sept. 13, 1899

Dear Sir Ernest,

I am very sorry that circumstances should have turned out so unfortunately as that I should be absent from Nagasaki [長崎] when your visit takes place there.⁴³⁵ I have written to Mr. Ringer and told him of your intention to visit Moji [門司]. His firm has had a branch there for several years under the title “Yurin Shokwai”, though it may be already under the ordinary firm name. Its manager is Mr. Reed [N.B. Reid]⁴³⁶, whom I know personally very slightly, but who is, I know, a very keen and intelligent business man and thoroughly acquainted with all the circumstances of Moji. He will, I have no doubt, call on you on your arrival and assist you in every possible way. The firm has a fine steam launch there and all facilities for seeing what is to be seen.⁴³⁷

I purpose remaining here or at Miyanoshita until the 25th or 26th and returning to Nagasaki by either the French or German mail of the 27th or 28th, leaving here just in time to catch the steamer at Yokohama, and then on my return taking the family up to Unsen for a few weeks. If your time admits of it, I am sure you would find a visit to Unsen most interesting. It is a unique place of itself.⁴³⁸

Very truly yours,

Joseph H. Longford

⁴³⁵ Satow left Tokyo on 15 September, arriving in Kobe the next day. In Kobe 16-19 September. At Moji 23 September. He did not reach Nagasaki. Returned to Tokyo on 25 September. (Ruxton, 2003, pp. 390-93).

⁴³⁶ Satow's diary for September 23, 1899 reads as follows: “Reached Moji about nine o'clock. [N. B.] Reid of Holme Ringer & Co, came off, and took the Admiral [Seymour], Secy. Powlett, [J.M.] Cheetham and myself on shore. He rents a house originally built for telegraph operators about 25 years ago. Visited the house [in Shimonoseki] where the [Sino-Japanese] Treaty of 1895 was signed, and the temple where Li Hung chang lodged. Received visits from the Mayor of Moji and various other persons who would not be satisfied till I promised to visit their town. Also the deputy of the Mayor of Shimonoseki and the head of the police. In the afternoon walked over the town of Moji, and was taken to a teahouse where the Mayor insisted upon my making a speech to the company consisting chiefly of the town council, after which they produced claret and champagne, evidently meaning a feast, but I excused myself and so got away about six. Young Black and [A.] Carnduff the only other Englishmen at Shimonoseki. Started by the 11 o'clock boat for Tokuyama.” (Ruxton, 2003, p. 392). See also Satow's diary for 13 June 1896: “Anchored in the ‘Alacrity’ off Moji and went ashore...The mushroom town that has sprung up in the last 7 years is a great coal depot, doing a large export business.” On 2 October 1899 Satow recommended establishing a consulate at Shimonoseki to the F.O. as it was an important shipping port. (Ruxton, 1998, p. 273)

⁴³⁷ After Suematsu Kenchō, then head of the Prefectural Government Bureau, approached financier-industrialist Shibusawa Eiichi the Moji Port Construction Co. was founded in 1889 and the port was completed in 1897.

⁴³⁸ Unzen Hot Spring. (Unzen Onsen). Located in the middle of the Shimabara Peninsula, southern Nagasaki peninsula, Kyushu. A sulfur spring, water temperature 50-97 degrees C. Its history goes back to the Nara period (710-794) and historical sites associated with the Kakure Kirishitan (Hidden Christians) of the Edo period (1600-1868) can be found nearby. (Kodansha's Illustrated Encyclopedia of Japan).

104. Rentiers to Satow

Nagasaki,

September 22, 1899

Dear Sir Ernest,

I have to thank you for your letters of the 12th and 18th instant and for your kindness in allowing Gordon to stay on here until about the 12th of October.

Certainly I never heard of any additional assistant being sent down here during the absence of the Consul or his assistant on local leave; but I was temporarily transferred from Yokohama to Kobe to assist [Arthur Hyde] Lay in 1892 when Mr. Enslie gave [H.A.C.] Bonar a month's leave and on his return remained there to allow Lay to go on home leave without waiting to be replaced by [E.A.] Griffiths who was to return from home and relieve him three months later.

I had hoped to be able to thank you personally as it seemed possible that you might come on here after visiting Moji; but, as the time at your disposal was said to be short, it appears unlikely that you will now come on. I am therefore now writing to thank you.

I am, dear Sir Ernest,

Yours sincerely,

John B. Rentiers

105. Longford to Satow

Yokohama United Club

No. 5 Bund

September 26, 1899

Dear Sir Ernest,

I returned from Hakone last night and am proceeding back to Nagasaki by the French Mail which leaves early tomorrow morning. The stay at Hakone has set me a long way, I hope, on the road to recovery of strength, but I still get very easily tired and tested [judged] by my walking capacity am anything but what I should be.

I understood from the [Nicholas John] Hannens that you would be in Yokohama today and in that belief and also because I have a severe cold I have not thought of going up to Tokio in the very limited time I have had here. I hope you have had a pleasant journey and trip and that you were able to satisfy yourself as to all the possibilities of Moji. Its first appearance is perhaps not impressing but what you will have seen will, I trust, have been enough to show you that my own views about the port are not exaggerated. The new iron (steel)

foundry ⁴³⁹ will, I believe, soon make it an important import as it already is an export base and increase the shipping, which is so large already.

Yours very truly

Joseph H. Longford

106. Longford to Satow

[Answered October 30]

Nagasaki,

October 27, 1899

Dear Sir Ernest,

A very important case is coming on here – a claim on insurance for a vessel lost at sea – and as a lawyer has already come down from Kobe about it, and I believe another is coming from Shanghai I have thought it best to come back here. So I returned from Unsen [see letter 103 above] on Wednesday and resumed duty this morning. There seem to be several questions which I may have to refer to you, but I shall make an effort to settle them myself in the first instance.

The Japanese refuse to transfer any land belonging to British subjects until they have received copies of the Register, and one transfer, in which land in the Settlement has been sold to a Japanese, is in consequence suspended. There might be a risk of the sale falling through and if that threatens I may take the responsibility of giving them a copy of the register of this particular lot, though I should only do so if it was made a *sine qua non* [essential condition of purchase] by the purchaser that the sale should be completed at once. I hope to answer your despatch about the mortgages early next week.

Yours very truly,

Joseph H. Longford

⁴³⁹ Yahata/Yawata Iron and Steel Works (Yahata Seitetsujo). Japan's first integrated steel mill; established in 1896 by the government in Yahata Mura (now part of Kitakyushu city) as part of the country's program to strengthen itself militarily and industrially (Fukoku Kyōhei). The project was placed under the Ministry of Agriculture and Commerce (Nōshōmushō) which invited German engineers to help build the mill. Construction expenses were mainly covered by public bonds and by the indemnity paid by China after the Sino-Japanese War of 1894-95. The mill began operations in 1901 and is preserved today. Iron ore was imported mainly from mines in Hubei/Hupei Province, China, and in Korea. The mill concentrated on producing armaments and railway equipment and thus played a major role in meeting Japan's military needs. In 1934 the mill merged with five private companies to form Nippon Seitetsu (Nippon Steel Co.) After World War II, the company was separated in 1950 into Yahata Seitetsu and Fuji Seitetsu by the Occupation authorities. In 1970 the two merged to form Nippon Steel Corporation (Shin Nippon Seitetsu) of which the headquarters is near Tokyo station. (Kodansha's Illustrated Dictionary of Japan; personal knowledge)

107. Longford to Satow

Nagasaki,

November 8, 1899

Dear Sir Ernest,

I hoped, as I said, to have sent you the report asked for by Wilkinson early last week, but I had no idea of the number of visitors I should have had in the interim. Days have passed on which I was not able to write two lines, and it was only by remaining here last night till 7 o'clock that I at last got it finished. People here reserved for me all questions that they had to put as to the new order of affairs, and as the conditions were strange to myself I have had a good deal of difficulty and it has required time to answer many of them. Two transfers of land are now being made here, and in both cases I have given the former owners copies of our register as a special service, charging them the regular fees for them, and leaving them to hand the copies to the Japanese direct. Without them, the sales might have fallen through. One transfer is to a Japanese, and the former owner does not care what form of new title may be given or what fees are charged. The other is from British to British subject, and in this case I've warned them to consult me if any new form of title is offered to them or if the 2½% is charged. I have not yet heard the result. The case for exemption both from this charge and also from taxes on buildings are perhaps stronger in Nagasaki than elsewhere, but as [H.S.] Wilkinson is acquainted with my views in regard to them, I don't think I need trouble you with them. The municipal services in Nagasaki are wretchedly performed in every respect, in some respects they are scandalously deficient, lighting, cemetery, scavenging [sic], and repairs all giving strong grounds of complaint.⁴⁴⁰ The fact of there being no recognised senior consul, no cooperation at all of the consuls, except in very special instances, prevents any remonstrance with the authorities. What is everybody's business is no one's – no individual consul will stir and all will not act together. Lighting of the settlement has hitherto been done by public subscription, managed by one firm of American storekeepers. Since the new order of affairs [i.e. the abolition of extraterritoriality] the subscriptions have ceased and the managers won't undertake the work (which was entirely gratuitous) any more. The Japanese won't carry it on, so the settlement is now in almost total darkness.

I have a customs question, which, though it does not concern English interests, seems worth mentioning. An Austrian firm here imported --- cases of port from Portugal and simultaneously --- cases of wine from

⁴⁴⁰ "After 1876, Nagasaki's municipal affairs went the same way as Yokohama's. Foreigners looked after the lights, cemetery and fire brigade, while everything else was done by the Japanese. The latter did things in their own time, but there were less clashes than at Yokohama. It was generally agreed, by both visitors and residents, that Nagasaki was a credit to the local authorities. There was little further demand from the foreign community for a share in municipal affairs." J.E.Hoare, *Japan's Treaty Ports and Foreign Settlements*, p.119.

Spain. In both instances the wine formed part of a much larger consignment sent in the first instance to (Gilbey & Co.) London, thence reshipped here with certificate of origin but on a new Bill of Lading. The Spanish wine was admitted under the conventional Tariff under Article V of the Spanish Treaty, but the statutory duties were charged on the Portuguese wines under Article IV of the Treaty, on the grounds that the goods did not come on "through bill of lading". The Customs seem to me within their rights, and I cannot advise any appeal, but the case is a hard one.

The wine was ordered on the estimate of the conventional tariff, the difference is considerable, and as Holme Ringer & Co. who have 9/10ths of the shipping of the port in their hands, cannot remember in all their experience one single instance of a through B/L from Portugal, cannot issue one themselves by any of their lines from here to Portugal, this provision in the Portuguese Treaty seems to be quite worthless. Curiously enough, in the copy of the Customs Import Tariff, prepared by and sent by the Japanese authorities, "wine" has been omitted from the list of Portuguese products entitled to most favored nation treatment, though it is mentioned in Table B attached to the Treaty. The rules of appeal in regard to Customs matters are so burdensome that I believe they will not be availed of unless in very extreme cases. Most importers would submit to much before undertaking the trouble that they must involve.

Yours very truly,

Joseph H. Longford

108. Longford to Satow

Nagasaki,

November 9, 1899

Dear Sir Ernest,

I have to apologise for a betise [foolish error] in my despatch of yesterday. I wrote it without reference to your covering despatch, and now I find that Wilkinson's name is not mentioned in the latter whereas I have throughout spoken of the memorandum as by him. If you would kindly have his name in the first paragraph and also in the last but one altered to "the" and in the last short paragraph the words "by Mr. Wilkinson" to "in the memorandum" it will rectify the error, if it is of moment.

I intended to mention in my letter to you one point which I had omitted purposely from the despatch. In regard to No. 6 – the memorandum states that if the property has been subsequently transferred to the mortgagor it will be bound by the mortgage. I never doubted that the mortgagor would be bound by it, but would the mortgagee's security in that case be as perfect as it was intended to be – would his rights against the property have held good against ordinary creditors in the event of bankruptcy of the mortgagor? I thought not and hence it seemed that the whole object both of the mortgage and its registration was lost. So much did this

appear to be so that I did not think it necessary, in my original mention of this case, to refer to the further flaws which I detailed in yesterday's despatch.

And as to the customs case, I find that I have to make several corrections in what I stated yesterday. The question, in the first instance, does interest the British trade and all foreigners in Japan who drink either port or sherry. All sherry [Spanish: jerez] comes from Spain, all port from Portugal. In neither case does any come on through Bill of Lading, even, or at least very seldom, when shipped here from Gibraltar. Port is, I am told, almost invariably sent from London, after having been there in wood for several years and having been bottled there.

In the present case, the whole consignment had been bottled in London, some of it having been there in bond for 15 years. The certificate of origin was signed by the Japanese Consul in London but it described the goods as of Portuguese production, hence the conventional duties were held not to apply. I have tried this morning to bring the case under the 5th article of our own Treaty, but the description in the certificate of origin prevents that and I see no escape from the IV article of the Portuguese Treaty, with its absurd and impracticable limitation. It seems as if we must be prepared to pay the higher duties on all port, unless the fact of its having been bottled in London, after storage there for several years, would admit of its being called an English product. The importer in this case (an Austrian) does a very large wine business and obtains a great deal of his wine from Gilbey in London. He has however now written to him to say that if this contention of the Customs holds good, he won't be able to take any more from him. The present consignment was over \$2000 in value.

[Perhaps it would be a public service to prevent him getting any more wine from Gilbey. The Christy Minstrels ⁴⁴¹ in London some years ago, I remember, had a version of "Ten Little Nigger Boys" of which one verse ran: "Ten little nigger boys drinking Sherry wine

One drank Gilbeys and then there were nine."]

And as to the Spanish wine, which I said yesterday had been passed under the Conventional Tariff on the lower duty. The Customs have since then discovered that Spanish products are not entitled to most favored nation treatment, and though the goods had been all cleared have demanded the higher duties. In the list of countries entitled to this privilege on pages 4/9 of the Japanese copy of the Tariff Spain is not mentioned. I thought yesterday that the word "excise" must be a mistranslation (article V of the Spanish Treaty), but I now see the term for it in the Japanese version is 'naikokuzei'

[内国税 ?]. How "excise" can apply to imported goods I don't quite see. Wharton defines "excise" as

⁴⁴¹ Edwin P. Christy (1815-62), early U.S. minstrel show performer who founded (c. 1842) the Christy Minstrels in Buffalo, N.Y. Played successfully in New York city, 1846-56. The troupe's later appearance in England popularised minstrel shows in music halls and made "Christy minstrels" or "Christys" synonymous with that type of entertainment. Christy retired in 1854. (Encyclopedia Britannica)

duties or taxes on articles produced and consumed at home. Octroi ⁴⁴², on the other hand, might quite possibly [be], and in Italy, I have no doubt is, levied on imports as well as home products. If you think it worth it I'll report the matter to you officially but at present I see no way of escape from the position taken by the Customs here.

Yours very truly

Joseph H. Longford

109. Longford to Satow

Nagasaki,

November 10, 1899

Dear Sir Ernest,

If it can be possibly managed I earnestly hope that you will send someone here even for the fortnight that Rentiers will be absent. There have been several days here both this week and last when the pressure of matters requiring immediate attention would have been far too much for one man, and I expect an unbroken succession of men of war here. The "Orlando" will be here on the 18th to stay till the 28th. She will be followed by the "Victorious", to give general leave to her men, from Wei Hai Wei, and the "Barfleur" may possibly also be here. It would not be very expensive sending [student interpreter Edward L.S.] Gordon from Kobe, and I presume Wileman will have returned in time to admit of his being spared thence. It was my belief that one man could not do the work here that made me resume before the expiration of my leave and I had then not the least knowledge either that Rentiers was in bad health or that he intended to apply for leave, and when he did apply I insisted on the medical certificate before assenting, although after 12 months here he should in the ordinary course have some holiday.

Yours very truly

Joseph H. Longford

110. Longford to Satow

Nagasaki

Nov. 17, 1899

Dear Sir Ernest,

Many thanks for your telegram notifying me that Gordon will be lent during Rentiers' absence.

The new dual control that now exists of the Prefect and Mayor, the limits of which I do not understand at

⁴⁴² Octroi: a duty levied in some European countries (also Bombay, India) on goods entering a town. (Concise Oxford Dictionary).

all as yet – is causing some trouble. The way scavenging is carried out here – the removal of refuse from houses – is insanitary and offensive in the extreme. The Prefect has nothing to do with it and the Mayor's office won't listen to reason, construing all their regulations in the strictest sense. As an instance of this, we have just had water introduced into the Consulate. I sent up the usual three vouchers for signature for the cost of the installation and it has not only been refused, but even in rather an offensive manner, that the request was "muri" [無理 impossible]. They were told that scores of vouchers like this have from time to time been signed by Japanese officials, the Prefect, the Customs Superintendent, the police and the gaol, but the answer was that that was all very well previously but a new state of affairs has come in with Treaty Revision ! They will give nothing but a little Japanese slip, and this won't satisfy the Office of Works which hardly yields to the Japanese in punctiliousness in regard to vouchers. I have given them a day to think over it, and if they still refuse will have to try and get the Prefect's assistance, though he seems unwilling to interfere with the Mayor's office in any way. The number of separate authorities is now very unfavorable to the conduct of business. In addition to the old ones, already numerous enough, we have now the Mayor, Harbour Master, Quarantine Department, and Taxation Office, all apparently entirely independent of each other. As I've said, however, I do not yet understand all their respective limits. I have not seen Twizel-Wawn's paper on municipal Government. If it is of value, it might be well to provide the Consulate with printed copies of it.

I have at last obtained from home a copy of the Blue book on merchant seamen. If you would care to see it, I shall be very glad to send it up, but it is on the whole a rather poor affair. My own memo. has brought me a number of letters from home and has been extensively quoted in the home papers, but it is the only one on the whole that seems to have attracted much notice. It was published in full in American shipping journals.

Yours very sincerely, Joseph H. Longford

111. Longford to Satow

Private

Nagasaki,

Nov. 17, 1899

Dear Sir Ernest,

I am afraid that any Korean items [of news] that I can give you must necessarily be very stale, but I risk writing the following.

You know of Mr. Leigh Hunt, the head in Corea of the American mining syndicate exploiting the gold mines there. He passed through here some days ago on his way to New York and London, for a flying visit of a week's duration at each place. What he is going for is to obtain five million yen which he has undertaken to lend to the King [Kojong, 1852-1919] personally. The object of the loan is not stated – neither is the return to

be made for it – nor how or where the King intends to place the money when he gets it until he requires to use it. All that I can ascertain is that the loan is to be made to the King himself. The syndicate which Mr. Hunt represents is a wealthy one but to get this amount of money they are obliged to realize securities both in New York and London. Hence Mr. Hunt's trip. The money will be remitted by telegraph to the Hong Kong and S'hai Bank here for disposal. The Bank was applied to, it is said, for the loan on the spot, but while quite satisfied with the responsibility of the syndicate – i.e. with the value of its concession in Corea to that amount, should all go well, matters are so uncertain there that they do not place sufficient confidence in the undisturbed permanency of the concession to enable them to entertain [consider] the application.

I know Mr. Leigh Hunt very well, and I have seldom met a man of any nationality for whom I entertain a higher respect. As an instance of what he does, I may mention that, early this year, when (young) [Hiram Parkes] Wilkinson at Shanghai ⁴⁴³ was in straits as to how to proceed with the Joly [?] case, with the expensive commissions in London, New York, H Kong and Söul that it entailed, Mr. Hunt handed him a large cheque – for £1000 I believe – and told him not to let want of funds impede him. This was done in absolute privacy, and not only that, but he instructed his own lawyer in New York, a leading man there, to attend to the case personally. This from an American to an English Vice Consul. He does not speak of what he has done himself, but in talking over the case with him he told me that he had known Joly well, that he believed him to be a man of the very highest honor, incapable of deceit in any way, and that it aroused his strongest indignation to see him slandered in this way, now that he is in his grave.

The concession in Corea is already working most successfully – a monthly average of Y [Yen ?] 70,000 of gold being now its results, and the hopes of the future for it seem to be boundless. But, of course, politics may upset it all.

The annual dynamite bill alone now amounts to over \$100,000.

The loan to the King was told to me in strict confidence. It may of course be known to many people, but I have not heard it openly mentioned anywhere.

Yours very sincerely,

Joseph H. Longford

112. Longford to Satow

Nagasaki,

⁴⁴³ Presumably Hiram Parkes Wilkinson (1866-1935), Acting Crown Advocate at Shanghai, 1894-97. Acting Chief Justice at Shanghai, 1898. Acting Assistant Judge in Korea, 1898. In 1901 appointed Commissioner to examine claims of British subjects against the Chinese government after Boxer disturbances of 1900. He should not be confused with Hiram Shaw Wilkinson (1840-1926) who was student interpreter in Japan in 1864, Acting Consul at Kanagawa in the 1870s, Crown Advocate at Shanghai 1881-94, Acting Judge then Judge of H.M. Court for Japan, 1894-1900.

Nov. 22, 1899

Dear Sir Ernest,

I have thought it prudent to send you the port and sherry case officially, as the [Austrian] importer has been again with me and informed me that he has written to Gilbey not to expect any more orders from him under the circumstances, and as Gilbey is a person of some influence at home, it is quite possible he may make representations to the F.O. [Foreign Office] in regard to the matter.

Yours very truly

Joseph H. Longford

113. Longford to Satow

Nagasaki

December 15, 1899

Dear Sir Ernest,

I have not yet heard of any attempt to levy the house taxes here, but the 2½% has been paid in some transfers of land that have taken place – in at least one where the transfer was as between British subjects. If the latter, however, won't help themselves I can't help them. I have given full warning not to pay this tax or fee without reference to me in the first instance, but no official representation has been made to me about it, so that I have not referred to it in any interviews I have had with the Governor.

As I have not heretofore written anything officially to you on the subject and also as I've no doubt every particular point relating to it has been fully considered by you, I don't propose now to reply officially to your last despatch, unless you'd like me to do so. It would be only to point out the forfeiture clause in the Nagasaki Title Deeds. "This deed shall become null and void and the buildings on the said land shall become the property of the Japanese Government" would seem, as far as Nagasaki is concerned, to entirely upset the contention in [foreign minister] Visct. Aoki's memo. that "property" relates only to the land leased in perpetuity. Obligation involves a corresponding privilege, and the buildings being subject to the obligations of the land should be entitled to all the latter's privileges. There is no copy of the Yokhama Title Deeds in "Treaties and Conventions", but the penal clauses in those of Tokio and Kobe are different to that in the Nagasaki Deed.

The Admiral [Sir Edward Hobart Seymour] telegraphed to me on the 2nd for information as to any unusual movements of Japanese men-of-war, troops or transports. I have no idea what suggested his telegram. A battery of artillery has quite recently been moved into Nagasaki to be permanently stationed here, but this is only the fulfilment of an old intention to place a garrison here. The men are temporarily quartered at Urakami. I can find nothing at all unusual in the movements of men-of-war at Sasebo [a naval base since 1886], though,

if there were such exceptionally, it would be very difficult to discover them in Nagasaki, and the troops at the various garrisons, Kumamoto, Omura, Fukuoka, seem to be just in their normal state. Four torpedo boats came in from Sasebo a few days ago and left today but this is not an extraordinary occurrence.

A case of pest [plague] occurred here on the 4th instant, but it has been only decided today that it must be considered "of the character of pest" and this information has only been given after very strong pressure from the German & American consuls and myself. As it is now so long ago and no fresh case has since occurred, I do not now think it necessary to telegraph to Hong Kong and Singapore but I shall write to both places and also report it officially to you. There was also a case on board a steamer from Nagasaki at Hakata [Fukuoka] last month, but I knew nothing of this case till several days after. The German consul has asked his minister [Graf von Leyden] to cause instructions to be given to the various Chiji [Governors] in Kiusiu [Kyushu] to communicate to him at once any cases that may occur, but I think I shall attain the same object by a semi-official letter which I have written to the Governor here. The whole municipal sanitation arrangements here are shamefully bad, but the Japanese authorities show no inclination to listen to any remonstrances in regard to them. We are also seriously threatened with a water famine, there being now only an allowance of one gallon per head per diem [day] till about the 20th instant.

Yours very truly

Joseph H. Longford

114. Longford to Satow

[Answered Jan 10/00 asking if he has any idea of going on leave to England, as in that case he should let me know as soon as possible, for Forster could then take his place.]

Private

Nagasaki

December 16, 1899

Dear Sir Ernest,

Very many thanks for your note of the 11th, though the main part of its contents is, I need not say, very disappointing. I could hardly have imagined a stronger case for the grant of a personal allowance, even if there had not been special funds available for it, but the possibility of the latter had made me hope that the application would obtain a very favorable reception. It would have been a very small matter, as I do not anticipate much longer service in Nagasaki. I am told by the Doctors that under no circumstances must I spend the summer months here again. The increase of leave pay will be a great boon to the service, but I wonder why they have not simply applied the general regulations to Japan. There can be no reason why they should be less applicable here than at Manila or (say) Valparaiso, and I believe frequent and short leave home

would be much more beneficial than longer at wide intervals. The present concession will, however, be too welcome to authorize thinking on what might be. In my own case it would make a difference (27%) of, I calculate, quite £150 per annum. The intimation that an increased passenger allowance might be given to myself was a very pleasant surprise, as much so as the allowance was a disappointment, and I should be very ungrateful if I did not express my best thanks to you for having procured it.

People here are very much exercised over the “Tamba Maru” case.⁴⁴⁴ The contemptuous disregard of foreign testimony which it shows is precisely what has been experienced here in half a dozen cases, only in these the Japanese fortunately stood in the position of accused and the foreign prosecutors were not subject to the Japanese courts. But it is now openly said that any rudeness or assault from Japanese must be submitted to rather than risk finding oneself in the position of the unfortunate youth [H.R.B. Kent] of the “Tamba Maru”. If you would refer to the procurator’s decision in the Sands case here [see p. 198 above], I think you will find a wonderful similarity between it and the judgment of the “Tamba Maru”. Fortunately, as well as strangely, there has not been a single case against a British subject, as such, since the 4th of August, but there must be one some time and when it does occur people here say there will be no hope at all for whoever is unlucky enough to be the subject of it. The jinrikisha [rickshaw] and sampan [boat taxi] men here are as truculent and extortionate a set of ruffians as could be gathered anywhere in Japan, and complaints only produce generalities “that the regulations are being strictly enforced etc.”, which is most emphatically not the case. I am quite tired of making complaints, especially of troubling you with them, and they do not do one iota of good. A fortnight ago I made one to the Governor of one of the usual assaults on a lady [Mrs. Baker ?], a passenger and entire stranger to me and to the port, but he has not yet told me a word of any punishment inflicted on the man, though I have twice sent to inquire. Nearly everyone who lands here complains of the conduct of the men, and the American soldiers seemed to be almost angels of patience in the way they bore the persistent mobbing to which they were subjected.

⁴⁴⁴ A dispute between 3rd class engineer Horace Robert Benjamin Kent and steersman Umesako Toyomatsu. The *Tamba-maru* of Nihon Yusen Kaisha was moored at Moji when Kent blamed Umesako for smoking during working hours. Umesako denied it, and a fight ensued. Kent hit Umesako’s right eye. Four other engineers came to Kent’s aid and handcuffed Umesako, who sued Kent and his colleagues when the ship arrived in Yokohama on 3 October at the Yokohama Regional Court. The five men were arrested and confined in the police station. Medical doctors stated that Umesako’s wound would take three or four weeks to heal. On 7 December Kent was given a six-month prison sentence, which was more lenient than the law stipulated for an injury taking more than 20 days to heal. The court also prosecuted Umesako and gave him a five-day sentence for biting Kent’s leg. Kent appealed and on 29 January 1900 the Tokyo Appeal Court reduced his sentence to ten days. (Nagaoka, vol. 2, p. 307).

On October 12, 1899 Satow discussed the case with foreign minister Aoki Shūzō (Ruxton, 2003, p.398) and again on October 26th and 28th. On October 31st Satow complained to Minister President Yamagata Aritomo about it. On November 4th Satow got a message from Yamagata to say that the reason for the delay in the case was that Kent’s defending lawyer (Akiyama Genzō) had applied for a postponement.

December 18th. I have been quite unable to finish this letter, having been interrupted on Saturday. The Endymion has just come in from Hongkong, and Callaghan (Capt.) tells me that the Admiral's telegram to me [see letter 113 above] was prompted only by the wild reports in the newspapers as to possible war between Japan and Russia. It has given me a lot of trouble trying to find out something, disclosing only some equally wild rumours here – e.g. that two of the Russian men of war, which left this [port], had gone to Masampo [near Pusan]⁴⁴⁵ and that they were immediately followed by the Takachiho and another from Sasebo. The Endymion will leave for Wei Hai Wei on Wednesday morning, relieving the Victorious, which comes here. There has been no further case of plague, but if bad scavenging could spread it it would most assuredly do so here.

Yours very truly

Joseph H. Longford

P.S. Cases here illustrating the way Japanese courts receive foreign testimony were:

1. The Grafton case
2. The Olympia case
3. The Sands case
4. Mrs. Baker's case (the Governor only), and sentence of four months imprisonment passed on a Japanese who stabbed a man of the Barfleur in 5 or 6 places, disfiguring him for life, affords an interesting comparison with that of six months for a black eye in the "Tamba Maru". [Note: Kent's sentence was reduced to ten days on appeal. See footnote on p. 260 above.]

115. Longford to Satow

Nagasaki,

December 27, 1899

Dear Sir Ernest,

I have had the Register searched here for five years subsequent to the opening of the Consulate, and nothing has been found in any way in the shape of instructions as to the keeping of Land Registers. Nor do I know of any obligations myself to that effect apart from the clause in the Title Deed, which however appears to be clear enough. The Land Regulations of 1860 (clause VII) (Page 1161 *Treaties and Conventions*⁴⁴⁶) speak of the "Title of Record" and require that the "Deed should be lodged for Record". The last clause might

⁴⁴⁵ For an account of the incident at Masanpho (Masampo) see I. Nish, *Origins of the Russo-Japanese War*, pp. 60-63. Agreement was reached between Korea and Russia regarding the lease on 12 April 1900.

⁴⁴⁶ Presumably this book is the Japanese Foreign Ministry's *Treaties and Conventions between the Empire of Japan and other Powers, together with Universal Conventions, Regulations and Communications since March 1854*, Vol. 1 (Tokyo, 1884), Vol. 2 (Tokyo, 1889).

perhaps be construed to include “registration” in it, especially when read in conjunction with the Title Deed, but then the Japanese version shows that “Title of Record” is simply the Title Deed and “lodging for record” the endorsement of any transfers on the Title Deed. There is in the Chancery [at the Legation in Tokyo] a very old volume containing various orders and Regulations made from time to time by the Minister (since 1865 under Section 85 of the Order in Council ⁴⁴⁷). I can remember the volume perfectly – very shabbily bound. It used to lie on the book case in the corner of the chancery nearest your own house and went back a very long time, possibly long before 1865. It may contain something on the subject, but I have failed to find any trace here of any such order. There is no mention of registration in the Agreement between the Foreign Representatives of December 1864 respecting Allotments of Land (Hertslet, Japan, p. 32). ⁴⁴⁸ It is curious, however, that this provides that Title Deeds should be countersigned by the Consuls, of which I cannot recollect a single instance, except in the form of a certificate of registration.

The Kencho [prefectural office] is now registering transfers without the fee. We give them in each case a certified copy of the entries in the Register for the particular lot.

I had a note from [Rear] Admiral [Charles C.P.] FitzGerald telling me that he will pass through on his way home, in the Doric – due here on the 29th – with all his own staff, Capt. Colville etc. The Victorious has not yet arrived but I expect her each day. The new rear-Admiral (Bruce) will be here in the “Barfleur” during next month.

Yours very truly

Jospeh H. Longford

116. Longford to Satow

Nagasaki,

January 16, 1900

Dear Sir Ernest,

⁴⁴⁷ The China and Japan Order in Council of March 1865, with some modification, was the basis of British jurisdiction in Japan until 1899. “Before 1865, British courts were established under the consul in each consular district. These courts could administer British law, and appeals lay from them to the minister resident. After 1865, however, this system was replaced by circuit courts under the control of the supreme court at Shanghai. Although the same [consular] officers administered the courts after 1865...they were no longer answerable to the British minister in Japan, but to the chief justice at Shanghai. The other main modification of the 1865 Order in Council was to allow the British minister to make regulations binding upon British subjects to cover situations in Japan not provided for in British law.” (J. E. Hoare, *Japan’s Treaty Ports and Foreign Settlements*, p. 57)

⁴⁴⁸ Presumably from the *Complete Collection of Treaties and Conventions and Reciprocal Regulations at Present Subsisting between Great Britain and Foreign Powers*, 24 vols., London, vol. ix, 1864, compiled by Lewis Hertslet. (Sir Edward Hertslet compiled the F.O. List for 1873, 1880 and 1883. Godfrey E.P. Hertslet compiled Hertslet’s China Treaties, 2 vols. 3rd edition, London, 1908.)

Many thanks for your very kind note of the 10th. I have thought over the matter and am sorry to say that I see no chance of being able to take home leave during the present year. May would, in any case, be rather late for me to start, giving the very worst time for crossing the Indian ocean, but apart from that I want to see the new leave regulations as to pay settled first, and there is also a private reason. My son will be going up for the Britannia [Royal Naval College, Dartmouth, Devon] towards the end of 1901 and I think he will have some better chance of getting in, if I am able to look after his work on the spot during the last six or nine months of his preparation. [Ralph G.E.] Forster is admirably suited for this post, and I hope this delay will not prevent your considering him for it when the time comes. Can you tell me anything of the nature of the consideration which the F.O. would give to an application for increased passage allowance in my own case – would it be in advance of or after the passages were taken ? The mere steamer fares for my family home [two adults, four children] would be about £240, without a servant, allowing the usual discount, to which the Government would, under the ordinary regulations, contribute about £80.

Kircher has been very ill in hospital, violently delirious at times. He has got through the worst of it I hope, but it may be a long time before he is fit for work again. If so, I fear I shall have to ask you for leave [permission] to re-engage Lawrence again. He is now assisting for some hours each day in the office and it would be very difficult to get on at all without him, but if this is to continue, it will be only fair that he should be paid, especially in view of his miserable pension. It will at the same time be very hard for Kircher if he has to lose his pay after discharge from hospital.

I have not a copy of the evidence in the “Barfleur” case, but might perhaps be able to get one. I knew, however, most of it at the time and felt quite clear that a sentence of 12 mos. [months] hard labour would have been a very mild punishment – equally so that a British subject at the Old Bailey would not have got off under penal servitude. The assault was a very savage one, entirely unprovoked, and though the man was incapacitated for less than 20 days, he was disfigured for life. While considering the sentence entirely inadequate, I felt so satisfied at the unusual event of a Japanese being punished in any way in the local court for an assault on a foreigner that I was glad to accept even that small mercy. We have been very fortunate here since the 4th of August, not having had one bad case. I have asked all captains of our ships to warn their men most earnestly when coming on leave of the probable consequences of any rows with the coolies and I think it has had very good results. All the Victorious men had general leave last week and there was no complaint against any of them, though six of them were lost [deserted ?], having probably gone off in one or other of the American transports, with which the harbour has been lately crowded. Besides warning the men, I asked the Superintendent of police to instruct the police to prevent them being pestered by jinrikisha men and this also had a very good effect.

With regard to what I previously wrote as to short home leave, I have been making inquiries as to the

Siberian route on which through steam communication is now established. I am told that the time is now only 20 days, and the inclusive fare from Vladivostock to Petersburg £25/0/0. The accommodation is still rough, in the lavatory way especially, but in another year or two every modern comfort may be expected. When it is finished Japan and Northern China will be as near home [England] as San Francisco – almost so – the through journey from Nagasaki becoming possible in about 20 days.

Yours very truly

Joseph H. Longford

117. Longford to Satow

Nagasaki,

January 23, 1900

Dear Sir Ernest,

The landholders here, though they will take no active steps themselves and prefer to leave it to others to fight their battles for them, do not (the few principal ones to whom I have spoken) appear to be satisfied with the settlement of the lease question. They have no confidence in Japanese courts nor indeed in the Japanese administrative authorities giving them more than what is secured to them by the very strictest terms of their bonds, and if the term superficies [surface rights, *chijōken*, 地上權]⁴⁴⁹, no matter how qualified or explained, is admitted as the legal description of their titles, they think, it may be years hence but sometime, courts will construe their holdings as superficies only and diminish their selling value accordingly. It seems to me rather seeking for grievances, but I must sympathize with their distrust of the Japanese courts. In this particular instance alone, their rights were safeguarded by our Treaty and it is hard that the one single privilege reserved to them should now be substantially impaired in order to make it harmonize with the technicalities of Japanese law of which the framers of the Treaty had no knowledge. If the Japanese law is in conflict with the Treaty, then it must be altered to make it harmonize and any unwillingness on the part of the Japanese Government now to take this very simple course argues badly for the consideration which may be hoped for from them in the future. These are the ideas prevalent here (in my own words) picked up however by me in casual conversations. No official representation has been or I

⁴⁴⁹ emphyteusis and superficies: in Roman law, leases granted either for a long term or in perpetuity with most of the rights of full ownership, the only stipulation being that an annual rent be paid and certain improvements made to the property. Both were initially granted by the state, the former for agricultural purposes, the latter for building on land. The main purpose was to encourage individuals to develop land without the threat of removal once the development was finished. These rights soon began to be granted by private persons. They could be inherited, were transferable, and were protected in the courts. The basic principle and form of emphyteusis and superficies have survived in modern times in many civil-law countries. (Encyclopedia Britannica, 15th edition)

think will be made to me, so I don't feel called upon to write to you officially.

There have been two or three transfers of land in the settlement by B.S.S. [British Subjects] to Japanese. In each case I have handed the consulate copy of the Title Deed over to the Kencho. I had a little hesitation at first in doing so as no doubt the new Japanese owners will only get "superficies" registered, and so, if the land is at any time purchased by a foreigner, it can only be on the impaired title. But the Japanese purchaser is the one primarily interested at present, and that being so I felt I had no right to raise any objections.

With reference to your [despatch] No. 1 of the 5th inst. one of the faulty mortgages has already been discharged, and the other will be shortly. Both will therefore be done with – the formal releases having been made – and I am therefore deferring replying to your despatch for the present.

Another case of assault on women took place here on Sunday night on a half-caste daughter of a British subject, a European in appearance but not a British subject. It was a bad case, but the man was arrested, the policeman who arrested him first giving him a severe thrashing on the spot !

The German consul here is one of the very most pronounced types of German officialdom, and I think intensely Anglophobic. He was talking in the club on Saturday with the agent of the H.S.B.C. [Hongkong & Shanghai Banking Corporation] when an American officer in uniform entered and addressed both. "I am a captain in the American army. I shall be very pleased if you two gentlemen will have a drink with me." The drinks were ordered and the officer gave a toast "Here's to England and the United States that together can lick [defeat] creation." The telegram containing Count Bulow's ⁴⁵⁰ speech on the seizure of the Bundesrath [federal chamber of the German Empire, 1871-1918] had just been posted half an hour previously.

Yours very truly

Joseph H. Longford

118. Longford to Satow

Nagasaki,

January 25, 1900

Dear Sir Ernest,

The Admiral (Seymour) seems determined to adhere to his idea that there must exist dangerous complications between Japan and Russia, as he has again written to me privately to keep him informed of any

⁴⁵⁰ (Prince) Bernhard von Bülow (1849-1929). German ambassador in Rome, 1893. In June 1897 Kaiser Wilhelm II appointed him state secretary for the Foreign Department. Three years later he became Chancellor (October 17, 1900 – July 14, 1909). As state secretary he acquired Kiaochow, the Caroline Islands and Samoa for Germany. Regarding Kiaochow he told the Reichstag on 6 December 1897: "Mit einem Worte: wir wollen niemand in den Schatten stellen, aber wir verlangen auch unseren Platz an der Sonne." (In a word, we desire to throw no one into the shade [in East Asia], but we also demand our own place in the sun.)

war preparations which the Japanese are making. I know nothing of these and believe in them just as little. As I think I told you before, both Japanese and Russian naval officers, to whom I have had opportunities of speaking, scouted the idea of any speedy war between the two powers, and the latter, I think, said what they believed in this instance. There was an “uwasa” [rumour, 噂] in large type in one of the local papers yesterday, emanating from Tokio, that Russian men of war are assembling at the mouth of the Yalu [river, in the Bay of Korea] and that the Hiroshima garrison had been ordered to hold itself in readiness for immediate embarkation, but so little value do I attach to this that I don’t think it worth the expense of telegraphing to the Admiral though I shall inform him of it by letter by Saturday’s steamer. It is usual for the harbour to be full of Russian ships at this time of the year, but at the moment there is not one. Four sailed on the 9th inst. together and the last on the 20th.

Two young Englishmen (one a son of Sir John Walsham ⁴⁵¹), settled in business at Vladivostock, dined with us on Sunday night, and they told me there are over 50,000 troops there in the immediate neighbourhood, while the Italian Admiral tells me that in the summer there were very few comparatively – not 10,000. From a not very reliable source, I heard that there are fully 100,000 tons of Cardiff coal ⁴⁵² stored between the two ports (V. and Port Arthur) and the Russians have also quite 10,000 tons to their order here. Our own supplies, both here and at Wei Hai Wei, are very low and prices are rising hugely.

Nagasaki is an impossible place to get any Japanese political information and the consulate writer is worthless as regards finding out anything. I find myself unable to ascertain the movements of men of war at Sasebo. The Kencho people won’t tell a word and the writer can’t or won’t find anything about them, and the admiral expects budgets from me.

Yours very truly,

Joseph H. Longford

P.S. I have heard that the Japanese have been endeavoring to buy 10,000 tons of Cardiff coal in Yokohama but only succeeded in obtaining 4000. Very little is available here for sale.

119. Longford to Satow

⁴⁵¹ Sir John Bart Walsham K.C.M.G. British Minister at Peking, born in Cheltenham on October 29th 1830. Appointed to the Foreign Office in 1854. Acting Consul in Mexico in 1859. Secretary of Legation in Peking, October 1873. Acting Chargé 'd' Affaires in Madrid, and then Berlin as Secretary of the Embassy. In 1883 he was transferred to Paris, and acted as Minister Plenipotentiary during the absence of the Ambassador. From November 1885 to April 1892 he was Envoy to China, and also to the King of Korea, but later in the year was transferred to Bucharest. He retired in 1894. C.M.G. February 1895; K.C.M.G. 1895. He married, in 1867, Florence, only daughter of the Hon P Campbell Scarlett, C.B. Address; Knill Court, Kington, Herefordshire.

⁴⁵² By 1913 Cardiff, Wales had become the largest coal-exporting port in the world. The coal trade fell off dramatically after 1918 and in 1963 ceased altogether. (Encyclopedia Britannica)

Nagasaki,

January 26, 1900

Dear Sir Ernest,

I have no doubt that the foundation for the rumour I spoke of in my letter of yesterday is the fact that the Russian Admiral has recently assembled the entire fleet at Port Arthur in order to welcome and present the commander to the new Governor General who has lately arrived there. Meanwhile reports continue in the local papers that troops are held in readiness to start alone.

Yours very truly

Joseph H. Longford

120. Longford to Satow

Nagasaki

February 19, 1900

Dear Sir Ernest,

Rentiers tells me that there was nothing mentioned in the depositions that were read in court in the "Pigmy" case as to a second blow, but that the complainant on being asked how he was struck answered "twice, once on the head and the second time on the face". That was the only reference in the court to the second blow. The judgment ignores it, and as it must be assumed that it correctly quotes the evidence on which the verdict was given, it seems that the sentence is pronounced on account of the blow, given while flourishing a stick in a jinrikisha [rickshaw], without any malice and possibly quite accidentally. It is only necessary to lay the two judgments side by side and compare them to see the very glaring differences according to English ideas. The depositions that I have in the Barfleur case show that it was worse than appears in the judgment. On the other hand the complainant in the "Pigmy" case described to me in detail the second blow. The first he said was nothing and it was the second alone which caused the injury.

Nagasaki harbour presented a lively appearance this morning. There were two Empresses, one O. and O., two French Mail, one Russian Volunteer, two S'hai Mail S.S. (Yusen Kaisha) besides several coasters all in simultaneously. The Russian fleet left yesterday. A large Russian squadron is said to be at Masampo. There was a curious canard [false report] here the other day that the Russian fleet had been ordered by the Japanese to leave the port at once. If the order was given it was certainly not obeyed. Endymion will leave this on the 25th for Wei Hai Wei and Admiral Bruce will be here on 3rd prox[imo] in Barfleur.

Yours very truly,

Joseph H. Longford

121. Longford to Satow

Nagasaki,

February 26, 1900

Dear Sir Ernest,

Your letter was unfortunately too late for the Endymion. It only arrived at 7 p.m. last night, and she left at 4 p.m. Callaghan, however, asked me to open it and I shall send a copy to the Admiral by the German mail tomorrow and keep the original for Admiral Bruce who will be here on Saturday morning. The Admiral, I believe, intends to detach a ship to watch the manoeuvres. The Japanese have bought one cargo of Cardiff coal here and are negotiating for, if they have not already actually bought, two others, all to arrive speedily, about 10,000 tons in all. I suppose it is for the manoeuvres – delivery in all three cases is here for transport probably to Sasebo – but the Admiral seems fixed in his idea of approaching war. He made enquiries for coal himself, but though I got offers of a considerable quantity between this [month ?] and June at less than the Admiralty contract price he finally refused it all. The Russian fleet here – six ships including Russia – is to leave for Port Arthur today. A squadron is still at Masampo including two battleships.

The Endymion men behaved excellently on shore and there was no “case” to my great relief. I fear no [penal] codes will ever prevent such inequitable sentences as the two I sent you. One was heavier, the other much lighter, than even the present one would have justified, and when the two are read alongside each other the contrast is very glaring, taking the facts as detailed in them.

I have sent privately to the Admiral a copy of the first part of my despatch to you about the medical attendance – as far as it relates to evidence and prison attendance. That concerns the Admiralty more than anyone, and if the Admiral represents it home, as I hope he will, the cost might be made up between the Admiralty and Foreign Office. The pecuniary loss to the Government from the death of one A.B. [Able Seaman] or marine in prison would exceed the cost I proposed for more than two years. The legal business – that of defending accused sailors in Court – is of less importance, but if the practice of giving general leave is to be continued here some provision ought to be made for it. Neither officers nor the very best of men are, I consider, safe here from charges which would be at once dismissed in the English Courts but will have a very different result in the native.

Yours truly,

Joseph H. Longford

P.S. The purchases of coal and what I have heard on the spot make me quite certain that the manoeuvres will be in this neighbourhood.

This is the end of PRO 30/33 5/10, consular correspondence from Nagasaki.