

# Sir Ernest Satow and Nikko:

## His Favourite Place for Rest and Recuperation in Japan

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### Abstract

An examination of Satow's diaries and letters shows clearly that Satow was very fond of Nikko, and especially Lake Chuzenji. This paper will give evidence for this and will argue that it was indeed his favourite place in Japan. This paper arose from a lecture which I gave at the Nikko Kanaya Hotel on September 11, 2016. The title was 日光を愛した外交官アーネスト・サトウ「中禅寺湖日記を読み解く」ERNEST SATOW, THE DIPLOMAT WHO LOVED NIKKO: ANALYZING HIS LAKE CHUZENJI DIARY. I divided the lecture into six parts. Here I present a revised and expanded version, adding some comments about Lake Chuzenji by Lionel Berners Cholmondeley in a letter sent to Satow in England dated August 9, 1916 (Satow Papers in the National Archives of the UK, PRO 30/33 13/3).

### Nikko – Location

Nikko is about 150 kilometres directly north of Tokyo, and is easily reached from the capital. In the days before air conditioning it became a favourite haunt of foreigners, both diplomats and merchants and their families, as well as short-stay visitors to Japan such as naval officers and world travellers known as 'globe-trotters.' It was due mainly to the writings of Satow and of the great traveller Isabella Bird that this was so. The cool air and breezes by the lake, which in itself reminded many Europeans of lakes in their home countries, was and remains a blessing in the sweltering heat of the Japanese summer. The stratovolcano Mount Nantai towers over the lake, and the energetic Satow climbed it many times. The lake itself is a substantial body of water, with a surface area of 11.62 square kilometres and a circumference of 25 kilometres. Its elevation at the surface is 1,269 metres and maximum depth is 163 metres. It drains through the Kegon falls.

### Satow's First Four Visits to Nikko

First Visit: March 13-23, 1872

Satow never visited Nikko during his early years in Japan, and it is not mentioned in his seminal history of the Bakumatsu period, *A Diplomat in Japan*, which covers the years 1861-69. However, he and Charles Wirgman met the Imperial envoy known as the Reiheishi 例幣使 returning from Nikko where he had been sent on an annual mission to worship at Ieyasu's tomb. His men attempted to attack Satow and Wirgman in the night of May 28, 1867, but failed.<sup>1</sup>

Satow's first visit to Nikko is recorded in his diary dated March 13, 1872: "Started for Nikko with [Francis Ottiwell] Adams, [Charles] Wirgman and Punch [dog], Servants and Bette [escort]." He was back in Tokyo (Yedo) by March 23rd.

Satow's first impressions were published in a series in *The Japan Weekly Mail*, March-April 1872.<sup>2</sup> He wrote on April 20<sup>th</sup>: "There is certainly a great charm about Nikkô, and there is variety for everyone's tastes. It is situated among hills of horse-shoe form, and backed by a showy [snowy?] range of high mountains, whose names commencing from the left are Nantai, Great and Little Manago, Niôhō, and Akanagi. Of these Nantaizan is the highest, and the most famous." He continued: "If the traveller is learned in the old history and mythology of Japan, he can spend days in examining the temples, shrines and other objects of interest in the sacred grounds already described. If he prefers nature, he can be equally interested in exploring the neighbourhood, and whichever way his steps lead him, he will find points of attraction... Add to this a delicious atmosphere, bracing and health-giving, and no more is needed to stamp this place as one of the pleasantest resting-places in Japan."

Of Lake Chuzenji he wrote “The lake is charmingly situated, reminding one of many a scene in Scotland. There are said to be no fish in it...and a short way outside the village, on the right hand as one returns, is the path which leads to the famous cascade [waterfall] called Kégon no taki, said to be 750 feet high. From the temple here commences the difficult ascent of Nantaizan, said to be three *ri* [about 12 kilometres].”<sup>3</sup>



Lake Chuzenji

Second Visit: September 24 – October 5, 1874

Satow's second visit to Nikko was in the autumn of 1874. On September 24<sup>th</sup> he left his Tokyo house at 11.30 with Mr. and Mrs. Hayllar in two *jinrikisha* (rickshaws). They reached Nikko two days later, walking and in *kago* (palanquins). His diary records:

“Sept. 27 Morning to Kamman ga fuchi [gorge]. Iyeyasu's shrine in afternoon. Display of treasures and articles used in the festival processions.”

Sept. 28. Morning cloudy. Walked to Takinoö and round between Tôshôgû & Iyeyasu's shrine with Mrs. Hayllar.... Afternoon. Visited Iyemitsu tomb. Chief priest delighted with present of a riô, & invited us to drink tea in his own house.

Sept. 29. Started 8.15 for Chuzenji. Road fr. Magaeshi over hill washed away, & path along bed (kawara) of the torrent perpetually crossed & recrossed by small temporary bridges.

Sept. 30. Left Yumoto in the rain at 1.45 and descended for Chuzenji.”

Satow began his return to Tokyo on October 3<sup>rd</sup> and was home two days later. Enthused by his visits,

his 42-page *Guide Book to Nikko*, published by The Japan Mail at Yokohama in 1875 was the first tour guide in English of the area. It was thus a foreigner, not a Japanese, who ‘discovered’ the charm and beauty of Nikko. He noted that in the Edo era women had been forbidden near the sacred Mt. Nantai (“Man's Body Mountain” 男体山). The guide is mainly about access to Nikko from Tokyo, about the Toshogu and other shrines. Lake Chuzenji is also mentioned. It was based on notes made during his first visit in 1872, as revised and supplemented. Unfortunately no illustrations were included.

Third Visit: September 12 – October 3, 1877

Satow's third visit to Nikko was in September-October 1877. He left Tokyo with Frederick Victor Dickins on September 12<sup>th</sup> and together they walked in the mountains near Nikko, with Dickins returning to Yokohama on September 21<sup>st</sup>. Satow then continued on with his porter (‘baggage coolie’) and on September 24<sup>th</sup> a guide ‘aged 78, a tiny deaf old fellow’. The next day they were at the Konsei mountain pass and reached Yumoto near Lake Chuzenji. On September 29<sup>th</sup> Satow wrote in his diary:

“Left Yumoto by boat to head of cascade [Yudaki] 1½ bu, and so over the Senjôgahara to Chuzenji. Splendid view of the mountains on the N. and E., and of [Mount] Shirane looking back from the opposite side of the moor. Various ferns... on the way down. Turned off at Midzusawa to see the Uramigataki, which is a real waterfall. Hard climb of 5 chô from the teahouse below. Wild grapes and chestnuts. Arr[ived]. at 5, and went to the house of Kanaya Kûichi in Iri-machi, but found them unprepared except for European guests with a cook. So after a while transferred my belongings to Konishiya Kûichirô, the first inn on the left side in Hachiishi.”

The next day he walked to the Kirifuri waterfall, and on October 1<sup>st</sup> he “[s]pent a couple of hours at the tomb of Tôshôgû, where there are few changes to be noted. I added a good many details to the Guide b[oo]k., of which it would by now be worth while to publish a third edition. The middle of May is the best time for the azaleas.” On October 3<sup>rd</sup> he returned to Tokyo.

Fourth Visit: September 24 – October 2, 1880

On September 24, 1880 Satow left Tokyo for Nikko via Oji and Iwatsuki. He had sent his servant Homma Saburo and a porter to Koga on the day before. On September 25<sup>th</sup> he was at Tochigi, and reached Nikko via the Ashio copper mines on September 28<sup>th</sup> where he met up with J.G. Kennedy, the Legation Secretary, and his wife. On September 29<sup>th</sup> they visited the tombs of Ieyasu and Iemitsu, and the head priest of Manganji showed them various treasures. The next day Satow and Kennedy set off for Lake Chuzenji, but Satow was keen to climb Mount Nantai. This attempt was abandoned when it became clear that Kennedy was not fit enough, and they went to the lake instead, returning to Nikko at 9 p.m. On October 1<sup>st</sup> they passed through Tochigi on the way home to Tokyo which he reached the next day.

It is noteworthy that except for his first visit to Nikko, Satow seems to have preferred to go there in autumn (September-October). Presumably he preferred the cool weather and autumn colours, and it was easier to take time off at this time of year. Also he was apparently not able to visit every year, but kept returning at quite regular intervals of two or three years.

## Two Visits to Japan from Siam in 1884 and 1886

Satow was given local leave in Japan to relax and recover his health, which suffered in the heat and dust of Siam (Thailand). This was also an opportunity to visit friends and his young Japanese family, Takeda O-Kane and the two boys, Eitaro and Hisayoshi; and furthermore he was able to meet various colleagues and Japanese acquaintances who updated him on treaty revision and the general state of the country.<sup>4</sup>

First Visit: October 1 – November 22, 1884

During his first visit from Siam, Satow went on a side trip to Nikko from November 8<sup>th</sup> to 15<sup>th</sup>. He started with Judge Nicholas Hannen by the 7.00 a.m. train from Ueno on the 8<sup>th</sup>. They had a fine view of Mounts Nantai and Shirane from the train, and reached Komeya Hotel at Lake Chuzenji at 1.37 pm. on the 10<sup>th</sup>. The next day Satow walked with his

manservant Saburo to Yumoto lake, and on the 12<sup>th</sup> he had a long hike to Nanataki and Nio-ho-zan. His entry for the 13<sup>th</sup> begins:

“Rained heavily this morning. Ab[ou]t. 10 we went out, & visited the tomb of Iyeyasu together, correcting faults in the H[an]db[oo]k. Felt that all was not so beautiful as it had seemed formerly.”

On the 14<sup>th</sup> they stayed at an inn (*honjin*) at Nakada, and on the 15<sup>th</sup> he was more positive about the scenery, noting:

“The view of the Nikkō mountains from the ferry was magnificent, including also Shirane & Akagi: much more snow than 3 days ago when I went up Nio-hō-zan...”

Second Visit: June 23<sup>rd</sup> – September 1, 1886

Satow reached Nagasaki by steamer, the customary route from Hong Kong, on June 23<sup>rd</sup>. After time spent in the rival attraction of Hakone (July 17<sup>th</sup> – 23<sup>rd</sup>) he left by a train at 9.25 a.m. for Utsunomiya on July 24<sup>th</sup>, reaching Sano-ya in Irimachi at 8.15 p.m. suffering from a fever and “very tired and done up [exhausted].” He then spent several days in the company of the Plunketts and Layard. On the 25<sup>th</sup> they walked to Kamman ga fuchi, and on the 26<sup>th</sup> “[u]p betw[een]. Iyemitsu & Iyeyasu to Takinō, & thence thro’ wood trying to reach the sesshō-seki [殺生石] w[hi]ch. was impossible, & came back behind the temples. Long jaw [talk] with Mutsu Munemitsu.” On the 28<sup>th</sup> the party visited the Urami ga taki waterfall, returning by Kiyotaki. On the 30<sup>th</sup> Satow “[s]tarted at 9 with the Plunketts & Layard for Yumoto [onsen]. It was a fine, warm morning. Walked to Kiyotaki and then got on horseback. The Road much improved everywhere.”

Lack of space prevents a full description of all the walks and places Satow visited, as fully noted in his diary. On August 15<sup>th</sup> he left Nikko at about 11 a.m. in a two-man *kuruma* (a wheeled vehicle, like a rickshaw). He reached Utsunomiya about 4 p.m., and called at the Legation in Tokyo before going home.

## Satow as Minister in Japan, 1895-1900

Satow was then away from the Far East for almost ten years, serving first in Uruguay (1889-1893) and then in Morocco (1893-1895). He thus had no

opportunity in this time to visit Japan, let alone Nikko. Yet when he was appointed Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary to Japan in 1895 he made sure to visit Nikko as soon as possible, and decided to order the building of a house or villa ("cottage" in his words) by Lake Chuzenji. It is notable that he kept a separate diary for his time at Chuzenji apart from his main diary, though there was some overlap between them.

Why did he want a house by the lake? Like many of his diplomatic colleagues Satow wanted to have a place to escape both the heat of Tokyo in summer (there were of course no air conditioners!) and the stress of work. Here he could go walking, mountain climbing and rowing, or collecting and identifying plants ('botanizing') which was a major hobby. He also had such a retreat in Siam where he served from 1884 to 1887, and in China where he was Minister from 1900 to 1906. In Siam he had rented a house on the island of Koh Sichang in the Gulf of Thailand, not far from Bangkok.

Satow visited Lake Chuzenji a total of 31 times between 20 August 1895 and 9 April 1900. At first he rented a house. In a letter to his friend Frederick Victor Dickins who had returned from Japan to England in 1879, he wrote on 21 August 1895:

"...Yesterday I came here to a small house on the bank of the Lake [Chuzenji] which I have taken till the end of September. I forget whether you know the place. It is very small and quiet. The only other foreigners who have houses here are Gutschmid, the Lowthers, the Kirkwoods, and a German savant name unknown. The scenery is much prettier than that of Hakone as the hills are covered with forest, it is higher, and not more rainy. Very probably I shall fix my residence here during the summer months for the rest of my stay in this country...."<sup>5</sup>

The dates of Satow's 31 visits to Nikko from 1895 to 1900 were as follows:

1895  
[Satow arrives in Japan on July 28.]  
August 20-29  
September 2-10  
September 16-19

1896  
May 29-30  
July 1-4  
July 14-25  
July 31 – August 14  
August 24 – September 5  
September 11-21  
October 9-12  
November 7-9  
December 26-28

1897  
January 29 – February 1  
March 6-9  
March 26-29  
[Satow goes to England for Diamond Jubilee, May-November]  
December 3-6

1898  
February 26 – March 1  
May 13-16  
June 17-20  
July 10-23  
July 29 – September 20

1899  
January 26-30  
February 24-26  
April 14-17  
May 4-8  
May 26-29  
July 3-15  
August 6-30  
October 16-23  
December 2-4

1900  
April 6-9  
[Satow leaves Japan on May 4, 1900.]

## Notes

1. The longest time Satow spent at Nikko was about seven weeks (July-September 1898).
2. In 1895 he rented a house from Ito Asajiro "small and not very comfortable, near the outfall of the lake" (Lake Chuzenji diary) and stayed there.



During his fourth visit on May 30<sup>th</sup> he noted in his Chuzenji diary:

. “A splendid morning. Went over with [Josiah] Conder to the building site, fixed upon a place for the boathouse, and ordered the path at the back to be taken further up the hill. The front of the site to be built up in three terraces, so as to widen the courtyard in front of the house. Azaleas white, red and pink in bloom. Lower down the Nikko valley wisterias in bloom. Walked down to the station in about 3½ hours, and came back to Tokio by 4.40 train.”

It was the British architect Josiah Conder (1852-1920) who had designed the Rokumeikan, and was described as the “Father of Japanese Modern Architecture”.



The house after restoration by Tochigi prefecture which acquired it from the British Embassy in 2010. The three terraces mentioned by Satow can be clearly seen.

By the time of his sixth visit (the third in 1896) Satow was beginning to get things at the house in order:

“July 15. Walked up to Chuzenji...Met Mrs. Bishop [Isabella Bird] at Umagaeshi. Called on the Baroness d’Anethan. It rained so heavily that I had to give up lunching with Lowther, and came on straight to my house at Tozawa [砥沢], which was in a state of dire confusion. But by dinner time it had been got a good deal into order, dining room, drawing room and two rooms upstairs shoji [障子] papered and the staircase finished. The last of the tategu [建具 fixtures and fittings] arrived.”

Yet there was much more rain, until by July 22<sup>nd</sup> the lake had risen by four feet. In these conditions, Satow made much use of his boat, which had a sail. He later bought a new sculling boat or ‘skiff’ from A. Teck of

Yokohama which was delivered on May 28, 1899.

Satow’s house was used by the British Embassy until 2008 for recreation and recuperation, then the upkeep became too much and it was donated to Tochigi prefecture in 2010. There was a precedent, in that the prefecture had bought the Italian Embassy’s villa, built in 1928, in 1998. The French and Belgian villas are still in use by their respective embassies. Satow’s house has now been fully restored and is open since 2016, partly as a museum and partly as a tea shop.

### Notable Colleagues and Guests of Satow at Lake Chuzenji

The following – given here in alphabetical order – are mentioned in the Lake Chuzenji diary:

- Allen, Clement (British consul in China)
- Awdry, Bishop William (Bishop of South Tokio, 1898-1908)
- Baelz, Dr. Erwin von (medical doctor to the British Legation)
- Baron d’Anethan – Belgian Minister
- Baroness d’Anethan, Eleanora Mary (née Haggard)
- Basil-Woodd, C.H.
- Bird, Isabella (Mrs. Bishop)
- Bonar, Henry Alfred Constant (Japan consular service)
- Bondy, Vicomte de (French consul in Formosa)
- Boyce, R.H. (Office of Works)
- Brennan, Byron (British consul, Canton)
- Brockelbank, Gerald (friend of Fedor Satow)
- Buck, Col. Alfred E. (U.S. Minister)
- Cheetham, Milne (Second Secretary, Tokyo Legation from 1899)
- Chirol, Ignatius Valentine (Journalist with *The Times*)
- Cholmondeley, Rev. Lionel Berners (Chaplain in Tokyo, 1887-1921)
- Churchill, Lt. Col. Arthur George (Military attaché)
- Conder, Josiah (Architect)
- Crowe, Edward T.F. (student interpreter, 1897)
- Fitzgerald, Admiral Charles Cooper Penrose (Second-in-Command, China squadron)
- Foxwell, Professor Ernest (Economics lecturer, Tokio Imperial University)

- Gowland, T.S. of Cass & Co. Amoy
- Grosvenor, Hugh (Second Secretary, British Legation at Peking)
- Gutschmid, Freiherr von (German Minister)
- Haggard, Lt. Col. Andrew Charles Parker (brother of Baroness Eleonora Mary Haggard d'Anethan, novelist Sir Henry Rider Haggard and diplomat Sir William Haggard)
- Hannen, Lady (wife of Judge Nicholas Hannen) and Nicholas "Beau" Hannen (her son, actor)
- Harmand, Jules (French Minister)
- Henry (Heinrich), Prince of Prussia<sup>6</sup>
- Holmes, E.H. (student interpreter)
- King, Walter E. (China consular service)
- Kirkwood William, and Mrs. (legal adviser to Japanese Government)
- Leyden, Graf von (German Minister)
- Lowther, Gerard Augustus (Secretary, British legation)
- May, Paul (Secretary, Belgian legation)
- Mitchell, Sir Charles (Governor of Straits Colonies)
- Nabeshima 鍋島 Naohiro and his son Naomitsu (a Cambridge University undergraduate) of the Saga clan
- Napier, Charles (brother of Mrs. Bonar)
- O'Gorman, Colonel
- Ono Yoshizane 小野義真 (businessman)
- Ottley, Captain Charles (naval attaché) and Mrs.
- Parlett, Harold George (Japan consular service)
- Pereira, M.C.G. (Brazilian Minister)
- Poklevski-Kozell, Stanislas (First Secretary, Russian legation)
- Pourtalès-Gorgier, Comte de (First Secretary, French legation)
- Rosen, Baron Roman Romanovich (Russian Minister)
- Salmon, Admiral Sir Nowell (Commander-in-Chief, China Station, 1887-90)
- Sannomiya Yoshitane, Baron 三宮義胤 and Baroness Alethea (nee Raynor, British by birth)
- Satow, Lisinka (Sir Ernest Satow's Russian-German cousin)
- Seymour, Admiral Sir Edward Hobart (Commander-in-Chief, China Station, 1898-1901)
- Testa, Jonkheer H. (Dutch Minister)

- Whitehead, James Beethom (Secretary, British Legation)
- Wilkinson, Judge Hiram Shaw (Judge and diplomat, 1840-1926, father of Hiram Parkes Wilkinson)
- Wilson, Huntingdon (Second Secretary, U.S. Legation, Tokyo)
- Wydenbruck, Count Christoph von (Minister for Austria-Hungary)
- Wylie, R.A. (of Cornes & Co.)
- Yates, Frederick (artist)

### An Invitation to Chuzenji

Satow invited Admiral Sir Edward Seymour, Commander-in-Chief of the China Station 1897-1901, to Lake Chuzenji on July 28, 1898. A copy of the letter survives in the Satow Papers (PRO 30/33 6/10) and reads as follows:

"Dear Sir Edward,

Many thanks for your letter of [July] the 13<sup>th</sup> & subsequent teleg[ram]. informing me of your intended movements. I shall look for you here on the 5<sup>th</sup> August. If you get to Yokohama early enough that day, how would it suit you to come up to Tokio that same afternoon with Lt. Powlett and Mr. Alton. The next morning we could get thro' your calls on the Min[iste]r. of Marine & the Pres[iden]t., & after an early lunch take the one o'clock train to Nikkō. We w[ou]ld. pass the night there, & next day go up to my cottage on Chiuzenji Lake. I can put you up with one of your staff and Madam O'Gorman has offered to take in another. The distance across the lake from one house to the other is only 20 min[utes]. by boat. This would enable you to see some part of the best scenery in this part of Japan. I must return to Tokio on the 13<sup>th</sup> for the incoming Canadian mail, but if you liked to stay a day or two longer at the cottage it c[ou]ld. easily be managed, as I usually leave a cook and two servants there when I come down to Tokio.

I teleg[raphe]d. yesterday that the Emperor w[ou]ld. prefer to give you an audience if you c[ou]ld. take Yokohama on your way back from the North in September or Oct[obe]r., as the heat is so great now. The fact is he never receives in Aug[ust]. if he can possibly help it. All that etiquette requires has been fulfilled by my having privately expressed your wish to be presented, & I

take it that we may regard the audience as not coming off.

We usually make the call on the Min[ister]. of Marine & the Min[ister]. Pres[ident]. in tall hat & frock coat, so you will not require uniform in Tokio. The lightest possible clothing will do for Tokio, and the journey to Nikko. At Chuzenji one wears light English summer clothing.

Will you kindly teleg[raph]. to me whether this proposal will be agreeable to you.

y.v.t. [yours very truly]

E.S.”

Seymour gladly accepted the invitation, and stayed at Chuzenji from August 7<sup>th</sup> to 11<sup>th</sup>. He wrote thanking Satow on August 13<sup>th</sup> from his flagship, HMS Centurion: “Let me take this opportunity to thank you for all your kind hospitality, which I much enjoyed. You have an ideal retreat on the Lake, and to my mind it’s [sic.] distance from the other houses far more than doubles it’s [sic.] value.” On September 25<sup>th</sup> he wrote that he hoped Satow would take a cruise as his guest, and his regret that Satow was unable to visit Chuzenji because of a storm. Then again on October 31<sup>st</sup> “[m]y recollections of Chuzenji are most agreeable...”

### Satow’s Last Visit to Nikko (1906)

Satow’s last visit to Japan was on his way home to retirement in England from China in 1906. It included an unplanned visit to Nikko, made possible by the delayed departure of his onward ship from Japan. He arrived first at Nagasaki on May 16<sup>th</sup>, and went via Kobe on May 18<sup>th</sup>, arriving in Tokyo on May 21<sup>st</sup>. After an audience with the Emperor and Empress at 11 a.m. on May 26<sup>th</sup> and a “big dinner of old friends Japanese English & American” he went to hear Rev. Lionel Cholmondeley preach at St. Andrew’s Church on the next day, which was a Sunday. On May 28<sup>th</sup> he went early to the house at Fujimi-cho 2-chome (between Hosei University and Yasukuni shrine) to say goodbye to OK (Takeda O-Kane), and he discovered that his ship the *Siberia* was detained in quarantine for ten days, and her departure was delayed until further notice.

On May 31<sup>st</sup> Satow went with his second son Hisayoshi to Nikko by the 10.30 train, arriving five hours later. On June 1<sup>st</sup> they went up on foot to Lake Chuzenji.

“1 June. To Chuzenji, starting on foot at 8.30 and walked by upper road to Umagaeshi [馬返] and the 2 waterfall tea-house by 10.15. Here rested half an hour, looking at the beautifully varied tints of green in the forest...Lakeside Hotel at 11.35...After lunch rowed the Siren, my old boat, over to Tozawa, where the garden is greatly improved. Plenty of Rh[ododendron]. Pentaphyllum in flower, looking like fair sized trees...”

2 June. ...In a boat down the lake sailing most of the way to Shōbu no hama [菖蒲の浜], and then walked, partly by the bank of the Riudzu stream & then across the moor to the path, getting to Yumoto at 11.15, where we put up at Nanma’s hotel, a new place since my time...Walked a little way towards the Konseitoge [pass] with H.Y. [Hisayoshi] and then to the head of Yunotaki and back.”

On June 4<sup>th</sup> Satow walked back down to the Nikko Hotel by 4.27 p.m. where he “got a charming room with a square verandah in front. Felt rather done up after all the walking of the past four days.” The next day he caught the 11.10 train to Tokyo, arriving there at 4.10 p.m. The *Siberia* sailed on June 9<sup>th</sup> with Satow on board, reaching Honolulu on June 18<sup>th</sup>, and San Francisco on June 24<sup>th</sup>. On June 27<sup>th</sup> he arrived by train in Denver where he met his elder son Eitaro, leaving on June 30<sup>th</sup>. On July 4<sup>th</sup> he embarked on the *Baltic* (White Star Line) and reached Liverpool on July 12<sup>th</sup>.

### L.B. Cholmondeley’s letter from Ushigome, Tokyo dated August 9, 1916

This letter<sup>7</sup> to Satow who was by now in retirement at Ottery St. Mary, Devon, England indicates how his Chuzenji house and the whole lake was visited enthusiastically by subsequent members of the Embassy and their guests. He had made a popular choice for rest and recuperation, and it remained so until the 2000s when the house was given up to Tochigi prefecture.

“...Now to the main purport of my letter, for I am writing to tell you that I have been to Chuzenji again for the first time since I was your guest in your newly built house<sup>8</sup>. Our

Embassy have now practically established a summer colony there. Leaving the road from Nikko into the village and crossing the bridge on the left, you have first on the left hand side the Lakeside Hotel. Passing on you come to Hampden's house; next to what practically answers to the Chancery and Secretary's house where Somerville is established with Wingfield and Bentinck for alternate companions; here I stayed and here there is an office room and a telephone. Proceeding onward along that path under the wooded hills we come next to Crowe's house (Commercial Attaché); then a long stretch with the French Embassy on the right, and past the little shrine, which has now developed into almost a spacious temple, to the Embassy proper. Then the Rymers (Nav[al]. Att[aché]:)<sup>9</sup> are installed in the Treutlers' house beyond, and well on beyond this again is the Wilkinsons (Doctor) house. You did not know when you chose your site and built your house how entirely it was going to meet the wishes and satisfy the requirements of the present occupants. To Sir Conyngham [Greene]<sup>10</sup> and Lady Lily<sup>11</sup> it is an ideal retreat. There are some perhaps who think it would be better for Sir Conyngham to take his holiday a little more cheerfully but he believes in seclusion and rest. They never have a guest - not even to their table, unless afternoon tea counts. Of course I was interested in your garden remembering the old man and his workmen and how day after day from early morning and with mystic chanting a wonderful rockery was gradually emerging with a winding stream course and a little pond. You will be glad to hear that the effect is really very good today, but Lady Lily is a gardener which, as she says, the MacDonalds<sup>12</sup> were not, and she has done a great deal to regenerate things. Your lake wall had given way this summer and there were men working at it the day I came away. At Chusenji and at Nikko I made the acquaintance of Dr. Morrison<sup>13</sup> and of Sir Havilland de Sausmarez.<sup>14</sup> The latter was very conversational and I think he wanted me when I was next writing to remember him kindly to you. I had a service on Sunday at the Lakeside Hotel. All our Embassy people, except Rymer R[oman].C[atholic].,

were present and I had an offertory of Y[en] 30.75 for the Bonin Church..."

## Concluding Remarks

It is clear that Satow's attraction to and affection for Nikko and Lake Chuzenji stimulated interest and similar emotions in other foreigners: fellow diplomats, British legation and consular staff, and travellers all seem to have enjoyed their time by the lake. It is indeed one of the natural treasures of Japan.

Satow's *Guide Book to Nikko* (1875) was highly influential in being the first publication to draw the attention of foreigners to the area. Now it is a major tourist destination for Japanese and foreigners alike.

## Bibliography

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## Notes

- <sup>1</sup> *A Diplomat in Japan*, first edition, London: Seeley Service & Co., 1921, pp. 218-221; Satow's diary.
- <sup>2</sup> 'Travel in the Interior: Yedo to Nikko and Back', *The Japan Weekly Mail*, 30 March 1872, pp. 173-4; 6 April, pp. 185-7; 13 April, pp. 203-5; 20 April, pp. 223-5.
- <sup>3</sup> One ri 里 is about 3.9 kilometres.
- <sup>4</sup> See I. Ruxton, 'Sir Ernest Satow in Siam, 1884-87' in the *IAJS Journal* Volume 3, pp. 21-30.
- <sup>5</sup> This letter is in the Satow Papers, PRO 30/33 11/6.
- <sup>6</sup> Prince Henry of Prussia (1862-1929). Younger brother of Kaiser Wilhelm II. Grandson of Queen Victoria. Naval officer, commanded a squadron which assisted the German East Asia Squadron in consolidating Germany's hold on Kaiochow and the port of Tsingtao in 1898.



- <sup>7</sup> This letter is in PRO 30/33 13/3. See Ian Ruxton, *List of Sir Ernest Satow's General Correspondence from 1906 to 1927* (Lulu.com, 2018).
- <sup>8</sup> Cholmondeley came up to Chuzenji on August 11, 1896. (Satow's Chuzenji diary. PRO 30/33 17/16.)
- <sup>9</sup> Capt. Edward Hilary Rymer, R.N. Naval attaché for Japan and China with headquarters at Tokio, 1914-17. (F.O. List, 1921)
- <sup>10</sup> Sir William Conyngham Greene (1854-1934) was British Ambassador to Japan, 1912-1919. Educated at Harrow School and Pembroke College, Oxford. His obituary stated that he "...proved himself a great Ambassador. His open and genial manner won the confidence of the Japanese, and retained it throughout all the vicissitudes of the War..." (The Times, 3 July 1934, p.9) See also Peter Lowe's portrait in *Britain and Japan Biographical Portraits*, Volume IV (2002), Chapter 6.
- <sup>11</sup> Lady Lily Frances Stopford married Conyngham Greene in 1884. She died in 1950.
- <sup>12</sup> Sir Claude Maxwell MacDonald (1852-1915), soldier and diplomat who succeeded Satow as Minister in Japan in 1900, and became the first Ambassador in 1905. Succeeded by Conyngham Greene. See Ian Nish's portrait in *Britain and Japan Biographical Portraits*, Volume I (1994), Chapter 11.
- <sup>13</sup> George Ernest Morrison (1862-1920). Peking correspondent of The Times.
- <sup>14</sup> Sir Havilland Walter de Sausmarez (1861-1941). Judge of British colonial and consular courts in Africa and Asia. Judge of the British Supreme Court for China and Corea (based in Shanghai), 1905-21.